

Table of Contents

2	Editorial
	<i>Articles</i>
3	John Calvin, the Nascent Sabbatarian: A Reconsideration of Calvin's View of Two Key Sabbath-Issues <i>By Stewart E. Lauer</i>
15	The Westminster Standards and Confessional Lutheranism on Justification <i>By J. V. Fesko, Ph.D.</i>
27	The True History of Paedo-Communion <i>By Matthew Winzer</i>
37	A Critical Text of the Westminster Larger Catechism: Q. 1–50 <i>By Chris Coldwell</i>
86	Edwards' <i>Freedom of the Will</i> : A Review and Analysis <i>By W. Gary Crampton, Ph.D.</i>
104	In Defense of the <i>Descendit</i> : A Confessional Response to Contemporary Critics of Christ's Descent into Hell <i>By Daniel R. Hyde</i>
118	John Brown of Wamphray, Richard Baxter and the Justification Controversy <i>By Bruce R. Backensto</i>
147	The Denial of the Imputation of the Active Obedience of Christ: Piscator on Justification <i>By J. Wesley White</i>
155	The Regulative Principle of Worship: Sixty Years in Reformed Literature. Part Two (2000–2007) <i>By Frank J. Smith, Ph.D., D.D. with Chris Coldwell</i>
216	Presbyterians in the South and the Slave: A Study in Benevolence <i>By C. N. Willborn, Ph.D.</i>
223	Seminary Education <i>By Dr. Joseph A. Pipa, Jr.</i>
231	The Rev. Dr. Alexander M'Leod, An Annotated Bibliography With Extracts from his Diaries <i>By Wayne Sparkman, M.A.R., M.Div.</i>
235	<i>Reviews & Responses</i> (Contents continued on page 2)

Contributing Editors: The Revs. Richard E. Bacon, Th.D., W. Gary Crampton, Ph.D., J. Ligon Duncan, Ph.D., John T. Dyck, David W. Hall, Ph.D., Sherman Isbell, Ray B. Lanning, Thomas G. Reid, Frank J. Smith, Ph.D., D.D., Alan Strange, C. N. Willborn, Ph.D. Mr. John R. Muether; Mr. Wayne Sparkman.
Editor: Mr. Chris Coldwell.

Editorial Address: The Confessional Presbyterian, P. O. Box 141084, Dallas, Texas 75214. Email: editor@cpjournal.com. Subscriptions: Individual USA \$18; Library/Foreign \$25. Retail Price: \$25.

Article and Review Submissions: Please mail the Editor regarding submissions for publication, or visit <http://www.cpjournal.com> for more details.

The Confessional Presbyterian, Volume 3 (2007).

ISSN 1549-9979

ISBN 978-0-941075-40-4

All Material Copyright © 2007 by Confessional Presbyterian Press.

Front Cover: Alexander M'Leod, D.D. (1774–1833), Reformed Presbyterian Minister. Graphite and charcoal on Bristol, Copyright © 2007 by Mike Mahon. *Back Cover:* "North-west View of Westminster Abbey," John Pass, (fl. 1798–1815) artist and engraver (circa 1805).

EDITORIAL

Herein is the third issue of *The Confessional Presbyterian* journal, and as is obvious from the size, we are pleased again to note that it is blessed with an abundance of fine material. Two substantial articles contribute to the girth this year: a critical text of the first fifty questions of the Westminster Larger Catechism, the full text of which will be presented over several issues (D. V.); and the second and final part of Dr. Frank J. Smith's survey of regulative principle literature from the last sixty years.

The burden of a number of articles is again the doctrine of justification, as this is the controversy of the day. In his submission, Dr. J. V. Fesko sets out "to prove the thesis that *sola fide* accurately describes the historic Reformed understanding of justification and that there is still unanimity between the Reformed and Lutheran communities on the *articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae* ('the article upon which the church stands or falls'), and that both the Reformed and Lutheran traditions have rightly understood the gospel." Bruce Backensto weaves a presentation from the writings of John Brown of Wamphray and Richard Baxter on their dispute over the doctrine of justification, and Wes White examines Piscator's denial of the imputation of the active obedience of Christ, detailing how that theologian's view differs from modern rejecters of that doctrine within the so called Federal Vision movement.

Also in this issue is, a lengthy review and analysis of Edwards' *Freedom of the Will* by Dr. W. Gary Crampton; GPTS

President Joseph A. Pipa, Jr. presents the case for the continued need for 'bricks and mortar' seminaries; Matthew Winzer's "True History of Paedo-Communion" sets the historical record straight over against the claims of some advocates; and Dr. C. N. Willborn in looking at the ministry of John L. Girardeau aims to allay prejudices against nineteenth century southern white Presbyterian ministers by illustrating their true concern for black slaves and freedmen in "Presbyterians in the South and the Slave." Illustrating that *The Confessional Presbyterian* aims not to be too provincial, we also include in this issue a fine article by the Rev. Daniel R. Hyde of the URCNA, "In Defense of the *Descendit*: A Confessional Response to Contemporary Critics of Christ's Descent into Hell." Perhaps the most interesting and significant article is Stewart Lauer's "John Calvin, the Nascent Sabbatarian." This article departs from the tenor of the scholarship from the last several decades which presents Calvin as a practical Sabbatarian only, and makes the case for finding more harmony in Calvin's practice and theology regarding the fourth commandment and observance of the Lord's day. Mr. Lauer advances a good case, and has taken the literature on 'Calvin and the Sabbath' in a good direction. The *Articles* are rounded out with Wayne Sparkman's annotated bibliography of the works of Alexander M'Leod, with extracts from his manuscript diaries.

Of the rest of the material we have space to mention that we are pleased to present part one of a first time translation of John Brown of Wamphray's thoughts on song in public worship from his *De Causa Dei contra Antisabbatarios*, making readily available the views of one of the leading Covenanter figures on a subject that is so identified with Covenanter practice.

CHRIS COLDWELL ■

Table of Contents Continued

235	<i>Reviews & Responses</i> : A Response to the Coppes-Gallant Exchange Regarding Paedocommunion, <i>The Confessional Presbyterian</i> 2 (Dr. Cornelis P. Venema) 235 ■ Response (Tim Gallant) 242 ■ Reply (Dr. Cornelis P. Venema) 247 ■ Peter Enns, <i>Inspiration and Incarnation</i> (Stuart R. Jones) 251 ■ D. G. Hart, <i>John Williamson Nevins: High-Church Calvinist</i> (Alan Strange) 256 ■ Robert L. Reymond, <i>The God-Centered Preacher: Developing a Pulpit Ministry Approved by God</i> (W. Gary Crampton, Ph.D.) 261 ■ <i>Justification Report of the Committee to Study the Doctrine of Justification</i> (Rowland S. Ward, Th.D.) 265 ■
273	<i>Psallo</i> : Psalm 51
276	<i>In Translation</i> : John Brown of Wamphray: Singing of Psalms in the Public Worship of God
280	<i>Antiquary</i> : T. & J. Swords. Part Two. Two Large Presbyterian Works
288	<i>Bibliography</i>
301	<i>Addenda & Errata</i>
304	<i>The Editor and Contributing Editors</i>

In Brief: Alexander M'Leod on the Call to the Gospel Ministry (117) ■ Alexander M'Leod on a Pastor According to God's Heart (154) ■

John Calvin, the Nascent Sabbatarian: A Reconsideration of Calvin's View of Two Key Sabbath-Issues

By Stewart E. Lauer

INTRODUCTION

More than 440 years after his death, John Calvin's opinions on doctrinal and exegetical questions remain well respected in many quarters, particularly in Reformed churches. Somewhat ironically, for someone to be able to show that Calvin supports his exegesis or doctrinal formulation tends to give that position a credibility somewhat akin to that which Calvin himself would likely have accorded only to the views of Christ and his apostles. At any rate, given such stature, it should be no surprise that the French reformer's views on all sorts of doctrines have been carefully scrutinized and debated. His treatment of the Sabbath is no exception.

The current work will re-examine several of Calvin's writings on the subject, including his two sermons on the fourth commandment (on Deut. 5:12–15). Until fairly recently, these messages were not readily accessible. "For too long the wealth of material in the Deuteronomy sermons has been neglected."¹ Despite their 1980 publication in English, they have still not—in the opinion of the current author—been adequately reckoned with in the present day understanding of Calvin on the fourth commandment.²

There has been a tendency in Calvin studies on the Sabbath to posit a disjuncture of sorts between these sermons and *the Institutes*,³ with the former thought to support sabbatarianism, or at least what has been termed "practical Sabbatarianism" (Gaffin, 109), while the latter work is said to express a "non-Sabbatarian" theology.⁴ Regarding the binding force of the fourth commandment on the Christian church, these Calvin-writings seem so different from each other that early (c. AD 1600) proponents of Sunday as the Christian Sabbath have been accused of ignoring the *Institutes* (in favor of the sermons):

It is ... highly significant that there are *no references whatsoever* to Calvin's *Institutes* in any of the Sabbatarian literature [among the Puritans in the period after Calvin], even though this landmark theological work was well known ... and was even available in the English language.⁵

THE AUTHOR: Stewart Lauer was ordained as a missionary-evangelist by the Presbytery of Ohio (OPC) in 1985 and served in evangelism and church planting in Sendai until 1994. After a study leave in the doctoral program at Westminster Theological Seminary, he returned to Japan in early 1998 to begin teaching as Professor of Biblical Studies at Kobe Reformed Theological Seminary, where he teaches Old Testament, New Testament, and Hebrew. Professor Lauer has written articles for *Kerux*, *Ordained Servant*, *New Horizons*, *World Magazine*, and the Japanese journal, *Reformed Theology*. He is also the author of the New Testament portion of a book for the Reformed Church in Japan, answering a published study committee report advocating female ministers and ruling elders. This article is a slightly modified version of that published in Japanese in *Reformed Theology*, Fall 2006.

1. John H. Primus, "Calvin and the Puritan Sabbath: A Comparative Study," in *Exploring the Heritage of John Calvin*, ed. by D.E. Holwerda (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1976) 75.

2. In his 1998 revision of his (previously unpublished) master's thesis, Richard B. Gaffin explains his (originally) having excluded Calvin's two sermons on the 4th commandment from consideration at that time, "My 1962 thesis did not deal with two sermons on the fourth commandment. At that time I was unable to read them in the original (French) and unaware of existing English translations"; *Calvin and the Sabbath: The Controversy of applying the Fourth Commandment* (Ross-shire, Great Britain: Mentor, 1998) 109. Cf. "Calvin and the Sabbath: A Thesis Submitted to the faculty of Westminster Theological Seminary in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Theology," Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania, 1962. Rpt. Westminster Theological Seminary, 1981.

3. Citations from the *Institutes* are as given by the author cited or from the Battles edition. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, 2 vols., *Library of Christian Classics* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960).

4. John H. Primus, *Holy Time: Moderate Puritanism and the Sabbath* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer Univ. Press, 1989) 134.

5. *Holy Time*, 120. Unless otherwise noted, throughout this article, the semi-bold italic face is used to add emphasis to words in quotations

Correspondingly, regarding a prominent Puritan sabbatarian, Primus observes, “Most of Bound’s references to Calvin are to the Deuteronomy sermons ... Calvin’s two sermons on the fourth commandment” (*Holy Time*, 120). On the other hand, regarding what he deems the “most critical, definitive Sabbatarian issue, the divine appointment of Sunday as the New Testament, Christian Sabbath,” Primus concludes, “in short, Calvin in his theology is *not Sabbatarian*.” Later, he pointed out, “Anti-Sabbatarians like Peter Heylyn could, and did, draw on Calvin for support against the Sabbatarians” (120). Primus also alludes to the (supposed) differences between these two sermons and the *Institutes* when he opines,

A consideration of this material will also make it quite clear why the Sabbatarians chose to ignore it. On the other hand, a careful consideration of the Deuteronomy sermons will reveal why Bound appeals to them with such regularity (*Holy Time*, 121).

In short, the evidence that students of Calvin perceived a discrepancy regarding the Sabbath day between his Deuteronomy sermons on the fourth commandment and his *Institutes*’ teaching on it goes back about 400 years.

Moreover, there has been a trend toward reading into this purported difference what amounts to a disjunction between Calvin’s theology and his practice, attributing the ostensibly ‘non-Sabbatarian’ *Institutes* to Calvin’s (principled) theology, and his apparently Sabbatarian practice to a (pragmatic) genuflection toward the practical realities of life which necessitate setting apart a particular day—theology notwithstanding.⁶ Gaffin,

Italicized words within quotations, unless otherwise specified, are always from the original author.

6. Primus contends, “The best source for Calvin’s theology of the Sabbath is book 2, chapter 8 of the *Institutes*” (*Holy Time*, 121), and, “in his ethics [Calvin] would be quite comfortable with many of the Puritan emphases.... Calvin’s approach [to Sabbath practice] is strongly colored by his practical concern for good order in the church”; For Calvin, “sheer practical necessity requires cessation of labor on the [Sunday] Sabbath, and nothing more (Primus, “Puritan Sabbath,” 75).

7. Gaffin explains his (1998) addition to his ThM thesis of this sermon material: “I will discuss them for the sake of completeness but only briefly and largely by quoting excerpts”; Gaffin, 109. Of the revisions he makes to his ThM thesis, Gaffin’s preface explains that the paper “has been thoroughly rewritten here for greater clarity and readability, but with only slight modifications in basic format and substance (apart from the concluding Evaluation in chapter 5 ...)”; *ibid.* 7.

8. See below for fuller quotation and reference.

adding a brief consideration of the Deuteronomy sermons—in large part block quotes from them—to his ‘slightly modified’ (1962) material on Calvin and the Sabbath,⁷ judges:

On examination [the sermons] reinforce but *add little to the total picture of Calvin’s views* we have already obtained. They are, however, unique in opening an instructive window on how he preached on the Sabbath/Lord’s Day issue, particularly ... on what may be called the “*practical Sabbatarianism*” they reveal (Gaffin, 109).

Here the dilemma arises: it appears that some Calvin scholars (at least taken together) seem to suggest that his “practical sabbatarianism” was inconsistent with his theological principles. Put in its starkest terms, is it really credible to think that if Calvin believed Christ’s coming had abolished any *God-imposed* duty to observe a particular day of the week as holy, that he would deliver a sermon to Christ’s flock requiring it to “have [Sunday] fully dedicated to him”?⁸ Surely, it is possible that either his practice or his theology has been misconstrued.

On the matter of Calvin’s consistency, Gaffin’s opinion is weighty:

If there is a consensus on anything among Calvin scholars, including those who are unsympathetic, it is that he was consistent and straightforward in presenting his ideas. To conclude that he is guilty of contradicting himself requires the strongest possible evidence, proof that will stand the test of evaluation in the light of all of his writings (Gaffin, 26).

This leads to the question whether Calvin’s theology is not really non-sabbatarian, or his practice is not, in fact, sabbatarian. To answer the question we look first at his practice, then at two key points in his Sabbath theology, the question of the Sabbath as a creation ordinance and Calvin’s view of the change of the day observed from Saturday to Sunday.

CALVIN’S SABBATARIAN PRACTICE

Quoting from passages in Calvin’s (Deuteronomy sermons’) parænesis regarding *the first day of the week*—such as,

[a] Moreover, let us realize that it is not only for coming to the sermon that the day of Sunday is instituted, but in order that we might devote all the rest of time to praising God.... we ought to observe Sunday as if from

a tower in order that we might climb high upon it to contemplate the works of God ... Thus when people profane in this manner the holy order [Sunday] which God has instituted to lead us to himself, why should they be astonished if all the rest of the week is degraded?⁹

[b] let us recognize that it is not enough for us to come to the sermon on Sunday in order to receive some good doctrine and to invoke the name of God, ... May we reduce to memory only what we have previously known by [his] good leisure, that our minds may be delivered from all that hinders us and prevents us from recognizing the works of God. Rather its purpose is to gather us in order that according to our weakness we might be trained to devote ourselves better to the service of God, that we might have this day fully dedicated to him, to the end that we might be withdrawn from the world and, as we have said, that it serve us for the rest of our life;¹⁰

and,

[c] on Sunday it is not enough for each in his own way to think of God and his work, but it is essential for us to gather on that particular day ... it is necessary to have a special day which should be totally dedicated to that end (Farley, 111),

— Gaffin concludes, “Calvin shows himself ... to be remarkably close, in practice, to later Puritan views, those given confessional status in the *Westminster Standards*.”¹¹ Thus, he opines, it seems impossible to deny Calvin’s “practical Sabbatarianism.”¹² If this is true, then surely another look at Calvin’s *Sabbath theology* is in order.

John Primus notes “two cardinal principles of Sabbatarian theology”: (1) “that the Sabbath command is rooted in the Creation order and is therefore moral and universal in scope,” and (2) “that the first day of the week and no other is especially sanctified by God as the Sabbath, making it literally the Christian Sabbath.”¹³ Primus firmly denies Calvin held to these:

Calvin did not express these [two] views. He seems at times to flirt with the idea of some abiding, internal connection between the Sabbath and Creation, but he falls short of declaring the fourth commandment a Creation ordinance. *Holy Time*, 132.

Similarly, Pastor Kazuo Matsuda expresses his understanding of Calvin’s Sabbath theology:

In the OT, the Sabbath observance was strictly required but that it is not now in the NT is because the Sabbath day (4th commandment) was a prior expression of the spiritual rest (redemptive rest) which is fulfilled in Christ. In the NT, spiritual rest is manifested by the faith of believing in Christ. *In the OT it was manifested by the keeping of the seventh day*. Therefore, the keeping of the seventh day which had been the outward sign of spiritual rest has been abolished, and *only the inward substance continues to exist*.¹⁴

This essay argues that parts of Calvin’s Sabbath theology have been seriously misunderstood and that he was sabbatarian in both practice and theology. While dealing primarily with Calvin’s own writings, this present work also looks at previous studies by Primus, Gaffin,

9. *John Calvin’s Sermons on the Ten Commandments*, Benjamin W. Farley translator and editor (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1980) 110. According to Farley there were several translations and editions of these sermons in English between 1579 and 1583. It appears that his (1980) is the first new translation in 400 years. In passing over these sermons, Gaffin’s ThM thesis is probably typical of much of 20th century Calvin scholarship prior to Farley’s work (see note 2 above). It will likely take time for scholarship to digest fully these (functionally speaking) new found data. A modern revision of the 1582 Golding translation (of which a facsimile was published by Banner of Truth in 1987), edited by J. R. Hughes in 1996, is available at: www.reformed.com/pub/jc_sab_1.htm [Accessed on September 21, 2006].

10. Farley, 111; brackets around ‘his’ are the translator’s own.

11. For references to the Westminster Standards in this article see standard texts such as *Westminster Confession of Faith* (Glasgow: Free Presbyterian Publications, 1976; 6th ed. 1990), or *The Confession of Faith and Catechisms: The Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms as adopted by The Orthodox Presbyterian Church with Proof Texts* (Willow Grove, Pa.: The Committee on Christian Education of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, 2005).

12. Gaffin, 114, 109; cf. *The Westminster Larger Catechism* #116, #117, #119. Without using the term, Primus, too, seems to recognize Calvin as a ‘practical Sabbatarian’. Of the Deuteronomy sermon material, he opines: “It is the material in which Calvin offers his recommendations on how to observe the day of rest and worship. On this issue Calvin, like Bound and the Westminster Confession, urges a full, weekly day of rest from daily labor and recreation, a day that should be used not only for public but also for private worship” (“The Puritan Sabbath,” 75). Actually, as is clear from the several extracts given above, the sermons’ parænesis is more forceful than mere ‘recommendations’ (e.g. *ibid.*, 69) and is as specific as to which day as are the *Westminster Standards*: Sunday.

13. *Holy Time*, 132.

14. “The Doctrine of Worship in the Westminster Confession of Faith—Concerning the Sabbath Day” in the volume, *Pastor Kazuo Matsuda’s Collection of Theological Essays—On the 34th Anniversary of the Mission to Establish Itayado Church* (Kobe, Japan: Itayado RCJ, 1994), Japanese essay title: “*Ueshōminshū Shinkō Kōkoku-ni okeru Reihairon—Ansokunichi-ni tsuite*,” 190. All translations from the Japanese are by the present author.

and Matsuda.¹⁵ It will reconsider (1) Calvin's view of the origin of the Sabbath Day ([universal] creation ordinance or not?) and (2) his understanding of the replacement of the seventh day Sabbath by the Lord's Day (when and by whom?), and conclude that Calvin does indeed meet the above definitional criteria for sabbatarian theology.

(1) THE SABBATH DAY:

A (UNIVERSAL) CREATION ORDINANCE?

Primus and Matsuda agree that, in the words of the latter, "Calvin does not support the notion that the Sabbath Day was a creation ordinance."¹⁶ As already mentioned, the former explains that while some Puritans (such as Bound), "argued that the Sabbath command is *rooted in the Creation* order and is therefore *moral and universal in scope*," nevertheless, "*Calvin did not express these views*." Rather, Calvin "seems at times to flirt with the idea of some abiding, internal connection between the Sabbath and Creation, but [he] falls short of declaring the fourth commandment a Creation ordinance" (*Holy Time*, 132). Primus concludes, "on the matter of the creation origins of the fourth commandment, Calvin was ambiguous at best" (134). If by "origins of the fourth commandment," Primus means not only the very words of that statute, *per se* (recorded in Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5), but the "Sabbath command," more generally (this seems a fair inference from his wider reference to a "connection between the Sabbath and Creation"),

15. Gaffin, *Calvin*; Primus, "Puritan Sabbath" and *Holy Time*; and Matsuda, "Worship," 187–201.

16. Quoting Calvin, Matsuda explains the reformer's treatment of the 4th commandment's appeal to creation as its ground: "From this passage it may be probably conjectured that the hallowing of the Sabbath was prior to the Law" (on Exod. 20:11). That the Sabbath Day existed before the Law is also manifested in Moses having prohibited the gathering of manna on the seventh day (Exod. 16:22–30). However, Calvin does not support the notion that the Sabbath Day was a creation ordinance." Matsuda, 195.

17. Gaffin, 30–31; *Institutes* II.8.30.

18. Gaffin, 81; we point out that earlier in this, Gaffin's concluding paragraph regarding Calvin's Genesis 2:3 commentary, when he calls the "comment the clearest evidence that for Calvin the fourth commandment, given at Sinai, reflects a creation ordinance," Gaffin seems less than firm in his support for the notion that Calvin actually holds the Sabbath as such. It is hard to grasp the force of 'reflects' in such a context.

19. In the light of Gaffin's (p 81) recognition that, commenting on Genesis 2:3, Calvin "explicitly stated" that "this [fourth] *commandment*" is grounded in ceation, the difference implied by this distinction seems particularly hard to pinpoint. See below for more on Gaffin's qualifications of his support for seeing the Sabbath as a creation ordinance in Calvin.

then Primus and Matsuda agree: "Calvin does not support the notion that the Sabbath Day was a creation ordinance" (Matsuda, 195).

On the other hand, Gaffin seems to disagree—at least in part. He suggests that those who "have asserted either that Calvin nowhere teaches that the Sabbath is grounded in creation, or, specifically, that this idea is missing in the *Institutes*" have "overlooked the import of" his *Institutes*' assertion that, "the Lord commended [observing the Sabbath] by his own example *that they might observe* it with greater piety." Gaffin opines that, while "certainly there is no explicit mention, in terms of language that came into vogue in later discussions, that the Sabbath is a 'creation ordinance,' ... it is equally certain that [Calvin] here refers implicitly to Genesis 2:3."¹⁷ From the *Institutes*, then, he concludes:

In short, the notion of the Sabbath institution as a creation ordinance (in the sense of being grounded in God's own resting after creating), although not explicitly stated, is consonant with and perhaps even implied in the teaching of the *Institutes* (Gaffin, 31).

Similarly, Gaffin deduces from Calvin's comment on Genesis 2:3 that "[t]here the grounding of this [fourth] commandment in creation is stated explicitly."¹⁸ So Gaffin seems to affirm that Sabbath observance is, for Calvin, an ordinance grounded in God's own Sabbath observance in creation.

However, in his final word on the subject, Gaffin qualifies his support, drawing a curious distinction: "the Sabbath institution" but "not necessarily weekly Sabbath observance" is (for Calvin) "a creation ordinance,"

The fourth commandment, being one element in the Decalogue, is one of God's immutable laws and binding on humanity in all ages; in that sense the Sabbath institution (though not necessarily weekly Sabbath observance) is a creation ordinance (Gaffin, 141).

In the surrounding context, Gaffin does not elaborate on the distinction between "the Sabbath institution" (not Calvin's term) and "weekly Sabbath observance."¹⁹ Nevertheless, it seems obvious that Gaffin is unwilling to affirm that Calvin satisfies Primus' criteria for classification among the sabbatarians, since he does not affirm Calvin believes both, (1) "that the Sabbath command is rooted in the Creation order" and (2) "that the first day of the week," or any particular day for that matter, "is especially sanctified by God as the Sabbath."

Which view of Calvin on the Sabbath and creation—if either—is correct?

The Case Against the Sabbath as a Creation Ordinance in Calvin

Primus builds his case against the Sabbath as a ‘creation ordinance’ in Calvin by pointing to his appeal to God’s ‘own creation activity’ as (merely) “a model for the fourth commandment” and Calvin’s supposed vagueness in identifying, “when ... was the Sabbath first instituted” (*Holy Time*, 126). Further, he claims Calvin rejected the view that the Sabbath duty applies generally to mankind:

In his Deuteronomy sermon 35, Calvin asserts—in marked contrast to the Sabbatarians—that since the Sabbath is in essence a sign of spiritual rest for God’s people, the fourth commandment is not universally applicable to all mankind. It is a sign for sanctified people, a sign of God’s covenant relationship. “God saith, I have given you the Sabbath day to be as a sign that I make you holy, and that I am your God who reigneth among you. This is not common to all mortal men. For God granteth not such grace and privilege to the paynims and infidels, as to make them holy. He speaks but only to the people whom he adopted and chose to be his heritage.” Calvin underscores this argument by stating that the Sabbath is a “sign of God’s separating of his faithful Church from all the rest of the world.”²⁰

Matsuda’s treatment of these matters is quite similar to Primus’s: to the question, “When does Calvin believe the Sabbath Day was set?” he responds by quoting from Calvin’s comment on Exodus 20:11: “It is not credible that the observance of the Sabbath was omitted, *when God revealed the rite of sacrifice* to the holy (Fathers).” By, “the holy Fathers,” Matsuda then explains, “Calvin is talking about the Patriarchs, the ancestors of the Jews,” and “in commenting on Genesis 2:3, Calvin emphasizes the model of God’s work of creation as the basis for requiring making ‘the seventh day’ a day of worship” (Matsuda, 195–196).

Both Matsuda and Primus think Calvin views God’s act in Genesis 2:3 (“God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it”) not as having established the day as holy for man (Adam), but as having formed a model to which God himself then appealed later when God actually instituted the Sabbath as a duty (probably sometime between Abraham and Moses). Primus takes the sermon’s comment on the giving of the Sabbath day/fourth

commandment to Israel, “I have given you the Sabbath day ... This is not common to all mortal men,” as meaning that Calvin does not believe that the Sabbath day/fourth commandment is “universally applicable to all mankind” (*Holy Time*, 123).

Gaffin’s Defense of the Notion of a (Universal) Sabbath Creation Ordinance in Calvin

If what Gaffin seems to suggest is correct, that is, if Calvin’s subtle appeal to Genesis 2:3 refutes those who “have asserted ... Calvin nowhere teaches that the Sabbath is grounded in creation,” then the key text to study to settle the question is *Calvin’s comment on Genesis 2:3*. About that commentary passage, Matsuda contends, “in commenting on Gen. 2:3, Calvin emphasizes *the model* of God’s work of creation.”

On the other hand, Gaffin believes the Genesis 2:3 comment “provides the clearest evidence that for Calvin the fourth commandment given at Sinai reflects a creation ordinance and, therefore, is perpetually binding on all.” Yet, he makes only a partial defense of Calvin as a sabbatarian on this point: during the course of his treatment of the reformer’s 2:3 comment, he eventually denies Calvin held to a key element of the full sabbatarian position. Calvin did not, Gaffin says, “insis[t] that Christians are bound by either of the above alternatives” (those are, they must set apart “[1] one day in seven or [2] the seventh day specifically”). For, he explains, in Calvin’s eyes such alternatives “would be nothing less than to reintroduce a Jewish ceremony” (Gaffin, 76). Did Calvin consider the Sabbath to be a creation ordinance, as later theologians did? If so, what exactly was ordained? Observing a particular day, or, observing some other “Sabbath institution”? Surely Calvin’s exposition of Genesis 2:3—the place in Calvin’s corpus where Gaffin says “the grounding of this [fourth] commandment in creation is stated explicitly” (81)—merits further study.

Calvin’s Understanding of Genesis 2:3: The Sabbath a Creation Ordinance, or Not?

On Genesis 2:3’s “And God blessed the seventh day,” Calvin comments:

[God] set apart a day selected out of the remainder for this special use. Wherefore, that benediction is nothing

20. *Holy Time*, 123, citing the Golding translation of 1583, p 207; it corresponds to Farley’s translation, p 119.

else than a solemn consecration, by which God claims for himself the meditations and employments of men on the seventh day. This is, indeed, the proper business of the whole life, in which men should daily exercise themselves, to consider the infinite goodness, justice, power, and wisdom of God, in this magnificent theater of heaven and earth. But, lest men should prove less sedulously attentive to it than they ought, *every seventh day* has been especially selected for the purpose of supplying what was wanting in daily meditation. First, therefore, God rested; then he blessed this rest, that in all ages it might be held sacred among men: or he dedicated *every seventh day* to rest, that his own example might be a perpetual rule. The design of the institution must be always kept in memory: for God did not command men simply to keep holiday *every seventh day*, as if he delighted in their indolence; but rather that they, being released from all other business, might the more readily apply their minds to the Creator of the world. Lastly, that is a sacred rest,²¹ which withdraws men from the impediments of the world, that it may dedicate them entirely to God....

... We must know, that this is to be the common employment not of one age or people only, but of the whole human race. Afterwards, in the Law, a new precept concerning the Sabbath was given, which should be peculiar to the Jews, and but for a season; because it was a legal ceremony shadowing forth a spiritual rest, the truth of which was manifested in Christ. Therefore the Lord the more frequently testifies that he had given, in the Sabbath, a symbol of sanctification to his ancient people. Therefore when we hear that the Sabbath was abrogated by the coming of Christ we must distinguish between what belongs to the perpetual government of human life, and what properly belongs to ancient figures, the use of which was abolished when the truth was fulfilled.²²

In order to address the ultimate question, (B) “Did Calvin consider the Sabbath Day to be, what, in later parlance, became known as, a ‘creation ordinance’ for all mankind?” and to do so on the basis of the above comment, it is necessary also to consider, (A) “What

21. The editor attaches the following footnote at this point: “Both in the Amsterdam edition of 1761, and Hengstenberg’s, the word is *vocatio*; but as the French translation gives *reſte*, and the Old English one *reſt*, there can be little doubt that the original word was *vacatio*, as the sense of the passage seems to require.—Ed.”

22. John Calvin, *Calvin’s Commentaries*, vol. I, *Commentary on the First Book of Moses Called Genesis*, translated by John King (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1979) 105–107.

is the force of Calvin’s thrice used expression ‘every seventh day’ (which is in bold italics above)?”

Gaffin’s View of Calvin on Genesis 2:3

Gaffin addresses (A) by first conceding (to prominent Calvin students such as Voetius, A. Kuyper and L. Praamsma), “a plausible case can be made that he does teach [based upon Genesis 2:3] that the New Testament church is bound to keep one day out of seven as its day of rest and worship,” since Calvin’s (repeated) use of the term “every seventh day” *could mean* that “one day of the week has been singled out to be kept by Christians as the weekly rest, without specifying what day that is.” However, then Gaffin rejects that “plausible” reading, first countering that by “every seventh day,” Calvin could also have meant “the seventh or last day,” only. He then concludes that this latter understanding is the correct one. He provides two grounds: (a) because Calvin is here commenting on Genesis 2:3a’s “God blessed the seventh day,” and (b) because “as his exposition unfolds” Calvin continues to deal with *the* seventh day itself (e.g., “God claims for himself the meditations and employments of men on the seventh day [die septimo]”) and “the three references to the phrase ‘every seventh day,’ cited above, “begin to appear” immediately thereafter. In other words, since in the immediate context Calvin has been talking about ‘the seventh day’ (itself), Gaffin argues “every seventh day [, too,] ... refers specifically to the seventh day.” Hence, according to Gaffin, when Calvin writes “every seventh day” he means ‘every Saturday’ (Gaffin, 74–75).

A Critique of Gaffin’s View of Calvin on Genesis 2:3

One may say that Gaffin’s (counter) argument (a) begs the key question. To contend that because Calvin is commenting on “[God blessed] the seventh day” that therefore the term “every seventh day” has essentially the same force as does the expression “the seventh day,” itself, simplistically *presumes* wrong what others have argued, to wit, that Calvin shifts terminology (the seventh day → every seventh day) in order to be able express the perpetual (hence, including the NT era) implications of the originally Saturday-bound (‘the seventh day’) command. Since Gaffin is presuming away the other (Voetius-Kuyper-Praamsma) view, not refuting it, Gaffin’s argument (a) can prove no more than that by “every seventh day” Calvin *might* simply mean ‘every Saturday.’ In fact, three considerations indicate

the contrary; they support the view of Voetius, et al., namely: according to Calvin's comment on Genesis 2:3, that verse establishes the keeping of one day out of seven as a duty for all mankind—what later became known as a creation ordinance.

First, with respect to semantics, the very fact that Calvin shifted his expression from the 'seventh day' (used twice at the start) to 'every seventh day' (used thrice thereafter) in commenting *on the first expression* suggests to the reader a significant change in denotation. Yet, as Gaffin would have it, the two expressions would be (contextually) synonymous; in modern English, both terms would denote, "every Saturday." Gaffin offers no alternative explanation for the terminology change.

Second, there are express indicators in the very section of the 2:3 comment where Calvin shifts to "every seventh day" which show that he has moved on from (strict) exegesis to parænesis: his exposition has moved on from explicating the original force of the Hebrew phrase to expounding its abiding ("perpetual") application *in the Christian church*.²³ Calvin's paræneses such as, "men should daily exercise ..." and, "lest men should prove ..." suggest he has moved on from pure exegesis and has begun to exhort his own (Christian) readers. For his readers, of course, the Lord's Day is the 'every seventh day.' Thus, the appearance of parænesis aimed at them signals to his readers that the broader denotation for the expression is not merely possible, but intended, since without it, the exhortation would be toward [Saturday] Sabbath keeping—unthinkable in the light of Calvin's attitude toward the Jewish Sabbath.²⁴

Third, the terms "all ages" and "perpetual" in the clauses, "he blessed this rest, that *in all ages* it might be held sacred," and "he dedicated every seventh day to rest, that his own example might be *a perpetual rule*," show quite plainly that Calvin *is generalizing* from the 2:3a decree's original, immediate jurisdiction (Adam and his era) to include the church age expressly—an intention which likewise signals a construction for "every seventh day" that encompasses not only 'every Saturday' of old, but also 'every Lord's Day,' at least from that point in time when (Calvin believes) "the ancients ... substitute[d] the Lord's Day (as we call it) for the [Saturday] Sabbath."²⁵ In the same vein, Calvin's paragraph expounding Genesis 2:3a concludes by discussing the permanent precept in an express contrast with the Jewish Sabbath: it is "not of one age or people only, but of the whole human race," over against the "new precept concerning the Sabbath ... *peculiar to the Jews*." So then, according to Calvin, by 2:3a, God's sanctifying act established a holy day "every seventh day" as duty

for all peoples, but the fourth commandment, proper (the very words of Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5) was an (written) ordinance given "peculiar[ly] to the Jews," and requiring Saturday observance. Sunday observance (every seventh day) fulfills the former duty and (nowadays) replaces the latter (Jewish expression) of the perpetual duty. Thus, for three reasons, even though, lexically speaking, "every seventh day" could strictly denote "every Saturday," (contra Gaffin) the context *requires* it have a broader denotation.²⁶

Calvin's term, "every seventh day," then, is a generalized or applicative paraphrase of the scriptural words being commented on, "(God blessed) the seventh day," such that both the OT's "every seventh day" (the seventh day) and the NT's "every seventh day" (the first day of the week) are comprehended in the term. Thus, in answer to (B) [did Calvin consider the Sabbath Day a creation ordinance?] Calvin (implicitly) expounds Genesis 2:3 as establishing a duty for a weekly Sabbath-keeping for all mankind, "in all ages"—not only for Adam's day, but for Calvin's. It is fair to say (even if the term is a bit anachronistic) that, in his comment on Genesis 2:3, *Calvin teaches weekly Sabbath keeping as a universal creation ordinance*.

So how (assuming Calvin is not self-contradictory) is the aforementioned contrary evidence to be explained? Primus appeals to Calvin's purported vagueness as to when the Sabbath was first instituted, to Calvin's own appeal to God's hallowing of the seventh day at creation as *merely* a model or example (not an ordinance), and to Calvin's assertion in expositing the giving of the fourth commandment that "God granteth not such grace and privilege to the paynims and infidels, as to make them

23. Although he denies such indicators of a denotational shift exist, Gaffin recognizes that the existence of such "clear indicators to the contrary" would show that "when Calvin speaks of 'every seventh day,' he means [not] specifically the seventh day," but every seventh day, more generally ("the 'one-day-in-seven' principle"); Gaffin, 74–75.

24. See *Calvin's Understanding* on the previous two pages.

25. *Institutes*, II.8.34. See below for the meaning of this assertion about (very) early church history.

26. Gaffin seems to offer an additional ground for his contention that "every seventh day" in Calvin's comment on "God blessed the seventh day" refers to 'every Saturday': Because, "as [Calvin's] exposition [of 2:3a] unfolds, he discusses what it means that God 'sanctified' the seventh day[.] ... clearly talking about the seventh day and not one day in seven" and because, "a few lines further, in the same context and with the same emphasis on the meaning for humanity[.] ... the three references to the phrase, 'every seventh day,' cited above, begin to appear," therefore, the phrase, "every seventh day," "not only includes the bare notion of one day in seven but *also* refers specifically to the seventh day." (Calvin, 75).

Gaffin's logic is confusing and his exegesis of Calvin seems to

holy.”²⁷ Similarly, Matsuda appeals to Calvin’s comment on Exodus 20:11, “It is not credible that the observance of the Sabbath was omitted, *when God revealed the rite of sacrifice*” to suggest that Calvin believed God instituted the Sabbath before Sinai, but *well after creation*, during the period of “the Patriarchs, the ancestors of the Jews,” in order to prove Calvin did not embrace the notion that Genesis 2:3 established the keeping of the Seventh Day as the Sabbath Day for all mankind. In short, taken together, Matsuda and Primus contend three things show Calvin did not recognize 2:3 as establishing (anachronistically speaking) a creation ordinance: (1) his supposed view that Sabbath-keeping was first instituted sometime well after creation, (2) his assertion related to the fourth commandment, that “God granteth not such grace and privilege to the paynims

shift subtly, but seriously. In the previous paragraph, Gaffin argued for “the presumption that when Calvin speaks of ‘every seventh day,’ he *means specifically the seventh day* [to the exclusion of the broader meaning],” based upon the ground just dealt with, above. Then, at the conclusion to his “further” (“Further, as his exposition unfolds ...”) ground, Gaffin shifts to contending that “every seventh day” “not only includes the bare notion of one day in seven but *also* refers to the seventh day,” a contention which *includes* the broader notion (“the bare notion of one day in seven ... also”). Thus, by his second ground’s “conclusion,” as worded, it would seem that Gaffin, has contended for the position he sought to refute in the previous paragraph, broadening the term to include ‘one day in seven,’ more generally.

However, even if one assumes that what Gaffin meant to write in that concluding sentence (of the additional ground) was, that “every seventh day” refers “[not to] the bare notion of one day in seven but *also* refers specifically to the seventh day” [emphasis/strikethrough added], this additional ground, too, cannot stand, for essentially the same reason that his first fails. While it is certainly true that early in the unfolding argument Calvin refers to “the seventh day,” i.e., Saturday (he does so twice), he is obviously quoting the Genesis wording. That he applies it to “employments of men,” somewhat generally, when he comments, “God claims for himself the meditations and employments of men on the seventh day,” does not indicate Calvin has yet moved from exegesis to application, since the expression can read naturally as referring to men, generally in the period covered by Genesis (Adam and his seed). However, in the sentences that follow, Calvin not only switches from “the seventh day” to “every seventh day,” he explicitly states that God’s action “dedicated every seventh day ... [to] be a perpetual rule.” At the same time, as previously mentioned, he begins to express parænesis, seemingly applying the 2:3a decree to his own generation.

27. See Calvin’s *Understanding of Genesis 2:3* given earlier.

28. Calvin says of 2:3a, “that benediction is nothing else than a solemn consecration, by which God claims for himself the meditations and employments of men on the seventh day.” He says that that blessing-consecration established “a perpetual rule” such that every seventh day is to be observed as “the common employment not of one age or people only, but of the whole human race.” In contrast, he continues, “Afterwards, in the Law, a new precept concerning the Sabbath was given, which should be peculiar to the Jews, and but for a season” (see the fuller quote given previously above).

and infidels,” but to the Jews, alone, and (3) his taking Exodus 20:11’s appeal to creation as seeing God’s action as *merely* a model for the fourth commandment.

The resolution of these alleged contradictions with the above understanding of the Genesis commentary is to be found primarily in the distinction Calvin shows in his comment on Genesis 2:3 between two Sabbath precepts: a “perpetual rule” for all, and “a new precept ... peculiar to the Jews ... but for a season.”²⁸ Context requires the two ordinances be taken as distinct with respect to time and (original) jurisdiction. The former precept was clearly decreed at creation and is universal respecting time and race. The latter precept (the fourth commandment, proper) was imposed by God at Sinai (and then *written* on stone), but, Calvin, infers, must have been (orally) revealed previously by God to the (Jewish) Patriarchs, “when God revealed the rite of sacrifice.” It is given to the Jews alone and, in some sense, was “abolished when the truth was fulfilled” (Calvin, *Genesis*, on 2:3). Even if arguments (1) and (2), above, may be valid in part with respect to the later precept (Sinai), there is no sense in which they apply to the earlier precept (Gen 2:3). As to the argument (3) that Calvin sees God’s creation-rest as only a model (not *inherently* normative), two things must be noted. First, while it is certainly true that Calvin sees Exodus 20:11 as *modeling* the fourth commandment proper after God’s rest at creation, such model-language in no way excludes normativity for God’s consecration of the seventh day (in Genesis 2:3). Second, regarding Calvin’s exposition of the fourth commandment (proper) in the (reputedly non-sabbatarian) *Institutes*, Gaffin shows “the notion of the Sabbath institution as a creation ordinance (in the sense of being grounded in God’s own resting after creating), although not explicitly stated, is consonant with and perhaps even implied in the teaching of the *Institutes*” (Gaffin, 31).

Calvin’s View of Genesis 2:3: Conclusion

Consonant with his exposition of the (Sinai-given, Jewish) fourth commandment in the *Institutes*, in the words, “God blessed the seventh day,” Calvin finds a Sabbath ordinance decreed for all mankind in every age. The Jews—orally from the time of their patriarchs and in writing from the time of Moses—were given the fourth commandment proper, but the original Sabbath decree goes back to the creation week. That decree, teaches Calvin, sanctifies “every seventh day,” both of old (i.e., Saturday) and now (i.e., Sunday). Calvin’s comment on Genesis 2:3, then, teaches that a Sabbath day was set at

creation and may justly be called a creation ordinance; this teaching that in no way conflicts with his view of the (later revealed) fourth commandment.

(2) CALVIN'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE REPLACEMENT OF THE SEVENTH DAY SABBATH BY THE LORD'S DAY

Given then (1) that Calvin saw Genesis 2:3 as decreeing a perpetual ordinance "not of one age or people only, but of the whole human race," not only "dedicat[ing] every seventh day to rest ... [but particularly] a sacred rest, which withdraws men from the impediments of the world, that I may dedicate them entirely to God" (Commentary on Genesis 2:3), and (2) that in Genesis 2:3 (cf. Exod. 20:11) that day was expressly the seventh day of the week, *Saturday*, why does Calvin preach thusly about *Sunday* to his congregation?

It is not only for coming to the sermon that the day of *Sunday* is instituted, but in order that we might devote all the rest of time to praising God.... we ought to observe *Sunday* as if from a tower ... to contemplate the works of God ... Thus when people profane in this manner the holy order [*Sunday*] which God has instituted to lead us to himself, why should they be astonished if all the rest of the week is degraded?²⁹

When and by whom was this change of day made?

Calvin's Understanding of the Replacement—According to Primus, Matsuda and Gaffin

The above Deuteronomy sermon's parænesis notwithstanding, Primus thinks Calvin does not believe *God* ever established a sacred Sunday for the church, or even an abiding consecration of every seventh day, *per se*:

In a decidedly non-Sabbatarian passage, Calvin states explicitly that the church is neither bound to the first day by divine authority nor absolutely bound to the rhythm of one day in seven. He writes, "Nor do I cling to the number 'seven' so as to bind the church in subjection to it. And I shall not condemn churches that have other solemn days for their meetings, provided there be no superstition."³⁰

He claims, rather, "The Jewish Sabbath was abandoned by the early Christian community in order to overthrow superstition," and, that a "different day" [was] used by the early Christians for the day of worship ... Sunday." While he says Calvin finds the church's choice

of "the first day of the week is peculiarly appropriate," a "lawful selection that serves the peace of the Christian fellowship" ("Puritan Sabbath," 63), Primus firmly rejects any notion that Calvin sees the church's practice as appointed by God. Thus, he concludes: "Calvin does not hold, as the Sabbatarians did, that the Christian community is absolutely tied to the observance of the first day of the week or even to the rhythm of one day in seven."³¹

Gaffin, similarly, believes "Calvin did not hold that the change from the seventh to the first day ultimately rests on special revelation [from God]." In answer to the question as to when and who made the change, he says, "Calvin plainly credits these 'ancients' with having substituted the Lord's Day for the Sabbath." Gaffin is uncertain as to their identity, though he seeks some elucidation from "[*Institutes*] section 28, [where] we saw, the 'early fathers' are commended for perceiving that the typical character of the Sabbath has been abolished." However, "who specifically or even what era of the church's history Calvin has in mind is difficult to say... these references are so vague."³² Finally, Gaffin offers this determination:

29. From the Deuteronomy sermons: see *Calvin's Sabbatarian Practice*, above.

30. *Holy Time*, 125–126, quoting the *Institutes*, II.8.34.

31. *Holy Time*, 133. The last five words of this cited sentence, "except as a minimal requirement," have been left out. Their meaning is enigmatic, if not in hopeless conflict with their immediate context. Rigorously speaking, if Calvin believes "the observance of the first day of the week or ... even ... one day in seven" is "a minimal requirement," he nonetheless believes it to be required! The observance of the Lord's Day (or, perhaps an alternative day each week) is (if [every] 7[th] day) be a minimal requirement) a floor below which the Christian church must (absolutely) not fall in its setting aside of days for the Lord. Yet it is patently obvious that Primus is contending that Calvin had no such rigorous view of the Lord's Day, rather he argues that, at least in principle, which day, and even how many days, of the week must be observed were open to ecclesiastical adjustment. Thus, rigorously speaking, the phrase deleted (above) makes nonsense out of Primus' argument in the main part of the sentence. The phrase arose earlier in his work as a means of attempting to reconcile the 'every-seventh-day' Sabbatarianism of Calvin's Genesis 2:3 comment (denied by Primus, but confirmed above) with Primus' own assertion that Calvin "criticizes the legalistic 'fixing of one day in seven'" (pp 125–127). The previous section of the present work has already shown that in the Genesis 2:3 comment, Calvin exposit v 3a as establishing a universal duty to observe 'every seventh day,' then (Saturday) and now (Sunday). Thus, strictly speaking, while the deleted words are faithful to Calvin, they cannot be considered in their original context (sentence) without vitiating that context of its meaning in Primus' essay.

32. Gaffin, 41. At one point (p 102), Gaffin, citing the *Institutes* II.8.34 ("the ancients ... substitute"), seems to settle on "the church fathers" (usually a term for the 2nd century & thereafter) as "the ancients" in view, writing, "the church fathers chose the first day of the

The likely proper conclusion, then, is that Calvin considers the specific day on which Christians assemble for worship a matter not integral to God's command. Therefore, *the action* of the "ancients" in substituting the first day for the seventh, although personally acceptable to him, *was solely their own* and not based on revelation (Gaffin, 42).

Thus, according to Gaffin, Calvin believed that (mere) men—not God—chose the church's new sacred day.

Matsuda agrees:

Calvin makes clear that the first day of the week, the Lord's Day, having been set as the Sabbath day does not hold legal authority as by God's commandment; [rather] it [the choice of the day] was a selection freely made by the church (Matsuda, 194).

The Problem with Primus, Matsuda and Gaffin's Views of Calvin's Understanding

In asserting that for Calvin "the specific day ... for worship [is] not integral to God's command" and "rests [not] on special revelation" (Gaffin), and "that the church is [not] bound to the first day by divine authority" (Primus), these scholars seem to have given priority to a passage (*Institutes* II.8.34) where as Gaffin acknowledges, what "Calvin has in mind is difficult to say," over one where, in the space of one paragraph, Calvin first writes, "the day of *Sunday is instituted* ... in order that we might devote [also] all the rest of time [outside of public worship] to praising God," and then, "when people profane in this manner the holy order which *God*

week." However, elsewhere (p 41) he opines that Calvin's references to "the ancients ... likely have in view those who held authority in the church in its *very earliest* days."

33. Gaffin actually cites from both of the very sentences in question: Gaffin, 41–42 & 113.

34. Gaffin, too, takes "the holy order which God has instituted" to be Sunday. Gaffin, 113.

35. According to lexicons such as BDAG (2.b "pl. (ἡ) μία (τῶν) σαββάτων (i.e. ἡμέρα) the first day of the week") and Friberg, and modern translations, "On the first day of every week" (NRSV=NASB=NRSV=NIV=RSV; even the KJV so reads: "Upon the first day of the week"), Paul refers to the 1st day of the week. However, Calvin's Latin translation "In una sabbatorum," is rightly rendered, as at the start of his comment, "On one of the Sabbaths." Calvin misunderstood the Greek idiom, "κατὰ μίαν σαββάτων."

36. Obviously, Calvin's Greek text carried the plural reading, μίαν σαββάτων (TR), not the singular adopted by NA, μίαν σαββάτου. The French also reads the plural, "à un des sabbats."

has instituted ... why should they be astonished if all the rest of the week [after Sunday] is degraded." Gaffin and Primus seem to have deferred to the "difficult" passage over the clear one (both men cite at length from both the *Institutes* II.8.34 and this sermon).³³

In this single paragraph, all of which instructs Calvin's hearers to consecrate 'Sunday' (the word appears six times, once or more in almost every sentence), Calvin's latter sentence's (active voice) referent to that "which *God has instituted*" obviously denotes the same institution mentioned passively in the former sentence's clause, "the day of Sunday *is instituted*." Thus, according to this 1555 sermon, *it is God who instituted Sunday*, not only for public worship ("coming to the sermon") but as a "holy order" under which "all the rest of the time," too, is to be devoted "to praising God."³⁴

Consequently, if Calvin's sermon is to be understood as consistent with his exposition of the fourth commandment in the *Institutes*, the change of day executed by "the ancients" must (in Calvin's mind) have been an act of God himself—whether by divine revelation (expressly rejected by Gaffin) or by inspiration, it may not be possible to determine. Either way, Calvin definitely believes that God himself, apparently acting through "the ancients," made the change from the [Saturday] Sabbath to Sunday, the Lord's Day.

Calvin's Own Understanding of the Replacement of Saturday by Sunday

In his commentary on 1 Cor 16:2a, Calvin sheds great light on the current questions. Both his assertion that "the probability is ... *the apostles* ... afterwards, ... they *set aside* that day [Saturday], *and substituted* another [Sunday]," and his mistranslation of 16:2a's κατὰ μίαν σαββάτων by "*in una sabbatorum*" greatly clarify when and by whom Calvin believed the change of day had been made.³⁵ As cited below, Calvin's exposition of v 2 first quotes his own translation's first phrase, then explicates it,

2. On one of the Sabbaths [In una sabbatorum].³⁶ The end is this—that they may have their alms ready in time.... The clause rendered on *one of the Sabbaths*, (κατὰ μίαν σαββάτων,) Chrysostom explains to *mean—the first Sabbath*. In this I do not agree with him; for Paul means rather that they should contribute, one on one Sabbath and another on another; or even each of them every Sabbath, if they chose. For he has an eye, first of all, to convenience, and farther, that the sacred assembly, in which the communion of saints is

celebrated, might be an additional spur to them. Nor am I more inclined to admit the view taken by Chrysostom—that the term *Sabbath* is employed here to mean the *Lord's day*, (Revelation 1:10,) for the probability is, that *the Apostles*, at the beginning, retained the day that was already in use, but that afterwards, constrained by the superstition of the *Jews*, they set aside that day, and *substituted another*. Now the *Lord's day* was made choice of, chiefly because our Lord's *resurrection* put an end to the shadows of the law. Hence the day itself puts us in mind of our Christian liberty. We may, however, very readily infer from this passage, that believers have always had a certain day of rest from labor—not as if the worship of God consisted in idleness, but because it is of importance for the common harmony, that a certain day should be appointed for holding sacred assemblies, as they cannot be held every day.³⁷

Calvin clearly thinks it most likely that *the apostles themselves changed the day*, and he apparently believes that they made the change sometime in the latter part of the apostolic period: “The Apostles, at the beginning, retained” the (Saturday) Sabbath. “Afterwards, ... they set aside that day, and substituted another.... *the Lord's Day*.” When? Calvin's mistranslation of 16:2a's first three words to read, “on one of the Sabbaths,” instead of “on the first day of every week” (NASB, NIV, NRSV, etc.) shows he believed that, when Paul wrote 1 Corinthians, the Apostles had not yet changed the day.³⁸ His tying “the Lord's Day” to Revelation 1:10, though in a statement disputing with Chrysostom,³⁹ (taken together with his recognition that the apostles likely changed the day) indicates he thinks the change took place between the writing of 1 Corinthians (c. AD 55) and Revelation (traditionally in the 90's). In summary, the 1 Cor 16:2 comment, taken together with the Deuteronomy sermon's assertion that God instituted the change of day, clarify that Calvin thought God himself, through the agency of Christ's apostles, changed the church's sacred day from the (Saturday) Sabbath to the Lord's Day, Sunday.

It remains to explain how this (clear) teaching can help to explain the key passage in Calvin's *Institutes* which is cited ‘to prove’ Calvin opposed viewing Sunday, or even any specific day of the week, as set apart by God as sacred, the *Institutes* II.8.34:

Nor do I cling to the number “seven” so as to bind the church in subjection to it. And I shall not condemn Churches that have other solemn days for their meetings, provided there be no superstition. This will be so

if they have regard solely to the maintenance of discipline and good order.

Pastor Matsuda suggests the teaching's most likely meaning (if it is to be reconciled with the Genesis 2:3 comment):

In commenting on Gen. 2:3, Calvin emphasizes the model of God's work of creation as the basis for requiring making “the seventh day” a day of worship. This appears to be inconsistent with his emphasis in the *Institutes* that the church today is not bound by the rhythm of ‘one day out of seven.’ However, *this conflict can be resolved if one takes into consideration that Calvin takes worshipping ‘one day out of seven’ to be a minimum requirement.* (Matsuda, 195).

In other words, he suggests that “not clinging to the number seven” is explicated by the next sentence, which recognizes that churches (nowadays) may designate supplementary days (in addition to the Lord's Day) for worship.⁴⁰ After all, Calvin thought the apostles had taken the liberty to designate Sunday in place of the (Saturday) Sabbath, as the means of obeying the creational mandate to set apart “every seventh day.” So perhaps Calvin (who after all believed that, in theory, every day should be a day of worship) saw the apostolic church's new day-designation as a suitable precedent for even the non-apostolic church to designate

37. John Calvin, *Calvin's Commentaries*, vol. XX, 1 Corinthians, translated by John Pringle (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979) 68.

38. This (mistaken) understanding is confirmed in the *Institutes*, II.8.33, “Indeed, in the churches founded by him, the Sabbath was retained for this purpose [= ‘the peace of the Christian fellowship’]. For he prescribes that day to the Corinthians for gathering contributions to help the Jerusalem brethren [1 Corinthians 16:2].” Calvin's mistake is surprising given his explication of another instance of the same expression in Mat 28:1. There he explains *μίαν σαββάτων*: “The two Evangelists [Luke & Matthew] give the name of the *first day of the Sabbaths*, to that which came first in order between two Sabbaths.” Obviously, in the order of the days, Sunday comes first between two [Saturday] Sabbaths.

39. Calvin not only wrongly rejects the denotation for 1 Corinthians 16:2's *κατὰ μίαν σαββάτων* (actually) asserted by Chrysostom (the Lord's Day), but he misreads that Father. Calvin writes, “Chrysostom explains [the phrase] to mean—the *first Sabbath*.” The Schaff edition's translation of Chrysostom's comment on the verse is accurate, “Ver. 2. ‘On the first day of the week; that is, the Lord's day’; *Homilies on First Corinthians*, XLIII.2. Calvin apparently mistranslated Chrysostom's comment, just as he did 1 Corinthians 16:2 itself.

40. Clearly Calvin preached to his congregation on other days. The two Deuteronomy sermons, 34 and 35, on the fourth commandment were delivered on Thursday and Friday, respectively. Farley, 97, 115.

additional days for worship, provided they did so without superstition.⁴¹

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Therefore, the distinction that some have made—between Calvin as a teacher of a non-sabbatarian theology and a practitioner of sabbatarianism in the life of the church—is groundless. If categorized in terms of the Sabbath debate that was to take place over the century following his death, Calvin's theology must be grouped with the sabbatarians. His doctrine of the Sabbath essentially meets Primus' standard, the "two cardinal principles of Sabbatarian theology." Namely, for Calvin, like the Puritans, (1) "the Sabbath command is rooted in the Creation order and is therefore moral and universal in scope," and (2) "the first day of the week and no other is especially sanctified *by God* as the Sabbath."⁴² Thus, in terms of later terminology, for Calvin, Sunday is arguably "literally the Christian Sabbath." Calvin's commentary on the key verse used to argue for the Sabbath Day as a creation ordinance (Gen 2:3), is abundantly clear in its support of such (sabbatarian) theology; other key passages in Calvin that have been adduced to deny his sabbatarianism were shown above to have been misunderstood. Calvin views God's having hallowed the seventh day—which he expounds by the generalizing paraphrase, "every seventh day"—as having set such a day apart permanently and universally. That creational decree was followed by the giving of the fourth commandment to the ancestors of the Jews (orally to their Patriarchs) and in writing (on Mount Sinai). The fact Calvin believes that *in part* the fourth commandment has been abrogated by the coming of Christ, in no way diminishes his conviction that God "dedicated every

seventh day to rest, that his own example might be a perpetual rule ... that is a sacred rest, which withdraws men from the impediments of the world, that it may dedicate them entirely to God." Such Sabbath keeping is "to be the common employment not of one age or people only, but of the whole human race" (*Genesis Commentary*, on 2:3).

Furthermore, contrary to the understanding of Primus, Matsuda and Gaffin, Calvin thought the change of the keeping of the Sabbath Day, "every seventh day," from Saturday to Sunday to be God's institution, through the apostles. His comment on 1 Corinthians 16:2 shows that Calvin believed "the Apostles" were probably "the ancients" who had made the change, but in any event, in a Deuteronomy sermon Calvin expressly states that the "holy order" of Sunday-observance is one "which God instituted." Thus, regarding what Primus calls the decisive sabbatarian issues, the Sabbath as a creation ordinance and Sunday as the divinely sanctioned Christian expression of that ordinance, Calvin is fully sabbatarian.

Calvin's mistaken translation of the first phrase in 1 Corinthians 16:2, taking it to refer to "one of the [Saturday] Sabbaths" instead of to the "first day of the week" apparently mislead him to infer that the apostles had made a decision to change the day more than twenty years after the resurrection. Furthermore, it probably helped to lead him to grant to the church in later generations, the freedom to "have other solemn days for their meetings" in addition to the divinely instituted Lord's Day.⁴³

While Calvin did not use the term "Christian Sabbath" and would not have agreed with the Westminster Assembly on the timing of the day change when it wrote, "from the beginning of the world *to the resurrection of Christ*, God appointed the seventh day ...; and the first day of the week ever since, to continue to the end of the world, which is the Christian Sabbath," Calvin, like the Divines, believed, based upon Genesis 2:3, that the command to "kee[p] holy to God such set times as he hath appointed in his word; expressly one whole day in seven, to be a holy sabbath to himself," as "a perpetual rule," instructs the "the whole human race" to do so "by a holy resting all that day, even from such worldly employments and recreations as are lawful on other days; and spending the whole time in the publick and private exercises of God's worship."⁴⁴

It is interesting to ponder how Calvin's Sabbath theology might have been altered if he had realized that, contra his reading of 1 Corinthians 16:2, "the Jewish

41. Just what superstition Calvin condemns is debated and is beyond the scope of this essay. For two views, see Gaffin, 39–40; 43–44, and Primus, "Puritan Sabbath," 61–62. Obviously, however, the complete consecration of the first day of the week to public worship, with the devotion of "all the rest of time to praising God" (Farley, Deuteronomy Sermon 5, p 111; see the citation under *Calvin's Sabbatarian Practice* above), thus "set[ting] aside our affairs and earthly business" (ibid. 113) is not, in Calvin's thinking, superstitious observance of a day. Otherwise, Calvin himself would be guilty of commending the same superstition he condemns.

42. The full citation under *Calvin's Sabbatarian Practice* above.

43. Actually, in the fifth paragraph of its 21st chapter, "Of Religious Worship, and the Sabbath Day," the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, too, recognizes the Christian church (today) has the liberty to hold, "thanksgivings upon special occasions, ... to be used in an holy and religious manner."

44. *Westminster Shorter Catechism*, answers 58–60, and Calvin's comment on Genesis 2:3 (see *Calvin's Understanding* above).

Continued on Page 302.

The Westminster Standards and Confessional Lutheranism on Justification

By J. V. Fesko, Ph.D.

INTRODUCTION

Generations of Reformed Christians have been taught about the *solas* of the sixteenth century Reformation: *sola gratia*, *solus Christus*, *solus Deo Gloria*, *sola Scriptura*, and *sola fide* (grace alone, Christ alone, to the glory of God alone, Scripture alone, and faith alone). While this index of doctrines is certainly not exhaustive of Reformation theology, whether of the Reformed or Lutheran wings, it has nonetheless provided the observer with a brief guide to the doctrinal rallying points that distinguished the theology of the Reformation from that of the Roman Catholic Church (RCC). Until somewhat recently, that the *solas* accurately describe key points of Reformed theology has not been disputed.

Within recent years, both from the academy and from popular publications aimed at the church, there have been claims that one of the *solas*, *sola fide* (faith alone) is not an accurate label for the historic Reformed understanding of the doctrine of justification. The claim has been made that *sola fide* accurately describes the Lutheran understanding of justification but that the phrase “faith working through love” more accurately describes the Reformed understanding of the doctrine of justification. To say the least, the claim that there is a divergence between the Reformed and Lutheran understandings of justification is quite significant. If the claim is true, then it means that from the very foundations of the Reformation, we do not have unity between the Reformed and Lutheran communities on the chief issue of contention during the Reformation. While the Reformed and the Lutheran have always recognized differences in their theologies, such as in matters of the sacraments, many have often assumed that there was unanimity on justification by faith alone. More importantly, if there is a great divergence between the two communions on this issue it means that the Reformation was not a total recovery of the gospel.

It is the purpose of this essay to prove the thesis that *sola fide* accurately describes the historic Reformed understanding of justification and that there is still unanimity between the Reformed and Lutheran communities on the *articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae* (“the article upon which the church stands or falls”), and that both the Reformed and Lutheran traditions have rightly understood the gospel. To prove this thesis we will first survey the recent claims of those who challenge the legitimacy of *sola fide*. Second, we will survey the Westminster Standards and key confessional documents of historic Lutheranism to verify the accord that exists between the two confessional communities on the doctrine of justification by faith alone.¹

RECENT CHALLENGES TO SOLA FIDE

There are three main figures to which we may draw our attention who bring challenges to the validity of *sola fide* as an accurate description of the Reformed understanding of the doctrine of justification: P. Andrew Sandlin, Norman Shepherd, and Peter Lillback.

Lutheranized Calvinism

In the essay, “Lutheranized Calvinism: Gospel or Law, or Gospel and Law,” P. Andrew Sandlin makes the claim, “Some rather prominent Calvinists are leaning more

THE AUTHOR: Dr. J. V. Fesko is pastor of Geneva Orthodox Presbyterian Church in Marietta, Georgia, and an adjunct professor of theology at Reformed Theological Seminary–Atlanta. He holds a Ph.D. in Theology from the University of Aberdeen in Scotland. Dr. Fesko’s article, “A Critical Examination of N. T. Wright’s Doctrine of Justification,” appeared in the 2005 issue of *The Confessional Presbyterian*.

1. Hereafter the Westminster Confession of Faith, Larger Catechism, and Shorter Catechism are abbreviated WCF, WLC, and WSC, and are cited from *Westminster Confession of Faith* (1646; Glasgow: Free Presbyterian Publications, 1995), unless otherwise noted.

heavily toward the Wittenberg Reformer and leaning somewhat away from John Calvin and, more accurately, from a more consistently Reformed perspective at key points.”² Sandlin bases this claim upon his understanding of the Lutheran law-gospel hermeneutic. It is uncontested that Lutherans adhere to a law-gospel hermeneutic. Historically, confessional Lutheranism defines law as “a divine teaching which gives instruction regarding what is right and God-pleasing and condemns everything that is sin and contrary to God’s will.” Hence, Lutherans believe that “everything that condemns sin is and belongs to the proclamation of the law.”³ By contrast, the gospel is “the kind of teaching that reveals what the human being, who has not kept the law and has been condemned by it, should believe: that Christ atoned and paid for all sins and apart from any human merit has obtained and won for people the forgiveness of sins.”⁴ To confuse the two hermeneutical categories of law and gospel leads to confusion in the doctrine of justification—the gospel is to be believed whereas the law is to be obeyed. The law drives the sinner, who is unable to fulfill its demands, to the gospel of Christ. Given these categories, it is easy to see how Lutherans would affirm *sola fide*, that justification is by faith alone because justification is of the gospel, not the law.

Based upon this understanding Sandlin argues that the law-gospel hermeneutic radically separates the gospel from the law. Sandlin argues: “We Calvinists oppose traditional Roman Catholicism’s soteriology, which speaks of ‘condign’ and ‘congruent’ merit, and ties salvation up with a cooperative effort between God and man. But we almost equally oppose Lutheran soteriology, which so separates gospel and law as to lead to antinomianism, the diminution of sanctification, and

the dismissal of good works” (Sandlin, “Lutheranized Calvinism,” 131). While Sandlin does not specifically state his case in these terms, he nonetheless is substantively saying that the law-gospel hermeneutic produces a doctrine of justification that may be characterized by the slogan, *sola fide*. In other words, there is no place for good works in a Lutheran soteriology. We can confirm this conclusion from the following statement: “A crowning aspect of the genius of the Reformed faith is its recognition of the proper relationship between, but fundamental unity of, dogma *and* practice, gospel *and* law, faith *and* works, mercy *and* justice, grace *and* truth, restraint *and* liberty” (Sandlin, 132). Now, while Sandlin casts a wide net concerning his observations concerning the law-gospel hermeneutic and Lutheran soteriology in general, others have been much more specific.

Faith the Alone Instrument

Norman Shepherd makes the claim that though the slogan *sola fide* is popular in Reformed circles that one does not find it in the Westminster Confession: “Although ‘justification by faith alone’ is commonly used among us, the interesting thing is that the Westminster Standards do not use that formula. Neither the Confession nor the Catechisms say that we are justified by faith alone. What they do say is that faith is ‘the alone instrument of justification.’”⁵ Shepherd goes on to exegesis the relevant passages of the Westminster Standards to show how faith as the alone instrument is different from the formula “faith alone.” He does so by making several key claims.

First, he argues that the Westminster Confession makes its case for the doctrine of justification not only upon the standard Pauline texts such as Romans 4 or Galatians 2–3 but also upon texts such as James 2 and Galatians 5:4–6: “The Confession acknowledges that James is talking about faith and justification in the same sense that Paul uses these terms when he denies that justification is by works. The Confession also acknowledges that Paul is talking about soteric justification in Galatians 5:4–6 when he says that justification is by ‘faith working through love’” (Shepherd, “Justification by Faith Alone,” 80).

Second, Shepherd also defines faith in such a way that it includes obedience. Expounding upon Confession 14.2 he writes: “Saving faith is described not only as believing whatsoever is revealed in the word of God but also as obeying its commands, trembling at it threatenings, and embracing the promises of God.”⁶ In other words, faith is not alone, as Lutheran theology insists,

2. P. Andrew Sandlin, “Lutheranism Calvinism: Gospel or Law, or Gospel and Law,” *Reformation and Revival Journal* 11/2 (2002) 123.

3. *Formula Concord* 5.3–4 in *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, ed. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000) 500: “Legem esse proprie doctrinam divinitus revelatam, quæ doceat, quid iustum Deoque gratum sit; quæ etiam, quicquid peccatum est, et voluntati divinæ adversatur, redarguat. Quare, quicquid extat in sacris literis, quod peccata arguit, id revera ad Legis concionem pertinet” (Latin text from Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, 3 vols., [1931; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 1990] 3.127).

4. *Formula Concord* 5.5 in *Book of Concord*, 500: “Quæ doceat, quid homo credere debeat, qui Legi Dei non satisfecit, et idcirco per eandem damnatur: videleict, quod illum credere oporteat, Jesum Christum omnia peccata expiasse, atque pro iis satisfecisse, et remissionem peccatorum” (Schaff, *Creeds*, 3.126).

5. Norman Shepherd, “Justification by Faith Alone,” *Reformation and Revival Journal* 11/2 (2002) 76.

6. Shepherd, “Justification by Faith Alone,” 82. This is a trend that

but faith is an obedient faith. Not only is it an obedient faith, but repentance, argues Shepherd, is also necessary for one's justification, as there can be no justification apart from repentance (Shepherd, "Justification by Faith Alone," 86). Hence, concerning the traditional formula of "justification by faith alone," Shepherd finds it wanting because "this perspective offers no way of accounting for the gospel demand for both faith and repentance as necessary for the forgiveness of sins and no way of accounting for obedience as necessary for entering eternal life" (86).

Given this scriptural and confessional exegesis Shepherd concludes that when Martin Luther (1483–1546) inserted the word "alone" into his translation of Romans 3:28 to make it read, "For we hold that one is justified by faith *alone* apart from works of the law," the reformer distorted Paul's meaning (Shepherd, 87). Given Luther's supposed distortion, Shepherd sees a great difference therefore between the Reformed and Lutheran communities on the doctrine of justification. Shepherd claims

There is also a difference between the classic Lutheran and Reformed doctrines of justification. Lutheran doctrine holds that the Holy Spirit kindles faith in us by the hearing of the gospel. Faith then lays hold of Christ and Christ's righteousness is imputed to the believer for justification. After the believer has been justified, he is renewed and sanctified by the Holy Spirit and good works follow. Lutheranism can also maintain that 'faith is never alone,' but means by this that saving faith is always *followed* by works and is productive of works. The sequence is of fundamental importance. This is not what the Westminster Confession means when it says that the justifying faith is never alone and cites James 2:17, 26 together with Galatians 5:6 to support that affirmation.⁷

Shepherd, therefore, like Sandlin, sees a divergence between the Reformed and Lutheran communities. From the above quotation, one is left with the impression that for Shepherd, the Reformed community sees obedience as a part of faith, whereas for the Lutheran community, obedience follows faith. Shepherd is not alone in his claims.

Faith working through love

The claims of Shepherd and Sandlin are largely dogmatic as they make an effort to give a positive formulation of their understanding of the Reformed doctrine

of justification by faith. A third contributor, Peter Lillback, makes similar claims concerning the differences between the Lutheran and Reformed communities. Lillback's claims, however, are not dogmatic but historical theological. In Lillback's research of the writings of Luther and a representative cross-section of Reformed theologians, but especially in John Calvin (1509–1564), as his monograph focuses upon Calvin's role in the development of covenant theology, he finds a significant difference between the two communities—in their discussions of the doctrine of justification the Lutherans, unlike the Reformed, place the doctrine of justification in the context of the covenant. Given that the covenant is bi-lateral in nature, or a reciprocal relationship between God and redeemed man, it is natural that one would find the Reformed incorporating obedience and good works in their discussions on justification.

Given Luther's commitment to the law-gospel hermeneutic, there was to be no discussion of works or obedience in connection with the doctrine of justification. Lillback writes, "The Reformed hermeneutic discussed works in the context of justification because the covenant had two parts. Justification was the first blessing of the covenant while the second was the law of love engendered by the Holy Spirit. Faith was the condition of the first part of the covenant, and love or obedience was the condition of the second part." Lillback goes on to conclude, "For Luther, it was 'faith alone'; for the Reformed it was 'faith working by love.'"⁸ As Lillback expounds the broader developments in the Lutheran and Reformed communities on the doctrine of justification he observes that in Lutheran theology the instrumental cause of salvation is not works but faith alone. By contrast, Reformed theologians such as Jerome Zanchius (1516–1590) argued that good works were key: "Good works are the instrumental cause of the possession of

one finds in other places in Shepherd's writings: "Faith looks away from personal merit to the promises of God. Repentance and obedience flow from faith as the *fullness* of faith. This is faithfulness, and faithfulness is perseverance in faith. A living, active, and abiding faith is the way in which the believer enters into eternal life" (*The Call of Grace: How the Covenant Illuminates Salvation and Evangelism* [Phillipsburg, Pa.: P & R, 2000] 50, emphasis added). Again, Shepherd writes, "Gospel proclamation call us to a living faith, that is to a penitent and obedient faith" ("Justification by Faith in Pauline Theology," in *Backbone of the Bible*, ed. P. Andrew Sandlin [Nacogdoches, Tex.: Covenant Media Press, 2004] 101; see also idem, "Justification by Works in Reformed Theology," in *Backbone*, 103).

7. Shepherd, "Justification by Faith Alone," 81. Shepherd cites J. T. Mueller, *Christian Dogmatics* (St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia, 1955) 376–377.

8. Peter A. Lillback, *The Binding of God: Calvin's Role in the Development of Covenant Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2001) 125.

eternal life; by these indeed, just as by an obvious and legitimate way, God leads us into the possession of eternal life.”⁹ Lillback adds the testimony of both Johannes Piscator (1546–1625) and Francis Turretin (1623–1687) arguing that good works are necessary for salvation.¹⁰ Lillback argues that the combination of the covenant context and justification in the Reformed tradition were codified in the Westminster Standards.

In WCF 11.2 we read the following: “Faith, thus receiving and resting on Christ and His righteousness, is the alone instrument of justification; yet is it not alone in the person justified, but is ever accompanied with all other saving graces, and is no dead faith, but worketh by love.” Lillback argues that WCF 11.2 says that faith is accompanied “with all other saving graces,” and also that WCF 14.2 states that “the principal acts of saving faith are accepting, receiving, and resting upon Christ alone for justification, sanctification, and eternal life, by virtue of the covenant of grace” (Lillback, *Binding of God*, 208–209). In other words, he argues that historically the Reformed community has placed justification in the context of the covenant, which makes a place not only for the doctrine of justification but also for the necessity of good works. In the WCF, argues Lillback, one finds agreement between gospel and law not the Lutheran law-gospel hermeneutic (209).

Summary

As we summarize the positions of the aforementioned authors we find primarily two key claims that we can test in a comparative examination of the Westminster Standards and confessional Lutheranism concerning the doctrine of justification. First, Do both communities affirm *sola fide*, justification by faith alone? Second, Do the Lutheran and Reformed communities have a place for the believer’s good works under the broader category of soteriology? Or, in more precise theological terms, Do Lutherans have a place for the third use of the law in their soteriology as the Reformed tradition does? Answering these questions will prove the thesis that both the Reformed and Lutheran communities affirm *sola fide*.

9. Lillback, *Binding of God*, 206–07. Lillback cites Zanchius as cited in M. Schneckenburger, *Vergleichende Darstellung des lutherischen und reformierten Lehrbegriffs*, 2 vols., Hersg. Eduard Guder (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1855) 1.79.

10. Lillback cites Heinrich Heppe, *Reformed Dogmatics: Set Out and Illustrated from the Sources*, ed. Ernst Bizer, trans. G. T. Thomson (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 1978) 460; and Francis Turretin, *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, 3 vols., trans. George Musgrave Giger, ed. James T. Dennison (Phillipsburg, Pa.: P & R, 1994) 2.702–703.

COMPARING THE TWO TRADITIONS

Methodology

In our comparison of the two traditions we must first explore whether both communities affirm *sola fide*. In our comparison it is important that we identify several presuppositions regarding the methodology employed. First, we must compare the confessional documents of both traditions and not the theology of individual theologians, in this case the Westminster Standards and the official confessions of historic Lutheranism found in the *Book of Concord*, among which include the Augsburg Confession (1530), the Small and Large Catechisms (1529), and the Formula Concord (1577). One will undoubtedly find a great range of opinions among individual theologians whereas the confessional corpus of Westminster and the *Book of Concord* give us the historic majority report of both traditions.

Second, we must initially delimit our inquiry to the doctrine of justification. In other words, we should not explore questions as they relate to the other elements of the *ordo salutis*. There appears to be imprecision on the part of those who have challenged the legitimacy of *sola fide* in the Reformed tradition. It is one thing, for example, to say that justification is by faith alone and entirely another to say that good works are necessary for salvation. The two statements are very different, in that justification is one element of the *ordo salutis* whereas *salvation* is an all-encompassing term. To use a simple analogy, it is one thing to say we will explore the functions of the heart and not consider the functions of the lungs. A person requires both heart and lungs to live but if we delimit our survey to the functions of the heart, then we will not attribute breathing to it. Likewise, we must confine our exploration, at least in the initial stage of the investigation, to the doctrine of justification and not confuse it with other elements of the *ordo salutis*, such as sanctification.

Third, our investigation will not explore both sides of each issue, as this would make the essay inordinately long. Rather, there is no need to establish that Lutherans hold to *sola fide* but the question is whether the Reformed tradition holds the same view. Likewise, there is no need to establish whether the Reformed tradition holds to the third use of the law but whether the Lutheran tradition does. Fourth, we are limiting our investigation to the Westminster Standards given our ecclesiastical context, nevertheless we will take note of parallels that exist in the Continental Reformed tradition which finds expression in the Three Forms of Unity:

the Belgic Confession (1561), the Heidelberg Catechism (1563), and the Canons of Dort (1618–1619). Keeping these four methodological presuppositions in mind, we may proceed to investigate the propriety of *sola fide* as an accurate description of the doctrine of justification according to the Westminster Standards.

Sola Fide?

When we explore the Westminster Standards we see that the divines define faith as: “Faith in Jesus Christ is a saving grace, whereby we receive and rest upon him alone for salvation, as he is offered to us in the gospel” (WSC q. 86; cf. WCF 14.1–2; WLC q. 72; cf. Heidelberg Cat. qq. 21–22; Dort, Head 2, art. 3, rej., 4). It is important to see that faith is extraspective in character, in that it is the instrument by which a person looks to the person and work of Christ, trusting and resting in that work alone. Faith does not include any act of obedience, contra the claims of Shepherd: “Faith justifies a sinner in the sight of God, not because of those other graces which do always accompany it, or of good works that are the fruits of it, not as if the grace of faith, or any act thereof, were imputed to him for his justification; but only as it is an instrument by which he receiveth and applieth Christ and his righteousness” (WLC q. 73; cf. Belgic Conf., §22). Faith, therefore, is not to be confused with any *act* of the believer but is specifically a *grace* that enables a person to trust in the person and work of Christ.

The divines go on to identify the principal acts of faith: “The principal acts of saving faith are accepting, receiving, and resting upon Christ alone for justification, sanctification, and eternal life, by virtue of the covenant of grace” (WCF 14.2). Notice in this statement that the acts of faith involve no acts of obedience but are accepting, receiving, and resting. Some have inferred from the use of the term *principal* that the divines allow for other secondary acts, such as repentance or acts of obedience. This conclusion, however, is incorrect for two reasons. First, from what we have seen already in WLC q. 73, a person is justified not because of any of the other evangelical graces that do accompany it, that is, good works is not faith but its fruit.

Second, the historical context in which the confession and catechisms were written, namely against the backdrop of the teaching of the RCC, rules out the possibility that obedience or repentance are part of faith. The RCC taught, and still teaches, that faith is only an intellectual assent to the truth. For example, the *Roman Catholic Catechism*, quoting Thomas Aquinas (1225–

1275), states that “believing is an act of the intellect assenting to the divine truth by command of the will moved by God through grace.”¹¹ When the divines, therefore, identify *principal* acts of faith, it is not to imply that obedience or repentance somehow figure into the definition of faith but rather to say that faith is not bare intellectual assent but involves accepting, receiving, and resting upon the person and work of Christ; in other words, faith includes trusting in the promises of the gospel.¹²

One can see how one of the Westminster divines, Edward Reynolds (1593–1676), explains that faith rests and does not work in justification:

Faith has two properties, as a hand, to work, and to receive. When faith purifies the heart, supports the drooping spirits, works by love, carries a man through afflictions, and the like; these are the works of faith. When faith accepts of righteousness in Christ, and receives him as the gift of his Father’s love, when it ‘embraces the promises afar off,’ and ‘lays hold on eternal life,’ this is the receiving act of faith. Now faith justifies not by working (lest the effect should not be wholly of grace, but partly of grace and partly of work), but by bare receiving and accepting, or yielding consent to that righteousness of Christ, and in regard of working, was the righteousness of Christ, and in regard of disposing, imputing, appropriating unto us, was the righteousness of God.¹³

In this quotation we can see Reynolds distinguish clearly between what faith is versus what faith does. Faith rests in the work of Christ but produces the fruit of good works. Reynolds’ explanation is counter-evidence against Shepherd’s claim that the Confession understands Paul to be discussing justification by faith when they cite Galatians 5:4–6 (Shepherd, “Justification by Faith Alone,” 80). Rather, parallel with Reynolds’ explanation, Confession 11.2 cites Galatians 5:4–6 not to deny *sola fide* but to say that faith does produce the fruit of good works. In other words, faith does work, but that work is not considered instrumental in justification.

11. Joseph Ratzinger, ed., *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (Ligouri: Ligouri Publications, 1994) §155, p. 142; cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* (1911; Allen: Christian Classics, 1948) IIa IIæ qq. 2, 9.

12. See Robert Shaw, *An Exposition of the Westminster Confession of Faith* (1845; Fearn: Christian Focus, 1998) 194–195; A. A. Hodge, *The Confession of Faith* (rep.; Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1958) 206; Francis R. Beattie, *The Presbyterian Standards* (rep.; Greenville, S.C.: Southern Presbyterian Press, 1997) 225–226.

13. Edward Reynolds, *The Sinfulness of Sin* (1826; Morgan, Pa.: Soli Deo Gloria, 1996) 428.

One can highlight the divergence between the claims of Shepherd, for example, against the statements of the Standards to see his error in defining the nature of faith. Shepherd claims that justification “either is or includes the forgiveness of sins,” and therefore the formula of *sola fide*, or justification by faith alone, “offers no way of accounting for the gospel demand for both faith and repentance as necessary for the forgiveness of sins and no way of accounting for obedience as necessary for entering eternal life” (Shepherd, 84, 86). In other words, Shepherd believes that repentance is necessary for justification. Yet, notice that the Standards mention nothing of repentance in its definition of faith. Moreover, in its treatment of repentance, the divines write: “Although repentance be not to be rested in, as any satisfaction for sin, or any cause of the pardon thereof, which is the act of God’s free grace in Christ; yet it is of such necessity to all sinners, that none may expect pardon without it” (WCF 15.3; emphasis added). Notice the differences between faith and repentance: faith is a “resting upon Christ alone for justification” whereas repentance is neither “to be rested in,” nor “any cause of the pardon.” Shepherd’s claim falls in the light of what the divines have said concerning repentance and justification.

We can further demonstrate the errors in Lillback’s claim that justification is by faith alone in the Lutheran tradition and it is faith working through love according to the Reformed tradition. Lillback argues that “the Reformed hermeneutic discussed works in the context of justification because the covenant had two parts. Justification was the first blessing of the covenant while the second was the law of love engendered by the Holy Spirit. Faith was the condition of the first part of the covenant, and love or obedience was the condition of the second part” (Lillback, *Binding of God*, 125). To demonstrate the validity of this point in the broader Reformed tradition, Lillback makes appeal to three theologians, Zanchius, Piscator, and Turretin and then argues that justification by “faith working through love” was codified in the Reformed tradition in the WCF, articles 11 and 14.1–2 (Lillback, 206–209).

14. See, e.g., Samuel Rutherford, *The Covenant of Life Opened* (Edinburgh: 1655) 153–181; idem, *Christ Dying and Drawing Sinners to Himself* (Edinburgh: 1727) 89, 120, 130; idem, *The Sum of Christian Religion*, in *Catechisms of the Second Reformation* (London: 1886) 203–207; Joseph Caryl, *Bible Thoughts* (rep., Morgan, Pa.: Soli Deo Gloria, 1995) 105–106, 229–230; Reynolds, *The Sinfulness of Sin*, 424–435; James Ussher, *The Principles of Christian Religion* (London: 1654) in *Catechisms of the Second Reformation* (London: 1886) 144–145; idem, *Irish Articles*, in Schaff, *Creeds*, 3:532–534, §§ 34–45.

15. Jerome Zanchius, *Confession of Christian Religion* (Cambridge, 1599) 152–153, updated spelling.

First, we should note a methodological problem with Lillback’s claims. Lillback appeals to Turretin to support the claim that the Reformed understanding of justification is “faith working through love,” which is codified in the WCF. Such an argument has an inherent flaw as Turretin was a seventeenth century continental Reformed theologian whose major theological work was written between 1679–1685, some thirty years after the Westminster assembly concluded its work. Lillback does not cite any evidence to show that Turretin wielded any influence upon the Westminster assembly. While the continental and British Reformed traditions bear many similarities, Lillback has gone far afield to the continent rather than to the body of English and Scottish theological works that directly influenced or were written by participants of the Westminster assembly.¹⁴

Second, Lillback’s quotation of Zanchius comes from a secondary source, whereas a quick perusal of one of Zanchius’ chief theological works contradicts the very point that Lillback makes. Zanchius writes,

To be justified by faith in the sight of God, is nothing else, is to be counted just by the remission of sin and justice of Christ apprehended by faith: and that this is only the true righteousness: whereas whatsoever inherent righteousness there is in us, and whatever good works we do, is such as cannot stand in the sight of God: according to that saying, ‘Enter not into judgment with your servant O Lord, for no flesh is righteous in your sight’: and that also, ‘If you marked what is done amiss O Lord, Lord who can abide it?’ it plainly appears, that our belief concerning justification by faith alone is most certain and most true.¹⁵

Zanchius’ statement and affirmation of justification by faith alone is a direct contradiction of the statement to which Lillback appeals. Additionally, Lillback also cites Piscator who states, “Good works, with respect to eternal life, have the reason of efficient causes, not as by merit, but as by a way or a walk, by which one arrives at eternal life out of the ordination of God” (Lillback, *Binding of God*, 207). Citing Piscator, however, as a representative of the common Reformed position is questionable.

Lillback notes that Lutheran theologians rejected the positions of Zanchius, Piscator, and Turretin. He also explains that Piscator denied the imputation of Christ’s active obedience, which is why Piscator believed that the believer’s good works were the efficient cause of one’s salvation. In Piscator’s theology, the believer receives the forgiveness of sins through the imputation of Christ’s

passive obedience alone; the believer then required his own good works in the place of Christ's active obedience.¹⁶ Turretin, for example, acknowledges that this is the position of Piscator but then goes on to say that the common opinion received in the Reformed churches is that both Christ's active and passive obedience is imputed to the believer in justification (Turretin, *Institutes*, 14.13.1–2, v2.445.). For Lillback to say, therefore, that the rejection of the imputed active obedience of Christ "was taught by various Reformed theologians, including such highly respected authors as Piscator" is misleading and gives the impression that his position was common and accepted, when this was clearly not the case (Lillback, 207).

Third, when Lillback appeals to Turretin to substantiate that the Reformed tradition holds to justification "by faith working through love" he does so imprecisely. He writes that Turretin "also affirmed the necessity of good works for salvation" (Lillback, 207). Yet, Lillback fails to note that the Turretin quotation to which he appeals comes, not from Turretin's treatment of justification, but from his locus on sanctification and good works. Turretin states that good works are necessary for salvation, not for one's justification, but as a part of one's sanctification, or as the fruit of justification:

Works can be considered in three ways: either with reference to justification or sanctification or glorification. They are related to justification not antecedently, efficiently and meritoriously, but consequently and declaratively. They are related to sanctification constitutively because they constitute and promote it. They are related to glorification antecedently and ordinatively because they are related to it as the means to the end; yea, as the beginning to the complement because grace is glory begun, as glory is grace consummated.¹⁷

Turretin then goes on to write, in direct contradiction of the point for which Lillback appeals to him:

Although we acknowledge the necessity of good works against the Epicurean, we do not on this account confound the law and the gospel and interfere with gratuitous justification by faith alone. Good works are required not for living according to the law, but because we live by the gospel; not as the causes on account of which life is given to us, but as effects which testify that life had been given to us.¹⁸

Given this evidence it seems that one cannot make the claim that Turretin holds to justification by "faith

working through love" as Lillback claims. Moreover, we also see that Turretin, a marquis representative of the Swiss Reformed tradition, indeed a successor of Calvin at the academy of Geneva, states that the Reformed do not confuse the categories of law and gospel, which according to the claims of Sandlin and Lillback, is supposedly a hallmark of Lutheran, not Reformed, hermeneutics. To claim that Reformed theologians did not adhere to the law-gospel hermeneutic does not accord with the evidence.

The Law-Gospel Hermeneutic in the Reformed Tradition

We see in the writings of Zacharias Ursinus (1534–1583), one of the chief authors of the Heidelberg Catechism, which is the authoritative catechism for the Dutch Reformed tradition, the use of the law-gospel hermeneutic employed in terms of the covenants of nature and grace, which finds its parallel in Westminster's covenants of works and grace:

The law contains the natural covenant, established by God with humanity in creation, that is, it is known by humanity by nature, it requires our perfect obedience to God, and it promises eternal life to those who keep it and threatens eternal punishment to those who do not. The gospel, however, contains the covenant of grace, that is, although it exists, it is not known at all by nature; it shows us the fulfillment in Christ of the righteousness that the law requires and the restoration in us of that righteousness by Christ's Spirit; and it promises eternal life freely because of Christ to those who believe in him.¹⁹

16. See Johannes Piscator, *A Learned and Profitable Treatise on Man's Justification* (London, 1599) 20.

17. Turretin, *Institutes*, 17.3.14, v. 2, p. 705: "Opera trifariam spectari possunt, vel ratione Justificationis, vel Sanctificationis, vel Glorificationis. Ratione prioris non se habent anteceder, efficienter, et meritorie, sed consequenter, et declarative. Ratione Sanctificationis, se habent constitutive, quia eam constituunt et promovent. Ratione Glorificationis vero antecederent et ordinative, quia ad eam referuntur ut medium ad finem, Imo ut initium ad complementum, quia gratia est gloriae inchoatio, ut Gloria est gratiae consummation" (Francisco Turretino, *Institutio Theologiae Elencticae* [Edinburgh: John D. Lowe, 1847]).

18. Turretin, *Institutes*, 17.3.15, v2.705: "Quamvis necessitatem bonorum operum agnoscamus contra Epicureos, non confundimus ideo Legem et Evangelium, et laudamus justificationem gratuitam per solam fidem. Quia bona opera requiruntur non ad vivendum ex Lege, sed quia vivimus per Evangelium, no ut causae propter quas nobis datur vita, sed ut effecta eque testantur vitam esse nobis datum."

19. Larger Catechism, q. 36, in *An Introduction to the Heidelberg*

In fact, Ursinus elsewhere states that, “The doctrine of the church is the entire and uncorrupted doctrine of the law and gospel concerning the truth of God, together with his will, works, and worship.”²⁰ Ursinus was not alone in this observation.

Theodore Beza (1519–1605), Calvin’s successor at Geneva also wrote that “ignorance of this distinction between Law and Gospel is one of the principal sources of the abuses which corrupted and still corrupt Christianity.”²¹ Calvin could likewise observe that the medieval Roman Catholic theologians confused the categories of law and gospel, or promise

by saying that works of their own intrinsic goodness are of no avail for meriting salvation but by reason of the covenant, because the Lord of his own liberality esteemed them so highly. Meanwhile they did not observe how far those works, which they meant to be meritorious, were from fulfilling the condition of the promises unless preceded by justification resting on faith alone, and by forgiveness of sins, through which even good works must be cleansed of spots.²²

Catechism: Sources, History, and Theology, ed. and trans. Lyle D. Bierma, et al (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 2005) 168–169.

20. Zacharias Ursinus, *Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism* (1852; Phillipsburg, Pa.: P & R, n. d.) 1.

21. Theodore Beza, *The Christian Faith*, trans. James Clark (Lewes: Focus Christian Ministries, 1992) 41ff.

22. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, LCC, vols. 20–21, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, ed. John T. McNeill (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960) 3.17.3, 805–806: “Atqui hinc apparet quantopere delusi sint sophistae, qui belle se absurda omnia evasisse putarunt quum dicerent, non intrinseca sua bonitate valere opera ad salutem demerendam, sed ex pacti ratione: quia Dominus liberalitate sua tanti aestimavit. Atqui non observabant interim, quae meritoria opera esse volebant, quantum absessent a promissionum conditione, nisi et iustificatio sola fide subnixta, et peccatorum remissio, per quam a maculis bona quoque opera abstergeri necesse habent, praecederet” (idem, *Institutionis Christianae Religionis*, in *Opera Selecta*, vol. 4, ed. Peter Barth and William Niesel [Munich: 1926–1952]).

23. Expounding upon the application of Scripture in preaching, Perkins writes: “The basic principle in application is to know whether the passage is a statement of the law or of the gospel” (*The Art of Prophesying* [1606; Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1996] 54ff).

24. Michael Horton, “Law, Gospel, and Covenant: Reassessing Some Emerging Antitheses,” *WTJ* 64/2 (2002) 287.

25. This section is largely drawn and adapted from J. V. Fesko, “Calvin on Justification and Recent Misinterpretations of His View,” *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 16 (2005) 96–101.

26. See Gerhard Ebeling, *Word and Faith* (London: SCM Press, 1963) 62–78; Werner Elert, *Law and Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967) 38–43; Gerhard O. Forde, “The Lutheran View,” in *Christian Spirituality: Five Views of Sanctification*, ed., Donald L. Alexander (Downers Grove: IVP, 1988) 13–32, esp. 13–15.

27. Luther is truly the fountainhead of Lutheranism, unlike Calvin

Continental Reformed theologians were not alone in affirming the law-gospel hermeneutic, as one can find similar statements in the writings of British theologians such as William Perkins (1558–1602).²³ Based upon this, we must conclude that “as far as the law-gospel distinction is concerned, it is as integral to Reformed theology (embedded in federalism) as it is to Lutheranism.”²⁴

Summary

Based on the evidence presented above, therefore, one may safely reject the claim that the Reformed understanding of justification is best understood by the phrase, “faith working through love.” While the Reformed tradition, as it is represented in the Westminster Standards, maintains the necessity of good works for one’s salvation as “the fruits and evidences of a true and lively faith” (WCF 16.2), this in no way means that its doctrine of justification is not by faith alone (cf. Belgic Conf., §24; Heidelberg Cat., q. 91). *Sola fide* accurately describes the Westminster Assembly’s understanding of the doctrine of justification: “Faith, thus receiving and resting on Christ and His righteousness, is the alone instrument of justification” (WCF 11.2). We must now turn to the second question of our investigation, namely whether Lutherans hold to the third use of the law.

LUTHERANS ON THE THIRD USE OF THE LAW²⁵

In turning to the second-half of our investigation, we must explore the question of whether the Lutheran commitment to *sola fide* is such that they make absolutely no place for the necessity of good works, in some sense, in the broader category of their soteriology. In other words, is Lutheran soteriology antinomian? There have been those in both the distant and recent past who have argued that Luther and Lutheranism only hold to two uses of the law: the political or civil, in restraining evil, and the elenctic or pedagogic, in leading people to a knowledge of sin and the need of redemption.²⁶ Yet, at the same time a perusal of primary sources, including Luther’s writings, Lutheran confessions, and other Lutheran theologians evidences that Luther and Lutheranism hold to the third use of the law in some form, the didactic or normative use, regulating the life of the regenerate. One may begin with Luther’s own writings, as his writings are incorporated in the confessional corpus of the Lutheran church.²⁷

Luther

While Luther certainly divided the scriptures into the categories of law and gospel, commands and promise, just because a person became a Christian did not mean that he was now suddenly free from the demands of the law. Luther, for example, writes that

as long as we live in a flesh that is not free of sin, so long as the Law keeps coming back and performing its function, more in one person and less in another, not to harm but to save. This discipline of the Law is the daily mortification of the flesh, the reason, and our powers and the renewal of our mind (2 Cor 4.16).... There is still need for a custodian to discipline and torment the flesh, that powerful jackass, so that by this discipline sins may be diminished and the way prepared for Christ.²⁸

So long as the Christian is *simil iustus et peccator*, there is always a need for the law in the life of the believer.²⁹ Luther's use of the law in the life of the believer is further evidenced from his catechisms.

Luther's Small Catechism begins with an exposition of the Decalogue.³⁰ At the close of the exposition of the Decalogue in Luther's Large Catechism, Luther explains the importance of the law in the life of the believer:

Thus, we have the Ten Commandments, a compend of divine doctrine, as to what we are to do in order that our whole life may be pleasing to God, and the true fountain and channel from and in which everything must arise and flow that is to be a good work, so that outside the Ten Commandments, no work or thing can be good or pleasing to God, however great or precious it be in the eyes of the world.³¹

Luther saw a need for good works, but was careful, like the Reformed tradition, to teach about the proper relationship between good works and justification.³² Luther addresses the proper place of the law as it relates to justification when he writes:

The matter of the Law must be considered carefully, both as to what and as to how we ought to think about the Law; otherwise we shall either reject it altogether, after the fashion of the fanatical spirits who prompted the peasant's revolt a decade ago by saying that the freedom of the Gospel absolves men from all laws, or we shall attribute to the Law the power to justify. Both groups sin against the Law: those on the right, who

want to be justified through the Law, and those on the left, who want to be altogether free of the Law. Therefore we must travel the royal road, so that we neither reject the Law altogether nor attribute more to it than we should.³³

Luther, then, saw a place for the law in the life of the believer. When he was explaining the doctrine of justification he said that there was no place for works or the

who is one among many influential theologians in the Calvinist, or more properly, reformed, tradition. Cf. Carl R. Trueman, "Is the Finnish Line a New Beginning? A Critical Assessment of the Reading of Luther Offered by the Helsinki Circle" *Westminster Theological Journal* 65, 232; also Robert Kolb, *Martin Luther as Prophet, Teacher, and Hero: Images of the Reformer, 1520-1620* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999); Richard A. Muller, *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford: OUP, 2003) 63-104.

28. Martin Luther, *Lectures on Galatians 1535 Chapters 1-4*, trans. Jaroslav Pelikan, LW, vol. 26, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia, 1963), p. 350: "Quamdiu igitur in carne quæ sine peccato non est, vivimus, subinde redit lex et facit suum officium, in uno plus, in alio minus, Non tamen ad perniciem, sed salutem. Hoc enim exercitium legis est quotidiana mortification carnis, rationis et virium et innovatio mentis nostræ, 2 Corin 4 ... Hic opus est ad huc pædagogus qui fortem asinum, Carnem, exerceat et vexet, ut hac pædagogia minuantur peccata et Christo via paretur" (idem, *D. Martin Luther's Werke* [Weimar: 1883-1987], vol 40, pt. 1, p. 537).

29. Stephen Westerholm, *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith: Paul and His Recent Interpreters* (1988; Wipf & Stock, 1998) 10.

30. Martin Luther, "Small Catechism," in *The Creeds of Christendom*, 3 vols., ed. Philip Schaff (1931; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1990) 3.74-75, §1.

31. Martin Luther, "Large Catechism," in *Triglott Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, trans. F. Bente and W. H. T. Dau (St. Louis: Concordia, 1921) 669-670. Luther also says: "Therefore it is not in vain that it is commended in the Old Testament to write the Ten Commandments on all walls and corners, yes, even on garments, not for the sake of merely having them written in these places and making show of them, as did the Jews, but that we might have our eyes constantly fixed upon them, and have them always in our memory, and that we might practice them in all our actions and ways, and every one make them his daily exercise in all cases, in every business transaction, as though they were written in every place wherever he would look, yea, wherever he walks or stands. This in our own house and abroad with our neighbors, to practice the Ten Commandments, that no one need run far from them" ("Large Catechism," 677).

32. Carl R. Trueman, *Luther's Legacy: Salvation and English Reformers 1525-56* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 63-66; Bernhard Lohse, *Martin Luther's Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999) 264-266.

33. Luther, *Lectures on Galatians*, vol. 26, 343 (*Werke*, 40/1.527-528): "Ideo locus de Lege diligenter est considerandus, Quid et quomodo sit de lege sentiendum, Nee am aut omnio reiiciamus more Phanicorum spirituum qui ante decennium moventes seditionem rusticorum dicebant libertatem Evangelicam absolvere homines ab omnibus legibus, aut ne vim iustificandi et tribuamus. Utrique enim in legem peccant, in dextra qui per legem iustificari, in sinistra qui prorsus a lege liberi esse volunt. Ingressiendum est igitur regia via, ut neque legem plane reiiciamus, neque plus ei tribuamus, quam oportet."

law. In relationship, though, to one's sanctification and the knowledge of what is pleasing to God, the Decalogue served as a guide as well as a tool in the hand of God to confront the remaining sin in the believer.³⁴ This careful fencing of justification from works, yet at the same time connecting justification to sanctification, is especially evident in the Lutheran confessions.

Lutheran Confessions

The Augsburg Confession is the first official Lutheran confession, and was largely written by Luther's lieutenant, Philip Melancthon (1497–1560).³⁵ The Augsburg Confession carefully explains that justification is by faith alone: "Our works can not reconcile God, or deserve remission of sins, grace, and justification at his hands, but that these we obtain by faith only, when we believe that we are received into favor for Christ's sake, who alone is appointed the Mediator and Propitiatory, by whom the Father is reconciled." Yet, at the same time the confession gives an apology against antinomianism: "Ours are falsely accused of forbidding good works. For their writings extant upon the Ten Commandments, and others of the like argument, do bear witness that they have to good purpose taught concerning every kind of life, and its duties; what kinds of life, and what works in every calling, do please God."³⁶

The confession even goes as far as to say that Lutherans "teach that it is necessary to do good works," but it specifies that "not that we may trust that we deserve grace by them, but because it is the will of God that we should do them. By faith alone is apprehended remission of sins and grace. And because the Holy Spirit is received by faith, our hearts are now renewed, and so put on new affections, so that they are able to bring forth good works" (Augsburg Conf., §20, in Schaff, *Creeds*, 3.24–25). So, here, in this Lutheran confession we see the emphasis upon justification by faith alone but also the need for good works, informed by the law. While this is not precisely the same nomenclature that one finds in the Westminster Standards is nonetheless parallel to the Standards' emphasis on the third use of the law (WLC qq. 95–97; WCF 19.6; cf. Belgic Conf.,

§25; Heidelberg Cat., q. 93). What we find in inchoate forms in the Augsburg Confession, however, emerges quite clearly in the Formula of Concord.

The Formula of Concord was born out of the need to interpret authoritatively the Augsburg Confession in the face of various controversies, which included subjects such as original sin, synergism, justification, good works, antinomianism, the Lord's supper, christology, predestination, and others. Hence, one finds several articles that explain and elaborate upon the relationship between justification and good works (See Schaff, *Creeds*, 2.268–307). It is in the Formula of Concord that the Lutherans, legendary for their insistence upon justification by faith alone, also state that "good works must certainly and without all doubt follow a true faith (provided only it be not a dead but a living faith), as fruits of a good tree" (Formula of Concord, §4, in Schaff, *Creeds*, 3.122.). It is in article six, "Of the third use of the law," where the document makes its most pronounced statement about the importance of the law and good works: "We believe, teach, and confess that although they who truly believe in Christ, and are sincerely converted to God, are through Christ set free from the curse and constraint of the Law, they are not, nevertheless, on that account without the Law" (Formula of Concord, §6, in Schaff, *Creeds*, 3.131). The document goes on to state that "the preaching of the Law should be urged not only upon those who have not faith in Christ, and do not yet repent, but also upon those who truly believe in Christ, are truly converted to God, and regenerated and are justified by faith" (Formula of Concord, §6, in Schaff, *Creeds*, 3.132). So, then, it appears from primary sources such as Luther, the Augsburg Confession, and the Formula Concord that Luther and Lutheranism places a heavy emphasis upon justification by faith alone but not to the exclusion of the importance and necessity of good works or the third use of the law. This is not a unique conclusion.

Later Lutheranism

Contemporary Lutheran theologians have previously observed that Luther and later Lutheranism have guarded justification by faith alone but at the same time maintained the importance of good works. Paul Althaus notes that "Luther saw the commandments not only as a mirror in which he recognizes sin—although they certainly are and remain that even for the Christian—but beyond this as instruction about the 'good works' God wants; and such instruction is necessary and wholesome for the Christian."³⁷ Likewise, Francis

34. Contra Lillback, *Binding of God*, 185–193; cf. Trueman, *Luther's Legacy*, 66.

35. Mark A. Noll, ed., *Confessions and Catechisms of the Reformation* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 1991) 82–83; also Trueman, "Finnish Line," 240.

36. Augsburg Conf., § 20, in Schaff, *Creeds*, 3.20–21.

37. Paul Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther*, trans. Robert C. Schultz (Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress, 1966) 272; see also Eugene F. Klug,

Pieper (1852–1931) notes that “while the theologian must differentiate sharply between Law and Gospel, yet he must in practice join them most intimately.” Pieper also lists three reasons as to why the Christian still needs the law:

1. Because the Christian is *simil iustus et peccator*—he still sins and needs the law to understand the gravity of his sin.
2. The Christian must learn from the law to know what is pleasing to God and what he would have him do.
3. To keep the flesh outwardly in check.³⁸

To say, then, that there is a large chasm between the Reformed and Lutheran traditions on justification because Reformed theologians hold to the third use of the law whereas Luther and the Lutherans reject it neither accords with the evidence nor with history.

CONCLUSION

In our survey we explored the claims of those who argue that the Reformed tradition especially as it is represented by the Westminster Standards is not properly described by the Reformation slogan of *sola fide*. However, we found their claims wanting for several key reasons: (1) issues over historical-theological methodology; (2) comparison of primary sources; and (3) a lack of precision at times in either the definition or use of terms. It appears, therefore, that the dogmatic interests of Sandlin and Shepherd and the historical theological claims of Lillback require significant reconsideration in light of the gathered evidence.

Making a broader observation, while almost anything is possible, it seems unlikely that two theological traditions such as the Reformed and Lutheran communities would acknowledge their agreement for hundreds of years on a point so crucial as justification by faith alone and then only in recent years would there arise the claim that the two traditions were in conflict.³⁹ The analysis of Robert Traill (1642–1716), a Scottish covenant writing in the midst of the antinomian and neonomian controversies of the late seventeenth century, seems a bit more accurate than the recent claims we have surveyed concerning the unanimity on justification by faith alone between the Reformed and Lutheran traditions. Drawing attention to the great German reformer’s reason for success against the doctrine of the RCC,

Traill could approvingly quote Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*: “Luther gave the stroke, and plucked down the foundation, and all by opening one vein, long hid before, wherein lieth the touchstone of all truth and doctrine, as the only principal origin of our salvation, which is, our free justification, by faith only, in Christ the Son of God.”⁴⁰ Indeed, it was a Reformed theologian, J. H. Alsted (1588–1638), not Luther as it is commonly supposed, that coined the phrase in a rather Luther-like fashion, that justification is the *articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae*, “the article upon which the church stands or falls.”⁴¹ So, then, whether in the Lutheran or Reformed tradition, we may conclude that justification is *sola fide*, by faith alone. ■

“Luther on Law, Gospel, and the Third Use of the Law,” *The Springfielder* 38/2 (1974) 166.

38. Francis Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics*, vol. 3 (St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia, 1953) 236, 239–240; also Oswald Bayer, *Living by Faith: Justification and Sanctification*, Lutheran Quarterly Books, trans. G. W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003) 67–68.

39. Scholars both within and without the Reformed tradition have acknowledged that the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone, both in the Reformed and Lutheran expressions, had its roots the theology of Luther (see B. B. Warfield, *Calvin and Augustine*, ed. S. G. Craig [Philadelphia, Pa.: P & R, 1956] 489–490; T. H. L. Parker, “Calvin’s Doctrine of Justification,” *The Evangelical Quarterly* 25 [1952] 101–07; François Wendel, *Calvin: The Origins and Development of His Religious Thought*, trans. Philip Mairet [1950; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1997] 255–63; David Steinmetz, *Calvin in Context* [New York: OUP, 1995] 117–118; Joseph Wawrykow, “John Calvin and Condign Merit,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 83 [1992] 74–75).

40. Robert Traill, *Justification Vindicated* (1692; Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 2002) 32.

41. J. H. Alsted, *Theologia Scholastica Didactica* (Hanover, 1618) 711, as cited in Alister E. McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification*, vol. 2 (1986; New York: CUP, 1994) 193, n3. Many thanks to my colleague, Scott Clark, for drawing my attention to this reference, and to those in note 39 above.

Appendix

<i>Category</i>	<i>Westminster</i>	<i>Lutheranism</i>	<i>Continental</i>
Faith Alone	“Faith, thus receiving and resting on Christ and His righteousness, is the alone instrument of justification” (WCF 11.2).	“By faith alone is apprehended remission of sins and grace” (Augsburg Conf., §20).	“We just say with Paul, <i>that we are justified by faith alone, or by faith without works</i> ” (Belgic Conf., §22).
Place of Good Works	“These good works, done in obedience to God’s commandments, are the fruits and evidences of a true and lively faith” (WCF 16.2).	“Moreover, ours teach that it is necessary to do good works; not that we may trust that we deserve grace by them, but because it is the will of God that we should do them” (Augsburg Conf., §20).	“It is impossible that this holy faith can be unfruitful in man; for we do not speak of a vain faith, but of such a faith as is called in Scripture <i>a faith that worketh by love</i> , which excites man to the practice of those works which God has commanded in His Word. Which works, as they proceed from the good root of faith, are good and acceptable in the sight of God, forasmuch as they are all sanctified by His grace” (Belgic Conf., §24).
Third Use of the Law	“Although true believers be not under the law, as a covenant of works, to be thereby justified, or condemned; yet is it of great use to them, as well as to others; in that, as a rule of life informing them of the will of God, and their duty, it directs and binds them to walk accordingly” (WCF 19.6).	“And in this way do the children of God live in the Law, and fashion their life according to the rule of the divine Law, which way of living St. Paul is wont to call in his epistles the Law of Christ and the Law of the mind (Rom 7.25; 8.2, 7; Gal 6.2).” “We repudiate, therefore, as a false and pernicious dogma, contrary to Christian discipline and true piety, the teaching that the Law of God ... is not to be set forth before the godly and true believers, but only before the ungodly, unbelievers, and impenitent, and to be urged upon these alone” (Formula Concord, art. 6, “On the Third Use of the Law”).	“We still use the testimonies taken out of the law and the prophets, to confirm us in the doctrine of the gospel, and to regulate our life in all honesty to the glory of God according to His will” (Belgic Conf., §25).

The True History of Paedo-Communion

By Matthew Winzer

Upon reading the historiography of paedo-communion, as presented by adherents of the practice, one might receive the mistaken impression that paedo-communion was an uncontested observance from the days of the apostles until the height of the Popish supremacy in the dark ages, when the superstition of those times put an end to it. James Jordan's first thesis on the subject is, "Infants and small children participated in the Lord's Supper in the Western Church until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries."¹ Ray Sutton, likewise, asserts "that paedocommunion was practiced the first twelve centuries in the Western and Eastern churches."² Such a view of the subject, however, is only possible by embellishing certain facts, and omitting others.

In the following paper, a sincere endeavour has been made to bring the "true" history of paedo-communion to light. The historical writings of church fathers are examined in their theological and liturgical context, in order to demonstrate that paedo-communion was *not* a customary practice in the earliest ages of the church. More particularly, it shall be shown, that,

- (1.) There is no reference to paedo-communion until A.D. 251.
- (2.) Prior to that time, the fathers testify to the practice of discriminate communion.
- (3.) Even when paedo-communion is mentioned in 251, it is not described as a custom, nor is it claimed to be apostolic. It is referred to rather incidentally in the process of relating a series of events which fell under the judgement of God.
- (4.) It is not until 150 years later, in the fifth century in the west, that paedo-communion is specifically referred to as a practice—but that by this time, the communion-service was complex, including various categories of participation; and that the elements,

of which infants partook, were more than likely *not* a part of the ordinary communion service.

Such being the true history of paedo-communion, the claim which has been made by the advocates of this practice—that "infants and small children participated in the Lord's Supper in the Western Church until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries"—must be rejected as a false assertion.

1. THE FIRST REFERENCE TO INFANT COMMUNION IS A.D. 251

James Jordan, in order to validate his claim that infant communion was the practice of the Western Church *until* the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, quotes historical authorities such as Williston Walker and Joseph Bingham (Jordan, *Theses*, 1). The reference to Williston Walker, however, only reveals the assertion that considerations such as the real presence "led to the general abandonment of the practice of infant communion, which had been universal, and which continues in the Greek Church to the present."³ The fact that the practice *had been* universal *before* the twelfth century, hardly justifies Mr. Jordan's assertion that, in the Western Church, infants participated in communion *until* the twelfth century.

Moreover, Mr. Walker earlier commented that the practice was *first introduced* to the Western Church

THE AUTHOR: The Rev. Matthew Winzer is a minister of the Australian Free Church, currently serving in Rockhampton, Queensland, Australia. An earlier version of this article appeared in the online journal, *Credo Quarterly* in April 2003, which is no longer published.

1. James B. Jordan, "Theses on Paedocommunion," in *The Geneva Papers* (Tyler, Tex.: Geneva Divinity School, 1982) 1.
2. Ray R. Sutton, "Presuppositions of paedocommunion," *The Geneva Papers* (Tyler, Tex.: Geneva Divinity School, 1982) 4.
3. Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930) 274.

in the third century. After noting that Cyprian developed the doctrine “of the Lord’s Supper as a sacrifice offered to God by a priest,” he writes that “the sense of the life-giving quality of the Supper led, also, to the custom of infant-communion, of which Cyprian is a witness” (Walker, 99). Mr. Jordan’s first authority, therefore, fails to validate his claim that paedocommunion was a practice of the western church *until* the twelfth century. Mr. Walker explicitly states that the practice, which was abolished in the twelfth century, had a beginning in the third century. This dual fact had earlier led Samuel Miller to conclude, that “as miserable superstition brought it into the church, so a still more miserable superstition destroyed it.”⁴

Mr. Jordan’s second source of historical authority is the antiquary, Joseph Bingham. He says, that as the church baptised infants, “so she immediately admitted them to a participation of the eucharist, as soon as they were baptized, and ever after without exception.”⁵ But there is no claim made that the practice was observed in the western church *until* the twelfth century; let alone, as Ray Sutton would have his readers to believe, that Mr. Bingham “establishes that paedocommunion was practiced the first twelve centuries in the Western and Eastern churches” (Sutton, *Presuppositions*, 4). This is surely a burden grievous to be borne, especially when the antiquary was only concerned to point out that the practice is “mentioned” by “writers from the third to the fifth century.”

Christian Keidel is undoubtedly a little more circumspect than Messrs Jordan and Sutton, in presenting the evidence for the practice which he espouses; for he would only venture to say that it “was widespread in the early church.” To establish his case, he calls in eye-witnesses from both the eastern and western branches of the ancient church, and finds that references are more numerous in the western church: “The first known witness is Cyprian in 251,” he noted, “followed by Augustine of Hippo, Innocent I, Gelasius of Rome, and Gennadius of Marseilles.”⁶ Thence follow some references to particular church councils which approved the practice. Mr. Keidel is also prepared to

acknowledge “that the rationale usually given in the early church for infant inclusion in the Supper was that eternal life was thereby secured on the basis of John 6: 53” (Keidel, 305).

Thus, the most that can be ascertained is that, “There is no reference to paedocommunion until A.D. 251.”

2. THE PRACTICE OF DISCRIMINATE COMMUNION PRIOR TO A.D. 251

Since Mr. Keidel acknowledges that the first witness to paedocommunion was Cyprian in 251, and that the practice was due in no small part to a wrong view of the sacrament, one might be surprised to learn that the paedocommunion apologist does not conclude that the practice owed its existence to a corruption in doctrine. He simply counter-argues that

the same question may be asked of infant baptism. Was the doctrine of baptismal regeneration the rationale for infant baptism in the early church, or was it a distorted view later placed upon what was an apostolic practice? Church history has not been able to settle these questions (Keidel, 305).

The anti-paedobaptist apologist, Paul Jewett, expressed fairly much the same position with regards to the verdict of church history; although he obviously passed a very different sentence in the light of that verdict. He believes that

the initial evidence for infant baptism and infant communion shows a proximity in time (A.D. 205–250) and place (North Africa) which makes it difficult to see why the former usage should be accepted while the latter is rejected.⁷

But this attempt to interpret church history as giving equal plausibility to both infant baptism and infant communion, will not bear up under scrutiny. There is evidence from the second century of the church, prior to Tertullian’s explicit reference in 205, which can only be interpreted in the light of infant baptism; and there is nothing in the early fathers to contradict it. On the other hand, the fathers of the second century teach a doctrine of the Eucharist which discriminates against undiscerning participation.

The first witness to infant baptism is Justin Martyr, in his *Apology* to the emperor Antoninus Pius (138–161). He refers to many men and women of sixty and

4. Samuel Miller, *Infant Baptism Scriptural and Reasonable* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, n.d.) 46.

5. Joseph Bingham, *Antiquities of the Christian Church* 2 (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1856) 797.

6. Christian L. Keidel, “Is the Lord’s supper for children?” *Westminster Theological Journal* 37 (Spring, 1975) 301.

7. Paul K. Jewett, *Infant Baptism and the Covenant of Grace* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1978) 42. Mr. Keidel, *Lord’s Supper*, 305 f.n., intimates the stimulus he received from Mr. Jewett’s syllabus, “Infant Baptism and Confirmation.”

seventy years of age, from every race of men, who had been Christ's disciples from childhood [*ek paidon*].⁸ This indicates that infant discipleship was a norm of Christian society, and that it included many who, like Polycarp, had served Christ for the duration of their lives. Not long after Justin, Irenæus of Lyons (120–202) wrote that Jesus “came to save all through means of Himself—all, I say, who through Him are born again to God—infants, and children, and boys, and youths, and old men” (Irenæus, “Against Heresies,” *ANF* 1:391). One is born again, according to the fathers, by means of baptism.

Thus the second century gives strong support in favour of paedobaptism. It also speaks unequivocally on behalf of discriminate communion. In his description of Eucharistic celebration, Justin states in no uncertain terms that no one is allowed to partake of the Lord's supper, but he who is qualified by a profession of the church's faith and a corresponding life of obedience; and he bases this upon the fact that the Eucharist ought not to be received as common bread and common drink. He wrote:

And this food is called among us *Eukaristia* [the Eucharist], of which no one is allowed to partake but the man who believes that the things which we teach are true, and who has been washed with the washing that is for the remission of sins, and unto regeneration, and who is so living as Christ has enjoined. For not as common bread and common drink do we receive these ... (Justin, *ANF* 1:185).

The assertion that “no one is allowed to partake but...,” means that what follows are the *only* qualifications by which *anybody* might be admitted to the Eucharist. These qualifications, besides baptism, were a profession of the church's faith and a life conformable to Christ's commandments; or as would be stated in modern terms, a credible profession of faith. Without these qualifications, Justin says, no one is allowed to partake; and that would include undiscerning infants.

Irenæus, likewise, gave in his testimony as to how the early Christians celebrated the Eucharist. It was not carnal, but in spirit and in truth:

And therefore the oblation of the Eucharist is not a carnal one, but a spiritual; and in this respect it is pure. For we make an oblation to God of the bread and the cup of blessing, giving Him thanks in that He has commanded the earth to bring forth these fruits for our nourishment. And then, when we have perfected the

oblation, we invoke the Holy Spirit, that He may exhibit this sacrifice, both the bread the body of Christ, and the cup the blood of Christ, in order that the receivers of these antitypes may obtain remission of sins and life eternal. Those persons, then, who perform these oblations in remembrance of the Lord, do not fall in with Jewish views, but, performing the service after a spiritual manner, they shall be called sons of wisdom (Irenæus, *ANF* 1:574, 575).

In other words, the Eucharist was celebrated with the participant giving thanks and praying for the Lord's blessing upon their receiving of the elements. Such a participation, because performed in remembrance of the Lord, is classified as spiritual; and where this is wanting, the implication is that the partaker is worshipping the Lord after the carnal manner of the Jews.

A little later still, Clement of Alexandria, in the *Instructor*, states that the Eucharist is “renowned and glorious grace; and they who by faith partake of it are sanctified both in body and soul” (Clement of Alexandria, “The Instructor,” *ANF* 2:242). Believing participation, therefore, is seen to be necessary in order for one to be profited by the sacrament. Then, in his preface to the *Stromata* (about the turn of the century), Clement gives this testimony on behalf of discriminate communion:

some in the dispensation of the Eucharist, according to custom enjoin that each one of the people individually should take his part. One's own conscience is best for choosing accurately or shunning. And its firm foundation is a right life, with suitable instruction. But the imitation of those who have already been proved, and who have led correct lives, is most excellent for the understanding and practice of the commandments. “So that whosoever shall eat the bread and drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of the bread and drink of the cup (Clement of Alexandria, “Stromata,” *ANF* 2:300).

The following is to be observed from the father's words: (a.) That each individual has the responsibility to choose or to shun the Eucharist. (b.) That it is only by the testimony of an individual's conscience that such a determination can be made. (c.) That a right life and suitable knowledge is foundational for participation in

8. Justin Martyr, “The First Apology of Justin,” in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* 1 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993 rpt.) 167. Hereafter abbreviated *ANF*.

the Eucharist. (d.) That all of this is according to custom. (e.) And this is in accord with Paul's words to the Corinthians, which requires self-examination.

These are the writings of the fathers up to the turn of the third century. There is undoubtedly a great weight of evidence *for* paedobaptism, and an even greater weight of evidence *against* paedocommunion. So the testimony of church history certainly does not suggest that infant baptism and infant communion are equally plausible. Church history provides, very early, non-conflicting testimony in behalf of the practice of baptising infants; while the same history indicates a practice which was contrary to admitting infants to participate in eucharistic celebration. In this light, the first reference to paedocommunion in 251, must be seen as an innovation which was due in no small part to changing beliefs concerning the nature of the eucharist.

3. AN EXAMINATION OF THE A.D. 251 REFERENCE TO PAEDO-COMMUNION

Coming into the third century, the evidence for paedobaptism naturally increases with the greater proliferation of Christian writings. The African Tertullian, the Roman Hippolytus, and the Alexandrian Origen, all give explicit testimony to the practice of it. Hippolytus and Origen expressly claim that it is derived from the apostles. Moreover, the catacombs, which begin to emerge at this time, bear inscriptions which speak of infants from the youngest age having received baptism. Then, in the middle of the third century, a church council of sixty-six members decreed that the baptism of infants was not to be delayed, when one raised the question as to whether it should be put off until the eighth day in accordance with Old Testament law; so ingrained was the practice of infant baptism in the very fabric of the church.⁹

Now, if this mountain of evidence on behalf of paedobaptism is compared with the molehill that is put forward for paedocommunion, it will become apparent that the first reference to paedocommunion cannot be regarded as a historical testimony which established the practice as "widespread" or "accepted." There is but

one reference to paedocommunion, and that is very obscure, in A.D. 251. This reference nowhere condones the practice; neither does it describe paedocommunion as a custom or claim that it was received from the apostles. Moreover, the next reference to paedocommunion, after 251, is brought forward from the writings of Augustine, which are dated 150 years later. This makes it clear that the reference in question is an isolated incident, which has no concurring testimony from any other writing of the period. These facts shall be brought out in the following examination of the first reference to paedocommunion.

After the heady days of persecution under Decius, when peace was restored to the Church in 251, Cyprian took up his pen to write *On the Lapsed*. He begins with describing the blessed peace which the church now enjoys, warning against any who would "detract from the uncorrupted steadfastness of those who have stood." Upon which, he duly noted that a corruption in discipline had brought the Lord's chastening hand upon them; and in describing the faithlessness of the former days, he writes, "among the priests there was no devotedness of religion; among the ministers there was no sound faith; in their works there was no mercy; in their manners there was no discipline" (Cyprian, "Treatises," in *ANF* 5:438).

So it must be noted, in the first place, that Cyprian is describing a declining state of the church, which was failing to implement the discipline of the Lord upon its members. At this point, the author begins to denounce those who had failed to stand firm against the late persecution: they forsook the assemblies of the saints and gave themselves to the sacrifice of idols. Cyprian particularly marked out for rebuke those parents who removed their children from the means of grace. And in order to give greater force to his condemnation of this practice, he places the charge of the parents on the lips of their very own children:

And that nothing might be wanting to aggravate the crime, infants also, in the arms of their parents, either carried or conducted, lost, while yet little ones, what in the very first beginning of their nativity they had gained. Will not they, when the day of judgment comes, say, "We have done nothing; nor have we forsaken the Lord's bread and cup to hasten freely to a profane contact; the faithlessness of others has ruined us. We have found our parents our murderers; they have denied to us the Church as a Mother; they have denied God as a Father: so that, while we were little, and unforeseeing, and unconscious of such a crime, we were associated by

9. See Tertullian, "On Baptism," chap. 18, in *ANF* 3:678. Hippolytus is quoted by Paul Jewett, *Infant Baptism*, p. 23; and Origen is quoted in Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church* 2 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1994 rpt.) 260. For information on the inscriptions which have been found among the catacombs, see Everett Ferguson, "Inscriptions and the Origin of Infant Baptism," *Journal of Theological Studies* 30 (1979) 37-46. The decision of the Church Council is recorded in Cyprian, "Epistle LVIII," in *ANF* 5:353, 354.

others to the partnership of wickedness, and we were snared by the deceit of others (Cyprian, 5.439)?

Paedo-communion historian, Tommy Lee, after quoting this section of Cyprian's work, without any regard to the context of the words, draws this unwarranted conclusion: "In Cyprian's time it is undeniably a matter of course for *all* of the church, including the infants and young children, to participate in the Lord's Supper."¹⁰

It is gratuitous to assume that a *personal* participation in the sacrament is expressed by the words, "nor have we forsaken the Lord's bread and cup." For by this time, the communion service had become the central part of the church's worship, and the Christian gatherings are often referred to under the metaphor of "the sacrifice" or some such symbol relative to the communion. So that the thought which Cyprian expresses by the mouths of the infants is that they had "not forsaken the assembling of themselves together." The parents had taken them from the fellowship of the church, and brought them instead into "a profane contact." This is further verified when it is noted that the infants go on to say: "they have denied to us the Church as a Mother." Thus Cyprian was only alluding to the parents removing them from the gathering together of the church, not from physical participation in the communion.

The church father, after noting this unfaithful desertion of the church, went on to describe an even greater tragedy. With peace restored, he complains that the lapsed are too quickly received back into church-fellowship. This is "a new kind of devastation," which brings about "under the title of mercy, a deceiving mischief and a fair-seeming calamity. Contrary to the vigour of the Gospel, contrary to the law of the Lord and God, by the temerity of some, communion is relaxed to heedless persons." This is but another persecution of God's people, the author complains.

Here it must be noted, in the second place, that discipline concerning admission to the sacrament of communion, was relaxed after the persecution had ceased. Thereupon he begins to expostulate with his readers that only God can forgive sins, and that until there is true confession on the part of the lapsed, the wrath of God abides upon them. In which context he begins to relate a few incidents which describe the purging fire of the Lord. "Lo, what punishments do we behold of those who have denied! what sad deaths of theirs do we bewail!" "Some are punished in the meantime," he says, "that others may be corrected. The torments of a few are the examples of all" (Cyprian, ANF 5:443).

It is imperative to observe, in the third place, that Cyprian has begun to show that God's judgement rests upon this indiscriminate communion which allows anybody to partake of the supper. In this context, he relates some incidents in which indiscriminate communicants were punished by the Lord for their sin. Concerning one of these incidents, Cyprian would have his readers to "learn what occurred when I myself was present and a witness." He then proceeds to refer to an occasion when an infant received one of the elements of the Lord's supper. If the context is observed, it will become blatantly obvious that Cyprian was far from condoning the practice of infant-communion. The event is thus described:

A child, who had been deserted when her parents fled persecution, was force-fed bread mingled with wine in the presence of an idol. Later, the mother recovered the child, but was ignorant of what had happened to her. When the girl was brought into the worship-service of the church, she showed signs of impatience. At last, the sacramental wine was offered by the deacon to those present, says Cyprian,

and when, as the rest received it, its turn approached, the little child, by the instinct of the divine majesty, turned away its face, compressed its mouth with resisting lips, and refused the cup. Still the deacon persisted, and, although against her efforts, forced on her some of the sacrament of the cup. Then there followed a sobbing and vomiting. In a profane body and mouth the Eucharist could not remain; the draught sanctified in the blood of the Lord burst forth from the polluted stomach (Cyprian, 5.444).

The story passes judgement upon itself, which is what the author intended it to do. The following points need to be observed:

(a.) This is an isolated reference to a child being given one element of the communion, and it fails to give the impression that it was a custom in the church. So far was Cyprian from indicating that it was received by tradition from the apostles, that he was in the process of deprecating the corruption of discipline in the church which had led to the practice of indiscriminate communion.

(b.) Contrary to Mr. Jewett, the context makes it clear that the author *does* scruple at the practice, for the incident is related as an example of the judgement of God

10. Tommy Lee, *The History of Paedocommunion: From the Early Church until 1500* (online document, at http://www.reformed.org/sacramentology/tl_paedo.html) 6.

upon “heedless persons.” These punishments, he had stated, were for the purpose that others might be corrected. In other words, this story of infant participation in communion, is not provided as a custom to be imitated, but as an example to be shunned, that others might not be punished in a similar way.

(c.) Cyprian was so far from thinking that the infant ought to have been a partaker of communion, that he interpreted the little child turning away her face from the wine as being inspired “by the instinct of the divine majesty.” It was a maxim of his, “That the Eucharist is to be received with fear and honour,” and he quotes Paul’s warning against unworthy participation in support of this (Cyprian, 5.554). This incident of infant communion, which displays his disgust at the relaxed standard of eucharistic discipline in his time, suffices as an exposition of this maxim.

(d.) He does not describe paedocommunion, but the *force-feeding* of a child with one of the elements of the communion; a practice which Christian Keidel opposes (Keidel, 305–306).

(e.) One does well to notice the practice of the heathen in forcing the food of idols down the throats of Christian infants, for the purpose of gaining them to their superstitions. As Cyprian had earlier complained of the ministers indiscriminately giving communion to the lapsed in order to reclaim them, this incident of forcing the Eucharist upon an infant who had fallen into the hands of the heathen, may well have been derived from the heathen.

(f.) Subsequent examples related by Cyprian indicate that he was speaking of what ought *not* to be. The next paragraph goes on to speak of “the woman who in advanced life and more mature age secretly crept in among us when we were sacrificing, received not food, but a sword for herself; and as if taking some deadly poison into her jaws and body, began presently to be tortured ...” Anybody with an ounce of discretion can see that the church father did not approve of their participation in the Lord’s supper.

Now, let the reader compare this passing, incidental reference to force-feeding a little girl the wine of the communion, to the indisputable mass of evidence for paedobaptism from the writings of Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen, Cyprian and the catacombs. Let it be noted that these witnesses indicate widespread support, apostolic claim, and conciliar favour for paedocommunion.

baptism just a hundred to a hundred and fifty years after the close of the apostolic era. On the other hand, Cyprian’s isolated reference to what is erroneously called paedocommunion is far from favourable, it contradicts the practice of discriminate communion avowed in the previous century, and there is not another alleged witness in the west for another one hundred and fifty years. A fair and impartial examiner of this evidence will undoubtedly conclude that the history of the third century church does not give any plausibility to the idea that paedocommunion was widespread or accepted practice.

4. AUGUSTINE’S SO-CALLED “ACCIDENTAL” REFERENCES TO PÆDO-COMMUNION

Christian Keidel’s next western witness, after Cyprian, is Augustine of Hippo. Tommy Lee calls this father’s espousal of infant communion, an “indirect, ‘accidental’ reference to it” (Tommy Lee, *History*, 8). The basis of alleging Augustine in favour of paedocommunion is his theology of the sacraments. This needs to be borne in mind, for Augustine never explicitly affirms that infants frequently took their place at the Lord’s table and participated with the rest of the congregation in the sacramental body and blood of the Lord.

In his anti-Pelagian work on forgiveness of sins and baptism of infants, the onus of Augustine’s argument was to prove that, because infants are baptised, they must have original sin to wash away. In the course of this argument, he paused to answer the allegation of those who taught that infants are not baptised for the remission of sins, but only in order to obtain the kingdom of heaven (chap. 23). He considered it an established principle (chaps. 24, 25) that infants are saved as sinners through baptism.

Hereupon (chap. 26) Augustine argued from the words of the Lord in John 6:53, where it is stated, “Except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, ye shall have no *life* in you.” He interpreted this as symbolising the Lord’s table, “to which,” he insisted, “none but a baptized person has a right to approach.”¹¹ He then proceeded to argue (chap. 27), “that even for the life of infants was His flesh given, which He gave for the life of the world; and that even they will not have life if they eat not the flesh of the Son of man” (Ibid.). Later still (chap. 34), the doctor drove this point home: “If, therefore, as so many and such divine witnesses agree, neither salvation nor eternal life can be hoped for by any man without baptism and the Lord’s body and blood, it is vain to promise these blessings to infants without them” (Ibid. 28).

11. Augustine, “On Forgiveness of Sins and Baptism,” in *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* first series 5 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991 rpt.) 25. Hereafter abbreviated NPNF1.

Augustine is silent as to the immediate necessity for infants to be brought to the Lord's table to participate in Christ's body and blood. At this point, his sacramental theology *might* entail nothing more than that infants will need to commune at some point in their lives in order to receive eternal life. It could *possibly* suggest that infants were to be given a drop of the wine when they were baptised, or when they were approaching death. *Perhaps* it refers to the practice of allowing non-communicants to eat the remains of the bread.

The most explicit statements which Augustine made regarding the relation of infants to the communion, are in these words: "This reconciliation is in the laver of regeneration and in the flesh and blood of Christ, without which not even infants can have life in themselves."¹² "Yes, they're infants, but they are his members. They're infants, but they receive his sacraments. They are infants, but they share in his table, in order to have life in themselves."¹³

These statements only demonstrate that Augustine thought it was necessary for infants to partake of the sacramental body and blood of Christ; they nowhere state *when* or *how* they participated. Was it when they were baptised, or upon their death-bed? Was it once, or frequently? Augustine does not answer these questions.

Despite the fact that Augustine's references to infant communion are "accidental," paedo-communion historians insist that this is what the father had in mind when he urged the necessity for infants to feed on Christ in the sacrament. Their inference, however, is only valid if one considers Augustine's words in the light of a modern communion service. When the paedo-communion advocate reads the church father's thoughts, he supposes that the post-Constantine church observed the sacrament in the simplistic manner in which it is done today in many Protestant churches. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

Eucharistic celebration had become very complicated by Augustine's time, and included different categories of participation. The various uses of the bread may suffice to demonstrate this point. For example, the name *viaticum* was applied to the Eucharist which was given to the dying. Canon 13 of the Council of Nicea (A.D. 325) speaks "concerning the departing," that

if any man be at the point of death, he must not be deprived of the last and most indispensable Viaticum. But if any one should be restored to health again who has received the communion when his life was despaired of, let him remain among those who communicate in prayers only.¹⁴

This Canon indicates that by the first quarter of the fourth century, there were two categories of participation in the Eucharist. There were those who ordinarily participated in the service of the Mass; and there were non-communicants who would only join in with the prayers of the Mass, but who could receive the Eucharist if they were despairing of life. Here, then, is a concrete example of the church holding to the necessity of receiving the communion elements for eternal life; and yet, it clearly does not entail that the recipient must receive these elements in the communion service. In fact, according to this canon, one can receive the elements in times of necessity, and still not be regarded as a communicant.

Besides the different categories of communicants, there were also different kinds of communion-bread. In the Greek church, around the fourth century, only a square piece of the loaf intended for communion was consecrated. The unconsecrated *remainder*, known by the Greek name of *antidora*, was cut into small pieces and placed on or near the altar during the Mass. This *antidora* would subsequently be distributed to *non-communicants*.¹⁵ The historian, Evagrius Scholasticus of the sixth century, referred to an old custom which involved the giving of remainders of the bread to young school-boys:

It is an old custom in the imperial city, that, when there remains over a considerable quantity of the holy fragments of the immaculate body of Christ our God, boys of tender age should be fetched from among those who attend the schools, to eat them.¹⁶

Whether Evagrius was speaking specifically of the *antidora* is hard to determine. What is certain is that he describes a type of infant participation in the communion which was outside of the eucharistic service; and it was this *extraneous* communion, in the *remainder* of the holy portions, which the school-boys partook of.

12. Augustine, "Against Two Letters of the Pelagians," *NPNF1*, 5:420.

13. Saint Augustine, *The Works of Saint Augustine*, trans. Edmund Hill, ed. John E. Rotelle, 11 vols. Part III-Sermons (New Rochelle, N. Y.: New City Press, 1992) 5:261.

14. "The Seven Ecumenical Councils," ed. Henry R. Percival, in *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* second series 14 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991 rpt.) 29. Hereafter abbreviated *NPNF2*.

15. See the editorial notes in "The Seven Ecumenical Councils," *NPNF2*, 14:132.

16. Evagrius Scholasticus, *A History of the Church in Six Books* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1846) 235.

Besides the *antidora*, there was another part of the bread known as *eulogiae*. This was bread which had been blessed, but not consumed in the Mass. The *eulogiae* was sometimes used by the clergy to send to one another as tokens of fellowship. It was also utilised by the faithful when they were hindered from attending the service. Basil mentions that even when they had attended the service, the bread having been blessed by the priest, the faithful would take it home and feed upon it daily:

And at Alexandria and in Egypt, each one of the laity, for the most part, keeps the communion, at his own house, and participates in it when he likes. For when once the priest has completed the offering, and given it, the recipient, participating in it each time as entire, is bound to believe that he properly takes and receives it from the giver.¹⁷

In the light of this evidence, it is quite obviously too simplistic to suggest that references to the necessity of infant participation in the communion elements must imply the practice of paedocommunion. The implication is only valid if one considers that these extraneous participations in the remainder of the elements is worthy of the name *communion* in the biblical sense. For it is impossible to prove, from the writings of Augustine or any of the post-Nicene church fathers, that they considered infant participation in the communion service as essential for eternal life.

Furthermore, three historical facts tend to disprove the hypothesis that the post-Nicene fathers expected infants to participate in the communion service in order to be nourished unto eternal life. First, baptismal postponement was a widespread problem at that time. Second, the fathers placed great emphasis upon catechesis in order to prepare the subject for the worthy reception of the sacraments. Third, they thought that understanding of the sacrament was requisite to a worthy receiving of it.

(1.) As to the postponement of baptism, historians are generally agreed. Philip Schaff states:

Many Christian parents postponed the baptism of their children, sometimes from indifference, sometimes from fear that they might by their later life forfeit the grace of

baptism, and thereby make their condition the worse. Thus Gregory Nazianzen and Augustine, though they had eminently pious mothers, were not baptized till their conversion in their manhood (*History* 3:483).

The suggestion that infants customarily participated with their parents in the communion service contradicts the very well known fact that there were multitudes of infants who had not even been baptised; bearing in mind, of course, that no unbaptised person was permitted to communicate with the faithful.

(2.) With regard to the emphasis upon catechesis, the writings of the fathers abound. There were both pre- and post-baptismal catechumens in preparation for the worthy receiving of the sacraments. Augustine refers to this preparative course when he writes:

What, moreover, is all that time for, during which they hold the name and place of catechumens, except to hear what the faith and pattern of Christian life should be, so that first they may prove themselves and then eat of the Bread of the Lord and drink of the Chalice.¹⁸

The importance which the fathers placed upon learning the Christian faith, and proving oneself ready to live the Christian life, as necessary preparatives to sacramental participation, is another strong argument against the hypothesis that the fathers' view of the Lord's supper implies the practice of paedocommunion.

(3.) As to the understanding which the fathers required of the recipient of the sacrament, there can be no doubt. The eucharistic liturgy constantly called upon the communicant to examine themselves and discern the Lord's body and blood in the elements.

Cyril of Jerusalem's Catechetical Lectures provides the catechumen with a description of the eucharistic liturgy which had been adopted in the church of that time. The Catechist often stops to reflect on different aspects of the liturgy, drawing attention to its continual call for the individual to partake worthily. At one point, the priest is quoted as saying, "Holy things to holy men," indicating that only those who are sanctified ought to participate in the consecrated elements. Cyril then describes what this holiness consists in: "we too are holy, but not by nature, only by participation, and discipline, and prayer."¹⁹

Moreover, in the act of receiving the elements, the Catechist regarded spiritual discernment and faith to feed upon Christ as essential. "Trust not the judgment to thy bodily palate," writes Cyril, "no, but to faith unflinching; for they who taste are bidden to taste,

17. Basil, "Letter XCIII," in *NPNF2*, 8:179.

18. *De bapt.* 19, 1–2. As quoted by Rev. Michele Dujarier, *A History of the Catechumenate: the First Six Centuries* (online at <http://www.cyberfaith.com/examining/historyof2-12.html>).

19. Cyril of Jerusalem, "Lecture XXIII," in *NPNF2*, 7:156.

not bread and wine, but the anti-typical Body and Blood of Christ" (Cyril of Jerusalem, 7:156). Faith, understanding and appreciating the nature and significance of the sacramental elements, was regarded by the fathers as essential to the worthy receiving of the sacrament.

This emphasis which the liturgy placed upon a subjective participation in the sacrament, was based upon the fathers' interpretation of what Paul required of the Corinthians when they celebrated the Lord's supper. Augustine called upon his hearers to

Bear in mind the meaning of the Scripture, "Whosoever shall eat the bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." And when the apostle said this, he was dealing with those who were taking the body of the Lord, like any other food, in an undiscerning and careless spirit. If, then, he is thus taken to task who does not discern, that is, does not distinguish from the other kinds of food, the body of the Lord, what condemnation must be his, who in the guise of a friend comes as an enemy to His table!²⁰

In another context, Augustine exhorted his hearers as follows: "Let them who already eat the Flesh of the Lord and drink His blood, think What it is they eat and drink, lest, as the Apostle says, 'They eat and drink judgment to themselves.'"²¹

For Augustine, knowledge of the meaning of the communion elements was essential to worthy participation. To partake of the elements carelessly, as if they were common food, was to fall under the verdict of the apostle who regarded such unworthy participation as incurring the guilt of the body and blood of the Lord. The communicant was to have a cognitive understanding of what the elements represented.

This interpretation of Paul's words was not confined to the Western fathers, who are sometimes accused of indulging in rationalism. The eastern fathers read the apostle Paul in the same way; and they, speaking the Greek language natively, were in a prime position to grasp the meaning of the apostle. John Chrysostom, in his homily on Paul's words, declared:

But why doth he eat judgment to himself? "Not discerning the Lord's body:" i.e., not searching, not bearing in mind, as he ought, the greatness of the things set before him; not estimating the weight of the gift. For if thou shouldest come to know accurately Who it is that lies

before thee, and Who He is that gives Himself, and to whom, thou wilt need no other argument, but this is enough for thee to use all vigilance; unless thou shouldest be altogether fallen.²²

Here, again, emphasis is placed upon understanding the content of the communion. This patristic interpretation of Paul's words is considered by paedo-communion proponents as being too rationalistic. James Jordan, for example, states, "the intellectualistic interpretation of this verse has it that 'discerning the body' means *understanding* ..." The problem Paul was addressing, he suggests, pertained to the Corinthians' failure to acknowledge the body of the church, not the spiritual presence of Christ in the sacrament: "the problem is moral, not intellectual." This leads him to conclude that "there is nothing in this passage to justify the notion that children must not be admitted to Lord's table until they are 'old enough to understand'" (Jordan, *Theses*, 3).

Leaving aside the question as to the correct interpretation of Paul's words, the point which is pertinent to an historical study of this kind is, that the church fathers, long before the advent of rationalism, understood Paul to be speaking of an intellectual pre-requisite to communion. To be sure, it was not a natural understanding which they considered to be necessary; for that would only lead to the conclusion that the elements were merely physical. Rather, they insisted that the communicant must have a believing understanding that Christ is spiritually present in the elements; and that in feeding upon the elements, the participant was spiritually feeding upon Christ and His redemptive benefits.

Accordingly, the patristic interpretation of Paul's words *does* justify the notion that children need to be "old enough to understand" before they are admitted to the Lord's table. As the paedo-communion apologist implied, the debarring of infants from the Lord's table is a practical consequence of believing that Paul required intellectual discernment for worthy participation. It has been shown that this is exactly how the fathers interpreted Paul. The consequence, therefore, must be that their view of the sacrament excludes infants from communion.

20. Augustine, "Tractates on the Gospel according to St. John," *NPNF1*, 7:313.

21. Augustine, "Sermons on Selected Lessons of the New Testament," *NPNF1*, 6:504.

22. John Chrysostom, "Homily XXVIII" on First Corinthians, in *NPNF1* 12:164.

Now these three historical facts—widespread baptismal postponement, the necessity of catechesis, and the insistence upon a spiritual understanding of the sacrament—when taken together, make it very difficult to believe that these fathers expected infants to participate in the communion service. It is true that, by Augustine's time, it was regarded as absolutely necessary to eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ in order to receive eternal life. It is also indisputably the case that, by the end of the fifth century, the Eucharist was customarily given to infants; for Gelasius I. of Rome (A.D. 495) ordered: "No one should venture to exclude any child from this sacrament, without which no one can attain to eternal life."²³ It is an uncontested fact, however, that the church had made provision for the elements to be administered to non-communicants outside of the communion service; and that participation in these elements did not constitute the recipient a regular communicant.

Given the fact that Augustine's view of the necessary nature of the sacramental elements does not entail the admission of infants to the sacrament itself, the father cannot be regarded as providing even "accidental" references to paedocommunion. Augustine, then, may not be enlisted as a witness on behalf of those who attempt to prove that infant-inclusion in the celebration of communion was widespread in the early church. This is fatal to the historical claims of paedocommunion proponents; for it effectively means that there is not one witness to paedocommunion in the first five centuries of the church.

CONCLUSION

The historical record of the early church has been examined down to the fifth century. There is not one piece of evidence, amidst the voluminous writings of the fathers, to suggest that infants participated in the church's celebration of the Lord's supper. The first known record, which is regarded as alluding to the practice, dates from A.D. 251. Prior to that time, however, Justin explicitly testified to the fact that no one, without a credible profession of faith, was permitted to join with the faithful in the celebration of the supper.

When paedocommunion was first mentioned in 251, by Cyprian, it was in the context of condemning a relaxed standard which indiscriminately admitted the

unworthy to the sacrament. Cyprian did not describe the incident as if it were customary or apostolic. To the contrary, he regarded what happened as suffering the vengeance of God, and he gave every appearance of condemning it. Moreover, there is not another reference to infants receiving the sacramental elements for another one hundred and fifty years. So there is no basis for concluding that Cyprian's incident was indicative of a general church practice.

Finally, when there is an insistence, based upon a changing theology of the sacraments, that infants must partake of the eucharistic elements, there is still no clear evidence to suggest that this participation must take place at the church's communion service. For with the theological change, there came also a liturgical alteration, making way for non-communicant participation in the elements during periods of illness. And when this is seen in the context of a popular trend to postpone baptism, an ecclesiastical insistence on catechesis to prepare for the sacraments, and a theological position which stressed the importance of a spiritual understanding of the sacrament, it becomes more likely that infants did not take part in the communion service.

When exactly paedocommunion did emerge as a church practice, and under what auspices, is difficult to ascertain. From the custom of giving infants the surplus of the communion elements, it is not difficult to see how they may have eventually been permitted to participate in the celebration of the Mass itself, and to take their place with adult communicants at the altar. From about the fifth century onward, as the church made substantial inroads into non-Roman parts of the world, many ecclesiastical customs were adapted to suit the preferences of new cultures. There is a distinct possibility that infant-communion may have arisen at that time. But be that as it may, one fact is certain: there is no basis for the practice of paedocommunion in the patristic writings. ■

23. Quoted by John McClintock and James Strong eds., *Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature* 4 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1981 rpt.), 576.

A Critical Text of the Westminster Larger Catechism: Q. 1–50.

By Chris Coldwell

INTRODUCTION

It is true what a recent study has noted: “Despite playing such a prominent role in the Assembly’s proceedings, the text and textual history of the Larger Catechism has received surprisingly little attention.”¹ This article presents the first part of a critical text of the Westminster Larger Catechism beginning with the first fifty questions and answers, tracing the textual errors and variants as precisely as possible to the source that brought them into the traditional text. The editions that make up the lineage of the traditional text, those popular editions which subsequent printers relied upon to set their own printings which in turn were relied upon by others, were traced in a previous article.² For this present work, the different American versions and editions of the standards have also been collated, and notes made on the different scripture proof texts adopted by those denominations which altered the originals. Following the critical text is a table of the American proof sets for easy comparison, with some remarks appropriately repeated or expanded upon regarding textual errors.

This work was originally undertaken as part of a publication project to produce a new edition of the Confession and Catechisms based upon the early printed texts. In the process of working up and completing a new critical text of the Confession of Faith, it became clear that Dr. Carruthers’ original critical work with that text could be improved upon and a more accurate tracing made as to the origins of the variant readings and changes in the text. This took the project in a significantly more ambitious direction, and well over a hundred volumes were collected for collation. As noted above, the resulting corrected lineage of the traditional text was presented in “Examining the Work of S. W. Carruthers.”

Providentially, there were others who were doing work at the same time which proved very beneficial to

this research. In gathering editions to use in the collation, and in searching for any possible surviving manuscripts for the larger catechism, the author came into contact with Chad Van Dixhoorn who was completing his dissertation on the Westminster Assembly and was also in the process of forming The Westminster Assembly Project. He had not discovered any surviving manuscripts, but some months later he reported the significant news that he had found two surviving originals amongst the collections of the Bodleian Library. Dr. Van Dixhoorn arranged for a microfilm to be made of these two manuscripts and kindly passed along the information needed to obtain copies. Subsequently, at his request, a first draft transcription of the two texts was undertaken. Except for some later corrections made during the collation, these were completed in January 2004.³

Later in 2004, John Bower began working on a critical text of the catechism for a Master’s thesis, which he completed in 2006. That work is a thorough critical text, collating multiple examples of the two authoritative editions as well as the two surviving manuscripts. Bower’s collation has served as a useful check for the current work with those particular texts.

THE AUTHOR: Chris Coldwell is the editor of *The Confessional Presbyterian*. For several years he has been working on critical texts for the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms. Previous research appeared in the 2005 volume of this journal.

1. John R. Bower, “The Westminster Assembly’s Larger Catechism. A Critical Edition. A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Westminster Theological Seminary in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Theology” (2006) 1.

2. Chris Coldwell, “Examining the Work of S. W. Carruthers: Justifying a Critical Approach to the Text of the Westminster Standards & Correcting the 18th Century Lineage of the Traditional Scottish Text,” *The Confessional Presbyterian* 1 (2005) 43–64.

3. Chris Coldwell, [Unpublished] Draft Transcription of The Larger Catechism MSS (The Westminster Assembly Project, 2004).

Mr. Bower correctly notes that one of the evidences for proof reading during the printing process, not covered in the Carruthers article, was the stop press variant. Tracing these requires checking multiple printings

4. "When looking for evidence that a sixteenth or seventeenth century text was actually proof read, one of the most useful measures is the book itself. One such internal marker for proof-reading, not specifically addressed by Coldwell, is the presence of stop-press variants. These variants arose when an error was recognized after an impression was already underway. Correction required removal of the forme to reset the erroneous portion of type. Afterwards, the forme was replaced and the printing continued. Sheets already printed were still utilized unless the error was particularly egregious. Stop-press variants not only reflect evidence of active proofing, but they also represent variant readings that need to be considered when compiling a critical edition. Hence, identification of these variants requires collation of multiple copies of the same edition." Bower, 40–41.

5. Mr. Bower, in his collation of five examples of the first edition produced for the Assembly's use, noted only the addition of an extra title page in one example, and the dropping of an italicized *Adam* in Question 92 (Bower, 54–55). This latter variant is interesting as it indicates the convention desired for the Catechism was not to italicize names throughout, which was a common style at the time, and this figures in some notes in this critical text where the italic face was later introduced. Mr. Bower's collation of Edition Four, the Assembly's private edition with the Scripture proofs added, also yielded only some minor variants in the text, and an explanation for a textual error in the answer to Question 185. However, his collation did reveal "numerous errors and ambiguities among the proof-texts and reference letter apparatus." "For many of the minor errors that occur in the proof-texts, the meaning is clearly discernable. However, there are at least two dozen errors where the meaning is obscured ..." (Bower, 59). Mr. Bower provides an appendix illustrating these errors, and the subsequent dissatisfaction over the proofs lead to attempts in later editions to correct them, such as the attempted corrections made in the 1656 Latin edition, which he calls the best attempt, and the attempts by the editor of the Rothwell editions (Bowers, 136–137). Examples in the first fifty questions occur at Q45 (396), though it was corrected in at least one early edition, Q7 (5) and Q18 (152).

6. See "Examining the Work of S. W. Carruthers," 44–50. "The conclusion of all the forgoing is that the coupling of what is generally known about the printing practices of the period, with what is known about the Westminster Assembly's manuscripts and their printing, and the suppositions which can be drawn from this, all support taking a critical approach toward the texts. The existing manuscripts do not necessarily represent the final texts intended by the Assembly, but may be useful in possibly clarifying or correcting any actual incidental or substantial errors that could have survived the proofing process. But even with the few substantial differences, a critical approach is appropriate, since, with no printer's proofs, and so few surviving manuscripts of those likely to have existed, it cannot be verified whether a change was a mistake in printing, a mistake in the surviving manuscript, a correction to an error discovered in the proofing process, or at exactly what point and for what reason the change occurred." While the MSS have been collated for this text, text or text portions of the catechism in the Minutes of the Assembly have not been consulted, as they are considered preliminary to the MSS. A study of the Minutes does offer "unique insight into the deliberative and editorial activities of the Assembly and its committee" as it worked on the catechism, for which see Bower's thesis (21–37).

of the same edition.⁴ As this collation was a lengthy one across three hundred and sixty years of printing and between 130 and 150 editions, it was simply not feasible to attempt to collate multiple examples, and this has been done only in rare instances. Doing so might show that some textual changes may be more precisely traced to a variant of an edition prior to the edition assigned in this study, or it may explain some singular variants not reproduced later if corrected in subsequent examples of the same edition. As it is, the stop press variants Mr. Bower discovered in the text of the early authoritative editions are not many, the preponderance of them occurring in the Scripture proofs of Edition Four, which very soon received attempts at correction.⁵

The discovery of the manuscripts, and subsequent work with them in creating transcriptions, did raise the question of whether the manuscripts or the earliest editions should be treated as the authoritative text. The research on this question was presented in part one of the article on Carruthers' work, and the conclusion was that both were important to collate for a critical text.⁶

THE AUTHORITATIVE EDITIONS

The Larger Catechism was first published by itself, and Bower lists eight early printings between 1647 and 1649. Only two of these are to be considered authoritative, because they are the only ones to have likely allowed involvement of the Assembly scribes in the proofing process. The two authoritative editions printed privately for the use of the Westminster Assembly and Parliament are

AMa. *The humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines ... concerning a Larger catechisme* (London: Printed by A. M., [1647]). Bower's Edition One.

AMb. *The Humble Advice*, etc. With the Proofs thereof out of the Scriptures (London: Printed by A.M., 1648). Not in Wing. Bower's Edition Four.

In this article Bower's Edition One is denoted as AMa, and Edition Four as AMb. The example consulted for AMa is the copy available through Early English Books. The base text from which work was begun for this collation was compiled from the example of AMb available from Old Paths Publications. However, Bower does note some problems with the Old Paths edition. He compared the text to the original at Princeton from which it was made and discovered the digitizing process created changes in the text. "The changes

involve actual word changes, number changes and the loss of scripture reference markings. One curious word change was the result of a hole in one page which allowed the text from the page beneath to appear. Most of the changes were probably due to digital manipulation which was designed to enhance the appearance of the text” (Bower, 52 n11). The text presented here has been collated against Bower’s text as a check against the inclusion of these defects in the text, which he numbered to be “at least twenty-five.”

While initially the Larger Catechism was published singly, it quickly began to be paired with the Shorter Catechism and the Confession of Faith. Subsequently the lineage for the traditional text of the catechism tracks exactly with the editions given for the Confession of Faith traced in “Examining the Work of S. W. Carruthers.”

In addition to the early texts that were consulted, the primary popular editions collated for the Scottish text were the following:

1. MAX (A. Maxey: 1658)
2. RTHb (London: Printed by S. Griffin, 1658)
3. THIRD (London: Parkhurst and Newman, 1688)
4. Watson (Edinburgh: Watson, 1708)
5. Cox (London: Cruttendun & Cox, 1717)
6. DNLP (Edinburgh: Watson, 1719–21)
7. L&Ra (Edinburgh: Lumisden & Robertson, 1728)
8. L&Rb (Edinburgh: Lumisden & Robertson, 1736)
9. L&Rc (Edinburgh: Lumisden & Robertson, 1744)
8. E.Rob (Edinburgh: E. Robertson, 1756)
9. 1771np ([n.p.], 1771)
10. KNCDa (Edinburgh: Kincaid, 1773)
11. KNCDb (Edinburgh: Kincaid, 1781)
12. KNCDc (Edinburgh: Kincaid, 1788)
12. Kerr (Edinburgh: Kerr, 1793)
13. Blair (Edinburgh: Blair and Bruce, 1803–41)
14. Orr (Glasgow: Orr, 1842)
15. J&Ha (Edinburgh: Johnstone & Hunter, 1851)
16. J&Hb (Edinburgh: Johnstone & Hunter, 1855)
17. J&Hc (Edinburgh: Johnstone & Hunter, 1867)
18. Mair (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1914)

Important editions which fall outside the lineage of the traditional text may have had some influence, and these are mainly if not exclusively the Reformed Presbyterian editions. Other editions outside the lineage have also been occasionally consulted. For more information on all of these, and the many American editions, see Endnote A. Endnote B presents some remarks on the origin of the different scripture proof sets and the

first editions in which they appear. Endnote C presents some more detailed notes on variants in the American Scripture proofs presented in the Table.

CRITICAL REMARKS

Bower’s work on the early authoritative editions presents a critical text following current practices in the discipline of textual studies, giving the text of the first edition followed by a critical apparatus noting every variation. The goal in the collation presented here, is to present an accurate text, noting mainly variants in wording and punctuation, without descending to the detail of tracing all changes in spelling or capitalization.⁷ Also, while some original punctuation will be noticed in the variants, unhelpful punctuation has been dropped or changed from the final text itself. Most of these have been dropped over time already, and are largely the unnecessary commas which Carruthers similarly dropped in his text of the Confession of Faith. In some instances, some punctuation may be changed in the text if helpful to the modern reader, but this will always be noted and a reason given. The author is indebted to Drs. Frank J. Smith and David C. Lachman for their review and assessment in these cases.

The vast majority of the variants in the text concern punctuation. Those in the first fifty questions of the catechism which involve actual changes in the text, occur at: Q. 2 (11); Q. 4 (33); Q. 6 (44); Q. 9 (66); Q. 10 (75); Q. 16 (127); Q. 17 (138, 147); Q. 19 (174); Q. 20 (193, 194); Q. 21 (201); Q. 25 (222); Q. 29 (253); Q. 30 (257); Q. 32 (286); Q. 34 (299); Q. 35 (306); Q. 37 (325); Q. 38 (341, 344). These notes are set in semi-bold type.

The following notations are used. An “em dash” (—) is used to indicate that a variant occurs in all the editions between the two noted (e.g., an occurrence in all editions from Maxey’s to Mair’s would be noted as MAX—Mair), or in all editions since the first noted (e.g., all editions since Maxey’s would be note as MAX—). Variants occurring within multiple editions in the same “family” will use lower case letters, such as L&Rabc for the three editions of Lumisden & Robertson, or PCUSAA–UP, for all the PCUSA editions up through those of the UPCUSA. A superscript dagger or similar figure († ‡ §) following an edition or series of editions denotes a variation from the series and that variant or a note about a variant will be marked with the same

7. The original overuse of capitalization and some use of the italic face added in later editions were uniformly stripped out in the E. Robertson edition of 1756, which was followed in all the subsequent editions of the traditional text.

figure (e.g., “sufficiently, and”: MAX—DNLP; L&Rab;† RPCNA. †The added comma was dropped by L&Rc forward in the traditional text.). When a variant has persisted over a large number of editions or even until today, the introduction point or first found occurrence may be noted as follows: “end, is, to” (MAX): MAX—Cox; RPa. Abbreviations used to identify editions are in all capital letters unless the edition is simply named for the printer or editor (e.g., Cox, Aitken, etc).

A draft transcription of the catechism manuscripts prepared for The Westminster Assembly project was primarily used in the collation. If any doubts were raised regarding the transcription, photocopies of the originals owned by the Bodleian library were consulted. As a final check, the work with the manuscripts was compared with John Bower’s text, and remarks given where there is a disagreement or some doubt on the reading. In notes regarding the MSS any reference to “the copy” if not explicitly clear, means the photocopy obtained from the Bodleian.

SCRIPTURE PROOFS

In the Scripture proofs, the early editions would list all the verses separated by commas, or, in the case where a section extended to the end of a chapter, would give the first verse and then add “to the end.” These and other matters of form are changed to modern notation without notice, except in a case where the exact text is given to illustrate a problem in the citation. Notes regarding changes in the various American scripture proofs will be placed in the final note for each Q&A. In these remarks, (+) means “added”, (–) means “dropped”, and (→) means “changed to” (e.g., Q. 2, Note 17: American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “c”: (–) Acts 17:28. In “d”: (–) 1 Cor. 2:9; Isa. 59:21. PCUSA(1894): In “d”: (+) 1 Cor. 2:9. PCUS(1910): In “c”: (–) Acts 17:28; (+) Ps. 19:4. In “d”: (–) Isa. 59:21; 2 Tim. 3:15–17; (+) 1 Cor. 1:21. OPC(2001): In “d”: (+) 1 Cor. 1:20–21.

In the earliest editions through Cox, the Scripture proofs are numbered alphabetically, repeating the series “a” to “z” till the end, except that the “j” and the “v” are not used (in Latin these are alternative forms for “i” and “u”). Dunlop introduced a “u” for the “v” in the traditional text. For this critical text, the original scheme is used to denote the location of the scripture proof in the text of the answer. To view all the proofs compared side by side with their original numbering, the reader is directed to the table following the critical text.

A CRITICAL TEXT OF THE WESTMINSTER LARGER CATECHISM QUESTIONS 1–50

Q. 1. *What is the chief and highest end of man?*

A. Man’s chief and highest end is to glorify God,^a and fully to enjoy him forever.^b

a. Rom. 11:36; 1 Cor. 10:31.

b. Ps. 73:24–28; John 17:21–23.

VARIANTS:

1. In Q. “What is the chief, and”: MSb.

2. “Man’s”: The use of the apostrophe throughout generally becomes standard from DNLP forward in the traditional text, with some exceptions.

3. (1) “end, is, to” (MAX): MAX—Cox; RPa. (2) “end, is to”: RPa. The original comma after “is” is present in the authoritative texts and the MSS. The additional one introduced by MAX is unnecessary, as is the original which is an example of the type of punctuation Carruthers dropped from his critical text of the Confession of Faith. Both commas were dropped from the traditional text from DNLP forward.

4. In “b”: Ps. 72 for Ps. 73: UPCA (UPCb is correct).

5. “him, forever”: MSb.

6. American proofs: PCUSA(1797)/PCUS(1910): In “b”: → Ps. 73:24–26 and John 17:22, 24. PCUS(1910): (+) “General Note: At several points the Larger Catechism is more specific in its statements than the Scriptures. These statements are inferences from the Scriptures, or from statements based on the Scriptures, or from the experience and observation of the Church. In such cases no texts are cited; but reference is made to this general note.” OPC(2001): In “a”: (+) 1 Cor. 6:20; Ps. 86:9, 12. In “b”: (+) Ps. 16:5–11; Rev. 21:3–4.

Q. 2. *How doth it appear that there is a God?*

A. The very light of nature in man, and the works of God, declare plainly that there is a God:^c but his Word and Spirit only do sufficiently and effectually reveal him unto men for their salvation.^d

c. Rom. 1:19–20; Ps. 19:1–3; Acts 17:28.

d. 1 Cor. 2:9–10; 2 Tim. 3:15–17; Isa. 59:21.

VARIANTS:

7. In Q. “appear, that” (MAX): MSA?;† MAX—Cox.

†There is a smudge in the copy; Bower assigns a comma (Bower, 139).

8. “plainly, that”: MSb.

9. “nature in man and”: Towar

10. “of God declare” (DNLP; L&Rc†): PCUSAab; Woodward; Finley. PCUSAc restored the comma. †The comma was restored by E. Rob from whence it came back into

the traditional text. This variant mostly occurs only in L&Rc forms, including Duncan which generally follows E.Rob, but sometimes reverts to the L&Rc reading.

11. “declare that” (MAX): MAX—Cox. The word “plainly” is missing. Corrected by DNLP. The earlier forms and those following them are correct, such as BSTK, LTHGW, STNRSab, ANDSN, SWTNa.

12. (1) “God; but” (RP; E.Rob): MSb; RP; E.Rob—Mair;† FPLC; and all American texts except UPCA. †Normally the American editions of the Scottish text, Towar and Young, track with the Scottish text from Blair forward and are included in the ranges, such as here, unless otherwise noted. (2) “God, but”: MAX—Cox; UPCA. The colon is in: MSa; AMab; TYLRab; W1438; DNLP; L&Rbc.

13. In “c”: Rom. 1:19, 23; UPCA.

14. “Word, and”: MSa. Bower notes MSb has a comma, but I cannot discern anything in the copy.

15. (1) “Spirit, only”: PCUSAA. (2) “do, sufficiently”: PCUSAAb. (3) “only, do” (MAX; PCUSAA): MAX—Cox; PCUSA; PCUS; BP. PCUSAA reintroduced the comma. (4) “sufficiently, and”: MAX—DNLP; L&Rab;† RPCNA. †The added comma was dropped by L&Rc and forward in the traditional text.

16. In “d”: 2 Tim. 12–17; UPCA.

17. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “c”: (–) Acts 17:28. In “d”: (–) 1 Cor. 2:9; Isa. 59:21. PCUSA(1894): In “d”: (+) 1 Cor. 2:9. PCUS(1910): In “c”: (–) Acts 17:28; (+) Ps. 19:4. In “d”: (–) Isa. 59:21; 2 Tim. 3:15–17; (+) 1 Cor. 1:21. OPC(2001): In “d”: (+) 1 Cor. 1:20–21.

Q. 3. What is the Word of God?

A. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the Word of God,^e the only rule of faith and obedience.^f

e. 2 Tim. 3:16; 2 Pet. 1:19–21.

f. Eph. 2:20; Rev. 22:18–19; Isa. 8:20; Luke 16:29, 31; Gal. 1:8–9; 2 Tim. 3:15–17.

VARIANTS:

18. (1) “New Testament, are”: MSb; RPa. The notation in Bower appears to place the comma after the “are” instead of after “Testament”, which is not correct. This may be simply a “tabbing” error as Bower’s method is to arrange the variants in tabular form under the original reading (the text of AMA). (2) “New Testaments”: ARPg;† RPCNA; PCUSc—BofC;‡ GCP; FPLC;§ Vos.§ †The online text at the ARP website has this reading, but ARP does not. ‡The change by PCUS was one of many punctuation and a few wording changes approved in 1944. §Young and J&Hb do not have this change.

19. “God; the”: MSb. Bower assigns a semi-colon. The copy does show a faint speck above the comma.

20. In “e”: 2 Tim. 12–16; UPCA.

21. In “f”: 2 Tim. 3:15–16. Verse 17 is dropped in all editions since MAX. W1438 and Amb have 3:15, 16, 17. Beginning with BSTK, and those following, such as STNRSab, ANDSN and 1655, there is either a blank where the Isa. 8, Luke 16, Gal. 1, and 2 Tim. references should be, or the blank is removed but only the Eph. and Rev. references are given. SWTNa, one of the earliest editions to number the questions, though with mistakes, tends to drop or shorten references. Here it only has the Eph. reference. UPCA merges the Isa. and Luke references into Isa. 8:20, 31.

22. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “f”: (–) Eph. 2:20; Rev. 22:18–19. PCUS(1910): 1797 changes and “e” deleted in full. OPC(2001): In “e”: (+) 2 Pet. 3:2, 15–16; Matt. 19:4–5; With Gen. 2:24. In “f”: (–) 2 Tim. 3:17; (+) Deut. 4:2.

Q. 4. How doth it appear that the Scriptures are the Word of God?

A. The Scriptures manifest themselves to be the Word of God, by their majesty^g and purity;^h by the consent of all the parts,ⁱ and the scope of the whole, which is to give all glory to God;^k by their light and power to convince and convert sinners, to comfort and build up believers unto salvation;^l but the Spirit of God, bearing witness by and with the Scriptures in the heart of man, is alone able fully to persuade it, that they are the very Word of God.^m

g. Hos. 8:12; 1 Cor. 2:6–7, 13; Ps. 119:18, 129.

h. Ps. 12:6; Ps. 119:140.

i. Acts 10:43; Acts 26:22.

k. Rom. 3:19, 27.

l. Acts 18:28; Heb. 4:12; James 1:18; Ps. 19:7–9; Rom. 15:4; Acts 20:32.

m. John 16:13–14; 1 John 2:20, 27; John 20:31.

VARIANTS:

23. “appear, that”: MSb.

24. (1) “of God by their majesty”: MAX—DNLP; Kerr; ARPb2. (2) “majesty, and purity”: MSS; MAX—DNLP;† RP; L&R—Kerr; ARPa—d; PCUSAA. †THIRD and Watson did not have the comma, which has dropped out of the text since Kerr. ARP retained it through the 1850 edition, but it dropped out from PCUSA after the first edition. A comma may tend to indicate a slight separation of the two concepts of the majesty and the purity of God’s Word, but while it was in the MSS, the comma was dropped in the two authoritative editions prepared for the Assembly, and only came into the traditional text via MAX. (3) “purity, by”: MSS; RP; UPCA; BPb. The semi-colon is in BPa.

25. “all parts”: E.Rob; Duncan. The 1771np restored the word “the.”

26. “whole; which”: MSb. Bower assigns a semi-colon (see note 19 under Q. 3).

27. “which is, to give”: MSa; TYLRab; W1438A; RP.[†] Bower places the comma in MSa between “which” and “is” (see note 18 (1) above at Q. 3). W1435, Tyler’s private edition of both the Larger and Shorter Catechisms without proofs for the use of the Scottish Church, does not have a comma (this is Bower’s Edition Two of the Larger Catechism, Bower, 55–56). [†]Boštock’s edition of the catechism (W1438A), follows Tyler closely, and probably was printed in Scotland from the same type as TYLRab (Bower, 61; Carruthers, 33–44).

28. “glory to God, by”: MSb; UPCA.

29. In “k”: verse 27 is dropped in MAX—Cox; restored in DNLP; RP; L&R—.

30. “convince, and convert”: MSa

31. “to salvation”: MAX—Cox.

32. (1) “salvation; but”: PCUSAj—UP; Vos. (2) “salvation. But”: PCUSAef; PCUS; Perkins; BP; GCP; PCA. The colon is in OPC.

33. (1) “But, the Spirit of God”: MSa. (2) “but the Spirit of bearing” (“God” missing): MAX—THIRD; Cox. Watson had this corrected but it dropped out again in Cox. This is corrected in the traditional text since DNLP; L&R; and RPa. (3) “of God bearing witness” (DNLP): DNLP; RPa; L&R—Mair; FPLC; UPC; ARP; RPCNA; PCUSAA—j; PCUSab; [†]Perkins; BP; GCP; OPC; PCA; Vos. [†]PCUSc—BofC restore the comma after “God”.

34. (1) “witness by, and”: MSa; [†]TYLRab; W1438A; RP. (2) “and with, the”: TYLRab. W1435 has neither comma; W1438A only the first. [†]Bower does not note any punctuation here in MSa, but there is clearly a comma in the copy. (3) “the Scriptures, in”: RP.

35. “man is alone”: KNCDbc; Kerr. The comma was restored in Blair1.

36. “persuade it that they” (MAX): MAX—. The comma drops out from Maxey onward in the traditional text.

37. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “g”: (–) all; (+) Isa. 66:1; Amos 9:2–4; Ps. 77. In “i”: Acts 10:42, but the text is still that of 10:43; PCUSAb—Finley. Originally correct in Aitken; corrected in PCUSAc forward. In “l”: (–) Rom. 15:4; Acts 20:32. In “m”: (–) John 20:31; (+) to “n” in next question. PCUSA(1894): In “g”: References deleted in 1797 restored, except for 1 Cor. 2:13; (–) 1797 additions. In “i”: (+) Luke 24:27. In “k”: (–) Rom. 3:19, 27; (+) Rom. 16:25, 27; 2 Cor. 3:6–11. In “l”: (+) 1797 deletions. In “m”: (–) John 20:31. PCUS(1910): References “g” thru “l” deleted. At “l”: (+) “See General Note”. In “m”: (–) 1 John 2:20, 27; John 20:31; (+) 1 Cor. 2:6–9. OPC(2001): In “i”: (+) Luke 24:27. In “k”: (+) Rom. 16:25–27; See 2 Cor. 3:6–11.

Q. 5. What do the Scriptures principally teach?

A. The Scriptures principally teach, what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man.ⁿ

n. 2 Tim. 1:13.

VARIANTS:

38. “teach what”: MSa; PCUSAk—UP.

39. “God; and, what”: MSS. Bower does not note a semi-colon in MSa, but it has one as well as MSb.

40. “God, and”: AMab; TYLRab; W1438; MAX—. The traditional text. TYLR and AMa use the ampersand for “and”. Throughout this text this usage will not be noted as a variant as it is a common equivalent for “and.”

41. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): (+) John 20:31; Ps. 19:105. PCUSA(1894): (–) Ps. 19:105; (+) 2 Tim. 3:15–17. PCUS(1910): (–) all; (+) “See General Note”. OPC(2001): Note added after “concerning God”: Gen. 1:1; Exod. 34:5–7; Ps. 48:1; John 20:31; See 2 Tim. 3:15. In “n”: (–) 2 Tim. 1:13; (+) Deut. 10:12–13; 2 Tim. 3:15–17; Acts 16:30–31.

What Man ought to believe concerning God

42. DNLP inserts this heading break here, which is also in L&R, and is retained in subsequent Scottish and American editions, except for the RP series of editions.

Q. 6. What do the Scriptures make known of God?

A. The Scriptures make known what God is,^o the persons in the Godhead,^p his decrees,^q and the execution of his decrees.^r

o. Heb. 11:6.

p. 1 John 5:7.

q. Acts 15:14–15, 18.

r. Acts 4:27–28.

VARIANTS:

43. (1) known, what: MSb.

44. “the decrees, and” (“the” for “his”): MAX—Cox.

Corrected by DNLP.

45. In “p”: 1 John 5:17, but text of 5:7: PCA.

46. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “o”: (–) Heb. 11:6; (+) John 4:24; Exod. 3:14; Exod. 34:6, 7. In “q”: Aitken and PCUSAb set as Acts 14, 15, 18. Woodward and Finley set as Acts xiv 15, 18. PCUSAc, the 1821 first stereotype edition corrected to Acts 15:14, 15, 18. PCUSA(1894): In “o” (–) Exod. 3:14; 34:7; Heb. 11:6. In “p” (–) 1 John 5:7; (+) Matt. 3:16–17; Matt. 28:19; 2 Cor. 13:24. In “q” (–) Acts 15:14–15, 18; (+) Isa. 46:9–10. PCUS(1910): In “o”: (–) Heb. 11:6; (+) John 4:24; Exod. 34:6–7. In “p”: (–) 1 John 5:7; (+) Matt. 28:19; 2 Cor. 13:14. In “q”: (–) Acts 15:14–15, 18; (+) Eph. 1:11; “See the context.” In “r”: (+) Isa. 42:9. OPC(2001): In “o”: (+)

John 4:24; Exod. 34:6–7; Isa. 40:18, 21–23, 25, 28. In “p”: (–) 1 John 5:7; (+) Matt. 3:16–17; Deut. 6:4–6 Cmp with 1 Cor. 8:4, 6; See Matt. 28:19–20; 2 Cor. 13:14. In “q”: (+) Isa. 46:9–10.

Q. 7. *What is God?*

A. God is a Spirit,^s in and of himself infinite in being,^t glory,^u blessedness,^w and perfection;^x all-sufficient,^y eternal,^z unchangeable,^a incomprehensible,^b every where present,^c almighty,^d knowing all things,^e most wise,^f most holy,^g most just,^h most merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth.ⁱ

- s. John 4:24.
- t. Exod. 3:14; Job 11:7–9.
- u. Acts 7:2.
- w. 1 Tim. 6:15.
- x. Matt. 5:48.
- y. Gen. 17:1.
- z. Ps. 90:2.
- a. Mal. 3:6; James 1:17.
- b. 1 Kings 8:27.
- c. Ps. 139:1–13.
- d. Rev. 4:8.
- e. Heb. 4:13; Ps. 147:5.
- f. Rom. 16:27.
- g. Isa. 6:3; Rev. 15:4.
- h. Deut. 32:4.
- i. Exod. 34:6.

VARIANTS:

- 47. “Spirit: in”: Watson.
- 48. “in, and of himself”: MSa; TYLRab; W1438A. There is no comma in W1435.
- 49. “infinite, in”: MSb.
- 50. In “u”: Acts 7:21; AMb; W1438; BSTK; LTHGW; STNRSab; ANDSN; 1655. This was corrected by DLL and MAX, and in those which followed the Rothwell form. Of those following the earlier form set by STNRS, SWTNa has the reference correct.
- 51. “blessedness and”: TYLRab; W1438A. W1435 has the comma.
- 52. Instead of “w”, an “*”: MAX—Watson. Unless it was for lack of enough of the letters “w”, it is not clear why MAX adopted this convention, which was simply followed in subsequent editions until Cox.
- 53. (1) “perfection, all-sufficient”: MAX—Cox; RP. (2) “perfection: all”: Young; Vos. The Vos seems to spring mostly from the Young text. (3) “perfection, all”: UPCA.
- 54. In “c”: Beginning with MAX of the Rothwell editions, there is a truncated rendering of the passage which persists from DNLP and L&R in the traditional text, which

has come over to American editions. ARPC–d have Ps. 139: 1, 13 but the same truncated text. AMb has either Ps. 139:1, 10, 13 or 1, TO 13. It is “TO” in W1438. See Carruthers, p. 91 note 8 and p. 100 note 30.

55. “almighty; knowing”: PCUSb–BofC.

56. “things, most”: Bower notes the comma in MSa, though it is in both MSS and also standard in the early authoritative editions and the traditional text.

57. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “c” → Ps. 139:1, 2, 7, retaining the traditional abbreviated text. PCUSA(1894): In “y”: (–) Gen. 17:1; (+) Rom. 11:35, 36. In “b”: (–) 1 Kings 8:27; (+) Ps. 145:3. In “d”: (+) Gen. 17:1. PCUS(1910): In “t”: (–) all; (+) 1 Kings 8:27; Isa. 40:20. In “u” & “w”: (–) all. In “x”: (–) all; (+) “See General note.” In “y”: (–) all; (+) Acts 17:24–25. In “b”: (–) all; (+) Rom. 11:33. In “c”: (–) all; (+) Ps. 139; Jer. 23:24. OPC(2001): In “t”: (+) Ps. 145:3; 147:5. In “y”: (+) Exod. 3:14; Rom. 11:35–36. In “z”: (+) Deut. 33:27. In “a”: (–) James 1:17. In “b”: (+) Ps. 145:3; See Rom. 11:34. In “d”: (+) Gen. 17:1; Matt. 19:26. In “f”: (+) Rom. 11:33–34. In “g”: (+) 1 Pet. 1:15–16. In “h”: (+) Rom. 3:5, 26. In “i”: (+) Ps. 117:2; Deut. 32:4.

Q. 8. *Are there more Gods than one?*

A. There is but one only, the living and true God,^k

- k. Deut. 6:4; 1 Cor. 8:4, 6; Jer. 10:10.

VARIANTS:

- 58. (1) “but one only the living”: L&Rc. Corrected by E.Rob. (2) “one, only”: PCUSAA—Finley. The extra comma was dropped in PCUSAc forward in the PCUSA editions.
- 59. In “k”: Deut. 9:4; RPa.
- 60. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “k”: Jer. 10:19 with text of 10:10: PCUSAb—Woodward—Finley. Corrected by PCUSAc. OPC(2001): Added note after “only”: Deut. 6: 4; 1 Cor. 8:4, 6; Isa. 45:21–22; Isa. 44:6. In “k”: (–) Deut. 6:4; 1 Cor. 8:4, 6 (see in new reference); (+) John 17:3; 1 Thess. 1: 9; 1 John 5:20.

Q. 9. *How many persons are there in the God-head?*

A. There be three persons in the Godhead, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one, true, eternal God, the same in substance, equal in power and glory; although distinguished by their personal properties.^l

- l. 1 John 5:7; Matt. 3:16–17; Matt. 28:19; 2 Cor. 13: 14; John 10:30.

VARIANTS:

- 61. (1) “There is three”: TYLRab. W1435 and W1435A

are correct. W1438A compounds the problem by changing to: "There are but". Bower notes that Evan Tyler evidently did not have access to the same forms for TYLRab (Bower Edition Three) as he did for the private printing (Bower Edition Two, W1435), so the editions are distinct and many variants do not track from one to the other (Bower, 56–57). He notes TYLRab was set with a "freer hand" in the accidentals, and notes this textual error at Q. 9 and another at Q. 19 (161). (2) "Godhead: the": PCUSAk–UP; PCUSc†–BofC. †The change in PCUSc was evidently not an official change of punctuation as it is not among those made in 1944. (3) "There are three": Vos on the Larger Catechism.

62. (1) "Ghoſt, and": AMab; TYLRab; W1438. (2) "Ghoſt: and": RPCNA; PCUSAh–j; BP.† The MSS have the semi-colon, which was reintroduced by the time of Rothwell, and has persisted in the traditional text. Given the comma usage both semi-colons are helpful. (3) "Ghoſt: these" ("and" missing): †BPb

63. "Godhead the Father": RTHb.

64. (1) "are one, true, eternal": MSS; AMab; TYLRab; W1438; MAX—Cox; RPa; ARPC. (2) "one true": DNLP; L&R; and almost all Scottish and American editions descending from them; ARPC is an exception.

65. "substance equal": UPCA.

66. "equal power" ("in" missing): MSa.

67. (1) in power, and": MSS. (2) "glory: although": MSb;† PCUSAc–f; PCUSa–d. PCUSe restored the semi-colon, though it is not clear this was an official correction of the text. †MSb appears to have a colon, but possibly could be a semi-colon, which is the reading Bower gives it. (3) "glory, although": RPC; ARPb2.

68. American proofs. PCUSA(1894): In "I": (–) 1 John 5:7. PCUS(1910): In "I" (–) 1 John 5:7; John 10:30. OPC(2001): New reference after "Ghoſt": containing from "I": Matt. 3:16–17; Matt. 28:19; 2 Cor. 13:14. In "I": (–) all but John 10:30; (+) John 1:1; See also Gen. 1:1–3; John 17:5; Ps. 45:6; See also Heb. 1:8–9; Acts 5:3–4; Rom. 9:5; Col. 2:9.

Q. 10. What are the personal properties of the three persons in the Godhead?

A. It is proper to the Father to beget the Son,^m and to the Son to be begotten of the Father,ⁿ and to the Holy Ghoſt to proceed from the Father and the Son, from all eternity.^o

m. Heb. 1:5–6, 8.

n. John 1:14, 18.

o. John 15:26; Gal. 4:6.

VARIANTS:

69. In Q. "in Godhead": UPCA. Space is there for "the" but the type must have dropped out.

70. "Father, to": MSb.

71. (1) "Son; and": MSb. (2) "Son: and": MSa. Bower reads as a semi-colon, but in the copy it is difficult to confirm this.

72. (1) "and, to the Son, " ... "of the Father; and, to": MSS. (2) "Father and": Watson. Faint or missing comma.

73. "Holy Ghoſt, to": MSS

74. "Son from" (MAX; E.Rob): MAX—Cox; RP; E.Rob—Mair; FPLC; UPC; ARPab, d–g; RPCNA; GCP; OPC; PCA; Vos. The comma was restored in DNLP and L&R, but it dropped out again in E.Rob. In American texts, PCUSAA restored the comma, which remains in that tradition.

75. "Father & Son; from" (missing "the"): MSb. Bower notes the semi-colon but not the missing "the".

76. American proofs. PCUSA(1797)/PCUS(1910): In "m": (–) vs 6, 8. In "n" (–) v 18. Aitken merged "m" and "n," leaving out the "n" denotation. PCUSAb split the reference to correct this, but left the reference at the tail of "m" and the scripture text without any reference in "n". Woodward and Finley follow PCUSAb. PCUSAc added the reference to "n" but retained it also at end of "m." PCUSAh finally removed the reference from "m." PCUSA(1894): In "m": (+) Ps. 2:6–7.

Q. 11. How doth it appear that the Son and the Holy Ghoſt are God, equal with the Father?

A. The Scriptures manifest that the Son and the Holy Ghoſt are God equal with the Father, ascribing unto them such names,^p attributes,^q works,^r and worship,^s as are proper to God only.

p. Isa. 6:3, 5, 8, with John 12:41, and Acts 28:25; 1 John 5:20; Acts 5:3–4.

q. John 1:1; Isa. 9:6; John 2:24–25; 1 Cor. 2:10–11.

r. Col. 1:16; Gen. 1:2.

s. Matt. 28:19; 2 Cor. 13:14.

VARIANTS:

77. (1) In Q. (1) "How doth it appear, that" (Watson): MSb; Watson; DNLP; L&Rab. The comma drops out from L&Rc forward. (2) "Son, and": MSS. (3) "Ghoſt, are": MSb. (4) "God equal" (MAX): MAX—Cox; DNLP; L&R; E.Rob; 1771np; KNCD—Mair; RPa; FPLC; all American.

78. In "p": Here and throughout the text, in the early texts with scripture proofs, the usage is "with" and "and." Beginning with MAX the Rothwell editions changed this to "Compared with" and "and with". Mair simply uses Cf. and RPCNA drops the connecting words altogether. RP reverted back to the original usage, but occasionally and inconsistently returns to Rothwell's convention.

79. "manifest, that": MSb; MAX; RTHb; Third; Watson; Cox; RPa; ARPd.

80. “Son and” (Watson): Watson—; all American. This is an unnecessary comma.

81. “Ghost, are”: MSb.

82. “God, equal”: MSa; W1435; TYLRab; W1438A; W1435A; AMb; RPa; ARPa–d.

83. “Father; ascribing”: THIRD; Watson; Cox.

84. “works and worship”: ARPb,d.

85. “worship as”: MSa.

86. In “s”: W1438 and AMb and editions prior to MAX, have the “s” at the end of the answer instead of after “worship,” where MAX appropriately moved it. It has retained this place in the traditional text. The RP editions retained the original placement.

87. American proofs. PCUSA (1797): In “p”: (–) Isa. 6:3, 5, 8; John 12:41; Acts 28:25 (all restored in 1894); (+) Jer. 23:6; Ps. 45:6. In “q”: (+) Heb. 9:14 (dropped in 1894). In “r”: (+) John 1:3; (+) “with Job 26:13 and Ps. 104:30” following Gen. 1:2 (but change removed in 1894). PCUS(1910): In “p”: (–) Isa. 6:3, 5, 8; John 12:41; (+) Jer. 23:6; Ps. 45:6. In “q”: (+) Heb. 9:14. In “r”: (+) Ps. 104:30; John 1:3.

Q. 12. What are the decrees of God?

A. God’s decrees are the wise, free, and holy acts of the counsel of his will,^t whereby, from all eternity, he hath, for his own glory, unchangeably foreordained whatsoever comes to pass in time;^u especially concerning angels and men.

t. 1 Tim. 1:11; Rom. 11:33; Rom. 9:14–15, 18.

u. Eph. 1:4, 11; Rom. 9:22–23; Ps. 33:11.

VARIANTS:

88. (1) “Decrees, are, the”: MSb. (2) “decrees are, the”: Watson.

89. “free and”: THIRD; Cox; L&Rb; RPa. DNLP and L&Ra have the comma and L&Rc restored it to the traditional text.

90. “will; whereby”: THIRD; Cox. The comma is in Watson.

91. In “t”: (1) Eph. 4:11 but the text is correct: MAX—Cox. Corrected by DNLP; RP; L&R—. (2) Rom. 9:15–15, 18: RPa.

92. “whereby from”: MSa;† AMb; W1438; MAX; RTHb; Watson; DNLP; RPa; ARPd; Perkins. †Bower notes a comma in MSa; and there is a faint mark in the copy.

93. “eternity he”: RTHb—DNLP; RPa; UPCA.

94. (1) “he hath for”: AMab; TYLRab; W1438; MAX; RTHb; Watson; DNLP. (2) “hath, for” (THIRD): MSS, THIRD; Cox; RPa; L&R and forward in American and Scottish texts. The added comma has been retained as helpful.

95. “unchangeably, foreordained”: AMab; TYLRab; W1438. This is an unnecessary and rather nonsensical comma.

It is not in the MSS, and was dropped from the traditional text from the Rothwell editions forward.

96. “time, especially”: MSa; MAX—Mair; FPLC; all American texts.

97. “angels, and”: MSb.

98. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “t”: Aitken and PCUSAb had Rom. 9.14—and 15, 18, but text only of 15 and 18. Woodward and Finley have Rom. ix. 14—and xv. 18 and text of 9:15, 18. PCUSAc drops v 14 and corrects to 9:15, 18 with only the text of those verses. PCUSA(1894): In “t”: (–) Rom. 9:15, 18; (+) Isa. 45:6–7. PCUS(1910): (–) “t”. In “u”: (–) Rom. 9:22–23; (+) Acts 4:27–28. OPC(2001): In “t”: (+) Isa. 45:6–7. In “u”: (+) Isa. 14:24; Acts 2:23; Acts 4:27–28.

Q. 13. What hath God especially decreed concerning angels and men?

A. God by an eternal and immutable decree, out of his mere love, for the praise of his glorious grace to be manifested in due time, hath elected some angels to glory;^w and in Christ hath chosen some men to eternal life, and the means thereof;^x and also according to his sovereign power, and the unsearchable counsel of his own will (whereby he extendeth or withholdeth favour as he pleaseth), hath passed by and foreordained the rest to dishonour and wrath, to be for their sin inflicted, to the praise of the glory of his justice.^y

w. 1 Tim. 5:21.

x. Eph. 1:4–6; 2 Thess. 2:13–14.

y. Rom. 9:17–18, 21–22; Matt. 11:25–26; 2 Tim. 2:20; Jude 4; 1 Pet. 2:8.

VARIANTS:

99. In “y”: 1 Tim. 2:20, but text correct (L&Rc): RobSR; WDuncan; Duncan. Correct in E.Rob forward.

100. In Q. “angels, and”: MSa.

101. “God, by”: MSS; BSTK, THIRD; Cox; RPa; L&Rac—Mair; FPLC; all American texts. This comma was not in the early printed editions prior to Boſtock. It was present in the MSS and in a few editions after Boſtock. RPa has it, but it was not introduced into the traditional text until L&Ra. It dropped out in L&Rb, but was restored in L&Rc, and came into the traditional text. The comma is not necessary, and while it may appear helpful, and has long been retained, the focus is on God’s decree and the comma tends to lessen this emphasis.

102. “love for”: MSa. Bower assigns no comma; the copy has a “comma-like” mark.

103. “eternal, and”: MSa.

104. “grace, to be” (THIRD; KNCDB): THIRD; Cox; RPa; KNCDB—Mair; FPLC. Only ARPb–d lack the comma in American editions.

105. (1) “glory, and”: MAX—Cox; E.Rob;† UPCA; Vos (but not Young). DNL P restored the semi-colon. †The text was into the gutter in the L&Rc microfilm; but the other L&Rc “types” have the semi-colon (where this occurs, here and hereafter, reference to “other types” of L&Rc implies: RobSR, WDuncan and Duncan and the Glasgow of 1763, n.p.). (2) “glory, and”: PCUSab.

106. In “w”: DNL P left off the 1 in 1 Tim. 5:21.

107. (1) “and, in Christ, hath” (E.Rob; PCUSAb): MSa. E.Rob—Kerr; ARPa—d; PCUSAb—e; PCUS. (2) “and in Christ, hath”: Blair; Orr; Mair; Towar; Young; Perkins; Vos. (3) “and in Christ hath”: MSb; J&H; PCUSAf—UP; GCP; OPC; PCA.

108. “life and”: DNL P—L&R; PCUSAA. The comma was reintroduced to the traditional text by E.Rob.

109. (1) “thereof, and”: TYLRab;† W1438A; THIRD; Cox; E.Rob; UPCA; PCUSAb, i—UP; PCUSb—BofC; BP. (2) “thereof, and”: MAX; RTHb; Watson; PCUSAc—f; PCUSab; Perkins. DNL P restored the colon. It is in several examples of type L&Rc except for E.Rob. The colon comes in again with 1771np and KNCDa. The colon was in †W1435 and W1435A.

110. “and also, according”: MSb; THIRD; Cox; RP; L&R—Mair; FPLC; all American texts. There is no comma in Watson or DNL P. The L&Rc text was into the gutter, but others which follow the L&Rc form have the comma.

111. (1) “will (whereby)”: THIRD; Cox; UPCA; ARPa, d—g; PCUSAg—UP; BP; GCP. The early editions and the MSS have a comma after “will,” which is unnecessary. (2) “pleaseth” hath”: MSa; AMab; TYLRab; W1438; MAX—L&Rab; RPa. (3) Both commas missing: L&Rc; E.Rob; PCUSAA—f; PCUS; Perkins. (4) “pleaseth,)”: MSb; KNCDb. The comma evidently was not moved to the outside of the parentheses until 1771np and KNCDa. Kerr moved it back inside. In this critical text a distinction will generally not be made whether punctuation is inside or outside the closing parentheses, or before or after the Scripture proof reference, or other like accidentals in the text.

112. “extendeth, or ... favour, as”: MAX—Cox; RPa.

113. (1) “passed by, and”: MSS;† TYLRab;‡ W1438A; THIRD—COX; L&R; RP; Kerr; ARPa—d; RPCNA; PCUS—UP;§ PCUS; PERKINS; BP. The comma is dropped in all the editions of Blair—Mair. ‡W1435 has no comma. (2) “passed, by”: §PCUSAi.

114. “and, fore-ordained”: MSb. Bower assigns a comma, but this appears rather to be an insertion mark (^), a symbol used throughout to indicate an interline insertion. In this case, the “fore” is inserted interline above the mark, and no other mark which may be a comma is discernable in the copy, except possibly a very small extension at the point of the mark.

115. “inflicted to”: †MSS; PCUSAb. †MSa “” possible.

116. American proofs. PCUSA(1797/1894): In “x”: (+)

1 Pet. 1:2. In “y”: (–) 1 Pet. 2:8. PCUSA(1894): In “x”: (+) Eph. 2:10; (–) Eph. 1:4–6. In “y”: (–) 2 Tim. 2:20; (+) Ezek. 18; Matt. 25:41–46. PCUS(1910): In “x”: (+) 1 Pet. 1:2. In “y”: (–) 1 Pet. 2:8. OPC(2001): In “x”: (+) Eph. 2:10; 1 Pet. 1:2.

Q. 14. How doth God execute his decrees?

A. God executeth his decrees in the works of creation and providence, according to his infallible foreknowledge, and the free and immutable counsel of his own will.^z

z. Eph. 1:11.

VARIANTS:

117. “decrees, in” ... “creation, and”: MSS

118. “providence, according”: The MSS have a comma, while the authoritative editions have a semi-colon. The comma is more appropriate, at least by modern standards, and there does not seem to be any increased strength or meaning added to the sense by retaining the semi-colon. Apparently, the comma was reintroduced early. It appears in Lithgow’s 1650 edition. The usage is: (1) “providence, according”: MSS; LTHGW; STNRSab; 1655; THIRD; Cox; RPa; E.Rob—; ARP; RPCNA; PCUSAk—UP; PCUSab. (2) “providence; according”: AMab; W1438; TYLRab; ANDSN; SWTN; SNDRS; MAX; RTHb; Watson; DNL P; L&Rab; PCUSAA, Finley; PCUSAc—j; Perkins; BP. (3) “providence: according” Aitken; PCUSAb; Woodward. (4) “providence according”: Vos.

119. “foreknowledge and”: ARP; UPCA; PCUSAk—UP.

120. American proofs. PCUSA(1894): In “z”: (+) Dan. 4:35; Isa. 40:12–31. PCUS(1910): In “z”: (+) 1 Pet. 1:1–2. OPC(2001): New note after “providence”: Rev. 4:11; See Isa. 40:12–31. In “z”: (+) Ps. 148:8; Dan. 4:35 Acts 4:24–28.

Q. 15. What is the work of creation?

A. The work of creation is that wherein God did, in the beginning, by the word of his power, make of nothing, the world and all things therein, for himself, within the space of six days, and all very good.^a

a. Gen. 1; Heb. 11:3; Prov. 16:4.

VARIANTS:

121. (1) “Creation, is”: MSb; AMab; TYLRab; W1435. (2) “that, wherein”: MSb; AMab; TYLRab; W1435; W1438; MAX—Cox; RP; Perkins. Unnecessary commas.

122. (1) “God did in”: TYLRab; MAX—Mair; FPLC; almost all American editions.† (2) “God did, in”: MSS; AMab; W1435; †ARPC.

123. (1) “make, of nothing, the”: MSS; PCUSAb—Finley. (2) “make of nothing, the”: PCUSAc—e. (3) “of nothing the world”: Watson; L&Rc—Mair; FPLC; RPc; UPC; ARP; PCUSAA, g—UP; BP; GCP; OPC; PCA; Vos. (4) “world,

and”: MSa; THIRD; Cox; 1771np—Mair; FPLC; ARP; UPC; RPCNA; GCP; OPC; PCA; Vos.

124. “therein for”: DNLP; L&R;† PCUSA–UP; PCUS; BP. †Comma restored by E.Rob.

125. “days; and all, very”: MSa.

126. American proofs. PCUSA(1797/1894): In “a”: (+) Rev. 4:11. PCUSA(1894): In “a”: (–) Prov. 16:4; (+) Ps. 33:5–6; Rom. 11:36. PCUS(1910): In “a”: (–) Prov. 16:4; (+) Rev. 4:11. OPC(2001): In “a”: (–) Prov. 16:4; (+) Ps. 33:6, 9; Rev. 4:11; See Rom. 11:36.

Q. 16. *How did God create the angels?*

A. God created all the angels^b spirits,^c immortal,^d holy,^e excelling in knowledge,^f mighty in power,^g to execute his commandments, and to praise his name;^h yet subject to change.ⁱ

b. Col. 1:16.

c. Ps. 104:4.

d. Matt. 22:30.

e. Matt. 25:31.

f. 2 Sam. 14:17; Matt. 24:36.

g. 2 Thess. 1:7.

h. Ps. 103:20–21.

i. 2 Pet. 2:4.

VARIANTS:

127. In Q. “create angels” (missing “the”): All texts since MAX lack “the” except the RP editions.

128. “angels spirits”: SWTN; DNLP; L&R; 1771np; KNCD; Kerr; Blair; Towar; Orr; J&H; Mair; ARPefg; RPCNA; PCUSAc–e; Perkins; OPC; PCA; GCP. While uncommon before DNLP, dropping the comma after Angels is common from it forward in the traditional text. The RP retained it, and E.Rob restored it, but it was dropped again in 1771np. The comma, original to the MSS and AMab, is not necessary to the sense. In modern usage a colon might clarify the structure of the sentence best, but the traditional text has been retained.

129. (1) “power to”: MSa; DNLP. (2) “power; to”: PCUSAb–f; PCUS; Perkins.

130. “name, yet” (MAX): The comma is used from the Rothwell editions forward in the traditional text.

131. “yet, subject”: MSa.

132. American proofs. PCUSA(1894): In “c”: (–) Ps. 104:4; (+) Matt. 22:30. In “d”: (–) Matt. 22:30; (+) Luke 20:36. In “f”: (–) 2 Sam. 14:17; (+) 1 Pet. 1:2. In “h”: (+) Ps. 91:11–12; Matt. 13:39; Isa. 6:1–3. PCUS(1910): (–) “b”. In “c”: (+) Col. 1:16. In “d”: (–) all; (+) Luke 20:36. In “e”: (–) all; (+) Gen. 1:31. In “f”: (–) 2 Sam. 14:17. OPC(2001): In “d”: (+) Luke 20:36. In “h”: (+) Ps. 91:11–12.

Q. 17. *How did God create man?*

A. After God had made all other creatures, he created man male and female;^k formed the body of the man of the dust of the ground,^l and the woman of a rib of the man;^m endued them with living, reasonable, and immortal souls;ⁿ made them after his own image,^o in knowledge,^p righteousness, and holiness,^q having the law of God written in their hearts,^r and power to fulfill it,^s with dominion over the creatures;^t yet subject to fall.^u

k. Gen. 1:27.

l. Gen. 2:7.

m. Gen. 2:22.

n. Gen. 2:7, with Job 35:11, and Eccles. 12:7, and Matt. 10:28, & Luke 23:43.

o. Gen. 1:27.

p. Col. 3:10.

q. Eph. 4:24.

r. Rom. 2:14–15.

s. Eccles. 7:29.

t. Gen. 1:28.

u. Gen. 3:6; Eccles. 7:29.

VARIANTS:

133. “creatures he”: KNCDb; Kerr. KNCDc restored the comma but Kerr dropped it again. Blair1 restored it from that point forward in the Scottish text.

134. “man, male”: MSS; THIRD; Cox; PCUSAc–UP; PCUS; Perkins; BP.

135. “female, formed”: MSS; MAX—Cox; E.Rob; UPcA. The semi-colon was in the early texts (but not the MSS), was dropped by Rothwell, and became standard punctuation again from DNLP and L&R forward, E.Rob being an exception. 1771np restored the semi-colon.

136. (1) “ground; and”: AMab; W1435; W1438. (2) “ground, and”: MSS; TYLRab; W1438A; W1435A; MAX—. While the semi-colon is in the authoritative English editions, the comma is in TYLRab as well as in the MSS. The comma becomes standard from MAX forward. It would seem the acts of creating the man and forming the woman should not be so strongly separated, since all the rest of the list separated by semi-colons hearken back to “created man male and female,” as these two clauses together do.

137. “woman, of”: MSa.

138. (1) “a woman of a rib”: MSb. (2) “the rib of the man” (TYLRab; W1438A): All texts since MAX except for RP have this variant. W1435 and W1435A were correct.

139. “man, endued”: MSb; MAX; RTHb; Blair—Mair; FPLC; UPC; ARPefg; GCP; OPC; PCA; Vos.

140. “reasonable and”: MSa; L&R; UPCb. The comma is in UPcA.

141. “souls, made”: MSb; MAX—Cox; UPCb;† ARPefg; BPb. The semi-colon is in BPa. The comma is not in †UPCa.

142. “own image in”: MSb.

143. “righteousness and”: MSb; THIRD;† Cox; RPa; L&R—KNCDa; ARPa—d; PCUSAA—j; PCUS; Perkins; UPCA; BPa;‡ Vos.§ †Watson and DNLP had the comma. KNCDb restored the comma to the traditional Scottish text. ‡BPb has the comma. §Young has the comma.

144. “holiness; having”: DNLP; RP; L&R—Mair; FPLC; UPC; ARP; GCP; OPC; PCA; Vos. The semi-colon is standard punctuation in the traditional text from DNLP forward; but the PCUSA/PCUS texts use the comma, which is the original punctuation, and appropriate to retain.

145. “having, the”: MSa.

146. (1) “hearts and”: RPCNA; PCUSAh—k; BP. (2) “hearts; and power”: MSb?; AMb. (3) “hearts, and”: MSa; MSb; AMa; TYLRab; W1435; W1435A; W1438; W1438A.

147. “fulfill it, and dominion”: J&Hb; ARPg,h; OPC; PCA; GCP; FPLC. While the text source is not noted, this and another variation at Q. 28 indicate the FPLC text was used in the *Reformed Confessions Harmonized*.

148. (1) “creatures: yet”: DNLP. (2) “creatures, yet”: MAX—Cox; RPa.

149. “yet, subject”: MSa.

150. American proofs. PCUSA(1894): In “k”: (+) Matt. 19:4. In “n”: (–) Job 35:11; Luke 23:43. Typo:Eccles. 12:9; PCUSAf—h; corrected in PCUSAi. In “o”: (–) Gen. 1:27; (+) Gen. 1:26. In “s”: (–) Eccles. 7:29; (+) Gen. 3:6; 2:17. In “t”: (–) all; (+) Gen. 1:29–30. In “u”: (–) Eccles. 7:29; (+) Gen. 3:1–19. PCUS(1910): (–) “s”. In “n”: (–) Job 35:11; Eccles. 12:7. In “p”: (+) Gen. 2:19–20. In “u/v”: (–) Eccles. 7:29; (+) Gen. 2:16–17. OPC(2001): In “k”: (+) Matt. 19:14. In “t”: (+) Ps. 8:6–8. In “u”: (+) Gen. 2:16–17.

Q. 18. What are God's works of providence?

A. God's works of providence are, his most holy,^w wise,^x and powerful preserving^y and governing all his creatures;^z ordering them, and all their actions,^a to his own glory.^b

w. Ps. 145:17.

x. Ps. 104:24; Isa. 28:29.

y. Heb. 1:3.

z. Ps. 103:19.

a. Matt. 10:29–31; Gen. 45:7.

b. Rom. 11:36; Isa. 63:14.

VARIANTS:

151. The apostrophe at “God's” is in MAX but not RTHb. It regularly appears from THIRD on in the traditional text.

152. (1) “providence, are, his”: MSb. (2) “are his” (MAX):

MAX—L&R;† 1771np—Mair; FPLC; and all American texts. †E. Rob reinserted the comma, but 1771np dropped it again.

(3) “are most holy”: UPCA.

153. In “x”: Isa. 28:19; AMb; W1438. This was mis-set in the earliest texts with proofs, AMb (the authoritative text for the Assembly and Parliament, Bower's Edition One) and W1438 (the first publicly sold edition with proofs, Bower's Six). It is incorrect in subsequent editions such as BSTK, LTHGW, and ANDSN. The STNRSab and 1655 compound the error and have Isa. 18:19. It was corrected in DLL and MAX forward in the traditional text. SWTNa drops the reference altogether, and for the other renders it Ps. “10.4”

154. “powerful, preserving”: AMb; W1438. There is no comma in: AMa; W1435; TYLRab.

155. (1) “preserving, and”: MSS; MAX; RTHb;† Watson—KNCDa; ARPa—d; UPCA; RPCNA; PCUSAA—j; PCUS; Perkins; BP. †THIRD dropped the comma which it occasionally does after reference letters. The comma drops out from KNCDb forward in the traditional Scottish text. It is retained in most American editions, except for PCUSAK—UP and except for those of Towar and Young which contain the Scottish texts, and are based on Blair. (2) “governing, all”: UPCA.

156. In “z”: The “z” is after “governing” instead of “creatures”: Scottish texts since KNCDb. Also ARPf—g; PCA; Towar; Young; UPC. Correct in ARPa—d; PCUSA. This may indicate PCUSAA consulted KNCDa (1773) or earlier editions, rather than the later Kincaids of 1781 and 1788.

157. “creatures; ordering”: THIRD; Cox—Mair;† and American texts. †Watson and RPa have the comma, which is in the MSS and all early texts before THIRD. Though the change in THIRD may or may not have been intentional, the semi-colon conforms to modern usage and is more helpful.

158. “them and”: MSb; AMab; W1435; W1435A; MAX; RTHb; Watson; DNLP; RPa; Vos. The comma is in: MSa; TYLRab; W1438; THIRD; Cox; L&R—.

159. “actions to”: MSS; AMab; TYLRab; W1438. The comma is present in the traditional text from the Rothwell editions forward.

160. American proofs. PCUSA(1797/1894): Typo in Aitken—Finley at “w”: Ps. 144 (or cxliv):17, but text correct. Corrected by PCUSAc. In “a”: (–) Matt. 10:31. PCUSA(1894): In “w”: (–) Ps. 145:17; (+) Lev. 21:18. In “y”: (+) Neh. 9:6; Ps. 145:14–16. PCUS(1910): Moved “z” to after “creatures”. In “z”: (+) Job 38–41. In “a”: (–) Matt. 10:31; (+) Ps. 135:6. OPC(2001): In “w”: (+) Lev. 21:8. In “y”: (+) Ps. 36:6; Neh. 9:6. In “z”: (+) See Job 38–41; Ps. 145:14–16. In “a”: (+) Ps. 135:6.

Q. 19. What is God's providence toward the angels?

A. God by his providence permitted some of the

angels, willfully and irrecoverably to fall into sin and damnation;^c limiting and ordering that, and all their sins to his own glory;^d and established the rest in holiness and happiness;^e employing them all,^f at his pleasure, in the administrations of his power, mercy, and justice.^g

c. Jude 6; 2Pe 2:4; Heb. 2:16; John 8:44.

d. Job 1:12; Matt. 8:31.

e. 1 Tim. 5:21; Mark 8:38; Heb. 12:22.

f. Ps. 104:4.

g. 2 Kings 19:35; Heb. 1:14.

VARIANTS:

161. (1) In Q. (1) “God’s”: The apostrophe is used from THIRD forward in the traditional text. (2) “toward the”: MSb; AMab; TYLRa; W1438; PCUSAc–f; PCUS. (3) “towards the”: MSa; MAX—DNLP; and all editions except those noted above. According to Fowler’s *Modern English Usage*, generally speaking, “toward” is common British usage and “towards” is American; but variance from common usage is not unusual. (4) “toward his”: TYLRb. This is a stop-press variant, where the printer must have stopped the press after some sheets, and then continued after correcting the “his” to “the.” Bower notes the error, but does not specify that the error occurs only in this example of TYLR. He does describe the note Carruthers has written inside the cover of TYLRb, and notes the reproduction does not evidence the particular anomaly described (Bower, 57).

162. “God, by”: MSS; THIRD; Cox; RPC; ARPa–d.

163. “providence, permitted”: MSS; THIRD; Cox; RPC; ARPa–d.

164. “angels willfully”: MSS; THIRD; Cox; RPC.

165. “irrecoverably, to” (L&Rc): L&Rc—Mair; FPLC; all American texts.

166. “sin, and”: MAX; RTHb; Watson.

167. “that and all”: MSa; DNLP; L&R;† RPC; PCUSAA. The comma is dropped by DNLP and L&R, but †E.Rob reintroduced it.

168. “ordering them, and all”: Cox.

169. “sins, to” (THIRD; E.Rob): THIRD; Cox; RPa; E.Rob—Mair; FPLC; and all American except for PCUSAA. The comma was dropped by Watson, DNLP and L&R, but E.Rob reintroduced it. Bower notes the comma is in MSb. The text from “limiting” to “glory,” is inserted interline above “& established y^e rest in holiness.” What he notes as a comma appears to be the ascender of the “h” in holiness” which crosses in a curve between “sins to.”

170. “glory, and”: MAX—Cox; RPC; UPCA.

171. (1) happiness, employing” (MAX; E.Rob): MAX; RTHb; Watson; E.Rob; 1771np; KNCDa; UPCA; RPC; ARPa–d. The semi-colon was restored in DNLP; RPa; L&R; but E.Rob

reinserted the comma. It was restored back to a semi-colon by KNCDbc. (2) “happiness: employing”: TYLRab;† DNLP. †The reproduction of TYLRb consulted has a smudge and it may be either a colon or a semi-colon.

172. (1) “them all; at”: AMb; W1438. (2) “them all at”: TYLRab; DNLP; RPC. (3) The comma is in: MSS; AMA; W1435; MAX; RTHb; RPa; L&R—.

173. (1) “pleasure in”: Watson; DNLP.

174. “administration”: MAX—Cox; KNCDb—Kerr;† PCUSAg—UP; BP. Corrected back to “administrations” by DNLP; L&R; RPa. Changed in later PCUSA editions and BP. Corrected in †Blair1 forward in the Scottish text.

175. “mercy and”: THIRD; Cox.

176. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “d”: (+) Luke 10:17. PCUSA(1894): In “c”: (–) Heb. 2:16. In “d”: (–) Job 1:12. In “f”: (–) Ps. 104:4; (+) Ps. 103:20. PCUS(1910): (–) “f”. In “c”: (–) Heb. 2:16; John 8:44. In “d”: (+) Luke 10:17. In “g”: (–) 2 Kings 19:35; (+) Ps. 104:4. OPC(2001): In “d”: (+) Luke 10:17. In “f”: (→) Ps. 103:30 but the text is verse 20. The reference was corrected in the 2005 published edition, which is considered the official text.

Q. 20. What was the providence of God toward man in the estate in which he was created?

A. The providence of God toward man, in the estate in which he was created, was, the placing him in paradise, appointing him to dress it, giving him liberty to eat of the fruit of the earth,^h putting the creatures under his dominion,ⁱ and ordaining marriage for his help;^k affording him communion with himself,^l instituting the Sabbath,^m entering into a covenant of life with him, upon condition of personal, perfect, and perpetual obedience,ⁿ of which the tree of life was a pledge,^o and forbidding to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, upon pain of death.^p

h. Gen. 2:8, 15–16.

i. Gen. 1:28.

k. Gen. 2:18.

l. Gen. 1:26–29; Gen. 3:8.

m. Gen. 2:3.

n. Gal. 3:12; Rom. 10:5.

o. Gen. 2:9.

p. Gen. 2:17.

VARIANTS:

177. In Q. (1) “towards man”: MSa; E.Rob. (2) “man, in”: MSb. (3) “wherein he”: MAX—Cox. Corrected in DNLP; L&R; RP.

178. In A. “towards man”: MSa; E.Rob.

179. “man in”: MSa?;† Watson; DNLP; L&R—Mair; FPLC; and all American texts. †Bower does not have MSb

dropping the comma here, and there is a faint mark in the copy.

180. “wherein he”: MAX—Cox. Corrected in DNLP; L&R; RP.

181. (1) “created was”: DNLP; Kerr. (2) “created was: the”: PCUSAk—UP; PCUSc—BofC.

182. (1) “was the placing”: TYLRab; W1438A; KNCDB—Mair; FPLC; UPC; ARPefg; GCP; OPC; PCA; Vos. (2) “placing of him”: E.Rob; Duncan.

183. “earth; putting”: MSa?;† E.Rob—Mair; FPLC; UPCb;‡ ARP; RPCNA; GCP; OPC; PCA; Vos. †Bower notes a semi-colon in MSa, and I note this as an alternate reading in my transcription as well. ‡UPCa has the comma.

184. (1) “dominion; and”: RP. (2) dominion, ordaining”: PCUSc—BofC.

185. (1) “help, affording”: MAX—Cox; RP; E.Rob; UPCA. (2) “help: affording”: J&Hc. The semi-colon is in the MSS and the early editions.

186. (1) “himself; instituting” ... “Sabbath; entering”: RP; E.Rob—Mair; FPLC; UPCb;† ARP; RPCNA; GCP; OPC; PCA; BPb;† Vos. †The commas are in UPCA and BPa. (2) “and instituting the Sabbath; entering”: PCUSc—BofC. (3) “himself; instituting ... “Sabbath, entering”: BP.

187. “entering”: Watson; Cox; DNLP; L&R;† RPa; PCUSAA. †E.Rob forward set as “entering”. This is an example of the type of change in spelling that is not collated for this text.

188. “him upon”: DNLP.

189. “personal perfect and”: MSa.

190. “obedience; of”: THIRD; Cox.

191. “which, the”: THIRD; Cox.

192. (1) “pledge; and”: MSa; THIRD; DNLP; RP; L&R—Mair; FPLC; and all American. (2) “and, forbidding”: MSa.

193. “the tree of knowledge”: MAX—Cox. DNLP restored to “of the knowledge.”

194. “upon the pain”: L&R; 1771np; KNCDB—Mair; FPLC; UPC; ARPefg; RPCNA; PCUSA—UP; PCUSab; BP; GCP; OPC; PCA; Vos. Correct in DNLP; RPa. The inserted “the” fell in and out of mid 18th century editions. E.Rob dropped it; but 1771np restored it. KNCDB dropped it again, but KNCDB restored it and it has generally remained in the traditional text. However, it was corrected in Perkins and PCUSc—BofC.

195. “evil upon”: KNCDBc; Kerr. Corrected by Blair1.

196. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “I”: (–) all; (+) Gen. 1:27–28. In “n”: (+) Rom. 5:14; 1 Cor. 15:22, 47; Hos. 6:7; Gal. 3:10. PCUSA(1894): In “h”: (–) v. 8. In “k”: (+) Matt. 19:3–9; Eph. 5:31. In “I”: (–) Gen. 1:27–28; (+) Gen. 1:26, 28. In “m”: (+) Exod. 20:11; Exod. 20:8–10. In “n”: dropped all 1797 additions except for Gal. 3:10. In “p”: (+) Gen. 2:16; Gen. 3. PCUS(1910): (–) “o”. In “I”: (–) Gen. 1:26–29; 3:8; (+) Gen. 1:

27–28. In “n”: (–) all; (+) Compare Gen. 2:16–17 with Rom. 5:12–14; 10:5; Luke 10:25–28 and with the covenants made with Noah and Abraham. OPC(2001): In “k”: (+) See Matt. 19:3–9; Eph. 5:31. In “m”: (+) Compared with Exod. 20:11. In “n”: (+) Gen. 2:16–17. In “o”: (+) Gen. 3:22–24. In “p”: (+) Compared with James 2:10.

Q. 21. *Did man continue in that estate wherein God at first created him?*

A. Our first parents being left to the freedom of their own will, through the temptation of Satan, transgressed the commandment of God, in eating the forbidden fruit, and thereby fell from the estate of innocence, wherein they were created.^q

q. Gen. 3:6–8, 13; Eccles. 7:29; 2 Cor. 11:3.

VARIANTS:

197. “parents, being”: MSa; RP; Kerr; ARPc; PCUSAb—f; PCUS; Perkins.

198. “Satan transgressed”: MSS; AMab; W1435; W1438; W1438A; TYLRab. This comma, which is desirable, appears from at least STNRSa forward in the traditional text.

199. “God in”: MSb; DNLP; KNCDB—Mair; FPLC; UPC; ARPefg; BPb; GCP; OPC; PCA; Vos. The comma was in BPa.

200. (1) “fruit; and”: RP; E.Rob—Mair; FPLC; UPC; ARP; GCP; OPC; PCA; BPb; Vos. The comma was in BPa. (2) “fruit and”: UPCUSA.

201. “state of innocency”: RTHb—Cox. Corrected by DNLP.

202. “innocency wherein”: MSS; DNLP; L&R—Mair; FPLC; and all American texts.

203. American proofs. PCUSA(1894)/PCUS(1910): In “q”: (–) Eccles. 7:29.

Q. 22. *Did all mankind fall in that first transgression?*

A. The covenant being made with Adam as a public person, not for himself only, but for his posterity, all mankind descending from him by ordinary generation,^r sinned in him, and fell with him in that first transgression.^s

r. Acts 17:26.

s. Gen. 2:16–17, with Rom. 5:12–20 and 1 Cor. 15:21–22.

VARIANTS:

204. (1) “Adam”: Watson; DNLP; L&Rabc; RPa; PCUSAA–e. The MSS do not underline, nor do the early authoritative editions italicize “Adam.” This generally disappears from E.Rob forward. In question 92, Bower notes there is a

probable stop-press variant in editions of AMA, where some examples have “Adam” in italics, and others do not, in conformity with the rest of the text. This suggests the original intent, confirmed from the MSS, was not to italicize proper names, which was a convention at the time. (2) “Adam, as”: RP; L&Rabc; E.Rob; Kerr; RPCNA; PCUSA–UP; PCUS; Perkins; BPa. The 1771np dropped the comma, Kerr restored it, but it was dropped again by Blair. BPb drops the comma.

205. “only but”: DNLP.

206. “posterity; all”: MSb; L&R—KNCDa;† ARPa–d; RPCNA; PCUSAA–j; PCUSab; Perkins; BPa. †The comma was restored to the traditional text in KNCDb. BPb reverts to the comma as well.

207. “mankind, descending”: MSS; RP; Kerr; PCUSAK–UP; PCUSc–BofC. The comma is not in the KNCD editions. Introduced by Kerr, it was not reproduced in Blair forward.

208. “generation sinned”: KNCDb.

209. “in him and fell”: MAX; PCUSAb–f; PCUSab.

210. “with him, in”: MSS; Watson; KNCDbc; Kerr; ARPa–d. The comma is dropped by Blair forward in the Scottish editions.

211. In “s”: (1) Rom. 5:15–19; UPCA. (2) Though the full Romans reference is cited, only abbreviated text is given from verses 12, 18 and 19 in MAX—Cox. Text from vs 15–17 were added by DNLP—. Neither gave text for verse 20.

212. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “s”: (–) Gen. 2:16. PCUS(1910): In “r”: (+) “See under figure 6 above”. i.e. reference “n” under Q. 20. In “s”: (–) Gen. 2:16. OPC(2001): In “r”: (+) Rom. 3:23. In “s”: (+) James 2:10.

Q. 23. *Into what estate did the fall bring mankind?*

A. The fall brought mankind into an estate of sin and misery.^t

t. Rom. 5:12; Rom. 3:23.

VARIANTS:

213. “sin, and misery”: MSS.

214. American proofs. PCUSA(1797)/PCUS(1910): In “t”: (–) Rom. 3:23; (+) Gal. 3:10. OPC(2001): In “t”: (+) Gen. 3:16–19; Eph. 2:1; Rom. 3:16.

Q. 24. *What is sin?*

A. Sin is any want of conformity unto, or transgression of any law of God, given as a rule to the reasonable creature.^u

u. 1 John 3:4; Gal. 3:10, 12.

VARIANTS:

215. “transgression of, any”: MSb; E.Rob;† KNCDb—Mair; FPLC; UPC; ARPeFG; RPCNA; PCUSAK–UP; PCUSc–BofC; OPC; PCA; GCP. †The comma is not in 1771np or

KNCDa, but KNCDb restored it. The comma is also not in Vos, but is in Young.

216. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “u/v” (+) Rom. 3:23; (–) Gal. 3:10, 12; (+) Gal. 3:10–12. PCUS(1910): In “u”: (–) Gal. 3:10, 12; (+) James 4:17; Rom. 3:23. OPC(2001): In “u”: (+) Lev. 5:17; James 4:17.

Q. 25. *Wherein consisteth the sinfulness of that estate whereinto man fell?*

A. The sinfulness of that estate whereinto man fell, consisteth in the guilt of Adam’s first sin,^w the want of that righteousness wherein he was created, and the corruption of his nature, whereby he is utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite unto all that is spiritually good, and wholly inclined to all evil, and that continually,^x which is commonly called Original Sin, and from which do proceed all actual transgressions.^y

w. Rom. 5:12, 19.

x. Rom. 3:10–20; Eph. 2:1–3; Rom. 5:6; Rom. 8:7–8; Gen. 6:5.

y. James 1:14–15; Matt. 15:19.

VARIANTS:

217. In Q. (1) “consists”: PCUSA–UP; PCUS; Perkins; BP. (2) “of, any”: MSb.

218. “Adam’s”: Watson; L&R; RPa; PCUSAA–e. As with Q. 22, the MSS do not underline nor do the early authoritative editions italicize “Adam’s.” This generally disappears from E.Rob forward.

219. “fell consisteth”: MAX; Kerr; PCUSAK–UP. The comma is present in KNCD, 1771np and E.Rob.

220. “disabled, and made”: BPa. BPb drops the comma.

221. (1) “continually; which”: DNLP; L&R—Mair; FPLC; RPC; and all American texts.

222. In “x”: Rom. 3:10–19 (DNLP); L&R—. MAX gives the proof as Rom. 3:10–20, but in the iteration of the words of the proof leaves off the text after verse 19. DNLP reproduces the text but does not give the full citation at the start of the proof, and thus neglected to include verse 20 altogether. The missing verse 20 carries through the traditional Scottish text as well as ARP and PCA. This was corrected to 3:10–20 in the first PCUSA proofs, but the 20th verse was dropped again in the revised proofs of 1894.

223. “Original Sin” or “original sin”: Watson; Cox; DNLP; L&R; RPC; PCUSAA–e, g–j; Perkins; BP; OPC;† GCP. †The italic face was used in the OPC 2001 draft, but was dropped in the published text of 2005. As previously, the italics drop out from E.Rob forward. MSa capitalizes but MSb does not. There is no underlining in the MSS to indicate emphasis. And AMA, which would have been set from one of these MSS or more

likely another MS no longer extant, does not use the italic face. Nor does AMb, which was set with some of the same forms as AMa, but with large modifications to accommodate the addition of the Scripture proofs (Bower, 57–60).

224. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “w”: (+) 1 Cor. 15:22. PCUSA(1894): In “x”: (–) Rom. 3:10–20; (+) Rom. 3:10–12 & see vs 13–19; (–) Eph. 2:1–3; (+) Eph. 2:3. PCUS(1910): In “w”: (+) 1 Cor. 15:22. In “x”: (+) Ps. 51:5; 58:3. OPC(2001): In “w”: (+) See 1 Cor. 15:22. In “x”: (–) Rom. 3:10–20; (+) Rom. 3:10–12; see verses 13–19; (+) See Col. 3:10; Eph. 4:24. In “y”: (+) Ps. 53:1–3; See Rom. 3:10–18, 23; Gal. 5:19–21.

Q. 26. How is Original Sin conveyed from our first parents unto their posterity?

A. Original Sin is conveyed from our first parents unto their posterity by natural generation, so as all that proceed from them in that way, are conceived and born in sin.^z

z. Ps. 51:5; Job 14:4; Job 15:14; John 3:6.

VARIANTS:

225. “posterity, by”: MSS
 226. “generation; so as, all”: MSa
 227. “way are” (MSb; E.Rob): RPac;† E.Rob—; RPa; Bryce; UPC; ARP; RPCNA; PCUSAk–UP; GCP; OPC; BPa; PCA; Vos. The comma was restored in BPb.
 228. American proofs. PCUSA(1894)/PCUS(1910): (–) Job 14:4; Job 15:14. OPC(2001): (–) Job 15:14.

Q. 27. What misery did the fall bring upon mankind?

A. The fall brought upon mankind the loss of communion with God,^a his displeasure and curse, so as we are by nature children of wrath,^b bond-slaves to Satan,^c and justly liable to all punishments in this world, and that which is to come^d.

- a. Gen. 3:8, 10, 24.
 b. Eph. 2:2, 3.
 c. 2 Tim. 2:26.
 d. Gen. 2:17; Lam. 3:39; Rom. 6:23; Matt. 25:41, 46; Jude 7.

VARIANTS:

229. “displeasure, and”: MSa.
 230. (1) “curse; so” (MSa; DNLP): DNLP—. The semicolon is in all texts since Dunlop. It is also in RPa, but the comma is in: RPab; Bryce. (2) “so as, we”: MSa.
 231. “are, by nature, children”: MSb. Bower notes the second comma but not the first. The marks in each case are similar in the copy.

232. “world and” (DNLP): DNLP; L&R, RPCNA; PCUSA–UP; Perkins; PCUS; BP. Comma restored in E.Rob.

233. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “a”: (–) Gen. 3:10. In “c”: (+) Luke 11:21–22; Heb. 2:14. In “d”: (–) Gen. 2:17; Lam. 3:39; Matt. 25:41, 46; Jude 7; (+) Rom. 5:14. PCUSA(1894): In “d”: restored Lam. 3:39 and Matt. 25:41, 46. PCUS(1910): In “a”: (–) Gen. 3:10. In “c”: (+) Luke 11:21–22; Heb. 2:14. In “d”: (–) Gen. 2:17; Lam. 3:39; Matt. 25:41, 46; Jude 7; (+) Rom. 5:14. OPC(2001): In “a”: (+) John 8:34, 42, 44; Eph. 2:12. New ref. at “curse, “: Gen. 3:16–19; Job 5:7; Eccles. 2:22–23; Rom. 8:18–23. In “b”: (+) John 3:36; Rom. 1:18; Eph. 5:6.

Q. 28. What are the punishments of sin in this world?

A. The punishments of sin in this world are either inward, as blindness of mind,^e a reprobate sense,^f strong delusions,^g hardness of heart,^h horror of conscience,ⁱ and vile affections;^k or outward, as the curse of God upon the creatures for our sakes,^l and all other evils that befall us in our bodies, names, estates, relations, and employments,^m together with death itself.ⁿ

- e. Eph. 4:18.
 f. Rom. 1:28.
 g. 2 Thess. 2:11.
 h. Rom. 2:5.
 i. Isa. 33:14; Gen. 4:13; Matt. 27:4.
 k. Rom. 1:26.
 l. Gen. 3:17.
 m. Deut. 28:15–68.
 n. Rom. 6:21, 23.

VARIANTS:

234. In Q. “sin, in”: MSS.
 235. In A. “sin, in”: MSa.
 236. “world are” (E.Rob): RPbc; Bryce; E.Rob—. The unnecessary comma was dropped in E.Rob forward in the traditional text. It was retained in RPa, though it was dropped in later RP editions RPbc and Bryce. PCUSAA reintroduced the comma which remained through PCUSAj. It is in PCUS; BofC and BPa. (2) “world are: either”: PCUSAk–UP.
 237. “are either” (MSS; MAX): MAX—. The unnecessary comma after “are” is present in the early editions but drops out from the Rothwell editions forward.
 238. “inward; as”: PCUSAb–d; Woodward. Finley was correct.
 239. In “i”: Matt. 24:4; UPca.
 240. (1) “affections, or”: MAX; RTHb; THIRD; Cox; UPca. (2) “affections; or”: MSS; RP; E.Rob—. A colon was used in the early editions, and was restored by DNLP and

L&R. E.Rob introduced the semi-colon into the traditional Scottish text. The colon was only reintroduced and retained in PCUSA, except for Finley which has a semi-colon, as does OPC; BPb; PCA. Functionally there is little difference between the two, and since it was used in the MSS, and more appropriate to modern usage, the change to a semi-colon has been retained in the text.

241. “as, the curse”: MSa.

242. (1) “sakes; and”: DNLP; L&R; Duncan; PCUSAA–d; BPb. E.Rob restored the comma to the traditional Scottish text, and PCUSAE to PCUSA. (2) “sake; and”: RPCNA; PCUSAg–UP. (3) “sake, and”: PCUSAf; PCUS.

243. “employments; together” (DNLP): All texts since Dunlop. The MSS and authoritative printings have a comma. The last clause should not be so strongly separated from the “outward” punishments of which it is a part.

244. In “m”: Deut. 28:15–18: UPCa; FPLC; PCA. The truncated iteration as usual traces back to MAX and the Rothwell editions, which here only iterate the Scripture texts from verses 15 to 18. However, most all editions except for the two noted, retain the full reference at the head of the citation, i.e. Deut. 28:15 to the end, etc.

245. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “i”: (+) Gen. 4:14; Heb. 10:27. In “m”: (→) Deut. 28:14 “to the end” in Aitken–Finley, but changed back to “15 to the end” in PCUSAc forward. PCUSA(1894): In “m”: (–) Heb. 10:27. PCUS(1910): In “i”: (+) Heb. 10:27.

Q. 29. What are the punishments of sin in the world to come?

A. The punishments of sin in the world to come, are everlasting separation from the comfortable presence of God, and most grievous torments in soul and body without intermission, in hell fire, for ever.^o

o. 2 Thess. 1:9; Mark 9:44, 46, 48; Luke 16:24.

VARIANTS:

246. In Q. “sin, in”: MSb.

247. In A. “sin, in the world”: MSS.

248. (1) “come are”: DNLP; RPc; KNCDbc; Kerr; PCUSAEfg; Perkins; PCUS;† BP. The comma is present in L&R—KNCDa and restored by Blair to the traditional text. (2) “are, everlasting”: MSS; W1438; Watson; DNLP; L&R; RPc; PCUSAA–j; PCUS;† Perkins; BPa. The comma is dropped in E.Rob forward in the traditional text. (3) “come are: everlasting”: PCUSAK–UP. (4) “come are everlasting”: †BofC.

249. (1) “God and”: PCUSAE, i–UP; BPa. (2) “God; and, most”: MSa.

250. “torments, in”: MSb.

251. “body, without” (MSS; RPa; L&R): RP; L&R—. The comma is in all texts since L&R.

252. “fire for ever” (MAX): MAX—. The comma after “fire” drops out from MAX forward in the traditional text. In his collation Bower notes that some examples of AMa have a comma instead of a period after “forever.” See his Emendations (Bower, 136). The example of AMa reproduced in Early English Books has this terminating comma.

253. In “o”: Mark 9:43 added (Orr?): J&H; Mair; UPC; RPCNA; ARP; OPC; PCA. Apparently verse 43 was added by Orr and retained in the editions noted. It is also in the PCUSA 1797 proofs which must be an independent change as the change does not appear in any of the examples of KNCDbc or Kerr or any of the long series of Blair editions. When Rothwell began putting the scriptures in full, he put part of verse 43 in the text, but not in the citation, which may explain the introductions of the verse into the reference.

254. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “o”: (–) Mark 9:46, 48. (+) Mark 9:43–44; Mark 25:41, 46; Rev. 4:11; John 3:36. (+) Luke 16:25, 26, but 25 dropped from PCUSAc forward. PCUSA(1894): In “o”: (–) Mark 9:43–44. Mark 9:46, 48(→) Mark 9:47, 48. PCUS(1910): In “o”: Mark 9:44, 46, 48(→) Mark 9:43–44. (+) Matt. 25:41, 46; Rev. 14:11; John 3:36; Luke 16:26. OPC(2001): (+) Mark 9:43; Luke 16:26; Matt. 25:41, 46; Rev. 14:11; John 3:36.

Q. 30. Doth God leave all mankind to perish in the estate of sin and misery?

A. God doth not leave all mankind to perish in the estate of sin and misery^p into which they fell by the breach of the first covenant, commonly called the Covenant of Works;^q but, of his mere love and mercy, delivereth his elect out of it, and bringeth them into an estate of salvation by the second covenant, commonly called the Covenant of Grace.^r

p. 1 Thess. 5:9.

q. Gal. 3:10, 12.

r. Titus 3:4–7; Gal. 3:21; Rom. 3:20–22.

VARIANTS:

255. In Q. “Sin, & misery”: MSa. Bower noted a comma, which was confirmed upon rechecking the copy.

256. “God will not leave”: MAX—Cox.

257. “all men” (MAX): MAX—.† RP is correct, and †E.Rob corrected to “mankind” which †Duncan followed, but the 1771np went back to “men” and it is incorrect in all American and Scottish texts since the KNCD editions.

258. (1) “misery, into” (MSS; TYLRab†) MAX—. The comma is in all texts since MAX. The comma is not in †W1435, but is in W1438A.

259. “called, the”: MSb.

260. (1) “Covenant of Works, but” (MAX): MAX—Cox; 1771; KNCDa; ARP; UPCa; BPb. (2) “Covenant of Works:

but”: MSA; DNLP; L&R; PCUSAab, g. The semi-colon was restored by E.Rob, but 1771np went back to the comma. KNCDbc restored the semi-colon.

261. “but of”: MAX—. The comma drops out from Maxey forward.

262. “mercy delivereth” (MSA; DNLP): DNLP—L&R; KNCDb—. The comma was retained in RP, E.Rob—KNCDa, and ARPa—d, but is generally missing in all other texts.

263. “salvation, by”: MSS.

264. “called, the”: MSb.

265. In “r”: Rom. 3:20, 8–9; text given is a mishmash of Rom. 3:20 and 1 Cor. 3:7–9; PCA.

266. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “q”: (–) Gal. 3:12. In “r”: (+) Titus 1:2. PCUS(1910): In “q”: reference deleted. In “r”: (+) Titus 1:2. OPC(2001): In “q”: Gen. 3:17; Rom. 5:12, 15. In “r”: (+) 2 Thess. 2:13–14; See Acts 13:48; Eph. 1:4–5.

Q. 31. *With whom was the Covenant of Grace made?*

A. The Covenant of Grace was made with Christ, as the second Adam, and, in him, with all the elect, as his seed.^s

s. Gal. 3:16; Rom. 5:15–21; Isa. 53:10–11.

VARIANTS:

267. “Christ as” (DNLP): DNLP—. RP retained the comma.

268. (1) “Adam; and”: MSA. (2) “*Adam*”: This has a similar history as occurrences at Q. 22 and Q. 25.

269. “and in” (TYLRab;† W1438A): MAX—. †W1435 had the original comma.

270. “him with” (DNLP): DNLP—. RPa retained the comma; but generally all texts since Dunlop drop the comma, including RPbc and Bryce.

271. “elect as” (MAX): MAX—. RPa retained the comma; but generally all texts since Maxey drop the comma, including RPbc and Bryce.

272. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): (–) Isa. 53:10–11 (restored in 1894). (+) Isa. 59:21; (dropped in 1894: Zech. 6:13; Luke 22:29; 2 Sam. 23:5). PCUSAb typo: 9 Sam. 23:5. PCUSA(1894): (–) Rom. 5:15–21. PCUS(1910): (–) Gal. 3:16; Rom. 5:15–21. (+) 1 Cor. 15:22, 45; Eph. 1:4; 2 Tim. 1:9; Heb. 2:10–11, 14. OPC(2001): In “s”: (+) Isa. 59:20–21.

Q. 32. *How is the Grace of God manifested in the second covenant?*

A. The grace of God is manifested in the second covenant, in that he freely provideth and offereth to sinners a Mediator,^t and life and salvation by him;^u and, requiring faith as the condition to interest them in him,^w promiseth and giveth his holy Spirit^x to all

his elect to work in them that faith,^y with all other saving graces,^z and to enable them unto all holy obedience,^a as the evidence of the truth of their faith^b and thankfulness to God,^c and as the way which he hath appointed them to salvation.^d

t. Gen. 3:15; Isa. 42:6; John 6:27.

u. 1 John 5:11–12.

w. John 3:16; John 1:12.

x. Prov. 1:23.

y. 2 Cor. 4:13.

z. Gal. 5:22, 23.

a. Ezek. 36:27.

b. James 2:18, 22.

c. 2 Cor. 5:14–15.

d. Eph. 2:10.

VARIANTS:

273. “provideth, and” (MSA; MAX): MAX—Cox; RPa.

274. “life, and”: MSA. Bower notes a comma but in the copy it does not look like a comma by the scribe, or to be in the ink of the surrounding text. This may be a stray mark of some kind or a later larger written correction of the text (the mark extends into half of the word “life”).

275. (1) “by him; and”: RP. (2) “by him, and”: ARPa—d; UPCA.

276. “and requiring” (TYLRab; W1438A): MAX—. The unnecessary but helpful comma is in: MSS; W1435; W1435A; AMab; W1438; RPbc; Bryce; PCUSAh—UP. Generally all texts since MAX have dropped it.

277. “faith, as” (E.Rob): E.Rob—KNCDa; ARP. Comma dropped in KNCDbc.

278. (1) “him; promiseth, and”: MSA. (2) “him. promiseth”: PCUSAi.

279. “Spirit, to”: MAX—Cox; RPa; UPC.

280. “his elect, to work” (MSS; DNLP): DNLP—. All texts since Dunlop have the added comma.

281. (1) “graces; and” (MSA; DNLP): DNLP; RP; L&R; KNCDb—Mair; FPCL; ARPefg and generally all American texts. The comma was restored in E.Rob—KNCDa. The comma is also in ARPa—d. KNCDb reverted back to the semi-colon.

282. “and, to enable”: MSA.

283. “obedience as”: MSb.

284. “faith, and” (RP; L&R): RP; L&R—KNCDa; Kerr; ARPa—d; UPCA; PCUSA—UP; Perkins; PCUSab; BP. The comma drops out with KNCDbc, comes back in Kerr, but is out again in Blair—Mair. Later PCUS editions omit it, as do OPC and PCA.

285. “and of their thankfulness”: PCUSc—BofC.

286. “hath appointed to salvation” (“them” missing): MAX—Cox. Corrected since Dunlop.

287. “them unto salvation”: 1771. KNCDa restored the word “to”.

288. In “d”: Eph. 2:18 but text is 2:10; J&Hb; PCA; FPLC.

289. PCUSA(1797): In “t”: (+) 1 Tim. 2:5. In “w”: (+) John 3:36. In “x”: (+) Isa. 59:21. (+) Zech. 12:10 (dropped in 1894). In “d”: (+) Titus 2:14. (+) Titus 3:8 (dropped in 1894). PCUSA(1894): In “t”: (+) John 3:16. In “w”: (–) John 3:16. In “x”: (+) Luke 11:13. In “y”: (–) 2 Cor. 4:13. (+) 2 Cor. 13:3, 9. PCUS(1910): Deleted “x” and “y”. In “t”: (–) all. (+) 1 Tim. 2:5. In “w”: (+) John 3:36. In “z”: (+) John 1:12–13; John 3:5–6, 8. In “d”: (+) Titus 2:14; 3:8. OPC(2001): In “t”: (+) John 3:16; 1 Tim. 2:5. In “w”: (+) John 3:36. In “x”: (–) Prov. 1:23. (+) Isa. 59:21; Luke 11:13; John 14:16–20; 1 Cor. 12:13; Rom. 8:9; See Rom. 8:4, 11, 14–16. In “y”: (+) 1 Cor. 12:3, 9; Eph. 2:8–10; Acts 16:14; 2 Pet. 1:1. In “a”: (+) Eph. 2:10. In “d”: (+) Titus 2:14. BofC: In “d”: typo Titus 2:24 for 2:14. In “z”: typo Gal. 5:22, 28 for 5:22, 23.

Q. 33. Was the Covenant of Grace always administered after one and the same manner?

A. The Covenant of Grace was not always administered after the same manner, but the administrations of it under the Old Testament were different from those under the New.^e

e. 2 Cor. 3:6–9.

VARIANTS:

290. “manner; but”: MSb.

291. “Testament, were”: MAX—Cox; RPa.

292. In “e”: 2 Cor. 3:6–7, 21–22; PCA. The PCA edition should have “essentially” the original Westminster proofs (see PCA, Preface).

293. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “e”: (→) 2 Cor. 3:6, 9; but 9 dropped in PCUSAc (2 Cor. 3:6–9 restored in 1894). (+) Heb. 1:1–2 (dropped in 1894); (+) Heb. 8:7–8 etc. PCUSA(1894): References “x” and “y” deleted in full. In “e”: Heb. 8:7–8 etc. (→) Heb. 8:7–13. PCUS(1910): In “e”: 2 Cor. 3:6–9(→) 2 Cor. 3:6. (+) Heb. 1:1–2; Heb. 8:7–8, etc. OPC(2001): (+) See Heb. 8:7–13.

Q. 34. How was the Covenant of Grace administered under the Old Testament?

A. The Covenant of Grace was administered under the Old Testament, by promises,^f prophecies,^g sacrifices,^h circumcision,ⁱ the Passover,^k and other types and ordinances, which did all fore-signify Christ then to come, and were for that time sufficient to build up the elect in faith in the promised Messiah,^l by whom they then had full remission of sin, and eternal salvation.^m

f. Rom. 15:8.

g. Acts 3:20, 24.

h. Heb. 10:1.

i. Rom. 4:11.

k. 1 Cor. 5:7.

l. Heb. 8–10; Heb. 11:13.

m. Gal. 3:7–9, 14.

VARIANTS:

294. “Testament by”: Kerr; ARPa–d.

295. (1) “ordinances; which”: DNLP; RP; L&R; PCUSAA–h; Perkins; PCUS; BPb. The comma was restored in E.Rob forward in the traditional text, except as noted. (2) “ordinances; which”: PCUSAi–UP; BPb.

296. “were, for that time, sufficient”: MSa; E.Rob.

297. “sin and”: DNLP; L&R; PCUSA–UP; Perkins; PCUS; BP. The comma was restored in E.Rob forward except as noted.

298. “they, then, had”: MSb.

299. “of sins”: MSb.

300. American proofs. PCUSA: In “f”: (+) Acts 3:20. In “k”: (+) Exod. 12:14, 17, 24 (1894: (→) Exod. 12:1–36). PCUSA(1894): In “g”: (–) Acts 3:20. PCUS(1910): In “f”: (+) Acts 3:20. In “k”: (+) Exod. 12:14, 17, 24. In “l”: (–) Heb. 8–10. In “m”: (–) Gal. 3:14; (+) Heb. 11. OPC(2001): In “f” (+) See for example Gen. 3:15; 12:1–3; 15:5. In “g”: (+) See for example Isa. 52:13–53:12. In “h”: (+) See Lev. 1–7. In “i”: (+) See Gen. 17:1–14. In “k”: (+) Exod. 12:14, 17, 24 “See entire chapter.” In “l”: (+) Heb. 8:1–2.

Q. 35. How is the Covenant of Grace administered under the New Testament?

A. Under the New Testament, when Christ the substance was exhibited, the same Covenant of Grace was and still is to be administered in the preaching of the Word,ⁿ and the administration of the Sacraments of Baptism^o and the Lord’s Supper;^p in which, grace and salvation is held forth in more fullness, evidence, and efficacy, to all nations.^q

n. Mark 16:15.

o. Matt. 28:19–20.

p. 1 Cor. 11:23–25.

q. 2 Cor. 3:6–18; Heb. 8:6, 10–11; Matt. 28:19.

VARIANTS:

301. In Q. “administered, under”: MSb.

302. (1) “Grace was, and”: MSS; RP; ARPa–d; PCUSb–f; PCUS. (2) “to be, administered”: MSS; PCUSAb–f; Perkins; PCUS. (3) “is, to”: RPc. (4) “administered, in”: MSb.

303. “Baptism, and” (MSS; W1438; MAX): MAX—Cox; RP;† 1771—Kerr; ARPa–d; UPCa; PCUSAc–j; Perkins; PCUS;

BPa. The comma was dropped in DNLP—E.Rob, and again in Blair—Mair; Towar; Young; and is also missing in †RPC.

304. (1) “Supper, in”: MAX—Cox; UPCA. (2) “Supper: in”: MSa. Bower assigns a colon, and I note this as a possible reading as well though it could be a semi-colon as the text is “Supper:, in” with what appears to be a colon followed by a comma.

305. “which grace” (MSb; MAX): MAX—. The comma is dropped in all texts since Maxey.

306. “grace and salvation are held forth” (DNLP): DNLP—. The plural verb is present in all texts since Dunlop except the RP texts. In the context grace and salvation are held forth together and form a compound subject, and the singular verb has been restored.

307. “evidence and”: RobSR; Duncan; PCUSAA-j; Perkins; PCUSab; BPa.

308. “efficacy to”: MSa; † DNLP; L&R; PCUSA-UP; Perkins; PCUS; BP. The comma was restored by E.Rob. †Bower notes the comma as lacking, which is probably correct; though in the copy the “y” in efficacy has a rather long descender and another stray mark which I note as a possible comma based upon its presence in MSb.

309. In “q”: *Heb. 8:6, 10–11: DNLP—. Dunlop flagged proofs with an asterisk which he believed to be problematic. MAX and RTHb read: Heb. 8:6–10, 11. The dash was dropped in THIRD. AMb reads: Heb. 8, 6, 10, 11.

310. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “p”: (+) 1 Cor. 11:26. (+) after words of scripture, “till he come”: “{Till he come to judgment: for he had come in the spirit long before this time.} See the gospels.” All dropped in 1894. In “q”: (–) all, except v. 6 of 2 Cor. 3. PCUSA(1894): In “n”: (–) Mark 16:15; (+) Luke 24:47–48. In “q”: (+) Rom. 1:16. PCUS(1910): In “n”: (–) all. (+) Matt. 28:19–20. In “o”: (–) Matt. 28:20. In “p”: (+) 1 Cor. 11:26. In “q”: (–) 2 Cor. 3:6–18; Matt. 28:19. Heb. 8:6, 10–11(→) Heb. 8:6–7. OPC(2001): In “n”: (–) Mark 16:15. (+) Luke 24:47–48; See Matt. 28:19–20. In “p”: (+) Matt. 26:28. In “q”: (–) 2 Cor. 3:10–18. (+) Rom. 1:16; See Eph. 3:1–12.

Q. 36. *Who is the Mediator of the Covenant of Grace?*

A. The only Mediator of the Covenant of Grace is the Lord Jesus Christ,^r who being the eternal Son of God, of one substance and equal with the Father,^s in the fullness of time became man,^t and so was and continues to be God and man in two entire distinct natures, and one person, for ever.^u

r. 1 Tim. 2:5.

s. John 1:1, 14; John 10:30; Phil. 2:6.

t. Gal. 4:4.

u. Luke 1:35; Rom. 9:5; Col. 2:9; Heb. 7:24–25.

VARIANTS:

311. (1) “Grace, is”: MSS; RPa. (2) “is, the”: MSb.

312. (1) “Lord, Jesus Christ”: ARPC. (2) “Jesus Christ; who”: MSa.

313. “who, being” (MSS; KNCDb): KNCDb—Mair; FPLC; RPC; ARPefg; UPC; RPCNA; GCP; OPC; PCA; Vos.

314. “substance, and”: MSa; Watson, RP; Kerr.

315. “was, and”: RP; †PCUSA-UP; Perkins; PCUS; BP. †PCUSAA has no comma.

316. “man: and so, was”: MSa.

317. “was, and”: MSS.

318. “be, God”: MSS; PCUSAb-UP; Perkins; PCUS; BP.

319. “man, in” (MSS; RP; E.Rob): RP; E.Rob—Mair; FPLC; RPC; Vos. The comma is in all American texts except PCUSAA-d.

320. “entire and distinct”: ARPe.

321. “natures and”: MSb; ARPa-d.

322. “person for ever” (MAX): MAX—KNCDa; RP; ARPa-d; PCUSA-UP; Perkins; PCUSab. The comma was restored in KNCDb forward in the Scottish text.

323. (1) In “u”: Heb. 7:14, 25; AMb; W1438. Corrected by Rothwell. (2) UPCA has Col. 9 for Col. 2:9 and Heb. 7:25 for Heb. 7:24–25.

324. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “s”: (–) John 1:14. In “u/v”: (–) Heb. 7:24–25. PCUSA(1894): In “r”: (+) John 14:6. In “u”: (+) Heb. 13:8. PCUS(1910): “s,” “t” and “u” combined into one reference: (–) John 1:14; Luke 1:35; Rom. 9:5; Heb. 7:24–25. (+) Phil. 2:5–11. OPC(2001): In “r”: (+) John 14:6; Acts 4:12. In “s”: (+) John 1:18; Matt. 3:17; Matt. 17:5; Ps. 2:7. In “t”: (+) Matt. 1:23; See John 1:14. In “u”: (+) Acts 1:11; Heb. 13:8; See Phil. 2:5–11.

Q. 37. *How did Christ, being the Son of God, become man?*

A. Christ the Son of God became man by taking to himself a true body, and a reasonable soul,^w being conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost, in the womb of the Virgin Mary, of her substance, and born of her,^x yet without sin.^y

w. John 1:14; Matt. 26:38.

x. Luke 1:27, 31, 35, 42; Gal. 4:4.

y. Heb. 4:15; Heb. 7:26.

VARIANTS:

325. In Q. (1) Christ, being God, become: AMb; W1438; BSTK; LTHGW; STNRSab; ANDSN; 1655; SWTNa; SNDRS; MAX—Cox; RP. Correct in: MSS; AMa; TYLRab; W1432; W1435; W1435A; W1438A. Corrected since DNLP. (2) “God become”: MSb; DNLP; KNCDa. The comma was restored in KNCDbc.

326. “Christ, the Son of God, became”: MSS; Finley; PCUSAef; Perkins; PCUS. Finley independently introduced the commas, but they were not reproduced in the first stereo plate edition of the same year. The second and third settings added them (PCUSAef). PCUS follows the text of PCUSAf.

327. “man, by” (MSS; Watson): W1432; W1438A; LTHGW; STNRSab; ANDSN; SWTNa; Watson; RP; DNLP—Mair; FPLC; and all American texts except for PCUSAf, k, UP; PCUS. While the MSS have this comma, AMab do not, nor do W1435; W1435a; W1438; BSTK; SNDRS. This and the preceding two commas have been dropped from the text.

328. “body and”: PCUSAh—UP; BP.

329. “Ghost in”: MSb; KNCDb—Mair; FPLC; ARPefg; UPC; RPCNA; GCP; OPC; PCA; Vos.

330. “Mary”: This has a similar history as other instances at Questions 22, 25, and 31.

331. “her; yet, without”: MSa.

332. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “x”: (–) Luke 1:42. PCUSA(1894): In “w”: (+) John 11:33; Luke 2:40, 52. In “x”: (–) Gal. 4:4. PCUS(1910): In “x”: (–) Luke 1:27. In “y”: (–) Heb. 7:26. OPC(2001): In “w”: (+) Phil. 2:7; Heb. 2:14–17; See Luke 2:40, 52; John 11:33. In “y”: (+) 2 Cor. 5:21; 1 John 3:5.

Q. 38. Why was it requisite that the Mediator should be God?

A. It was requisite that the Mediator should be God, that he might sustain and keep the human nature from sinking under the infinite wrath of God, and the power of death;^z give worth and efficacy to his sufferings, obedience and intercession;^a and so satisfy God’s justice,^b procure his favour,^c purchase a peculiar people,^d give his Spirit to them,^e conquer all their enemies,^f and bring them to everlasting salvation.^g

z. Acts 2:24–25; Rom. 1:4 with Rom. 4:25; Heb. 9:14.

a. Acts 20:28; Heb. 9:14; Heb. 7:25–28.

b. Rom. 3:24–26.

c. Eph. 1:6; Matt. 3:17.

d. Titus 2:13–14.

e. Gal. 4:6.

f. Luke 1:68–69, 71, 74.

g. Heb. 5:8–9; Heb. 9:11–16.

VARIANTS:

333. In Q. “requisite that” (MSa; MAX): MAX—Cox; DNLP; RP; L&R—. All texts since L&R drop the unnecessary comma.

334. In A. “requisite, that”: MSb.

335. “be God; that”: PCUSc—BofC.

336. “sustain, and”: MSa.

337. (1) “death, give” (MSb; MAX): MAX—Cox; RPa; UPcA. (2) “death: give”: Duncan; OPC; PCA.

338. “obedience, and” (MSS; MAX): MAX—Cox; DNLP; L&R—. All texts since L&R have the comma. RP editions do not. In American texts, BPb drops the comma.

339. “intercession, and”: MSb; MAX; RTHb; Watson; RPa; UPcA; BPa.

340. “so, satisfy”: MSS.

341. “to satisfy” (L&Rc): The “to” for “so” was introduced by L&Rc and infrequently correct thereafter. It is correct in RPab (but not RPe); Bryce; ARPa–c; M’Leod; and Perkins, but not in any American or Scottish editions since the New School attempt at a critical text published by Perkins in 1850. L&Rc was likely set from an example of L&Rb rather than L&Ra although the two are very similar. A likely explanation for the introduction of the error comes when one turns to Q. 38 in the 1736 edition. The “to” from “to his sufferings” occurs in the line directly above “satisfy.” It seems likely the typesetter’s eye strayed and he set the “to” instead of the “so.” Carruthers remarks: “In Q. 38, the grammar is spoiled and the sense obscured; it should read ‘It was requisite that the Mediator should be God, that he might sustain..., and so satisfy God’s justice.’ But some printer changed ‘so’ to ‘to’ (‘True Text,’ 217).

342. “justice; procure”: RPa. Comma in RPbc.

343. “enemies; and bring”: TYLRab; W1438A. The comma is in W1435; W1435A.

344. In “g”: Heb. 9:11–15 (THIRD; Cox); DNLP; L&R—. In giving the scripture proof texts “in full” Rothwell truncated the text after verse 15, while leaving the reference at the head of the text as 11–16. THIRD and Cox change the initial reference to read 9:11, 12, 13, 14, 15. Dunlop and L&R follow this. Only the RP editions retained verse 16.

345. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “z”: (–) Acts 2:25; Rom. 4:25; Heb. 9:14. In “c”: (–) Matt. 3:17. In “d”: PCUSAc—g missing v. 13. In Aitken—Finley, both verses were referenced but the text given is only that of v. 14. In “e”: (–) all. (+) John 15:26; 16:7; 14:26. In “f”: v. 68 dropped in PCUSAc forward. Aitken—Finley had 68–69 but only cited text of v.69. In “g”: (–) Heb. 5:8. PCUSA(1894): In “a”: (–) Heb. 7:26–28; (+) John 17. In “i”: (+) Matt. 5:17. PCUS(1910): (–) All references. (+) “See General Note.” OPC(2001): In “a”: (+) See John 17. In “e”: (+) John 15:26; See 16:7; 14:26.

Q. 39. Why was it requisite that the Mediator should be man?

A. It was requisite that the Mediator should be man, that he might advance our nature,^h perform obedience to the Law,ⁱ suffer and make intercession for us in our nature,^k have a fellow-feeling of our infirmities,^l that we might receive the adoption of sons,^m and have

comfort and access with boldness unto the throne of grace.ⁿ

- h. Heb. 2:16.
- i. Gal. 4:4.
- k. Heb. 2:14; Heb. 7:24–25.
- l. Heb. 4:15.
- m. Gal. 4:5.
- n. Heb. 4:16.

VARIANTS:

- 346. In Q. “requisite, that”: MSb.
- 347. In A. “requisite, that”: MSb.
- 348. “man that”: TYLRa, but the comma is in TYLRb.
- (2) “man: that”: PCUSb. This was changed (erroneously?) to a semi-colon in PCUSc–BofC.
- 349. “suffer, and”: MSS; MAX—Cox.
- 350. “us, in”: MSa.
- 351. “fellow-felling”: ARPgh. One of several obvious spelling errors in the modern ARP texts.
- 352. “infirmities, that”: MAX—Cox; RP; E.Rob—Kerr; ARP; UPCa.
- 353. “comfort, and”: MSS; MAX; RTHb.
- 354. “boldness, unto”: MSa.
- 355. American proofs. PCUSA(1797: In “i”: (+) Rom. 5:19. In “n”: in Aitken—Finley (+) Heb.4:15 but only text of v16 given; v15 dropped in PCUSAc–k. PCUSA(1894): In “h”: (–) Heb. 2:16. (+) Rom. 8:34; 2 Pet. 1:4. PCUS(1910): “h”: deleted. In “i”: (+) Gal. 4:5; Rom. 5:19. In “n”: (+) Heb. 4:14–15. OPC(2001): In “h”: (+) 2 Pet. 1:4. In “i”: (+) Matt. 5:17; Rom. 5:19; Phil. 2:8.

Q. 40. Why was it requisite that the Mediator should be God and man in one person?

A. It was requisite that the Mediator, who was to reconcile God and man, should himself be both God and man, and this in one person, that the proper works of each nature might be accepted of God for us,^o and relied on by us, as the works of the whole person.^p

- o. Matt. 1:21, 23; Matt. 3:17; Heb. 9:14.
- p. 1 Pet. 2:6.

VARIANTS:

- 356. In Q. “requisite, that”: MSb.
- 357. In A. “requisite, that”: MSb.
- 358. “Mediator who”: PCUSAc–f; Perkins; PCUS.
- 359. “man should”: MAX; Duncan.
- 360. “man; and this, in”: MSa.
- 361. “is one person”: TYLRab; W1438A. Tyler’s W1435 was correct with “in one person.”
- 362. “person; that”: DNLP; L&R; PCUSA–UP; PCUS; BPa. The comma was restored by E.Rob forward in the

traditional Scottish text and is in American texts except for the PCUSA/PCUS tradition.

- 363. In “o”: Matt. 1:21, 22 for Matt. 1:21, 23; UPCa.
- 364. “us as”: RPbc; Bryce; OPC; PCA; Vos.
- 365. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “o”: (–) Heb. 9:14. PCUSAc dropped Matt. 1:21 but it was restored in 1894. Aitken–Finley only gave text of v23. Minor typo in PCUSAb; missing “p” reference in Answer. PCUS(1910): (–) All references. (+) “See General note.”

Q. 41. Why was our Mediator called Jesus?

A. Our Mediator was called Jesus, because he saveth his people from their sins.^q

- q. Matt. 1:21.

VARIANTS:

- 366. “Jesus”: The italic typeface was used in the answer and non-italic in the question; see the similar history at Questions 22, 25, 31 and 37.

Q. 42. Why was our Mediator called Christ?

A. Our Mediator was called Christ, because he was anointed with the Holy Ghost above measure,^r and so, set apart, and fully furnished with all authority and ability^s to execute the offices of prophet,^t priest,^u and king of his Church,^w in the estate both of his humiliation and exaltation.

- r. John 3:34; Ps. 45:7.
- s. John 6:27; Matt. 28:18–20.
- t. Acts 3:21–22; Luke 4:18, 21.
- u. Heb. 5:5–7; Heb. 4:14–15.
- w. Ps. 2:6; Matt. 21:5; Isa. 9:6–7; Phil. 2:8–11.

VARIANTS:

- 367. “Christ”: See the note in Q. 41.
- 368. “measure; and” (MSa; DNLP): DNLP; L&R—Mair; FPLC; all[†] American texts. [†]OPC (2001) had a comma but this was changed to a semi-colon in the 2005 published text.
- 369. In “r”: John 3:24 but text correct: All Blair editions except for Blair4 (1841), the last in the series.
- 370. “so set apart” (MAX): MAX—Cox; DNLP; L&R—Mair; FPLC; RP;[†] all American texts. [†]RPa restored the comma but it dropped out in RPbc; Bryce.
- 371. “apart and” or “apart, and”: MSa(?).
- 372. (1) “authority, and”: MSa.
- 373. “ability, to” (MAX): MSb; MAX—Cox; DNLP; RP;[†] L&R—Mair; FPLC; all American. [†]RPa has no comma.
- 374. “office of”: PCUSAf–UP; PCUS; BP.
- 375. “of a prophet”: RPa; PCUSAc.
- 376. “estate, both”: TYLRab; RPa. W1435 has no comma; nor does W1438A, which normally tracks TYLR.

377. “humiliation, and”: MSS.

378. “king, of”: E.Rob and KNCDB only.

379. In “w”: Matt. 21 (verse number missing but otherwise correct); UPCh; ARPf. Apparently, slightly modified plates of the UPCh edition were used to print ARPf. See the description of ARPf in Appendix A.

380. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “s”: (–) Matt. 28:18 (restored in 1894). In “t”: (–) Acts 3:21 in PCUSAc and thereafter. Aitken—Finley had vs21–22, but only text of v22. In “u/v”: (–) Heb. 5:7. In “w”: (–) Matt. 21:5; Phil. 2:8–11; Isa. 9:7. But Isa. 9:7 added again in Finley and present in PCUSAc—g. PCUSA(1894): In “r”: (+) Matt. 3:16. PCUS(1910): In “r”: (–) Ps. 45:7; (+) Luke 4:18–21. In “s”: (–) John 6:27; (+) Luke 4:14; Heb. 9:14. In “t”: (–) Acts 3:21. In “u”: (–) Heb. 5:7. In “w”: (–) Matt. 21:5; Phil. 2:8–11. (+) Rev. 19:16. OPC(2001): In “r”: (+) Matt. 3:16 compared with Acts 10:37–38. In “s”: (+) Rom. 1:3–4. In “t”: (+) Heb. 1:1–2; Deut. 18:18. In “w”: (+) Luke 1:32–34; John 18:37.

Q. 43. How doth Christ execute the office of a prophet?

A. Christ executeth the office of a prophet, in his revealing to the Church,^x in all ages, by his Spirit and Word,^y in divers ways of administration,^z the whole will of God^a in all things concerning their edification and salvation.^b

x. John 1:18.

y. 1 Pet. 1:10–12.

z. Heb. 1:1–2.

a. John 15:15.

b. Acts 20:32; Eph. 4:11–13; John 20:31.

VARIANTS:

381. “prophet in”: PCUSAk–UP.

382. “to the church in” (MSb; DNLP): DNLP; L&R; PCUSA–UP; PCUS; BPb. Comma restored by E.Rob.

383. “God, in all things” (MAX): MAX—Cox; DNLP; RP; L&R—Mair; FPLC; all American.

384. In “a”: Job 15:15 but text correct: MAX.

385. “edification, and”: MSa; MAX; RTHb; Watson.

386. In “b”: Acts 20:23, but text is 20:32: PCA.

387. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “y”: (–) 1 Pet. 1:11 (restored in 1894). In “b”: (–) Acts 20:32. PCUS(1910): Moved “x” to “ages,” Deleted “z” and “a.” In “x”: John 1:18(→) John 1:1, 4. In “y”: (–) 1 Pet. 1:10–12. (+) 1 Pet. 1:21; 2 Cor. 2:9–10. In “b”: (–) Acts 20:32.

Q. 44. How doth Christ execute the office of a priest?

A. Christ executeth the office of a priest, in his once offering himself a sacrifice without spot to God,^c

to be a reconciliation for the sins of his people,^d and in making continual intercession for them.^e

c. Heb. 9:14, 28.

d. Heb. 2:17.

e. Heb. 7:25.

VARIANTS:

388. “priest in”: MAX; RTHb; PCUSAk–UP.

389. “offering **up** himself”: Duncan.

390. “God; to be”: 1771np; KNCDA; ARPa–d.

391. “to be reconciliation” (“a” missing): PCA.

392. (1) “people; and” (MSa; DNLP); DNLP; L&R; Duncan; KNCDBc—Mair; FPLC; all American.[†] The comma was restored in E.Rob which was retained in E.Rob—KNCDA; [†]ARPa–d.

393. “and, in making”: MSa. Bower does not note the comma. However, the copy reads: “& <in>” with a strikeout following “&,” and an insertion of “in” interline above it.

394. American proofs. PCUSA(1894): In “d”: (+) 2 Cor. 5:18–19. OPC(2001): In “c”: (+) Heb. 10:12; See Isa. 53. In “d”: (+) 2 Cor. 5:18; Col. 1:21–22. In “e”: (+) Heb. 9:24.

Q. 45. How doth Christ execute the office of a king?

A. Christ executeth the office of a king, in calling out of the world a people to himself,^f and giving them officers,^g laws,^h and censures, by which he visibly governs them;ⁱ in bestowing saving grace upon his elect,^k rewarding their obedience,^l and correcting them for their sins,^m preserving and supporting them under all their temptations and sufferings,ⁿ restraining and overcoming all their enemies,^o and powerfully ordering all things for his own glory^p and their good;^q and also in taking vengeance on the rest, who know not God, and obey not the Gospel.^r

f. Acts 15:14–16; Isa. 55:4–5; Gen. 49:10; Ps. 110:3.

g. Eph. 4:11–12; 1 Cor. 12:28.

h. Isa. 33:22.

i. Matt. 18:17–18; 1 Cor. 5:4–5.

k. Acts 5:31.

l. Rev. 22:12; Rev. 2:10.

m. Rev. 3:19.

n. Isa. 63:9.

o. 1 Cor. 15:25; Ps. 110 throughout.

p. Rom. 14:10–11.

q. Rom. 8:28.

r. 2 Thess. 1:8–9; Ps. 2:8–9.

VARIANTS:

395. “king in”: PCUSAk–UP.

396. “himself, and” (DNLP): DNLP; L&R; PCUSA—UP; Perkins; PCUS; BP. The comma was restored in E.Rob.

397. (1) “governs them, in”: MAX—Cox; UPCA. (2) “governs them: in”: PCUSA—UP; BP.

398. In “I”: Rev. 22:12 dropped: UPCA.

399. In “m”: Rev. 2:19: AMB. While this was corrected in W1438, the first publicly available edition with proofs, the error was retained in BSTK; STNRSab; ANDSN; and 1655. LTHGW has the reference correct, as does SWTNa. Corrected in DLL and MAX forward in the traditional text.

400. “preserving, and”: MSb.

401. “sufferings; restraining”: PCUSc—BofC.

402. In “o”: Ps. 110:1–2: UPCA. RPa drops “throughout”. KNCDb—J&H place “[See the Psalm throughout]” at the end of the reference.

403. “own glory, and” (MSS; MAX): MAX—; all American except PCUSA—UP; BPb; BofC.

404. (1) “good, and”: MAX; RTHb; Watson; UPCA. (2) “good: and”: RPCNA; PCUSA—j; BPa. (3) “and also, in”: RPa.

405. “rest who”: RTHb—Cox; DNLP; E.Rob—KNCD; ARPa—d.

406. In “r”: 2 Thess. 8–9: Orr.

407. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “f”: (–) Acts 15:14–16; Ps. 110:3. PCUSAc—g drop Isa. 55:4. As in similar dropped verses, Aitken—Finley had v4 but text only of v5. In “i”: (+) 1 Tim. 5:20; Titus 3:10. In “k”: (+) Ps. 68:18. In “l”: (–) Rev. 2:10; (+) Matt. 25:34–36; Rom. 2:7. In “m”: (+) Heb. 12:6–7 (dropped in 1894). In “p”: (–) Rom. 14:10; (+) Phil. 2:11. In “r”: (–) 2 Thess. 2:9; Ps. 2:8. PCUSA(1894): In “h”: (–) Isa. 33:22; (+) John 15:14. In “n”: (–) Isa. 63:9; (+) Rom. 8:37–39. In “o”: (–) Ps. 110; (+) Eph. 1:22. PCUS(1910): In “f”: (–) Acts 15:14–16; Gen. 49:10; Ps. 110:3; Isa. 55:4. (+) John 10:16, 27. In “h”: (–) Isa. 33:22; (+) Matt. 18:19–20. In “i”: (+) 1 Tim. 5:20; Titus 3:10. In “l”: (–) Rev. 2:10; (+) Matt. 25:34–36; Rom. 2:7. In “m”: (+) Heb. 12:6, 7. In “n”: (–) Isa. 63:9; (+) 2 Cor. 12:9–10; Rom. 8:35–39. In “o”: (–) Ps. 110; (+) Acts 12:17; 18:9–10. In “p”: (–) Rom. 14:10; (+) Col. 1:18; Matt. 28:19–20. In “r”: (–) 2 Thess. 1:9; Ps. 2:8. OPC(2001): In “f”: (–) Isa. 55:4–5; (+) John 17:2. In “o”: Ps. 110 (→) Ps. 110:1–2.

Q. 46. *What was the estate of Christ’s humiliation?*

A. The estate of Christ’s humiliation was that low condition, wherein he, for our sakes, emptying himself of his glory, took upon him the form of a servant in his conception and birth, life, death, and after his death until his resurrection.^s

s. Phil. 2:6–8; Luke 1:31; 2 Cor. 8:9; Acts 2:24.

VARIANTS:

408. “humiliation, was”: MSS.

409. “was that” (DNLP): DNLP; L&R—Mair; all American. RP retained the comma, which is not necessary.

410. “wherein he” (MSb; MAX): MAX—Cox; DNLP; RP; L&R—Mair; all American. The early texts prior to MAX and MSa have an unnecessary comma after “wherein.”

411. “he for” (DNLP; Blair): DNLP; Blair—Mair; UPcb;† FPLC; ARPefg; GCP; OPC; PCA; Vos. It is unusual for Blair not to follow Kerr. The comma was restored and retained in L&R—Kerr, and is also in †UPCa.

412. “sakes emptying”: DNLP.

413. “servant, in” (MSS; THIRD): THIRD; Cox; L&R—Mair; RP;† all American. †RPa did not have the comma.

414. “death, until” (THIRD; RP; E.Rob): THIRD; Cox; RP; E.Rob—Mair; Towar; Young; FPLC; ARPa—e, g; UPCA; RPCNA; GCP; OPC; BPb;† PCA; Vos. The comma is not in: PCUSA; PCUS; †BPa.

415. American proofs. PCUS(1910): (–) Luke 1:31; Acts 2:24. (+) Gal. 4:4. OPC(2001): Original single proof divided into seven at “servant,” “conception,” “birth,” “life,” “death,” “death,” and “resurrection.” (+) Luke 2:7; Gal. 4:4; Luke 9:58; Heb. 2:18; Isa. 53:3; 1 John 2:2; Phil. 2:8; Matt. 12:40; 1 Cor. 15:3–4; Acts 2:24–27, 31.

Q. 47. *How did Christ humble himself in his conception and birth?*

A. Christ humbled himself in his conception and birth, in that, being, from all eternity, the Son of God, in the bosom of the Father, he was pleased in the fullness of time to become the Son of Man, made of a woman of low estate, and to be born of her, with divers circumstances of more than ordinary abasement.^t

t. John 1:14, 18; Gal. 4:4; Luke 2:7.

VARIANTS:

416. In Q. “conception, and”: MSS.

417. (1) “conception, and”: MSa. (2) “conception in that”: MAX—Cox.

418. “birth in”: PCUSAk—UP.

419. “that being”: MAX—Cox; DNLP.

420. (1) “being from” (MSS;† TYLRab;‡ W1438A): MAX—Cox; DNLP; RP; L&R—Mair; FPLC; all American. †Bower only notes MSb as not having the comma, but MSa appears to lack it as well. (2) “eternity the” (MSS; TYLRab;‡ W1438A): MAX—Cox; DNLP; RP; L&R—Mair; FPLC; all American. ‡W1435 retained both commas. (3) “God in”: MSb; DNLP; RP;† L&R; PCUSA—UP; Perkins; PCUS; BPa. The comma was restored by E.Rob; it is also in †RPa. While they may not seem necessary, all three commas have been retained. The primary thrust of the thought conveyed is ‘being the Son of God,’ and the secondary thoughts are properly set off by commas.

421. “pleased, in” (MSS;† THIRD): THIRD; Cox; RP; L&R; E.Rob. The comma is dropped in the 1771np forward. †Bower has the comma after “in” in MSa, but it is the same as MSb, placing it after “pleased.”

422. “time, to” (MSS; THIRD): THIRD; Cox; RP; E.Rob; 1771np; KNCDa; ARPa–d. The Comma is dropped from KNCDbc forward.

423. “her; with” (THIRD): THIRD; Cox; E.Rob—Mair; FPLC; ARP; UPC; RPCNA; GCP; OPC; PCA; Vos.

424. “then ordinary”: AMb. AMA has “than.” The words “then” and “than” were still used interchangeable at this time. The only prior occurrence is in Q. 8 in the question, *Are there more Gods than one?* There AMA and AMb both use “then,” as does MSb; however, MSa has “than.” This has been treated as a spelling variation, which other than this note, has not been traced for this collation.

425. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “t”: (–) Gal. 4: 4. PCUS(1910): In “t”: (–) John 1:14; Gal. 4:4; Luke 2:7. (+) “See citations under Q. 46 above.”

Q. 48. *How did Christ humble himself in his life?*

A. Christ humbled himself in his life, by subjecting himself to the Law,^u which he perfectly fulfilled,^w and by conflicting with the indignities of the world,^x temptations of Satan,^y and infirmities in his flesh, whether common to the nature of man, or particularly accompanying that his low condition.^z

u. Gal. 4:4.

w. Matt. 5:17; Rom. 5:19.

x. Ps. 22:6; Heb. 12:2–3.

y. Matt. 4:1–12 [sic 11; see not below]; Luke 4:13.

z. Heb. 2:17–18; Heb. 4:15; Isa. 52:13–14.

VARIANTS:

426. “his life by”: W1438; MAX—Cox; ARPb2; PCUSAK—UP.

427. “law which”: DNLP; UPCb. The comma is in UPCa.

428. “fulfilled; and” (DNLP; RP; L&R): DNLP; RP; L&R—Mair; UPCb;† FPLC; ARP; RPCNA; Perkins; GCP; OPC; PCA; Vos. Perkins is the only edition of the PCUSA tradition that has the semi-colon. †UPCa has the comma.

429. In “x”: all references dropped: UPCa.

430. In “y”: (1) Matt. 4:1–10: Bower. This is a typo and Mr. Bower confirmed the texts in his collation actually have Matt. 4:1–12. (2) Matt. 4:1–11: OPC. The draft of 2002 retains the traditional reference, but the 2005 official published text drops verse 12. In corresponding with Jim Scott, the OPC Publications Coordinator who worked with others proofreading the standards for publication, he could not recall or verify

in this instance if this was an intended correction or simply an inadvertent change. The reference has been through verse 12 from the earliest authorized editions through the various American proof sets up until today. This would be the first attempt to correct the citation. As is obvious to anyone reading the entire passage, there does not seem to be any reason to include the twelfth verse as the passage regarding Satan’s temptation of Christ ends at verse eleven. Rothwell did not catch this, perhaps because he only sets the text in full from verse one, ending with “etc.” and this is how the proof reads in the traditional text down though the J&H editions of the late 19th century.

431. “infirmities, in”: PCUSAA.

432. “flesh; whether”: THIRD; Cox; PCUSAb–f; PCUS.

433. “man or”: PCUSAA, g–UP; BP.

434. In “z”: Isa. 51:13–14: W1438; LTHGW. While AMb was correct, the “51” for “52” was introduced in the first publicly available edition with Scripture proofs. BSTK compounded the problem by dropping the second digit altogether, rendering the reference “5, 13, 14.” This carried through STNRSab; ANDSN; 1655. DLL corrected it, and SWTN pares the reference down to only Heb. 2:17. Correct since MAX.

435. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “x”: (+) Isa. 53:2–3. In “y”: Luke 4:13(→) Luke 4:1–14. In “z”: (–) Isa. 52: 13 in Aitken—Finley, PCUSAg–k. Added back in PCUSAc and retained through PCUSAf. PCUSA(1894): In “x”: (–) Ps. 22:6. PCUS(1910): In “w”: (–) Matt. 5:17; (+) Matt. 3:15; John 19:30. In “x”: (+) Isa. 53:2, 3. In “y”: Luke 4:13(→) Luke 4:1–14. OPC(2001): In “x”: (+) Isa. 53:2–3. OPC (2005): → Matt. 4:1–11.

Q. 49. *How did Christ humble himself in his death?*

A. Christ humbled himself in his death, in that, having been betrayed by Judas,^a forsaken by his Disciples,^b scorned and rejected by the world,^c condemned by Pilate, and tormented by his persecutors;^d having also conflicted with the terrors of death, and the powers of darkness, felt and borne the weight of God’s wrath;^e he laid down his life an offering for sin,^f enduring the painful, shameful, and cursed death of the cross.^g

a. Matt. 27:4.

b. Matt. 26:56.

c. Isa. 53:2–3.

d. Matt. 27:26–50; John 19:34.

e. Luke 22:44; Matt. 27:46.

f. Isa. 53:10.

g. Phil. 2:8; Heb. 12:2; Gal. 3:13.

VARIANTS:

436. “death in”: PCUSA_k–UP.
437. “that, having”: MSS; AMa; TYLRab; RP.[†] The comma is dropped in [†]RPc and in most texts including AMb.
438. In “a”: Matt. 17:4; AMb; W1438.
439. “world; condemned”: TYLRb; W1438A. W1435 had the comma. In the first fifty questions a full collation was not made with TYLRb and W1438A, but this may indicate the latter was set from the variant edition rather than TYLRa.
440. “Judas” and “Pilate”: This has the same history as in Questions 22, 25, 31, 37, 41 and 42.
441. (1) “persecutors, having”: MSb; [†]TYLRb; MAX—Cox; UPCa. (2) “persecutors: having”: Young; ARPe. [†]Bower assigns the comma to both MSS, but MSa has a semi-colon.
442. “death and”: DNLP; L&R; E.Rob; PCUSA–UP; Perkins; PCUS; BP. Comma restored in 1771np.
443. “wrath, he” (MSb; MAX): MAX—Cox; DNLP; RP; L&R—Mair; FPLC; all American.
444. In “e”: (1) Luke 22:24, but text correct: Duncan; RobSR; KNCD—Kerr. Corrected in Blair forward. It seems more likely this mistake was produced independently in Duncan, RobSR and KNCDa. RobSR was probably set from L&Rc, while Duncan from E.Rob or an edition set from it. Both L&Rc and E.Rob have this reference correct. KNCDa was probably set from 1771np, which also had this correct. For information on the various L&R forms see: Chris Coldwell, “Examining the Work of S.W. Carruthers: Justifying a Critical Approach to the Text of the Westminster Standards and Correcting the 18th Century Lineage of the Traditional Scottish Text,” *The Confessional Presbyterian* 1 (2005) 52–57. (2) Matt. 27:42: UPCa.
445. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “c”: Aitken—Finley: (→) Isa. 53:1, 3, but text only of v3. PCUSAc—UP: v3 only. In “d”: Matt. 27:26–50(→) Matt. 27:26. (+) Luke 22: 63–64. In “e”: (+) Rom. 8:32. Luke 22:23 which is present in Aitken—Finley was dropped in PCUSAc. It was clearly not a correct reference, and what was possibly intended was Luke 22:53, because of the phrase “power of darkness.” Evidently, rather than guessing what the reference should have been, it was simply dropped. PCUSA(1894): In “f”: (+) Matt. 20:28. Note: In the PCUSA editions from 1924–1957, Rom. 8:32 is mistyped as Rom. 8:31. PCUS(1910): In “c”: (–) Isa. 52:2; (+) Luke 18:32–33. In “d”: (–) Matt. 27:27–50. (+) Luke 22: 63–64. In “e”: (+) Rom. 8:32. In “f”: (+) Rom. 4:15; 1 Cor. 15: 3–4. In “g”: PCUSa typo: Gal. 3:18 for Gal. 3:13. The text had become progressively more blurred in the reusing of the old plates prior to the new proofs and resetting of 1910, and it is possible when the new proofs were adopted that the typesetter was using a printed text marked up with the changes. As this text was unchanged in the new proofs, he likely misread

a blurry 13 as an 18. It remained unchanged through the editions with the 1944 changes bound in front and was not corrected until the volume was reset to incorporate the changes from 1939, 1942 and 1944 into the actual text. OPC(2001): In “d”: (+) See Luke 22:63–64. In “f”: (+) Matt. 20:28; See Mark 20:45.

Q. 50. Wherein consisted Christ's humiliation after his death?

*A. Christ's humiliation after his death, consisted in his being buried,^h and continuing in the state of the dead, and under the power of death till the third day;ⁱ which hath been otherwise expressed in these words, **He descended into Hell.***

h. 1 Cor. 15:3–4.

i. Ps. 16:10 with Acts 2:24–27, 31; Rom. 6:9; Matt. 12:40.

VARIANTS:

446. “death consisted”: RP; [†]E.Rob—Mair; FPLC; ARP; UPC; RPCNA; PCUSAef,k–UP; Perkins; PCUS; GCP; OPC; PCA; Vos. The comma was retained in PCUSAA–d, ghi and in [†]RPc.
447. “consisted, in”: MSb; RPa.
448. “buried; and”: RPCNA; PCUSAh–UP; BP.
449. In “h”: 1 Cor. 15:4: RP.
450. “dead and”: PCUSAh–UP; BP.
451. “till, the third”: MSb.
452. (1) “third day, which” (TYLRab): TYLRab; W1432; W1438A; BSTK; LTHGW; ANDSN; DLL; [†]SWTNa; SNDRS; MAX—Cox; DNLP; L&R; RPc; UPCa; [‡]PCUSA–UP; Perkins; PCUS; BP. The semi-colon was restored in E.Rob forward in the traditional Scottish text. [†]A comma precedes “quod.” [‡]UPCb has the semi-colon. (2) “third day: which”: W1435; W1435A; STNRSab; § 1655. §STNRSa was not clear with barely a speck for punctuation showing in the reproduction, which came at the end of the line. STNRSb was reset with “day: which” on the next line.
453. “words; *He*”: BPb.
454. “*He descended into Hell.*” Contrary to usage in Questions 22, 25, 31, 37, 41, 42 and 49, this text is in italics in the early editions and underlined in the MSa as well. It is almost always if not always so set in the editions consulted for this collation. It is not underlined in MSb.
455. American proofs. PCUSA(1797): In “i”: Acts 2: 24–27, 31(→) Acts 2:24–26. PCUS(1910): In “i”: (–) Ps. 16: 10; Acts 2:24–27, 31; Rom. 6:9. (+) Luke 18:33. ■

Scripture Proof-Texts of the Larger Catechism

The Original and American Sets Compared: Q. 1–50

By Chris Coldwell

The following table presents for comparison the original Scripture proof-texts of the Westminster Larger Catechism questions 1 through 50, along with the several modified American proof sets. These American sets are those adopted by: The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (1797; 1894); The Presbyterian Church in the United States (1910/PCUSA 1982); and the Orthodox Presbyterian Church (2001/2005).

The first edition of the standards of the PCUSA did not contain any Scripture proofs. Once proofs were officially adopted they first were published in the 1797 edition of *The Constitution* published by Robert Aitken. The PCUSA revised these proofs and the second set first appeared in the 1896 edition published by the Presbyterian Board of Publication. The PCUS set is from the edition of their *Constitution* published in 1910, which is their first edition which was not a

reprint of an older PCUSA text. The PCUS text of the Larger Catechism is that presently published in the PCUSA's *Book of Confessions*. The OPC proof set adopted in 2001 is taken from the official printed text published in 2005. For more information on these editions, see Endnote A. See Endnote B for further details on the reference numbering of various editions. Specific textual issues noted in the table are addressed on page 83 under Endnote C.

NOTE: In 1910 in addition to other changes, the PCUS adopted a “General Note,” to replace some Scripture references: “At several points the Larger Catechism is more specific in its statements than the Scriptures. These statements are inferences from the Scriptures, or from statements based on the Scriptures, or from the experience and observation of the Church. In such cases no texts are cited; but reference is made to this general note.”

The Scripture Proof-Text Sets for Larger Catechism Q. 1–50

LC	WESTMINSTER	PCUSA 1797	PCUSA 1894	PCUS 1910	OPC 2001
1	a. Rom. 11:36; 1Cor. 10:31. b. Ps. 73:24–28; John 17:21–23.	a. Rom. 11:36; 1Cor. 10:31. b. Ps. 73:24–26; John 17:22,24.	a. Rom. 11:36; 1Cor. 10:31. b. Ps. 73:24–26; John 17:22, 24.	“General note.” 1. Rom. 11:36; 1Cor. 10:31. 2. Ps. 73:24–26; John 17:22,24.	a. Rom. 11:36; 1Cor. 6:20; 1Cor. 10:31; Ps. 86:9,12. b. Ps. 73:24–28; John 17:21–23; Ps. 16:5–11; Rev. 21:3–4.
2	c. Rom. 1:19–20; Ps. 19:1–3, Acts 17:28. d. 1Cor. 2:9–10; 2Tim. 3:15–17; Isa. 59:21.	c. Rom. 1:19–20; Ps. 19:1–3. d. 2Tim. 3:15–17; 1Cor. 2:10.	c. Rom. 1:19–20; Ps. 19:1–3. d. 1Cor. 2:9–10; 2Tim. 3:15–17.	1. Rom. 1:19–20; Ps. 19:1–4; Ps. 19:4. 2. 1Cor. 1:21; 1Cor. 2:9–10.	c. Rom. 1:19–20; Acts 17:28; See Ps. 19:1–3. d. 1Cor. 2:9–10; 1Cor. 1:20–21; 2Tim. 3:15–17; See Isa. 59:21.
3	e. 2Tim. 3:16; 2Pet. 1:19–21. f. Eph. 2:20; Rev. 22:18–19; Isa. 8:20; Luke 16:29,31; Gal. 1:8–9; 2Tim. 3:15–17.	e. 2Tim. 3:16; 2Pet. 1:19–21. f. Isa. 8:20; Luke 16:31; Gal. 1:8–9; 2Tim. 3:15–17.	e. 2Tim. 3:16; 2Pet. 1:19–21. f. Isa. 8:20; Luke 16:29,31; Gal. 1:8–9; 2Tim. 3:15–17.	e. Deleted. 1. Gal. 1:8–9; Isa. 8:20; Luke 16:29,31; 2Tim. 3:15–17.	e. 2Tim. 3:16; 2Pet. 1:19–21; 2Pet. 3:2, 15–16; Matt. 19:4–5; with Gen. 2:24. f. Deut. 4:2; Eph. 2:20; Rev. 22:18–19; Isa. 8:20; Luke 16:29,31; Gal. 1:8–9; 2Tim. 3:15–16.

LC	WESTMINSTER	PCUSA 1797	PCUSA 1894	PCUS 1910	OPC 2001
4	g. Hos. 8:12; 1Cor. 2: 6–7,13; Ps. 119:18, 129. h. Ps. 12:6; Ps. 119:140. i. Acts 10:43; Acts 26:22. k. Rom. 3:19,27. l. Acts 18:28; Heb. 4:12; James 1:18; Ps. 19:7–9; Rom. 15:4; Acts 20:32. m. John 16:13–14; 1John 2:20,27; John 20:31.	g. Isa. 66:1; Amos 9:2–4; Ps. 77. h. Ps. 12:6; Ps. 119:140. i. Acts 10:43; ¹ Acts 26:22. k. Rom. 3:19,27. l. Acts 18:28; Heb. 4:12; James 1:18; Ps. 19:7–9. m. John 16:13–14; 1John 2:20,27.	g. Hos. 8:12; 1Cor. 2: 6–7; Ps. 119:18, 129. h. Ps. 12:6; Ps. 119:140. i. Luke 24:27; Acts 10: 43; Acts 26:22. k. Rom. 16:25–27; 2Cor. 3:6–11. l. Acts 18:28; Heb. 4:12; James 1:18; Ps. 19:7–9; Rom. 15:4; Acts 20:32. m. John 16:13, 14; 1John 2:20,27.	g. Deleted. h. Deleted. i. Deleted. k. Deleted. 1. “See General note.” 2. John 16:13–14; 1Cor. 2:6–9.	g. Hos. 8:12; 1Cor. 2: 6–7,13; Ps. 119:18, 129. h. Ps. 12:6; Ps. 119:140. i. Luke 24:27; Acts 10:43; Acts 26:22. k. Rom. 3:19,27; Rom. 16: 25–27; See 2Cor. 3:6–11. l. Acts 18:28; Heb. 4:12; James 1:18; Ps. 19:7–9; Rom. 15:4; Acts 20:32. m. John 16:13, 14; See 1John 2:20,27; John 20:31.
5	n. 2Tim. 1:13.	n. John 20:31; 2Tim. 1:13; Ps. 19:105.	n. John 20:31; 2Tim. 1: 13; See 2Tim. 3:15–17.	1. “See General note.”	n. At “concerning God”: Gen. 1:1; Exod. 34:5–7; Ps. 48:1; John 20:31; See 2Tim. 3:15. o. Deut. 10:12–13; 2Tim. 3:15–17; Acts 16:30–31.
6	o. Heb. 11:6. p. 1John 5:7. q. Acts 15:14–15,18. r. Acts 4:27–28.	o. John 4:24; Exod. 3:14; and 34:6,7. p. 1John 5:7. q. Acts 15:14–15,18. ² r. Acts 4:27–28.	o. John 4:24; Exod. 34:6. p. Matt. 3:16–17; Matt. 28:19; 2Cor. 13:14. q. Isa. 46:9–10. r. Acts 4:27–28.	1. John 4:24; Exod. 34:6–7 2. Matt. 28:19; 2Cor. 13:14. 3. Eph. 1:11; “See the context.” 4. Acts 4:27,28; Isa. 42:9.	p. John 4:24; Exod. 34: 6–7; Isa. 40:18,21–23, 25, 28; Heb. 11:6. q. Matt. 3:16–17; Deut. 6: 4–6 cp. with 1Cor. 8: 4,6; See Matt. 28:19–20; 2Cor. 13:14. r. Acts 15:14–15,18; Isa. 46:9–10. s. Acts 4:27–28.
7	s. John 4:24. t. Exod. 3:14; Job 11: 7–9. u. Acts 7:2. w. 1Tim. 6:15. ³ x. Matt. 5:48. y. Gen. 17:1. z. Ps. 90:2. a. Mal. 3:6; James 1:17. b. 1Kings 8:27. c. Ps. 139:1–13. ⁴ d. Rev. 4:8. e. Heb. 4:13; Ps. 147:5. f. Rom. 16:27. g. Isa. 6:3; Rev. 15:4. h. Deut. 32:4. i. Exod. 34:6.	s. John 4:24. t. Exod. 3:14; Job 11: 7–9. v. Acts 7:2. w. 1Tim. 6:15. x. Matt. 5:48. y. Gen. 17:1. z. Ps. 90:2. a. Mal. 3:6; with James 1:17. b. 1Kings 8:27. c. Ps. 139:1,2,7. d. Rev. 4:8. e. Heb. 4:13; & Ps. 147:5. f. Rom. 16:27. g. Isa. 6:3; Rev. 15:4. h. Deut. 32:4. i. Exod. 34:6.	s. John 4:24. t. Exod. 3:14; Job 11: 7–9. u. Acts 7:2. w. 1Tim. 6:15. x. Matt. 5:48. y. Rom. 11:35–36. z. Ps. 90:2. a. Mal. 3:6; James 1:17. b. Ps. 145:3. c. Ps. 139:1,2,7. d. Rev. 4:8; Gen. 17:1. e. Heb. 4:13; Ps. 147:5. f. Rom. 16:27. g. Isa. 6:3; Rev. 15:4. h. Deut. 32:4. i. Exod. 34:6.	1. John 4:24. 2. 1Kings 8:27; Isa. 40:20. u. Deleted. w. Deleted. 3. “See General note.” 4. Acts 17:24–25. 5. Ps. 90:2. 6. Mal. 3:6; James 1:17. 7. Rom. 11:33. 8. Jer. 23:24; Ps. 139. 9. Rev. 4:8. 10. Heb. 4:13; Ps. 147:5. 11. Rom. 16:27. 12. Isa. 6:3; Rev. 15:4. 13. Deut. 32:4. 14. Exod. 34:6.	t. John 4:24. u. Exod. 3:14; Job 11:7–9; Ps. 145:3; 147:5. w. Acts 7:2. x. 1Tim. 6:15. y. Matt. 5:48. z. Exod. 3:14; Gen. 17:1; Rom. 11:35–36. a. Ps. 90:2; Deut. 33:27. b. Mal. 3:6. c. 1Kings 8:27; Ps. 145:3; See Rom. 11:34. d. Ps. 139:1–13. e. Rev. 4:8; Gen. 17:1; Matt. 19:26. f. Heb. 4:13; See Ps. 147:5. g. Rom. 11:33–34; Rom. 16:27. h. 1Pet. 1:15–16; Rev. 15: 4; Isa. 6:3. i. Deut. 32:4; Rom. 3:5,26. k. Exod. 34:6; Ps. 117:2; Deut. 32:4.
8	k. Deut. 6:4; 1Cor. 8:4,6; Jer. 10:10.	k. Deut. 6:4; 1Cor. 8:4 and 6; Jer. 10:10. ⁵	k. Deut. 6:4; 1Cor. 8:4. See v 6; Jer. 10:10.	1. Deut. 6:4; 1Cor. 8: 4,6; Jer. 10:10.	l. At “only”: Deut. 6: 4; 1Cor. 8:4,6; Isa. 45: 21–22; Isa. 44:6. m. Jer. 10:10; John 17:3; 1Thess. 1:9; 1Jn 5:20.

LC	WESTMINSTER	PCUSA 1797	PCUSA 1894	PCUS 1910	OPC 2001
9	l. 1John 5:7; Matt. 3: 16–17; Matt. 28:19; 2Cor. 13:14; John 10:30.	l. 1John 5:7; Matt. 3: 16–17; and 28:19; 2Cor. 13:14; John 10:30.	l. Matt. 3:16–17; Matt. 28:19; 2Cor. 13:14; John 10:30.	1. Matt. 3:16–17; Matt. 28:19; 2Cor. 13:14.	n. At “GHOST”: Matt. 3: 16–17; Matt. 28:19; 2Cor. 13:14. o. John 1:1; See also Gen. 1:1–3; John 17:5. John 10:30; Ps. 45:6; See also Heb. 1:8–9. Acts 5:3–4; Rom. 9:5; Col. 2:9.
10	m. Heb. 1:5–6,8. n. John 1:14,18. o. John 15:26; Gal. 4:6.	m. Heb. 1:5–6. [John 1: 14]. ⁶ n. John 1:14. o. John 15:26; Gal. 4:6.	m. Heb. 1:5–6; Ps. 2:6–7. n. John 1:14. o. John 15:26; Gal. 4:6.	1. Heb. 1:5. 2. John 1:14. 3. Gal. 4:6; John 15:26.	p. Heb. 1:5–6,8. q. John 1:14,18. r. John 15:26; Gal. 4:6.
11	p. Isa. 6:3,5,8; with ⁷ John 12:41; and Acts 28:25; 1John 5:20; Acts 5:3–4. q. John 1:1; Isa. 9:6; John 2:24–25; 1Cor. 2: 10–11. r. Col. 1:16; Gen. 1:2. s. Matt. 28:19; 2Cor. 13: 14. ⁸	p. Jer. 23:6; 1John 5:20; Ps. 45:6; Acts 5:3–4. q. John 1:1; Isa. 9:6; John 2:24–25; 1Cor. 2: 10–11; Heb. 9:4. r. Col. 1:16; John 1:3; Gen. 1:2 with Job 26: 13; and Ps. 104:30. s. Matt. 28:19; 2Cor. 13:14.	p. Jer. 23:6; Isa. 6:3, 5, 8; John 12:41; Acts 28: 25; 1John 5:20; Ps. 45:6; Acts 5:3–4. q. John 1:1; Isa. 9:6; John 2:24–25; 1Cor. 2:10–11. r. Col. 1:16; Gen. 1:2; See John 1:3. s. Matt. 28:19; 2Cor. 13:14.	1. Jer. 23:6; 1John 5:20; Ps. 45:6; Acts 5:3–4. 2. John 1:1; Isa. 9:6; John 2:24–25; 1Cor. 2:10–11; Heb. 9:14. 3. Col. 1:16; Gen. 1:2; Ps. 104:30; Joh 1:3. 4. Matt. 28:19; 2Cor. 13:14.	s. Isa. 6:3,5,8; John 12:41; Acts 28:25; 1John 5:20; Acts 5:3–4. t. John 1:1; Isa. 9:6; John 2:24–25; 1Cor. 2:10–11. u. Col. 1:16; Gen. 1:2. w. Matt. 28:19; 2Cor. 13: 14.
12	t. Eph. 1:11; Rom. 11:33; Rom. 9:14–15,18. u. Eph. 1:4,11; Rom. 9: 22–23; Ps. 33:11.	t. Eph. 1:11; Rom. 9: 14 and 15, 18; ⁹ Rom. 11:33. v. Eph. 1:4,11; Rom. 9: 22–23; Ps. 33:11.	t. Isa. 45:6–7; Eph. 1: 11; Rom. 11:33. u. Ps. 33:11; Eph. 1:4,11; Rom. 9:22–23.	t. Deleted. 1. Eph. 1:4,11; Acts 4: 27–28; Ps. 33:11.	x. Isa. 45:6–7; Eph. 1:11; Rom. 11:33; Rom. 9: 14–15, 18. y. Ps. 33:11; Isa. 14:24; Acts 2:23; Acts 4:27–28; Rom. 9:22–23; Eph. 1: 4,11.
13	w. 1Tim. 5:21. x. Eph. 1:4–6; 2Thess. 2: 13–14. y. Rom. 9:17–18, 21–22; Matt. 11:25–26; 2Tim. 2:20; Judg. 4; 1Pet. 2:8.	w. 1Tim. 5:21. x. Eph. 1:4–6; 2Thess. 2: 13–14; 1Pet. 1:2. y. Rom. 9:17–18, 21–22; Judg. 4; Matt. 11: 25–26; 2Tim. 2:20.	w. 1Tim. 5:21. x. Eph. 2:10; 2Thess. 2: 13–14; 1Pet. 1:2. y. Rom. 9:17–18, 21–22; Judg. 4; Matt. 11: 25–26; See Ezek. 18; Matt. 25:41–46.	1. 1Tim. 5:21. 2. Eph. 1:4–6; 2Thess. 2:13–14; 1Pet. 1:2. 3. Rom. 9:17–18, 21–22; Matt. 11: 25–26; 2Tim. 2:20; Judg. 4.	z. 1Tim. 5:21. a. Eph. 1:4–6; 2:10; 2Thess. 2:13–14; 1Pet. 1:2. b. Rom. 9:17–18, 21–22; Matt. 11:25–26; 2Tim. 2:20; Judg. 4; 1Pet. 2:8.
14	z. Eph. 1:11.	z. Eph. 1:11.	z. Dan. 4:35; Eph. 1:11; See Isa. 40:12–31.	1. Eph. 1:11; 1Pet. 1: 1–2.	c. At “providence”: Rev. 4: 11; See Isa. 40:12–31. d. Eph. 1:11; Ps. 148:8; Dan. 4:35 Acts 4:24–28.
15	a. Gen. 1; Heb. 11:3; Prov. 16:4.	a. Gen. 1; Heb. 11:3; Prov. 16:4; Rev. 4:11.	a. See Gen. 1. Heb. 11:3; Rev. 4:11; See Ps. 33: 5–6; Rom. 11:36.	1. Heb. 11:3; Rev. 4:11; Gen. 1.	e. Gen. 1:1 (See entire chapter). Ps. 33:6,9; Heb. 11:3; Rev. 4:11; See Rom. 11:36.
16	b. Col. 1:16. c. Ps. 104:4. d. Matt. 22:30. e. Matt. 25:31. f. 2Sam. 14:17; Matt. 24:36. g. 2Thess. 1:7. h. Ps. 103:20–21. i. 2Pet. 2:4.	b. Col. 1:16. c. Ps. 104:4. d. Matt. 22:30. e. Matt. 25:31. f. 2Sam. 14:17; Matt. 24:36. g. 2Thess. 1:7. h. Ps. 103:20–21. i. 2Pet. 2:4.	b. Col. 1:16. c. Matt. 22:30. d. Luke 20:36. e. Matt. 25:31. f. Matt. 24:36; 1Pet. 1:2. g. 2Thess. 1:7. h. Ps. 91:11–12; Matt. 13: 39; Ps. 103:20–21; See Isa. 6:1–3. i. 2Pet. 2:4.	b. Deleted. 1. Ps. 104:4; Col. 1:16. 2. Luke 20:36. 3. Gen. 1:31. 4. Matt. 24:36. 5. 2Thess. 1:7. 6. Ps. 103:20–21. 7. 2Pet. 2:4.	f. Col. 1:16. g. Ps. 104:4. h. Matt. 22:30; Luke 20:36. i. Matt. 25:31. k. 2Sam. 14:17; Matt. 24:36. l. 2Thess. 1:7. m. Ps. 91:11–12; Ps. 103: 20–21. n. 2Pet. 2:4.

LC	WESTMINSTER	PCUSA 1797	PCUSA 1894	PCUS 1910	OPC 2001
17	k. Gen. 1:27. l. Gen. 2:7. m. Gen. 2:22. n. Gen. 2:7; with Job 35:11, and Eccl. 12:7; and Matt. 10:28, & Luke 23:43. o. Gen. 1:27. p. Col. 3:10. q. Eph. 4:24. r. Rom. 2:14–15. s. Eccl. 7:29. t. Gen. 1:28. u. Gen. 3:6, Eccl. 7:29.	k. Gen. 1:27. l. Gen. 2:7. m. Gen. 2:22. n. Gen. 2:7 compared with Job 35:11; Eccl. 12:7; Matt. 10:28; and with Luke 23:43. ¹⁰ o. Gen. 1:27. p. Col. 3:10. q. Eph. 4:24. r. Rom. 2:14–15. s. Eccl. 7:29. t. Gen. 1:28. v. Gen. 3:6, Eccl. 7:29.	k. Gen. 1:27; Matt. 19:4. l. Gen. 2:7. m. Gen. 2:22. n. Gen. 2:7; Eccl. 12:7; Matt. 10:28. o. Gen. 1:26. p. Col. 3:10. q. Eph. 4:24. r. Rom. 2:14–15. s. Gen. 3:6; See Gen. 2:17. t. Gen. 1:28. See vs 29–30. u. Gen. 3:1–19.	1. Gen. 1:27. 2. Gen. 2:7. 3. Gen. 2:22. 4. Gen. 2:7; Matt. 10: 28; Luke 23:43. 5. Gen. 1:27. 6. Col. 3:10; Gen. 2: 19–20. 7. Eph. 4:24. 8. Rom. 2:14–15. s. Deleted. 9. Gen. 1:28. 10. Gen. 2:16, 17; Gen. 3:6.	o. Gen. 1:27; Matt. 19:14. p. Gen. 2:7. q. Gen. 2:22. r. Gen. 2:7; Job 35:11; Eccl. 12:7; Matt. 10:28; Luke 23:43. s. Gen. 1:27. t. Col. 3:10. u. Eph. 4:24. w. Rom. 2:14–15. x. Eccl. 7:29. y. Gen. 1:28; Ps. 8:6–8. z. Gen. 2:16–17; Gen. 3:6; Eccl. 7:29.
18	w. Ps. 145:17. x. Ps. 104:24; Isa. 28:29. ¹¹ y. Heb. 1:3. z. s. 103:19. ¹² a. Matt. 10:29–31; Gen. 45:7. b. Rom. 11:36, Isa. 63:14.	w. Ps. 145:17. ¹³ x. Ps. 104:24; Isa. 28:29. y. Heb. 1:3. z. Ps. 103:19. a. Matt. 10:29–30; Gen. 45:7. b. Rom. 11:36, Isa. 63:14.	w. Lev. 21:18. x. Ps. 104:24; Isa. 28:29. y. Neh. 9:6; Heb. 1:3; See Ps. 145:14–16. z. Ps. 103:19. a. Matt. 10:29–30; Gen. 45:7. b. Rom. 11:36, Isa. 63:14.	1. Ps. 145:17. 2. Ps. 104:24; Isa. 28:29. 3. Heb. 1:3. 4. Moved to after “creatures”: Ps. 103: 19; Job 38–41. 5. Matt. 10:29–30; Gen. 45:7; Ps. 135:6. 6. Rom. 11:36, Isa. 63:14.	a. Ps. 145:17; Lev. 21:18. b. Ps. 104:24; Isa. 28:29. c. Heb. 1:3; Ps. 36:6; Neh. 9:6. d. Ps. 103:19; See Job 38–41; Ps. 145:14–16. e. Matt. 10:29–31; Gen. 45:7; Ps. 135:6. f. Rom. 11:36, Isa. 63:14.
19	c. Judg. 6; 2Pet. 2:4; Heb. 2:16; John 8:44. d. Job 1:12; Matt. 8:31. e. 1Tim. 5:21; Mark 8: 38; Heb. 12:22. f. Ps. 104:4. g. 2Kings 19:35; Heb. 1:14.	c. Judg. 6; 2Pet. 2:4; Heb. 2:16; John 8:44. d. Job 1:12; Luke 10:17; Matt. 8:31. e. 1Tim. 5:21; Mark 8: 38; Heb. 12:22. f. Ps. 104:4. g. Heb. 1:14; 2Kings 19:35.	c. Judg. 6; See 2Pet. 2:4; John 8:44. d. Luke 10:17; Matt. 8:31. e. 1Tim. 5:21; Mark 8: 38; Heb. 12:22. f. Ps. 103:20. g. Heb. 1:14; See 2Kings 19:35.	1. Judg. 6; 2Pet. 2:4. 2. Job 1:12; Luke 10: 17; Matt. 8:31. 3. 1Tim. 5:21; Mark 8: 38; Heb. 12:22. f. Deleted. 4. Ps. 104:4; Heb. 1:14.	g. Judg. 6; See 2Pet. 2:4; Heb. 2:16; John 8:44. h. Job 1:12; Matt. 8:31; Luke 10:17. i. 1Tim. 5:21; Mark 8:38; Heb. 12:22. k. Ps. 103:20 Ps. 104:4. l. Heb. 1:14; See 2Kings 19:35.
20	h. Gen. 2:8, 15–16. i. Gen. 1:28. k. Gen. 2:18. l. Gen. 1:26–29; 3:8. m. Gen. 2:3. n. Gal. 3:12; Rom. 10:5. o. Gen. 2:9. p. Gen. 2:17.	h. Gen. 2:8, 15–16. i. Gen. 1:28. k. Gen. 2:18. l. Gen. 1:27–28. m. Gen. 2:3. n. Rom. 5:14; 1Cor. 15: 22, 47; Hos. 6:7; Gal. 3:12; Rom. 10:5; Gal. 3:10. o. Gen. 2:9. p. Gen. 2:17.	h. Gen. 2:15–16. i. Gen. 1:28. k. Gen. 2:18; See Matt. 19:3–9; Eph. 5:31. l. Gen. 1:26, 28; 3:8. m. Gen. 2:3; Exo. 20:11; See 20:8–10. n. Gal. 3:12; See Rom. 10:5; Gal. 3:10. o. Gen. 2:9. p. Gen. 2:16–17; See Gen. 3.	1. Gen. 2:8, 15, 16. 2. Gen. 1:28. 3. Gen. 2:18. 4. Gen. 1:27–28. 5. Gen. 2:3. 6. Cp. Gen. 2:16–17 with Rom. 5:12–14; 10:5; Luke 10: 25–28 “and with the covenants made with Noah and Abraham.” o. Deleted. 7. Gen. 2:17.	m. Gen. 2:8, 15, 16. n. Gen. 1:28. o. Gen. 2:18; See Matt. 19: 3–9; Eph. 5:31. p. Gen. 1:26–29; 3:8. q. Gen. 2:3 cp. with Exod. 20:11. r. Gen. 2:16–17; Gal. 3:12; Rom. 10:5. s. Gen. 2:9; 3:22–24. t. Gen. 2:17 cp. with James 2:10.
21	q. Gen. 3:6–8, 13; Eccl. 7: 29; 2Cor. 11:3.	q. Gen. 3:6–8, 13; 2Cor. 11:3; Eccl. 7:29.	q. Gen. 3:6–8, 13; See 2Cor. 11:3.	1. Gen. 3:6–8, 13; 2Cor. 11:3.	u. Gen. 3:6–8, 13; Eccl. 7: 29; 2Cor. 11:3.

LC	WESTMINSTER	PCUSA 1797	PCUSA 1894	PCUS 1910	OPC 2001
22	r. Acts 17:26. s. Gen. 2:16–17, with Rom. 5:12–20 and 1Cor. 15:21–22. ¹⁴	r. Acts 17:26. s. Gen. 2:17; Rom. 5:12–20; and with 1Cor. 15:21–22.	r. Acts 17:26. s. Gen. 2:17; See Rom. 5:12–20; 1Cor. 15:21–22.	1. Acts 17:26; “See under figure 6 above” [i.e. “n,” Q. 20]. 2. Gen. 2:17; Rom. 5:12–20; and with 1Cor. 15:21–22.	w. Acts 17:26; Rom. 3:23. x. Gen. 2:16–17; James 2:10 cp. with Rom. 5:12–20; 1Cor. 15:21–22.
23	t. Rom. 5:12; 3:23.	t. Rom. 5:12; Gal. 3:10.	t. Rom. 5:12; Gal. 3:10.	1. Rom. 5:12; Gal. 3:10.	y. Gen. 3:16–19; Rom. 5:12; Eph. 2:1; Rom. 3:16, 23.
24	u. 1John 3:4; Gal. 3:10, 12.	v. Rom. 3:23; 1John 3:4; Gal. 3:10–12.	u. Rom. 3:23; 1John 3:4; See Gal. 3:10–12.	1. Rom. 3:23; 1John 3:4; James 4:17.	z. Lev. 5:17; James 4:17; 1John 3:4; See Gal. 3:10, 12.
25	w. Rom. 5:12, 19. x. Rom. 3:10–20; Eph. 2:1–3; Rom. 5:6; Rom. 8:7–8; Gen. 6:5. ¹⁵ y. James 1:14–15; Matt. 15:19.	w. Rom. 5:12, 19; 1Cor. 15:22. x. Rom. 5:6; Rom. 3:10–20; Eph. 2:1–3; Rom. 8:7–8; Gen. 6:5. y. James 1:14–15; Matt. 15:19.	w. Rom. 5:12, 19; See 1Cor. 15:22. x. Rom. 5:6; Rom. 3:10–12 (See vs 13–19); Eph. 2:3; Rom. 8:7–8; Gen. 6:5. y. James 1:14–15; Matt. 15:19.	1. Rom. 5:12, 19; 1Cor. 15:22. 2. Eph. 2:1–3; Rom. 5:6; Rom. 8:7–8; Gen. 6:5; Rom. 3:10–20; Ps. 51:5; 58:3. 3. James 1:14–15; Matt. 15:19.	a. Rom. 5:12, 19; See 1Cor. 15:22 b. Rom. 3:10–12 (See vs 13–19); Eph. 2:1–3; Rom. 5:6; Rom. 8:7–8; Gen. 6:5; See Col. 3:10; Eph. 4:24. c. James 1:14–15; Ps. 53:1–3; Matt. 15:19; See Rom. 3:10–18, 23; Gal. 5:19–21.
26	z. Ps. 51:5; Job 14:4; Job 15:14; John 3:6.	z. Ps. 51:5; Job 14:4; Job 15:14; John 3:6.	z. Ps. 51:5; John 3:6.	1. Ps. 51:5; John 3:6.	d. Ps. 51:5; Job 14:4; John 3:6.
27	a. Gen. 3:8, 10, 24. b. Eph. 2:2, 3. c. 2Tim. 2:26. d. Gen. 2:17; Lam. 3:39; Rom. 6:23; Matt. 25:41, 46; Judg. 7.	a. Gen. 3:8, 24. b. Eph. 2:2, 3. c. 2Tim. 2:26; Luke 11:21–22; Heb. 2:14. d. Rom. 6:23; Rom. 5:14; Gen. 2:17.	a. Gen. 3:8, 24. b. Eph. 2:2, 3. c. 2Tim. 2:26; See Luke 11:21–22. Heb. 2:14. d. Lam. 3:39; Rom. 6:23; See Rom. 5:14; Gen. 2:17. Matt. 25:41, 46.	1. Gen. 3:8, 24. 2. Eph. 2:2, 3. 3. 2Tim. 2:26; Luke 11:21–22; Heb. 2:14. 4. Rom. 6:23; Rom. 5:14.	e. Gen. 3:8, 10, 24; John 8:34, 42, 44; Eph. 2:12. f. At “curse,” Gen. 3:16–19; Job 5:7; Eccl. 2:22–23; Rom. 8:18–23. g. Eph. 2:2, 3; John 3:36; Rom. 1:18; Eph. 5:6. h. 2Tim. 2:26. i. Gen. 2:17; Lam. 3:39; Rom. 6:23; Matt. 25:46; Judg. 7.
28	e. Eph. 4:18. f. Rom. 1:28. g. 2Thess. 2:11. h. Rom. 2:5. i. Isa. 33:14; Gen. 4:13; Matt. 27:4. k. Rom. 1:26. l. Gen. 3:17. m. Deut. 28:15–68. n. Rom. 6:21, 23.	e. Eph. 4:18. f. Rom. 1:28. g. 2Thess. 2:11. h. Rom. 2:5. i. Isa. 33:14; Gen. 4:13, 14; Matt. 27:4; Heb. 10:27. k. Rom. 1:26. l. Gen. 3:17. m. Deut. 28:15–68. ¹⁶ n. Rom. 6:21, 23.	e. Eph. 4:18. f. Rom. 1:28. g. 2Thess. 2:11. h. Rom. 2:5. i. Isa. 33:14; See Gen. 4:13–14; Matt. 27:4. k. Rom. 1:26. l. Gen. 3:17. m. Deut. 28:15. See vs 16–68. n. Rom. 6:21, 23.	1. Eph. 4:18. 2. Rom. 1:28. 3. 2Thess. 2:11. 4. Rom. 2:5. 5. Isa. 33:14; Gen. 4:13; Matt. 27:4; Heb. 10:27. 6. Rom. 1:26. 7. Gen. 3:17. 8. Deut. 28:15–68. 9. Rom. 6:21, 23.	k. Eph. 4:18. l. Rom. 1:28. m. 2Thess. 2:11. n. Rom. 2:5. o. Isa. 33:14; Gen. 4:13; Matt. 27:4. p. Rom. 1:26. q. Gen. 3:17. r. Deut. 28:15. See vs 16–68. s. Rom. 6:21, 23.
29	o. 2Thess. 1:9; Mark 9:44, 46, 48; Luke 16:24. ¹⁷	o. 2Thess. 1:9; Mark 9:43–44; Luke 16:24, 25, 26; ¹⁸ Matt. 25:41, 46; Rev. 14:11; John 3:36.	o. 2Thess. 1:9; Mark 9:47–48; Luke 16:24, 26; Matt. 25:41, 46; Rev. 14:11; John 3:36.	1. 2Thess. 1:9; Mark 9:43–44; Luke 16:24, 26; Matt. 25:41, 46; Rev. 14:11; John 3:36.	t. 2Thess. 1:9; Mark 9:43–44, 46, 48; Luke 16:24, 26; See Matt. 25:41, 46; Rev. 14:11; John 3:36.

LC	WESTMINSTER	PCUSA 1797	PCUSA 1894	PCUS 1910	OPC 2001
30	p. 1Thess. 5:9. q. Gal. 3:10,12. r. Titus 3:4-7; Gal. 3:21; Rom. 3:20-22.	p. 1Thess. 5:9. q. Gal. 3:10. r. Titus 3:4-7; Titus 1: 2; Gal. 3:21; Rom. 3: 20-22.	p. 1Thess. 5:9. q. Gal. 3:10. r. Titus 3:4-7; Titus 1: 2; Gal. 3:21; Rom. 3: 20-22.	1. 1Thess. 5:9. q. Deleted. 2. Titus 3:4-7; Titus 1: 2; Gal. 3:21; Rom. 3: 20-22.	u. 1Thess. 5:9. w. Gen. 3:17; Rom. 5:12, 15; Gal. 3:10,12. x. Titus 3:4-7; Gal. 3:21; Rom. 3:20-22; 2Thess. 2:13-14; See Acts 13:48; Eph. 1:4-5.
31	s. Gal. 3:16; Rom. 5: 15-21; Isa. 53:10-11.	s. Gal. 3:16; Isa. 59:21; Zech. 6:13; Luke 22: 29; 2Sam. 23:5; Rom. 5:15-21.	s. Gal. 3:16; Isa. 53: 10-11; Isa. 59:21.	1. 1Cor. 15:22,45; Eph. 1:4; 2Tim. 1:9; Isa. 53:10-11; Heb. 2: 10-11; 14.	y. Gal. 3:16; Rom. 5:15. See vs 16-21. Isa. 53: 10-11; Isa. 59:20-21.
32	t. Gen. 3:15; Isa. 42:6; John 6:27. u. 1John 5:11-12. w. John 3:16; John 1:12. x. Prov. 1:23. y. 2Cor. 4:13. z. Gal. 5:22, 23. a. Ezek. 36:27. b. James 2:18,22. c. 2Cor. 5:14-15. d. Eph. 2:10.	t. Gen. 3:15; Isa. 42:6; John 6:27; 1Tim. 2:5. v. 1John 5:11-12. ¹⁹ w. John 3:16; John 1:12; John 3:36. x. Prov. 1:23; Isa. 59:21; Zech. 12:10. y. 2Cor. 4:13. z. Gal. 5:22, 23. a. Ezek. 36:27. b. James 2:18,22. c. 2Cor. 5:14-15. d. Eph. 2:10; Titus 2:14; and 3:8.	t. Gen. 3:15; Isa. 42:6; John 3:16; John 6:27; 1Tim. 2:5. u. 1John 5:11-12. w. John 3:36; John 1:12. x. Prov. 1:23; See Isa. 59:21. Luke 11:13. y. 1Cor. 12:3,9. z. Gal. 5:22, 23. a. Ezek. 36:27. b. James 2:18,22. c. 2Cor. 5:14-15. d. Eph. 2:10; See Titus 2:14.	1. 1Tim. 2:5. 2. 1John 5:11-12. 3. John 3:16; John 1: 12; John 3:36. x. Deleted. y. Deleted. 4. John 1:12-13; John 3:5-6,8; Gal. 5: 22, 23. 5. Ezek. 36:27. 6. James 2:18,22. 7. 2Cor. 5:14-15. 8. Eph. 2:10; Titus 2: 14; ²⁰ Titus 3:8.	z. Gen. 3:15; Isa. 42:6; John 3:16; John 6:27; 1Tim. 2:5. a. 1John 5:11-12. b. John 3:16, 36; John 1:12. c. Isa. 59:21; Luke 11:13; John 14:16-20; 1Cor. 12:13; Rom. 8:9 (See vs 4, 11, 14-16). d. 2Cor. 4:13; 1Cor. 12:3,9; Eph. 2:8-10; Acts 16:14; 2Pet. 1:1. e. Gal. 5:22, 23. f. Ezek. 36:27; Eph. 2:10. g. James 2:18,22. h. 2Cor. 5:14-15. i. Eph. 2:10; Titus 2:14.
33	e. 2Cor. 3:6-9.	e. 2Cor. 3:6,9, ²¹ Heb. 1: 1-2; 8:7-8, etc.	e. 2Cor. 3:6-9; See Heb. 8:7-13.	1. 2Cor. 3:6; Heb. 1: 1-2; Heb. 8:7-8, etc. ²²	k. 2Cor. 3:6-9; See Heb. 8:7-13.
34	f. Rom. 15:8. g. Acts 3:20,24. h. Heb. 10:1. i. Rom. 4:11. k. 1Cor. 5:7. l. Heb. 8-10; Heb. 11:13. m. Gal. 3:7-9,14.	f. Rom. 15:8; Acts 3:20. g. Acts 3:20,24. h. Heb. 10:1. i. Rom. 4:11. k. 1Cor. 5:7; Exod. 12: 14,17,24. l. Heb. 8-10; Heb. 11:13. m. Gal. 3:7-9,14.	f. Rom. 15:8; Acts 3:20. g. Acts 3:24. h. Heb. 10:1. i. Rom. 4:11. k. 1Cor. 5:7; See Exod. 12:1-36. l. Heb. 8-10; Heb. 11:13. m. Gal. 3:7-9,14.	1. Rom. 15:8; Acts 3:20. 2. Acts 3:20,24. 3. Heb. 10:1. 4. Rom. 4:11. 5. 1Cor. 5:7; Exod. 12: 14,17,24. 6. Heb. 11:13. 7. Gal. 3:7-9; Heb. 11.	l. Rom. 15:8. See for examples Gen. 3:15; 12: 1-3; 15:5. m. Acts 3:20,24. See for example Isa. 52:13-53: 12. n. Heb. 10:1; Lev. 1-7. o. Rom. 4:11; See Gen. 17: 1-14. p. 1Cor. 5:7; Exod. 12: 14,17,24 (See entire chapter). q. Heb. 8:1-2; See chapters 8-10. Heb. 11:13. r. Gal. 3:7-9,14.
35	n. Mark 16:15. o. Matt. 28:19-20. p. 1Cor. 11:23-25. q. 2Cor. 3:6-18; Heb. 8: 6,10-11; Matt. 28:19.	n. Mark 16:15. o. Matt. 28:19-20. p. 1Cor. 11:23-26. ²³ q. 2Cor. 3:6.	n. Luke 24:47-48. o. Matt. 28:19-20. p. 1Cor. 11:23-25. q. Rom. 1:16; 2Cor. 3:6.	1. Matt. 28:19-20. 2. Matt. 28:19. 3. 1Cor. 11:23-26. 4. Heb. 8:6-7.	s. Luke 24:47-48; See Matt. 28:19-20. t. Matt. 28:19-20. u. Matt. 26:28; 1Cor. 11: 23-25. w. Rom. 1:16; 2Cor. 3:6-9; Heb. 8:6,10-11; Matt. 28: 19; See Eph. 3:1-12.

LC	WESTMINSTER	PCUSA 1797	PCUSA 1894	PCUS 1910	OPC 2001
36	r. 1Tim. 2:5. s. John 1:1,14; John 10:30; Phil. 2:6. t. Gal. 4:4. u. Luke 1:35; Rom. 9:5; Col. 2:9; Heb. 7:24–25. ²⁴	r. 1Tim. 2:5. s. John 1:1; John 10:30; Phil. 2:6. t. Gal. 4:4. v. Luke 1:35; Rom. 9:5; Col. 2:9.	r. Joh 14:6; 1Tim. 2:5. s. John 1:1; John 10:30; Phil. 2:6. t. Gal. 4:4. u. Luke 1:35; Rom. 9:5; Col. 2:9; Heb. 13:8.	1. 1Tim. 2:5. s. Deleted. t. Deleted. 2. John 1:1; John 10:30; Phil. 2:6; Gal. 4:4; Col. 2:9; Phil. 2:5–11.	x. 1Tim. 2:5; John 14:6; Acts 4:12. y. John 1:1,14,18; John 10:30; Phil. 2:6; Ps. 2:7; Matt. 3:17; Matt. 17:5. z. Gal. 4:4; Matt. 1:23; See John 1:14. a. Luke 1:35; Acts 1:11; Rom. 9:5; Col. 2:9; Heb. 7:24–25; Heb. 13:8; See Phil. 2:5–11.
37	w. John 1:14; Matt. 26:38. x. Luke 1:27,31,35,42; Gal. 4:4. y. Heb. 4:15; Heb. 7:26.	w. John 1:14; Matt. 26:38. x. Luke 1:31,35,42; Gal. 4:4. y. Heb. 4:15; Heb. 7:26.	w. John 1:14; Matt. 26:38; Luke 2:40, 52; See John 11:33. x. Luke 1:31,35,42. y. Heb. 4:15; Heb. 7:26.	1. John 1:14; Matt. 26:38. 2. Luke 1:31,35,42; Gal. 4:4. 3. Heb. 4:15.	b. John 1:14; Matt. 26:38; Phil. 2:7; Heb. 2:14–17; See Luke 2:40,52; John 11:33. c. Luke 1:27,31,35; Gal. 4:4. d. Heb. 4:15; Heb. 7:26; 2Cor. 5:21; 1John 3:5.
38	z. Acts 2:24–25; Rom. 1:4 with Rom. 4:25; Heb. 9:14. a. Acts 20:28; Heb. 9:14; Heb. 7:25–28. b. Rom. 3:24–26. c. Eph. 1:6; Matt. 3:17. d. Titus 2:13–14. e. Gal. 4:6. f. Luke 1:68–69,71,74. g. Heb. 5:8–9; Heb. 9:11–16. ²⁵	z. Acts 2:24; Rom. 1:4. a. Acts 20:28; Heb. 9:14; Heb. 7:25–28. b. Rom. 3:24–26. c. Eph. 1:6. d. Titus 2:13–14. ²⁶ e. John 15:26; 16:7; 14:26. f. Luke 1:69,71,74. ²⁷ g. Heb. 5:9; Heb. 9:11–15.	z. Acts 2:24; Rom. 1:4. a. Acts 20:28; Heb. 9:14; Heb. 7:25; See John 17. b. Rom. 3:24–26. c. Eph. 1:6. d. Titus 2:14. e. John 15:26; See 16:7; 14:26. f. Luke 1:69,71,74. g. Heb. 5:9; See Heb. 9:11–15.	1. “See General note.” z. Deleted. a. Deleted. b. Deleted. c. Deleted. d. Deleted. e. Deleted. f. Deleted. g. Deleted.	e. Acts 2:24–25; Rom. 1:4; Rom. 4:25; Heb. 9:14. f. Acts 20:28; Heb. 9:14; Heb. 7:25–28; See John 17. g. Rom. 3:24–26. h. Eph. 1:6; Matt. 3:17. i. Titus 2:13–14. k. Gal. 4:6; John 15:26. See 16:7; 14:26. l. Luke 1:68, 69, 71, 74. m. Heb. 5:8–9; Heb. 9:11–15.
39	h. Heb. 2:16. i. Gal. 4:4. k. Heb. 2:14; Heb. 7:24–25. l. Heb. 4:15. m. Gal. 4:5. n. Heb. 4:16.	h. Heb. 2:16. i. Gal. 4:4; Rom. 5:19. k. Heb. 2:14; Heb. 7:24–25. l. Heb. 4:15. m. Gal. 4:5. n. Heb. 4:15,16. ²⁸	h. Rom. 8:34; 2Pet. 1:4. i. Matt. 5:17; Gal. 4:4; Rom. 5:19. k. Heb. 2:14; Heb. 7:24–25. l. Heb. 4:15. m. Gal. 4:5. n. Heb. 4:16.	h. h. Deleted. 1. Rom. 5:19; Gal. 4:4–5. 2. Heb. 2:14; Heb. 7:24–25. 3. Heb. 4:15. 4. Gal. 4:5. 5. Heb. 4:14–16.	n. Heb. 2:16; 2Pet. 1:4. o. Gal. 4:4; Matt. 5:17; Rom. 5:19; Phil. 2:8. p. Heb. 2:14; Heb. 7:24–25. q. Heb. 4:15. r. Gal. 4:5. s. Heb. 4:16.
40	o. Matt. 1:21,23; Matt. 3:17; Heb. 9:14. p. 1Pet. 2:6.	o. Matt. 1:21, 23; Matt. 3:17. ²⁹ p. 1Pet. 2:6.	o. Matt. 1:21,23; Matt. 3:17. p. 1Pet. 2:6.	o. Deleted. p. Deleted. 1. “See General note.”	t. Matt. 1:21,23; Matt. 3:17; Heb. 9:14. u. 1Pet. 2:6.
41	q. Matt. 1:21.	q. Matt. 1:21.	q. Matt. 1:21.	1. Matt. 1:21.	w. Matt. 1:21.
42	r. John 3:34; Ps. 45:7. s. John 6:27; Matt. 28:18–20. t. Acts 3:21–22; Luke 4:18,21. u. Heb. 5:5–7; Heb. 4:14–15.	r. John 3:34; Ps. 45:7. s. John 6:27; Matt. 28:19–20. t. Acts 3:21, 22; ³⁰ Luke 4:18,21. v. Heb. 5:5–6; Heb. 4:14–15.	r. Matt. 3:16; John 3:34; Ps. 45:7. s. John 6:27; See Matt. 28:18–20. t. Acts 3:22; Luke 4:18, 21. u. Heb. 5:5–6; See Heb. 4:14–15.	1. John 3:34; Luke 4:18–21. 2. Luke 4:14; Heb. 9:14; Matt. 28:18–20. 3. Acts 3:22; Luke 4:18,21. 4. Heb. 5:5–6; Heb. 4:14–15.	x. Matt. 3:16 cp. with Acts 10:37–38; John 3:34; Ps. 45:7. y. John 6:27; Matt. 28:18–20; Rom. 1:3–4. z. Acts 3:21–22; Luke 4:18,21; Heb. 1:1–2; Deut. 18:18. a. Heb. 5:5–7; Heb. 4:14–15.

LC	WESTMINSTER	PCUSA 1797	PCUSA 1894	PCUS 1910	OPC 2001
42	w. Ps. 2:6; Matt. 21:5; Isa. 9:6-7; Phil. 2:8-11.	w. Isa. 9:6-7; ³¹ Ps. 2:6.	w. Isa. 9:6-7; See Ps. 2:6.	5. Rev. 19:16; Isa. 9:6-7; Ps. 2:6;	b. Luke 1:32-34; John 18:37; Ps. 2:6; Matt. 21:5; Isa. 9:6-7; Phil. 2:8-11.
43	x. John 1:18. y. 1Pet. 1:10-12. z. Heb. 1:1-2. a. John 15:15. b. Acts 20:32; Eph. 4:11-13; John 20:31.	x. John 1:18. y. 1Pet. 1:10, 12. z. Heb. 1:1-2. a. John 15:15. b. Eph. 4:11-13; John 20:31.	x. John 1:18. y. 1Pet. 1:10-12. z. Heb. 1:1-2. a. John 15:15. b. Eph. 4:11-13; John 20:31.	1. Moved to "ages," John 1:1,14. 2. 1Pet. 1:21; 2Cor. 2:9-10. z. Deleted. a. Deleted. 3. Eph. 4:11-13; John 20:31.	c. John 1:18. d. 1Pet. 1:10-12. e. Heb. 1:1-2. f. John 15:15. g. Acts 20:32; Eph. 4:11-13; John 20:31.
44	c. Heb. 9:14,28. d. Heb. 2:17. e. Heb. 7:25.	c. Heb. 9:14,28. d. Heb. 2:17. e. Heb. 7:25.	c. Heb. 9:14,28. d. Heb. 2:17; See 2Cor. 5:18-19. e. Heb. 7:25.	1. Heb. 9:14,28. 2. Heb. 2:17. 3. Heb. 7:25.	h. Heb. 9:14,28; Heb. 10:12; See Isa. 53. i. Heb. 2:17; 2Cor. 5:18; Col. 1:21-22. k. Heb. 7:25; 9:24.
45	f. Acts 15:14-16; Isa. 55:4-5; Gen. 49:10; Ps. 110:3. g. Eph. 4:11-12; 1Cor. 12:28. h. Isa. 33:22. i. Matt. 18:17-18; 1Cor. 5:4-5. k. Acts 5:31. l. Rev. 22:12; Rev. 2:10. m. Rev. 3:19. n. Isa. 63:9. o. 1Cor. 15:25; Ps. 110 throughout. p. Rom. 14:10-11. q. Rom. 8:28. r. 2Thess. 1:8-9; Ps. 2:8-9.	f. Isa. 55:4, 5; ³² Gen. 49:10. g. 1Cor. 12:28; Eph. 4:11-12. h. Isa. 33:22. i. Matt. 18:17-18; 1Cor. 5:4-5; 1Tim. 5:20; Titus 3:10. k. Acts 5:31; Ps. 68:18. l. Rev. 22:12; Matt. 25:34-36; Rom. 2:7. m. Rev. 3:19; Heb. 12:6-7. n. Isa. 63:9. o. 1Cor. 15:25; Ps. 110 throughout. p. Rom. 14:11; Phil. 2:11. q. Rom. 8:28. r. 2Thess. 1:8; Ps. 2:9.	f. Isa. 55:5; Gen. 49:10. g. 1Cor. 12:28; See Eph. 4:11-12. h. John 15:14. i. Matt. 18:17-18; See 1Cor. 5:4-5; 1Tim. 5:20; Titus 3:10. k. Acts 5:31; See Ps. 68:18. l. Rev. 22:12; See Matt. 25:34-36; Rom. 2:7. m. Rev. 3:19. n. Rom. 8:37-39. o. 1Cor. 15:25; Eph. 1:22. p. Rom. 14:11; Phil. 2:11. q. Rom. 8:28. r. 2Thess. 1:8; Ps. 2:9.	1. John 10:16,27; Isa. 55:5. 2. 1Cor. 12:28; Eph. 4:11-12. 3. Matt. 18:19-20. 4. Matt. 18:17-18; 1Cor. 5:4-5; 1Tim. 5:20; Titus 3:10. 5. Acts 5:31. 6. Rev. 22:12; Matt. 25:34-36; Rom. 2:7. 7. Rev. 3:19; Heb. 12:6-7. 8. 2Cor. 12:9-10; Rom. 8:35-39. 9. 1Cor. 15:25; Acts 12:17; Acts 18:9-10. 10. Rom. 14:11; Col. 1:18; Matt. 28:19-20. 11. Rom. 8:28. 12. 2Thess. 1:8; Ps. 2:9.	l. Acts 15:14-16; Gen. 49:10; Ps. 110:3; John 17:2. m. Eph. 4:11-12; 1Cor. 12:28. n. Isa. 33:22. o. Matt. 18:17-18; 1Cor. 5:4-5. p. Acts 5:31. q. Rev. 22:12; Rev. 2:10. r. Rev. 3:19. s. Isa. 63:9. t. 1Cor. 15:25; Ps. 110:1-2. u. Rom. 14:10-11. w. Rom. 8:28. x. 2Thess. 1:8-9; Ps. 2:8-9.
46	s. Phil. 2:6-8; Luke 1:31; 2Cor. 8:9; Acts 2:24.	s. Phil. 2:6-8; 2Cor. 8:9; Luke 1:31; Acts 2:24.	s. Phil. 2:6-8; 2Cor. 8:9; See Luke 1:31; Acts 2:24.	1. Phil. 2:6-8; 2Cor. 8:9; Gal. 4:4.	y. Phil. 2:6-8. z. Luke 1:31. a. Luke 2:7 b. Gal. 4:4; 2Cor. 8:9; Luke 9:58; Heb. 2:18; Isa. 53:3. c. Ps. 22:1; cp. with Matt. 27:46; Isa. 53:10; 1John 2:2; Phil. 2:8. d. Matt. 12:40; 1Cor. 15:3-4. e. Acts 2:24-27, 31. ³³
47	t. John 1:14,18; Gal. 4:4; Luke 2:7.	t. John 1:14,18; Luke 2:7.	t. John 1:14,18; Luke 2:7.	1. John 1:18; "See citations under Q.46 above."	f. John 1:14,18; Gal. 4:4; Luke 2:7.

LC	WESTMINSTER	PCUSA 1797	PCUSA 1894	PCUS 1910	OPC 2001
48	u. Gal. 4:4. w. Matt. 5:17; Rom. 5:19. x. Ps. 22:6; Heb. 12:2–3. y. Matt. 4:1–12; Luke 4:13. z. Heb. 2:17–18; Heb. 4:15; Isa. 52:13–14. ³⁴	v. Gal. 4:4. w. Matt. 5:17; Rom. 5:19. x. Ps. 22:6; Isa. 53:2–3; Heb. 12:2–3. y. Matt. 4:1–12; Luke 4:1–14. z. Heb. 2:17–18; Heb. 4:15; Isa. 52:14. ³⁵	u. Gal. 4:4. w. Matt. 5:17; See Rom. 5:19. x. Isa. 53:2–3; Heb. 12:2–3. y. Matt. 4:1. See vs 2–12. Luke 4:1–14. z. Heb. 2:17–18; See Heb. 4:15; Isa. 52:14.	1. Gal. 4:4. 2. Rom. 5:19; Matt. 3:15; John 19:30. 3. Ps. 22:6; Heb. 12:2–3; Isa. 53:2,3. 4. Matt. 4:1. See vs 2–12; Luke 4:1–14. 5. Heb. 2:17–18; Heb. 4:15; Isa. 52:13–14.	g. Gal. 4:4. h. Matt. 5:17; Rom. 5:19. i. Ps. 22:6; Heb. 12:2–3; Isa. 53:2–3. k. Matt. 4:1–11; Luke 4:13. ³⁶ l. Heb. 2:17–18; Heb. 4:15; Isa. 52:13–14.
49	a. Matt. 27:4. ³⁷ b. Matt. 26:56. c. Isa. 53:2–3. d. Matt. 27:26–50; John 19:34. e. Luke 22:44; Matt. 27:46. ³⁸ f. Isa. 53:10. g. Phil. 2:8; Heb. 12:2; Gal. 3:13.	a. Matt. 27:4. b. Matt. 26:56. c. Isa. 53:1, 3. ³⁹ d. Matt. 27:26–50; John 19:34; Luke 22:63–64. e. Luke 22:44; Matt. 27:46; Rom. 8:32; {Luke 22:23 [sic] Luke 22:53} ⁴⁰ f. Isa. 53:10. g. Phil. 2:8; Heb. 12:2; Gal. 3:13.	a. Matt. 27:4. b. Matt. 26:56. c. Isa. 53:3. d. Matt. 27:26; See John 19:34; Luke 22:63–64. e. Luke 22:44; Matt. 27:46; Rom. 8:32 [typo: See Rom. 8:31 in 1924–1957 editions]. f. Isa. 53:10; Matt. 20:28. g. Phil. 2:8; See Heb. 12:2; Gal. 3:13.	1. Matt. 27:4. 2. Matt. 26:56. 3. Luke 18:32–33; Isa. 53:3. 4. Matt. 27:26; John 19:34; Luke 22:63–64. 5. Luke 22:44; Matt. 27:46; Rom. 8:32. 6. Rom. 4:15; 1Cor. 15:3–4; Isa. 53:10. 7. Phil. 2:8; Heb. 12:2; Gal. 3:13. ⁴¹	m. Matt. 27:4. n. Matt. 26:56. o. Isa. 53:2–3. p. Matt. 27:26–50; John 19:34; Luke 22:63–64. q. See Luke 22:44; Matt. 27:46. r. Isa. 53:10; Matt. 20:28; See Mark 10:45. s. Phil. 2:8; Heb. 12:2; Gal. 3:13.
50	h. 1Cor. 15:3–4. i. Ps. 16:10 with Acts 2:24–27,31; Rom. 6:9; Matt. 12:40.	h. 1Cor. 15:3–4. i. Matt. 12:40; Ps. 16:10; Acts 2:24–26; Rom. 6:9.	h. 1Cor. 15:3–4. i. Matt. 12:40; See Ps. 16:10; Acts 2:24–26; Rom. 6:9.	1. 1Cor. 15:3–4. 2. Matt. 12:40; Luke 18:33.	t. 1Cor. 15:3–4. u. Ps. 16:10; Acts 2:24–27,31; Rom. 6:9; Matt. 12:40.

ENDNOTES

A. EDITIONS CITED

The ongoing work of creating a new critical text of the Confession of Faith and Larger and Shorter Catechisms, has required consulting more than 130 different editions, including copies of original manuscripts. In addition to many of the rare early editions which are found in various microform and online collections, well over a hundred editions were obtained to aid the work. Entries in this bibliography which do not otherwise reference a holding library or other source, are among those collected for this project. For a few key editions that were not so readily available, several libraries holding these were of great assistance, which are noted at the appropriate entries. Editions marked by an asterisk (*) were consulted only as occasion warranted, rather than fully collated. The following bibliography contains only those volumes consulted for the work on the Larger Catechism.

Sources on Editions and Critical Remarks

S. W. Carruthers, *The Confession of Faith of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Tercentenary Edition* (London:

Publishing Office of the Presbyterian Church of England, [1946]). This is the text from the manuscript attributed to Cornelius Burges. Hereafter, Burges.

S. W. Carruthers, *Three Centuries of the Westminster Shorter Catechism* (NB: Published for the Beaverbrook Foundations by the University of New Brunswick, 1957). Hereafter, *Three Centuries*.

S. W. Carruthers, “The True Text of the Larger Catechism,” *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* [of England] 3 (1927) 216–218. Hereafter, “True Text.”

S. W. Carruthers, *The Westminster Confession of Faith: Being an account of the Preparation and Printing of its Seven Leading Editions to which is Appended a Critical Text of the Confession with notes thereon* (Manchester: R. Aikman & Son, 1937). Hereafter, Carruthers.

William Carruthers, *The Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly of Divines* (London: Publication Office of the Presbyterian Church of England, 1897). Hereafter, CarruthersSR.

Chris Coldwell, “Examining the Work of S. W. Carruthers: Justifying a Critical Approach to the Text of the Westminster Standards, & Correcting the 18th Century Lineage of the Traditional Scottish Text” *The Confessional Presbyterian* 1.43–64.

Chris Coldwell, "Antiquary: The traditional form of *The Westminster Standards*," *The Confessional Presbyterian* 1 (2005) 168–175. Hereafter, Coldwell, "Antiquary."

B. B. Warfield, "Notes Toward A Bibliography of the Westminster Confession: I. Britain," *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, xii (1901) 614–659. Hereafter Warfield, *P&RR* 12. And "II. American," xiii (1902) 71–120. Hereafter, "Warfield, *P&RR* 13.

Online and Microform Collections

Early American Imprints, First Series [microform], edited by the American Antiquarian Society (New York: Readex Microprint Corp., 1984?–).

Early English Books, 1641–1700 [microform] (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, [1957?]–). Printed copies are referenced by Wing number, and those consulted on film by Reel number as well.

Early English Books Online (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Proquest Information and Learning, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>).

The Eighteenth Century [microform] (Woodbridge, Conn.: Published by Primary Source Microfilm, an imprint of Thomson Gale, 1982–).

The Thomason Tracts (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1977).

Texts Consulted for the Collation

Manuscripts. There are two surviving manuscripts of the Westminster Assembly's Larger Catechism.

1. MSa: To the Right Hon^{ble}: The Lords & Com^{ons} Assembled in Parliament. The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines Sitting at Westminster Concerning a Larger Catechism. In hand 'A'. Dated: 22 October 1647 "The larger Catechism." Signed at the end by Charles Herle, Prolocutor, Cornelius Burges, Assessor, Henry Robrough, scribe, and Adoniram Byfield, scribe. Bodleian Library.

2. *To the Right Hon^{ble}: The Lords & Com^{ons}*, etc. Chris Coldwell, Draft Transcription submitted to The Westminster Assembly Project, January 26, 2004 [Updated with corrections, January 30, 2007]. Unpublished.

3. MSb: To the Right Hon^{ble}: The Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament. The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines sitting at Westminster Concerning A Larger Catechism. In hand 'B'. Undated. Signed at the end by Charles Herle, Cornelius Burges, Assessor, Henry Robrough, scribe, and Adoniram Byfield, scribe. Bodleian Library.

4. *To the Right Hon^{ble}: The Lords and Commons*, etc. Chris Coldwell, Draft Transcription submitted to The Westminster Assembly Project, January 26, 2004 [Updated with corrections, January 30, 2007]. Unpublished.

Critical Texts

5. John R. Bower, "The Westminster Assembly's Larger Catechism. A Critical Edition. A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Westminster Theological Seminary in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Theology" (2006).

The Authoritative Editions

6. AMa. *The humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines, now by authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning a Larger catechisme* (London: Printed by A. M.) Wing W1437. Thomason Tracts. British Library. Thomason date: Oct. 22, 1647. This is apparently the same edition as W1436, but lacks the pages containing authorization for publication. This is Bower's Edition One, the first of two published for the private use of the Westminster Assembly and both Houses of Parliament. Bower collated five examples.

7. AMb. *The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines, now by authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, Concerning a Larger Catechism* (London: Printed by A.M., 1648). This second edition for the Assembly and Parliament contain the Scripture proofs. Bower's Edition Four. The text consulted, which is the base text of this critical work, is that reprinted in *Westminster Standards: Limited Anniversary Edition*. CD version (Old Paths Publications, 1997). This copy was scanned by the publisher from an original owned by Princeton Theological Seminary, and some errors introduced by the scanning process are noted by Bower, whose work was used as a final check for the integrity of the base text.

Latin Editions

8. *DLL. *Confessio Fidei in Conventu Theologorum auctoritate Parliamenti Anglicani indicto Elaborata; eidem Parlamento postmodum Exhibita; Quin et ab eodem, deinque ab Ecclesia Scotiana Cognita et Approbata; unâ cum Catechismo duplici, Majori, Minorique; E Sermone Anglicano summa cum fide in Latinum versa. Cantabrigiæ; excudebat Johannes Field, celebrimæ Academiæ typographus* (Cambridge: John Fields, 1656; Second edition, 1659). Wing C5737. Early English Books (959:8). Carruthers' Dillingham.

9. *Field. *Confessio Fidei in Conventu Theologorum auctoritate Parliamenti Anglicani indicto Elaborata; eidem Parlamento postmodum Exhibita*, etc. (Cambridge: John Field, 1659). A second edition of DLL. Wing C5738. Thomason, 237:E.1913[1].

17TH Century Editions of the Larger Catechism

10. *W1436. *The Advice of the Assembly of Divines*, etc. (London: A.M., 1647). Wing W1436. Early English Books Online. Trinity College Library (Dublin, Ireland). Another example of AMa (Bower, 54).

11. W1438. *The Advice of the Assembly of Divines*, etc. [with Scripture proof texts] (London: [1648]). Wing 1438. Early English Books. British Library. Bower's Edition Six. This was probably printed by Boſtock. This "edition was based on the authoritative edition four making it the only publicly available edition of the Larger Catechism in London that is based directly on one of the Assembly's private editions. However, the text contains multiple textual errors which argue against its inclusion as an authoritative copy" (Bower, 62).

12. *W1438A. *The Advice*, etc. (London: Robert Boſtock, 1648). Wing W1438A. Early English Books Online. Folger Shakespeare Library. Bower's Edition Five.

13. MAX. *The humble advice of the Assembly of Divines*, etc. (London: Printed by A. Maxey for the Company of Stationers, and J. Rothwell, 1658). Wing 1438B. Early English Books. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. See comments under Rothwell below. This was the first form before the scripture texts were reset to add the emphasis in italics.

14. TYLRa. *The humble advice of the Assembly of Divines now by authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning a larger catechisme* (Re-printed at Edinburgh: Evan Tyler, 1647). Wing W1437A. Early English Books. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. Bower's Edition Three. "This was the first public edition of the Larger Catechism for sale in Britain. Although Evan Tyler printed edition two, for some reason he was prevented from using the formes of that private printing for his public edition. And while edition two was highly imitative of edition one, this third edition was reset with a much freer hand with regard to the accidentals. Commas are frequently altered and additional errors are introduced ..." (Bower, 56–57).

15. TYLRb. *The humble advice of the Assembly of Divines now by authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning a larger catechisme* (Re-printed at Edinburgh: Evan Tyler, 1647). Wing W1437A. Early English Books. Union Theological Seminary Library (New York, NY). A variant of TYLRa.

17TH Century Editions of the Both Catechism

16. *W1435. *The humble advice ... concerning a larger and a shorter catechisme* (Re-printed at Edinburgh: Evan Tyler, 1647). Wing W1435. Early English Books Online. University of Illinois Library (Urbana-Champaign Campus). Bower's Edition Two. Bower finds evidence that his Edition Seven, a printing of the Larger and Shorter Catechism published by Ralph Smith, is based upon Edition Two, and possibly was a Scottish printing for the London market. Smith's edition was not consulted for this collation.

Other Editions of the Larger Catechism

17. *M'Leod. *The Larger Catechism, Agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, with the Assistance of*

Commissioners from the Church of Scotland, and Received by the Several Presbyterian Churches in America; with the Proofs from Scripture revised by Alexander M'Leod (New York: Whiting and Watson, 1813). According to the title page, this was the "first book ever stereotyped in America." M'Leod pared the Scripture proofs down for this edition.

17TH Century Editions of the Standards

18. *1655. *The Confession of Faith, and the Larger and Shorter*, etc. ([London?], 1655). Wing C5766. Early English Books Online. Union Theological Seminary Library (New York, NY).

19. *1688. *The Confession of Faith*, etc. ([Glasgow]: n.p., 1688). Wing C5773. Early English Books Online. Folger Shakespeare Library.

20. *BSTK. *The Confession of Faith and Catechisms* (London: R. Boſtock, 1649). Wing C5760. Early English Books: Thomason Tracts (255:E1419[1]). British Library. Bower's Edition Eight. Carruthers' "Boſtock." This edition appears to follow that of Lithgow (1649), the first to include the scripture proofs to all three documents, which was not collated for this text. A copy of the Lithgow is owned by the National Library of Scotland.

21. *ANDSN. *The Confession of Faith*, etc. (Edinburgh: George Anderson, 1652). Wing C5763. Early English Books Online. British Library. Carruthers' "Anderson."

22. *LTHGW. *The Confession of Faith, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisme*, etc. (Edinburgh: Gedeon Lithgow, 1650). Wing C5761. Early English Books (1791:30). British Library. Carruthers' "Lithgow."

RTH. The elder Carruthers and Warfield enumerated 4 forms of Rothwell, but S. W. Carruthers would later identify five distinct forms. The different forms evolved as the scripture proofs were first printed without the italic typeface added for emphasis and as corrections were made to the text. The first two forms lack the italics, the second merely correcting some typographical errors. The third resetting ("The Second Edition") added the italic face in the proofs. The fourth contains some corrections, and the fifth is again reset. Carruthers' "Rothwell B" is of the third form. See Warfield, *P&RR*, 12.629–632; CarruthersSR, 44–44; *Three Centuries*, 55; and Coldwell, "Antiquary," 172–173.

23. *RTHa. *The confession of faith* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers and are to be sold by J. Rothwel at the Fountain in Gold-Smiths Row in Cheap-side, 1658). A variant of RTHa is: *The confession of faith*, etc. (Printed by S. Griffin for the Company of Stationers, and to be sold by J. Rothwell at the Fountain in Cheapside, 1658). This was the copy examined for the Confession. Wing W1433. Early English Books (1412:22). University of Illinois Library (Urbana-Champaign Campus). Carruthers' "Rothwell A".

24. RTHb. *The confession of faith: together with the larger and lesser catechisms. The second edition* (London: Printed by E.M. for the Company of Stationers and are to be sold by John Rothwell, 1658). Wing C5796. Early English Books. Bodleian Library. Carruthers' "Rothwell B," of which he notes there are two variants.

25. *SNDRS. *The Confession of Faith*, etc. (Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1675). Wing C5795. Early English Books Online. British Library. The title page claims this edition follows the Rothwell edition of 1658, with corrections made to the errors found in that text. Carruthers' "Glasgow Fourth."

26. *STNRSa. *The Confession*, etc. (First printed at Edinburgh; and now reprinted at London: Company of Stationers, 1651). Wing C5762. Early English Books Online. University of Illinois Library (Urbana-Champaign Campus). Carruthers' "Stationers." This was very poorly printed and several variants exist where the printer attempted to "fix" various pagination errors.

27. *STNRSb. *The Confession*, etc. (London: Company of Stationers, 1652). Wing C5762. Early English Books Online. Union Theological Seminary Library (New York, NY).

28. *STNRSc. *The Confession*, etc. (London: The Company of Stationers, 1656). Wing C5757. Early English Books (1353: 13). British Library.

29. *SWTNa. *The Confession*, etc. (Edinburgh: Swinton & Brown, 1671). Wing C5769. Early English Books Online. British Library. This is the earliest edition found to have the questions in the Catechisms numbered.

30. *SWTNb. *The Confession*, etc. (Edinburgh: Printed by George Swintoun & Thomas Brown, 1683). Wing C5770B. Early English Books Online. British Library. Not listed by Warfield.

31. THIRD. *The confession of faith: together with the larger and lesser catechisms*. The third edition (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, and are to be sold by Tho. Parkhurst and Dorman Newman, 1688). Wing C5798. Early English Books. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. Carruthers' "Third."

32. *W1432. Warfield VI. *The humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines, now by authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning i A Confession of Faith: ii A Larger Catechism. iii A Shorter Catechism* (Printed at London and reprinted at Edinbrough, 1648). Wing W1432. Early English Books Online. British Library. Carruthers skips this edition in his collation of the Confession of Faith.

18th Century Editions Consulted

33. Cox. *The Confession of Faith, etc. The Fifth Edition* (London: S. Cruttenden and T. Cox, 1717). This was likely set from Watson (below). This is Carruthers' "Fifth."

34. DNLP. "The Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter

Catechisms," in *A Collection of Confessions of Faith, Catechisms, Directories, Books of Discipline*, etc. William Dunlop, ed. Volume 1 (Edinburgh: Printed by James Watson, 1719).

KNCD. *The Confession of Faith*, etc. (Edinburgh, 1773; 1781; 1788). The 1773 edition follows Form B of the 546 page format begun by Lumisden & Robertson in 1744 (see below under L&R). Kincaid introduced a 600 page format in 1781 which continued through the Blair editions of the first half of the 19th century.

35. KNCDa. *The Confession*, etc. (Edinburgh: Printed for Alex. Kincaid, His Majesty's Printer, 1773). This is Carruthers' "Kincaid," which is a key edition in the lineage of the traditional text. A microfilm copy was obtained of an example owned by the National Library of Scotland for the initial work. Subsequently, an original once owned by Westminster College, Cambridge was acquired. This copy was used for most of the textual work. The volume had been presented to the college by William Carruthers in 1907. This is a particularly nice 18th century printing, and is somewhat larger in dimension than earlier L&R type editions.

36. KNCDb. *The Confession*, etc. (Edinburgh: Printed by the Assigns of Alexander Kincaid, His Majesty's Printer, 1781). Initially the example consulted was a copy owned by Covenant Theological Seminary Library (St. Louis, MO). The editor thanks Wayne Sparkman of the PCA Historical Center for examining that text. Subsequently, a nice example was obtained which was used for most of the work on the text of the Catechism.

37. KNCDc. *The Confession*, etc. (Edinburgh: Printed by the Assigns of Alexander Kincaid, His Majesty's Printer, 1788). Initially, an example of this edition was consulted which was once owned by John L. Girardeau, and is in the Blackburn Collection at Reformed Theological Seminary Library (Jackson, MS). The editor thanks Rev. J. Ligon Duncan and Stephen Tindall for examining that text. Subsequently, an example was obtained for most of the work.

38. Kerr. *The Confession of Faith: The Larger and Shorter Catechisms, with the Scripture-Proofs at Large: Together with*, etc. (Edinburgh: Printed by Mark and Charles Kerr, His Majesty's Printers, 1793). This follows the same 600 page format begun by KNCDb, except the table consists of 26 pages. It is of the same size and format as KNCDb and KNCDc. Carruthers' "Kerr."

L&R (Lumisden & Robertson). In addition to publishing the Reformed Presbyterian "collection" (see below), L&R published their own form of the Westminster Standards as well. While the text follows Dunlop, they evidently introduced variants from the RP text. Two popular forms were a 552 page format (1728, 1736) and a later 546 page format. The first format was reprinted by Robertson and M'Lean in 1746 and is Carruthers' "Robertson." Carruthers' believed "Robertson"

may have introduced the RP variants, and that it was this edition from which Kincaid set his edition of 1773. Rather, KNCDa followed the 546 page L&R format. This format was copied many times, but in 1756, E. Robertson published a variant form (Form B) in which the text flows and paginates differently but still totals 546 pages (for example, in Form A, the shorter catechism runs on pages 359 to 398, but in Form B it runs on pages 379 to 422). Kincaid follows this Form B. For elaboration and some correction to Carruthers theories on the evolution of the standard text through the mid 18th century, see Coldwell, “Examining Carruthers.”

The following were published by L&R or by other publishers following their texts.

Type I.

39. *L&Ra. *The Confession of Faith Agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster*, etc. (Edinburgh: Thomas Lumisden and John Robertson, 1728). 552 pages. This edition “set” the traditional full complement of Westminster documents, which are represented now by reprints of the Johnstone & Hunter edition. The example consulted of this rare edition is in possession of the Dallas Theological Seminary, Turpin Library.

40. L&Rb. *The Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms*, etc. (Edinburgh: Thomas Lumisden and John Robertson, 1736). 552 pages. For this form, the editor’s personal copy was collated for the critical text. If questions arose, L&Ra was consulted. This is the edition listed by Lee as printed in 1735 (Warfield, *P&RR*, 12.644). The Confession and all of the individual title pages except those of the catechisms are dated 1736. Evidently printing began with the catechisms late in 1735, and the volume was completed in 1736 (*Three Centuries*, 60).

41. *RBRSN. *The Confession of Faith*, etc. (Glasgow: John Robertson and Mrs. M’Lean, 1746). *The Eighteenth Century* (Reel 9219:26). This is Carruthers’ “Robertson,” of which he assigned a key place in his tracing of the descent of the traditional text. This edition is actually a fairly careful setting following the 552 page L&R format. While RBRSN varies occasionally from L&Rb, it appears it was set from that edition rather than the earlier L&Ra (Coldwell, “Examining Carruthers,” 1.53). This edition is not important to the descent of the traditional text, and after initial examination, was not collated in this work.

Type II Form A.

42. *AWeir. *The Confession of Faith*, etc. (Glasgow: for Alexander Weir, 1767–68). A copy is owned by the National Library of Scotland.

43. L&Rc. *The Confession of Faith*, etc. (Edinburgh: Thomas Lumisden and John Robertson, 1744). A copy is owned by the National Library of Scotland. The author’s thanks go to Dr. Anette I. Hagan, Curator of Rare Book Collections at NLS, for

arranging a preservation microfilming of this extremely rare 18th century edition, as well as for filming the NLS examples of E. Robertson, 1771np, and KNCDa.

44. *GlsGw(1763). *The Confession*, etc. (Glasgow, n.p.).

45. *RobSR. *The Confession Of Faith*, etc. (Glasgow: John Robertson, Sr., 1753). This is a nice example of this form and was used prior to determining which editions were important to the descent of the traditional text and prior to obtaining the film of L&Rc.

46. *WDuncan. *The Confession of Faith*, etc. (Glasgow: William Duncan, 1762).

Type II Form B.

47. E.Rob. *The Confession of faith, the Larger and Shorter catechisms*, etc. (Edinburgh: Printed by E. Robertson, MDC-CLVI [1756]). A copy is owned by the Library of Congress, New College Library, Edinburgh, and the National Library of Scotland. The printers’ father was John Robertson, the partner of Thomas Lumisden. The son apprenticed with Mr. Lumisden upon his father’s death, and later published with him for a short time in 1757. Thus Form B has some connection to Lumisden and Robertson as well as Form A. The editor thanks Rev. Sherman Isbell who examined the E. Robertson edition at the Library of Congress, Washington, DC, as well as Glasgow editions following its form at the National Library of Scotland. A film of the NLS example was subsequently obtained for a full collation. One unsatisfactory feature of the E. Robertson edition was a shortened index. Subsequently, while following the form of that edition, printers restored the full 22 page index.

48. 1771np. *The Confession of Faith*, etc. (n.p., 1771). This is the only “no publisher” edition which is in the descent of the traditional text. A copy is owned by the National Library of Scotland. Subsequently, an imperfect reading copy was purchased, which was used for most of the work with the text of the Catechisms. Due to the imperfections, when necessary, the microfilm of the NLS copy was consulted. KNCDa appears to be set from this 1771 edition, rather than from E.Rob itself or one of the Glasgow editions following E.Rob’s form (see D95, D100–D102, *Three Centuries*, 62–63; see Coldwell, “Examining Carruthers,” 1.53–57).

49. *Duncan. *The Confession Of Faith, The Larger And Shorter Catechisms*, etc. (Glasgow: Robert Duncan, 1768). This edition is a more careless printing than other editions of the same form and was initially consulted prior to obtaining the E. Robertson text.

RP. The Reformed Presbyterian editions. In 1725 a rival collection to Dunlop was undertaken by Covenanters who would later form The Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland. It was published by Lumisden and Robertson. These editions contain the Scripture proofs by reference only. In addition to those noted by Carruthers there are the following editions

listed by Warfield: Glasgow: R. Duncan (1761); Edinburgh: John Bryce (1761, 1764); Glasgow: Robert & Thomas Duncan (1771).

50. RPa. *The Confessions of Faith, Catechisms, Directories, Form of Government, Discipline, etc., of publick Authority in the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Printed by Thomas Lumisden and John Robertson, 1725). Carruthers' "Reformed Presbyterian A."

51. RPb. *The Confessions of Faith, etc.* (Edinburgh: Printed by Thomas Lumisden and John Robertson, 1739). Carruthers' "Reformed Presbyterian B."

52. RPC. *The Confession of Faiths of Faith, etc.* (Edinburgh: Printed by John Bryce, 1785). Carruthers' "Reformed Presbyterian C."

53. Bryce. *The Confessions of Faith, etc.* (Glasgow: Printed and sold by John Bryce, 1764).

54. Watson. *The Confession of Faith, etc. The Fourth Edition* (Edinburgh: James Watson, 1708). And "Fifth": *The Confession, etc. The Fifth Edition* (Edinburgh: James Watson, 1707). Warfield is correct that "the numbering of the editions of this type is in a hopeless muddle" (Warfield, *P&RR*, 12.636). If Warfield had been aware as well, that Watson called his 1707 edition the "fifth" and then changed that to "fourth" for the 1708, he would no doubt have felt even more justified in that conclusion (*Three Centuries*, 56). Apparently the 1708 edition claims to be the "fourth" counting from THIRD (see above). Cox, evidently following this enumeration, claimed the title of "fifth" edition. This probably has reference to editions "with the emphasis of the Scriptures" set in a different type which originated in Rothwell's "Second Edition" (Carruthers, 76–77). Carruthers describes the 1708 edition as set from the same type as the 1707. It is possible that the 1707 was set at the end of the year with the type left standing and then the title page changed when printing the 1708. These Watson editions were consulted to determine the introduction point of the variant at WCF 26:3, where "property" is used instead of "propriety."¹ The words are doublets,² with the usage of "propriety" in this context now obsolete. However, the change in the text was introduced at a time when this was not the case.³ While

this variant occurs in earlier editions, it had not appeared in the text descending from Rothwell, till Watson's Fourth. The variant is not in THIRD, which Watson likely followed as his text source (Carruthers, 77). Previously it had appeared in STNRSb and STNRSc. The National Library of Scotland owns two copies of Watson's Fourth and one of his Fifth.

19th Century Editions of the Scottish Text.

Blair. Except for an odd later printing in 1845 which has 389 pages, it appears all the Blair issues follow a 600 page format begun by Kincaid in 1781, which was also followed by Kerr in 1793. The earliest issue Warfield found was 1810, which is the edition Carruthers styles "Blair A."

55. Blair1. *The Confession of Faith, etc.* (Edinburgh: Sir D. Hunter Blair and J. Bruce, Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1803). This is Blair and Bruce's first edition, which was not collated by Carruthers. (Carruthers, 85).

56. BlairA. *The Confession of Faith, etc.* (Edinburgh: Sir D. Hunter Blair and J. Bruce, Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1810). Carruthers' "Blair A."

57. Blair2. *The Confession of Faith, etc.* (Edinburgh: Sir D. Hunter Blair and J. Bruce, Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1815). Apparently, this text was followed by the 1829 American edition of the Scottish text published by Towar and Hogan.

58. Blair3. *The Confession of Faith, etc.* (Edinburgh: Sir D. Hunter Blair and M. S. Bruce, Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1827). Apparently this text was followed by the American edition published by William S. Young of Philadelphia. See Young below.

59. BlairB. *The Confession of Faith, etc.* (Edinburgh: Sir D. Hunter Blair and M. T. Bruce, Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1831; 1836). Carruthers' "Blair B" is an edition from 1831. Of this edition he notes: "This is re-set from D 133 [the 1827], line for line, so beautifully that, unless minutely examined, it might seem to be stereotyped" (*Three Centuries*, 66). He notes that edition introduced 6 errors into the WCF, not previously introduced. Two of these actually first occurred in Blair2. Only one error did not occur in the earlier 1827 edition (Old and New "Testaments" instead of "Testament" at WCF 1:2). Initially the 1836 was used to "stand in" for the 1831, until a copy was obtained which completed the editor's set of Blair editions. The full set was collated for the text of the Catechism.

60. Blair 1836. *The Confession of Faith, etc.* (Edinburgh: Sir D. Hunter Blair and M. T. Bruce, Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1836). See BlairB.

61. Blair4. *The Confession of Faith, etc.* (Edinburgh: Sir D. Hunter Blair and M. S. Tyndale Bruce, Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1841). This is the last in the series that follows the 600 page format begun by KNCDB.

1. Dr. Anette I. Hagan, Curator, Rare Book Collections, National Library of Scotland, very kindly checked these texts at WCF 26:3.

2. In fact the Divines use both words. They use "propriety" at LC 118 and WCF 26:3, and "property" at LC 110. In 1744, a change would be introduced in LC 110, changing "property" to "propriety," the opposite error from the one noted here.

3. The word "propriety" in the sense of ownership was still in use according to Samuel Johnson's Dictionary of 1755. However, by 1828, Noah Webster writes regarding the meaning of "ownership" and "peculiar or exclusive right of possession": "This primary sense of the word, as used by Locke, Milton, Dryden, &c. seems now to be nearly or wholly obsolete. See Property."

J&H. Johnstone and Hunter editions of the Westminster Standards were the most common in the mid to late 19th century. Warfield wrote to Mr. Hunter and in his reply he remarks (Warfield, *Pe&RR*, 12.452): “I cannot fix a date when we first issued it [the Confession of Faith], but it must have been about 1842 or 1843 in the 12mo size. We set up a library edition in larger type, demy 8vo, cloth, selling at 7/6, and some on larger paper, royal 8vo, cloth, ditto, 10/. This was in 1854 I think. However, in 1856 we sold the stereotyped plates of both these editions to Thomas Nelson & Sons, here, but both were destroyed by a fire in their warehouse which took place a few years after this. We set up anew about 1860, and have kept it in print ever since. It is now the only edition in the market in this country, or anywhere else far as I know. We have supplied both Thomas Nelson & Sons and Francis Orr & Sons, Glasgow, with copies as required, both in sheets and in cloth, and think Orr’s edition would be ours with a fresh title-page added (the license at front will tell that) [letter of April 10, 1901].” Mr. Hunter was either off by a decade or there are earlier plates used by other publishers but not identified at this writing as from J&H plates (possibly the Orr, which was issued in 12mo in 1842, but the text is different from J&Ha, and it is not clear if these were hand set or from plates, though Carruthers notes later editions appear to be in the same type as late as 1849). Johnstone & Hunter created three different editions. Carruthers’ Johnstone “A” is the first plate setup of 1851. It was either set from an edition of Blair or more than likely from the Orr edition, because of the addition in each of Mark 9:43 as a Scripture proof text at WLC 29. Johnstone “B” is the 1855 Library edition with the reintroduction of the italics in the Scripture proofs. Johnstone “C” is the 336 page reset edition created in 1860 when fire destroyed the plates of the 1851 and 1855. This was photo-reprinted by Graham and Heslip in 1933 both as a straight copy of the J&H edition, and also a number of copies where printed for both the Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

62. J&Ha. *The Confession of Faith; The Larger and Shorter Catechisms* (Edinburgh: Johnstone & Hunter, 1855, regular edition). The earlier J&H printings do not have the Scripture proofs with Rothwell’s emphasis in italics. This is a version of Carruthers’ “Johnstone A” first published in 1851.

63. J&Hb. *The Westminster Confession of Faith; the Larger and Shorter Catechisms with scripture proofs at large* (Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1855). Carruthers’ “Johnstone B.” See FPa below. This is the large print “library” edition mentioned by Mr. Hunter above. The example in the Editor’s collection is of the demy 8vo size.

64. J&Hc. *The Westminster Confession of Faith; the Larger and Shorter Catechisms etc.* (Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1886). An example of Carruthers’ “Johnstone C.” Reprint: (Belfast: Graham and Heslip, 1933).

FC. Free Church of Scotland.

65. FCa. *The Subordinate Standards and other authoritative documents of the Free Church of Scotland* (T. Nelson and Sons: London, 1858). According to Warfield, this edition was apparently from the Johnstone and Hunter plates which J&H sold to Nelson in 1856. J&Ha above is identical except for the difference in front and back matter unique to the Free Church. This is without the italics in the proofs.

66. FCb. *The Subordinate Standards and other authoritative documents of the Free Church of Scotland* (Offices of the Free Church: Edinburgh, 1933). This is the Belfast edition published by Graham and Heslip.

67. FCc. *The Subordinate Standards and other authoritative documents of the Free Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Offices of the Free Church of Scotland, 1955; Rpt 1973). Printed by William Blackwood & Sons. This is Carruthers’ “Mair.” The text of the Confession and Catechisms is essentially a reprint of the text prepared by William Mair for the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1914). It contains the Scripture proofs by reference only. Some errors in the proofs of the J&H editions were corrected. There are minor variations in punctuation from J&H. The 1955 is a nice little hard cover volume.

FPCS. Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The FPCS first published an edition of the Westminster Standards in 1958, reprinting J&Hb. In the late 1960s the WCF text was corrected against the Burges manuscript and two editions were published in 1967 and 1970. However, they returned to a straight reprint of J&Hb after this, in a larger format, which they followed until 1994, when, while still keeping the same format, the text of the WCF was corrected against Carruthers 1937 critical text. The Catechisms remain unchanged from J&Hb.

68. FPa. *The Westminster Confession of Faith [and Catechisms]* (Glasgow: FPCS, 1958; 1976–1994). This is a reprint of J&Hb above. The 1958 is a nice compact and well made volume.

69. FPb. *The Confession of Faith; The Larger and Shorter Catechisms; with the Scripture Proofs at large* (Issued by The Publications Committee of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, 1967; 1970). The Confession of Faith was reset to follow the Burges text.

70. FPLC. *The Larger Catechism of the Westminster Assembly with Scripture References* (Glasgow: Free Presbyterian Publications, 1998). The Scripture proofs are by reference only. This was a new setting of the text rather than the text from the J&Hb edition of the Westminster Standards, which FPP has kept in print since 1958. “In a separate printing of the Larger Catechism by Free Presb. Pub. the error in Q. 105 is corrected, but all others remain” (Bower, 2). From two errors at Q. 17 and Q. 28, the FPLC text appears to be that used in *Reformed*

Confessions Harmonized (Joel R. Beeke, Sinclair B. Ferguson, *Reformed Confessions Harmonized with an Annotated Bibliography of Reformed Doctrinal Works* [Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1999]).

71. Orr. *The Confession of Faith; The Larger and Shorter Catechisms, with the Scripture-Proofs at Large* (Glasgow: Francis Orr and Sons, 1849). This edition of 370 pages was first published by Orr in 1843 according to Warfield. It appears to be set with the same number of pages as a Glasgow edition of 1842 whose publisher is unnamed, which perhaps may be the possible earlier J&H edition suggested above. The Orr printings appear to be set from BlairB or later.

American Editions

ARP. Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church.

72. ARPa. *The Constitution and Standards of the Associate-Reformed Church in North-America* (New York: T. & J. Swords, 1799). See *Antiquary* for a fuller description.

73. ARPLC. *The Larger Catechism; Agreed Upon By The Assembly Of Divines At Westminster, With The Assistance Of Commissioners From The Church Of Scotland, As Received By The Associate Reformed Church In North-America* (Salem, N.J.: Dodd & Rumsey, 1812). This is a fairly rare American printing of the Larger Catechism and was not included in the collation. Early American Imprints, Shaw & Shoemaker 27529.

74. ARPb. *The Constitution*, etc. (Pittsburgh: Johnston and Stockton, 1827 and 1832). The Johnston and Stockton edition of 1832 when it differs from the 1827 will be noted as ARPb2; otherwise, ARPb refers to both editions.

75. ARPc. *The Constitution*, etc. (Salem: NY: Dodd and Stevenson, 1827).

76. ARPd. *The Constitution*, etc. (Pittsburgh: Elliot & English, 1850).

77. ARPe. *The Constitution*, etc. (Philadelphia: W. S. Young, 1874). See comments on Young below.

78. ARPf. *The Constitution*, etc. (Atlanta: Publication Committee of the Associate Reformed Church [n.d., 1896?]). While noting no date of publication, Warfield, writing in 1901, assigns a date of 1896, apparently due to his correspondence with a Rev. S. A. Agnew, D.D. The successor denomination to the original Associate Reformed Synod was the Associate Reformed Synod of the South (1822), which in 1891 became the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod of the South. It is possible the new standards date to that time. This edition or subsequent reprints or copies may have been relied upon well into the 20th century. A new edition of the Confession and Catechisms did not appear for eighty years. For this collation, the reproduction was consulted that is posted on the ARP website. In March 2007, shortly before completing the text for inclusion in this issue of *The Confessional Presbyterian*,

the author obtained an example staple bound in thick grey paper covers. This may date to the time Warfield was writing, or may be a later issue if there were reprints. However, while the book is internally quite well preserved for an older printing, it may be reasonable to assume it was published prior to 1908, as by the time the constitution (containing only the Books of Government, Discipline and Worship) was completed and published in that year, the publishing committee is noted as residing at Due West, SC (*Constitution of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod of the South* [Columbia, S.C.: The R. L. Bryan Company, 1908]). The “1896” apparently was crafted from the plates of one of the editions of UPCb. The dimensions are similar and there were editions published in 1891 and 1895. The catechisms in the 1896 and the UPCb match exactly, with the ARP inadvertently dropping their official 1799 change in LC 109 where “authorizing” replaced “tolerating.”⁴ The portions were modified in the Confession where the two standards differ at CF 20.4, 23.3, and 31.2. At 20.4, the portion of page 132 below §3 is reset, and page 133 was reset completely. A page was dropped, and other than the numbering being off by one, the pages look identical in the two versions. At page 147 where chapter 21 ends, ARPf splits the beginning of CF 22 to a new page to get the numbering back on track. At 23.3, pages 158–161 were modified to conform to the ARP Standards, with the changes necessitating modifying the numbering of page 159 to read 159–61, with the text picking up and following the UPCb plates with page 162. At chapter 30, the ARP removes the unique UPC text from the bottom of page 194, resets page 195 to contain the ARP’s unique §2, and removes two lines of the UPC Scripture proofs from the top of page 196. The text continues identical from 197 until the end of the Confession.

79. ARPff. *The Confession of Faith of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church* (Published by Order of the General Synod by the Standing Committee of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, 1958). An example of this publication was obtained in March 2007. The book only contains the Confession of Faith, and it appears from the crispness of the type, that the text was reset using the 1896 edition as a pattern, which it follows fairly closely line by line. Sadly, some rather obvious or not so obvious errors were introduced, some of

4. In his 1882 history Robert Lathan writes regarding the changes in the ARP Confession of Faith: “The only other change which was made was the substituting of the word *authorizing* for ‘tolerating’ in the catalogue of sins contained in the answer to the 139th [sic] question of the Larger Catechism” (Robert Lathan, D.D., *History of the Associate Reformed Synod of the South* [Harrisburg, Pa.: Published for the Author, 1882] 198). That author has conflated the use of *tolerating* in LC 139, with the use in LC 109, which was the answer in the LC which was formally changed by the ARP in 1799, and which was correctly printed at the time he wrote, and always correctly printed until the 1896 edition.

which have been corrected in the current text, and some of which have not. On the first page of the 1958 text at CF 1.1, in the third line from the bottom, the text reads: “the Holy Scripture to be most necessarily;^c those”. The line in the 1896 text correctly reads: “the holy scripture to be most necessary;^c those”. The word “necessarily” remains through ARPh.

80. *g. *The Standards ...* (1976). This apparently is the edition noted in *The Second Century: A History of the Associate Reformed Presbyterians 1882–1982* by Lowry Ware and James W. Gettys (Associate Reformed Presbyterian Center, n.d., 388). It is 255 pages in length, and except for where changes were reset, appears to be pasted up from the 1958 text of the ARP Confession, and from an edition of J&Hb for the catechisms, but with scripture references only, reset anew below the text. The latter perpetuated the omission of the official change in LC 109. Subsequently, sometime after 1989, the text of all the documents was completely reset, as copies of the 255 page edition are located in libraries with formally adopted changes for that year. Confusion is caused as the new paperback edition, which ran to 273 pages, has examples stating a publication date of 1976. However, all the examples examined to date contain official changes dated to the 1990s, when it was likely produced. This later text is collated as ARPh.⁵

81. ARPh. *The Standards of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church* (Printed under the auspices of the General Synod of the ARP, 1990?, 1998, 2003, 2006). The text of the Larger Catechism is essentially unchanged in these printings. The 1998 is paperbound; the later editions are in ring binders.

82. BofC. *The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.): Part 1: The Book of Confessions* (Louisville, KY: Office of the General Assembly, 1999; 2002). The standards for the united PCUSA and PCUS, which merged in 1983. Unless otherwise noted, the text is included in references to PCUS. The first version of the *Book of Confessions* adopted by the UPCUSA dropped the Larger Catechism. Upon the merger, the text of the catechism as held by the PCUS at the time was adopted and added to the revised *Book*.

83. BP. *The Constitution of the Bible Presbyterian Church* [without scripture proofs] (Published by The General Synod of the Bible Presbyterian Church, 1946; 1998). The BPC adopted the UPCUSA standards in 1938 with some modifications. A shortened version of the declaratory statement was adopted, but the two new chapters of 1903 were not adopted. Where there are any differences, the two editions consulted will be referred to as BP_a (1946), and BP_b (1998).

84. *GCP. *The Westminster Standards: The doctrinal standards of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church and The Presbyterian Church in America* (Great Commission Publications, n.d.).

OPC. *The Standards of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church*. The OPC formed out of the PCUSA when 51 ministers and

elders, as well as other laymen, met in Philadelphia on June 11, 1936, to constitute a new church.

85. *The Confession of Faith and Catechisms. The Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms as adopted by The Orthodox Presbyterian with Proof Texts* (Willow Grove, Pa.: The Committee on Christian Education of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, 2005).

86. *The Larger Catechism of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church with proof texts adopted by the 68th General Assembly of the OPC*. This text was adopted in 2001 and published on the OPC website. Filename: LargerCatechismOPC.PDF. Filedate: February 7, 2002. There are some minor differences between this and the 2005 formally published text, which should be considered the official text.

87. PCA. *Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms with Scripture Proofs* (Atlanta, Ga.: Committee for Christian Education & Publication, 1990; reprint. Lawrenceville, Ga.: 2002). This, the third edition, is the current text in print. The first edition (Brevard, N.C.: Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America, 1983) mistakenly used a Scottish text, and was issued with some corrections in a second edition ([Decatur, Ga.: Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America, 1986]). For this collation only the third edition has been consulted.

PCUS. The “Southern” church prepared an edition of their standards as adopted on December 4, 1861, which was published circa 1862/63 (no date). According to Warfield about 20,000 were printed. It was reset from the 1853 PCUSA text (PCUSAf) but with proof texts by reference only. As a new edition was issued in 1882 which was an exact reproduction from the same plates as the 1853 PCUSA, which the PCUS had acquired, this earlier text was not collated.

88. PCUSa. *The Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church in the United States ... as ratified by the General Assembly at Augusta, Georgia, December, 1861, with Revised Proof Texts adopted by the General Assembly of 1910* (Richmond, Va: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, Printed by Whittet & Shepperson [1910]).

89. PCUSb. *The Confession ...* [Inserted in the front of this volume are the amendments adopted by the General Assemblies of 1939, 1942, and 1944] (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, [1944]). It appears this is the 1938 text with the extra section noted pasted in the front.

90. PCUSc. *The Confession ... with amendments enacted by the General Assemblies of 1886, 1939, 1942, and 1944* (Richmond: John Knox Press, [n.d.; circa 1944]).

5. The author thank the Rev. Dr. C. Ronald Beard for confirming the approximate dates of these later ARP editions appeared.

91. PCUSd. *The Confession of Faith of The Presbyterian Church of the United States Together With The Larger Catechism and The Shorter Catechism* (John Knox Press, 1964). Thirteenth Printing; revised edition.

92. PCUSE. *The Confession of Faith*, etc. (John Knox Press, 1965). Revised edition.

93. PCUSf. *Confession of Faith*, etc. (John Knox Press, 1973). Eighteenth Printing; revised edition.

PCUSA–UP. *The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*.

PCUSA:

94. PCUSAA. *The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Thomas Bradford, 1789). The first publishers of the standards of the PCUSA were prominent printers of the time. The first edition of the *Constitution* contained no scripture proof-texts as the Assembly of 1788 had approved none. While Bradford followed up with a second printing in 1792, the General Assembly refers to the edition by Robert Aitken (1734–1802) as the “second edition” (Warfield, *PeRR*, 13.80), and it includes the Scripture proof texts approved by the Assembly in 1797. Early American Imprints. First Series, No. 22079.

95. *Aitken. *The Constitution*, etc. (Philadelphia: Robert Aitken, 1797). The first edition with the scripture proof texts adopted by the PCUSA.

96. PCUSAb. *The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Jane Aitken, 1806). If a textual question arose in PCUSAb, the 1797 Aitken was consulted. Jane Aitken (1764–1832) was the daughter of Robert Aitken, and took over her father’s business in 1802 after his death. This edition is fairly carefully set from and follows the 1797 printing, except for the changes adopted by the Assembly in 1805.

97. Woodward. *The Constitution*, etc. (Philadelphia: Printed for and Published by W. W. Woodward, 1815). The Woodward edition of the Scottish standards was not collated for this text (*The Confession of Faith*, etc. [Philadelphia: W. W. Woodward, 1813]).

98. Finley. *The Constitution*, etc. (Philadelphia: Published by Anthony Finley, 1821). This, the last edition set by hand before stereotype plates were created, was published about the middle of the year, as the General Assembly’s authorization is dated June 21, 1821. The first stereotyped edition was published at the end of the year in December of 1821.

99. *PCUSAc. *The Constitution ... As Amended And Ratified By The General Assembly, At Their Sessions In May, 1821* (Elizabethtown, N.J.: Published by Mervin Hale; Abraham Paul, Printer, 1821; Newark: Benjamin Olds, 1823). In 1821 the PCUSA produced its first stereotyped edition, a number of which are noted by Warfield, but not the Olds noted above.

The example of this type consulted is actually “d” noted next, but will be referred to by “c” throughout, representing the multiple editions made from the same 1821 plates.

100. PCUSAd. *The Constitution ... As Amended And Ratified By The General Assembly, At Their Sessions In May, 1821 and amended in 1833* (Philadelphia: Alex Towar, 1833). One of the many examples of “c”. This is the copy used for collation. The text and plates of the Confession and Catechisms remained unchanged.

101. PCUSAE. *The Constitution*, etc. (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, James Russell Publishing Agent, 1841). In 1839 new plates were made from which all editions were printed until 1853.

102. PCUSAf. *The Constitution*, etc. (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, [1853–1891]). The PCUS purchased the plates of this edition and used it for their text until adopting new scripture proofs in 1910.

103. PCUSAg. *The Constitution ... as amended in the years 1805–1888* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1891).

104. PCUSAh. *The Constitution ... as amended in the years 1805–1894* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1896). This is the first edition with the new Scripture Proofs. Except for modifications reflecting the 1903 changes which were added in the 1904 edition, the text and layout of the Confession and Catechisms follow the same plates of the 1896, until reset in 1924.

105. PCUSAi. *The Constitution ... as amended in the years 1805–1924* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1924).

106. PCUSAj. *The Constitution*, etc. (Philadelphia: Publication Department of the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, 1941). The text of the Confession and Catechisms are the same as that of 1924 except for the addition of separate title pages for the Catechisms.

107. PCUSAk. *The Constitution*, etc. (Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, 1955). Editions for 1956 and 1956/57 are essentially the same as this 1955 text. These end the long line of PCUSA editions. In 1958 the PCUSA issued a draft of the new standards for the UPCUSA.

108. Perkins. *The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Henry Perkins, 1850). The PCUSA was divided in 1837 by the Old School New School schism. Subsequently the New School published some new standards in the mid 1840s which when circulated, immediately caused unease with their legality, so the Assembly set about to publish a new edition. In 1850 they authorized Perkins to publish an approved critical text of the Confession and Catechisms. Warfield had not come across a copy of this edition and so presumed it was published by Perkins

and Purves, but the two examples obtained both note “Philadelphia: Henry Perkins, 1850.” This edition was subsequently published by the New School publication committee as: *The Constitution*, etc. (Philadelphia: Presbyterian House, 1334 Chestnut Street, Presbyterian Publication Committee, n.d.). Though undated, Warfield assigns a date of 1852–1855. Judging from an example of this later edition, Warfield’s notes on it apply equally to the 1850 he had not seen, as they appear to be from the same plates, except for the changes in the title page. The two page preface to these editions state:

This edition of the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America has been prepared agreeably to a resolution of the General Assembly of 1850, in these words: – “Resolved, that the stated and permanent clerks be a committee to publish a new and correct edition of the Standards of the Church.

“To ensure the utmost accuracy, the Committee have instituted a careful comparison of the several previous editions, published by authority of particular General Assemblies. They have also compared these editions with several of the most approved issues of the Standards of the Westminster Assembly, of which the following are the most important: –”

They proceed to describe: 1. Stationers [i.e. Rothwell] (1658). 2. Dillingham’s Latin edition (Cambridge, 1656). 3. Dunlop (1719;1721), with a list of those texts Dunlop used. 4. Lumisden & Robertson’s RP text (1739). 5. Kincaid (1781). The preface continues:

The copy, from which the present edition has been printed, has been compared, word by word, with each of the preceding, and it is thought, may be relied upon as the most accurate edition of the Constitution ever published. Numerous typographical errors, some of them perpetuated for more than a hundred years, have been brought to light, and are now removed. The Committee have been careful to obtain the utmost certainty, before venturing on any correction. Where there was any room for doubt, they have retained the received text.

Warfield commenting from the New School’s minutes writes:

Dr. Hatfield’s report on ‘The Revision of the Standards,’ published in the *Minutes* of 1849, pp. 195–212, is a very able survey of the whole history of the Standards in the Presbyterian Church up to that date: every one

interested should consult it. And the editions of the Confession of Faith published under his supervision – of which the present one is the first – were easily the most scholarly and best of their time, surpassing in correctness of text the Old School plates of 1853, which were unfortunately adopted for the editions of the Reunited Church (after 1870). As a preparation for these editions the Committee of which he was chairman had collated the current text with ‘the revised edition of the Constitution’ published in 1797 (that is, Robert Aiken’s); with an Edinburgh edition of 1781; with the Lumisden & Robertson edition of 1739; with the Rothwell edition of 1658; and with the Latin version of 1656. The collation had revealed a number of typographical errors in the current text....”⁶

Warfield goes on to note: “The text framed by these critical comparisons is an unusually good one, but through its very critical care it, oddly enough, introduced one reading which may possibly be called in an American text a corruption – restoring in the Larger Catechism Q. 142, ‘depopulations’ from the British sources for the American ‘depredation.’” Perkins generally tracks with some of the PCUSA tradition, but occasionally its critical nature places it with the Scottish texts. It should be scored as a good effort. Few American texts corrected the “so satisfy” in LC 138 to “to satisfy,” (the ARPa-c and M’Leod are correct), and it is singular in doing so in the PCUSA tradition. And no edition since Perkins, either Scottish or American, has had this correct. It has been incorrect in the Scottish text since the 1744 Lumisden and Robertson edition (L&Rc). It is a shame, as Warfield notes, that the reunited church shelved the better text in retaining the Old School edition.

PLAN. Various Plans of Union between the PCUSA, PCUS and UPCNA. The text of the WCF is essentially the same in each text, except for the substitution of the new chapter 24 on Marriage and Divorce in PLANc. The texts of the Catechisms are not included, the only proposed change being in the answer to Question 156 (changing the word “vulgar” to “into the language of every people unto whom they come” to bring it into conformity to a similar proposed change in the Confession of Faith Chapter One, §8).

109. PLANa. *The Plan Providing for the Union of The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and The Presbyterian Church in the United States* [Revised January 1, 1949]. This plan was issued by the negotiating committees of the two

6. Warfield: *PC&RR*, 13.100–101. Philip Schaff, “Westminster Confession of Faith,” in *The Creeds of Christendom with a history and critical notes*. Revised by David S. Schaff. (NY: Harper and Row, 1931; rpt: Baker Book House, 1990) 3.600–673.

denominations. The UPCNA was brought into the agreement and a new Plan of substantially the same text of the WCF was issued in 1953.

110. PLANb. *The Plan Providing for the Union of The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and The Presbyterian Church in the United States and The United Presbyterian Church of North America as The Presbyterian Church of the United States* [as revised in November 1953] (1954). This plan was issued by the negotiating committees of the three churches.

111. PLANc. *The Plan of Union of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and The United Presbyterian Church of North America to Form the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*. Issued in 1956. Of the churches involved in these various plans, only the PCUSA and the UPC merged under this plan in 1958.

UPCUSA:

112. UPCUSAA. *The Constitution of The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, 1958). The pre-assembly edition of what would be the new UPCUSA standards, issued prior to the uniting general assembly, May 28, 1958.

113. UPCUSAb. *The Constitution of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, 1960).

114. UPCUSAc. *The Constitution of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Part One. Book of Confessions*. (New York: Office of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1966–67; second edition, 1970). The Larger Catechism was dropped altogether from the new standards.

115. RPCNA. *The Constitution of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America Being Its Standards Subordinate ...* (1949; rpt 1974; 1998). The RPCNA text of the Westminster Confession was updated in 1949 to follow Carruthers' text.

116. Towar. *The Confession of Faith; The Larger and Shorter Catechisms*, etc. (Philadelphia: Towar and Hogan, 1829). An American edition of the standard Scottish edition of the Westminster Standards, apparently set from the 1815 Blair edition (Blair2 above). Consulting this title confirms that the Scottish edition published by William S. Young (Philadelphia: 1838, 1842–1898), was not set from it, but independently, following the Blair edition of 1827. The 1874 ARP edition published by Young inherits some errors of the 1827 Blair via Young's edition. See Young below.

UPC. United Presbyterian Church of North America. The UPC merged with the PCUSA to form the UPCUSA in 1958. The UPC published a new text for the Confession of Faith in 1859, which was published by William S. Young (see Young

below). This probably accounts for the introduction of the same Blair 1827 variants as those Young introduced into the 1874 ARP text and therefore this "Young connection" evidently accounts for similarities in the later ARP editions and the UPC text. The UPC issued a full set of standards in 1865. UPCa is a distinct edition, and not very well executed. Others appear for 1865, 1867, 1873, 1880, 1884, 1888, 1891, 1895, 1903 and 1914. At least for the material in common, this string of editions are all apparently printed from the same plates made in 1865.

117. UPCa. *The Subordinate Standards of the United Presbyterian Church of North America* (Pittsburgh: United Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1873). This is an abridged edition of the UPC's full standards. The scripture proofs lack reference numbers and are "in place" parenthetically by reference only. This was also the form of the first edition of the UPC's text of just the Confession of Faith, published in 1859 by William S. Young (see Warfield, *P&RR*, 13.19).

118. *The Confession of Faith Agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster as received by the United Presbyterian Church of North America, with references to the proofs from the Holy Scriptures* (Philadelphia: William S. Young, 1859; Pittsburgh: William S. Rentoul, 1859). A copy is owned by the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

119. UPCb. *The Subordinate Standards of the United Presbyterian Church of North America* (Pittsburgh: United Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1880, 1884, 1888, 1914). The 1880 edition is Carruthers' "United Presbyterian." An 1884 edition was consulted for this collation.

120. Young. *The Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms*, etc. (Philadelphia: William S. Young, 1863). Young first published an edition in 1838, apparently set by hand, following, as noted on the title page, "a recent and correct Edinburgh edition." He set up new plates of his text and printed anew in 1842 and printings from these plates continued up until near the end of the century (see Warfield, *P&RR*, 13.75–76). Warfield speculates that Young was a reprint of the Towar & Hogan edition of 1829, also published in Philadelphia, which he assumed followed the Blair edition of 1815 (Towar & Hogan note on the title page: "printed from the last Edinburgh edition"). Apparently, however, Towar & Hogan set their edition from the 'last' edition they had met with, which appears to have been the Blair edition of 1815, or at least one before 1827, which at the time was the most recent Blair edition available. And Young apparently does not follow the 1815, but the later 1827 edition, which indicates he set his type from that edition directly and not from the Towar & Hogan. This becomes clear when comparing the differences in textual errors each Blair edition introduced, and which errors appear in the two American editions. Young's edition is of interest because he also published the first ARP edition

for the Synod of the South in 1874, as well as the first UPC edition of the Confession of Faith. He imported some of the unique 1827 Blair errors into both traditions. These are: 1. At WCF 8.4 where the letter “w” was skipped and numbered “x” and “x” was mis-numbered as “y”. This occurs also in: Orr; J&H; ARPF–g. 2. At WCF 19.2 where “four first” is reversed to “first four,” which also occurs in: Blair3—J&H; UPC; ARPe–g; BofC; BP; PCUS; PCUSAF–UP.

B. SCRIPTURE PROOF TABLE REFERENCE LETTERING.

WESTMINSTER (1648): The system used to number the original proof-texts chosen by the Westminster Assembly assigned a letter of the alphabet to each, repeating the alphabet when “z” was reached. The letters “j” and “v” were omitted. This continued through the Cox edition. Dunlop changed this system replacing “u” with “v.” The L&R editions which set the traditional form from 1728 forward followed Dunlop. The RP text retained the original letter system of the earlier editions.

PCUSA: The PCUSA in 1788 did not adopt Scripture proof texts to the Confession of Faith and Larger Catechism, and the first edition of their Standards contained none. The work of compiling revised proofs began in May 1792. About five years later the first edition with the new proof-texts was published by Robert Aitken in 1797. This and the editions by Jane Aitken (1806) and Finley (1821), as well as the stereotyped editions of 1821–1839, all follow the traditional lettering scheme for the proofs (except where the one change at LC 109 by necessity brought the letters off by one, as the phrase “tolerating a false religion” and the proof-text were officially deleted from the PCUSA standards in 1788). The Woodward edition (1815) is an exception, in that it follows the original Westminster scheme retained by the RP, using the “u” for the “v.”

When new plates were created in 1839 a numeric system was adopted, and this continued through the reprints until new plates were again made in 1853. In that year a return was made to an alpha system, but not excluding the “j” and “u.” This continued until new proofs were published in 1896. The alphabetical system was retained but the “j” and “v” were again excluded. This continued until the merger of the PCUSA and UPC in 1958 to form the UPCUSA, when all the Scripture proof-texts were dropped completely from the editions of the Standards. When the Book of Confessions was approved and published in 1967, the Larger Catechism was dropped from the approved standards of the UPCUSA. When the PCUS merged with the UPCUSA to form the new PCUSA in 1982, the text and proofs of the Larger Catechism as held by the PCUS were included in the revised Book of Confessions.

Given the complexity of the history of the numbering of the first PCUSA proofs, for comparison purposes the original lettering system adopted in 1797 is used.

PCUS. From its foundation in 1861 until 1882, the PCUS published an edition of their standards based upon the PCUSA 1839 form, but with the Scripture proof-texts by reference only. This edition was replaced in 1882, when the PCUS reverted to a reprint, as far as the Confession and Catechisms were concerned, using the PCUSA 1839 plates, which as noted used the full alphabet lettering system for the proof texts. In 1910 the PCUS approved new Scripture proof-texts, and for the numbering used a numeric system which restart at “1” with each answer of the Catechism, and this continued through 1982 in the PCUS.

OPC. The Orthodox Presbyterian Church adopted new Scripture proof-texts in 2001, which are numbered consecutively from 1 through 1317 in the draft, but in the final official published text of 2005, the traditional Westminster scheme was used. However, the lettering quickly gets off track from the original, due to new references which were added.

C. SCRIPTURE PROOF TABLE NOTES.

1. Q. 4. PCUSA. In “i” the Jane Aitken edition of 1806 set Acts 10:43 as Acts 10:42, but the text is that of v 43. This is carried through Woodward (1815) and Finley (1821), but was corrected in the 1821 edition.

2. Q. 6. PCUSA. In “q” the Robert Aitken edition of 1797 for Acts 15:14–15, 18 has Acts 14, 15, 18. This carried through the 1806 edition. Woodward changed the text to Acts xiv: 15, 18, which is followed by Finley. The 1821 corrected the reference to Acts 15:14–15, 18.

3. Q. 7. Westminster. Instead of “w”, an “*”: MAX—Watson. Unless it was for lack of enough of the letters “w”, it is not clear why MAX adopted this convention, which was simply followed in the subsequent editions until Cox.

4. Q. 7. Westminster. In “c”: Beginning with MAX, there is a truncated rendering of the passage which persists from DNL and L&R in the traditional text, which has come over to the American editions. ARPC–d have Ps. 139:1, 13 but the same truncated text. AMB has either Ps. 139:1, 10, 13 or 1, 10, 13. It is “ro” in W1438. See Carruthers, p. 91 note 8 and p. 100 note 30.

5. Q. 8. PCUSA. The Jane Aitken edition of 1806 set Jer. 10:10 as Jer. 10:19 but the text is still that of v 10. This is carried through Woodward and Finley, but was corrected in the 1821 edition.

6. Q. 10. PCUSA. The Robert Aitken edition of 1797 merged reference “m” and “n,” leaving out the “n.” The Jane Aitken edition of 1806 split the reference to correct this, but left the reference to 1 John 1:15 at the end of “m” and placed the text of that passage without any reference in “n.” Woodward and Finley left this uncorrected. The 1821 added the Scripture reference to the text at “n,” but retained it at the end of “m” as well, which carried through unchanged to 1891. This

was finally corrected and the extraneous reference removed from “m” when new proofs were adopted in 1894.

7. Q. 11. Westminster. In “p” the early editions simply have “with” and “and.” Rothwell introduced “This compared with” and “and with.” Dunlop and the traditional text (via L&R) have “Compared with” and “and with.” The usage at reference “n” in Q. 17 has a similar history. In references at Q. 22, Q. 38, and Q. 50, Rothwell and the traditional text both use “compare with” and “and with.”

8. Q. 11. Westminster. In “s”: W1438 and AMb and editions prior to MAX, have the “s” at the end of the answer instead of after “worship,” where MAX appropriately moved it. It has retained this place in the traditional text. The RP editions retained the original placement.

9. Q. 12. PCUSA. In “t” both Aitken editions (1797, 1806) have Rom. 9:14 and 15, 18, but with the text of only vs 15 and 18. Woodward and Finley have “ix.14—xv.18,” but the text is still 9:15, 18. The 1821 dropped the reference to verse 14 altogether, retaining only the reference and text of Rom. 9:15, 18.

10. Q. 17. PCUSA In “n” the 1891 edition mis-set Eccles. 12:7 as Eccles. 12:9. This was carried over into the new proof-texts of 1894, and not corrected until new plates were made in 1924.

11. Q. 18. Westminster. In “x”: Isa. 28:19. This was mis-set in the earliest texts with proofs, AMb and W1438. It is incorrect in subsequent editions such as BSTK, LTHGW, and ANDSN. The STNRSab and 1655 compound the error and have Isa. 18:19. It was corrected in DLL and MAX forward in the traditional text. SWTNa drops the reference altogether, and for the other renders it Psa “10.4.”

12. Q. 18. Westminster. In the answer reference “z” is after “governing” instead of “creatures” in Scottish texts since KNCDB, and in ARPf—g; PCA; Towar; Young; UPC. It is correctly placed in ARPa—d; PCUSA. This may indicate PCUSAA consulted KNCDA (1773) or earlier editions, rather than the later Kincaids of 1781 and 1788.

13. Q. 18. PCUSA. In “w” both Aitkens, Woodward and Finley have Ps. 144:17 (or xlv.17) for Ps. 145:17, but the text is from 145:17. This was corrected in the 1821 edition.

14. Q. 22. Westminster. In “s”: Though the full Romans reference is cited, only abbreviated text is given from verses 12, 18 and 19 in MAX—Cox. Text from vs 15–17 were added by DNLP—. None gave text for verse 20.

15. Q. 25. In “x”: Rom. 3:10–19 (DNLP): L&R—. MAX gives the proof as Rom. 3:10–20, but in the iteration of the words of the proof leaves off the text after verse 19. DNLP reproduces the text but does not give the full citation at the start of the proof, and thus neglected to include verse 20 altogether. The missing verse 20 carries through the traditional Scottish text as well as ARP and PCA. This was corrected to 3:10–20

in the first PCUSA proofs, but the 20th verse was dropped again in the revised proofs of 1894.

16. Q. 28. PCUSA. In “m” both Aitkens, Woodward and Finley have Deut. 28:14 “to the end.” The text given is an abbreviated portion of verses 15 and 16. This was probably an error rather than an actual change by the PCUSA. Verse 14 was dropped in the 1821 edition, and in subsequent editions, and dashes were added to indicate ellipsed text.

17. Q. 29. Westminster. In “o”: Mark 9:43 was added in: Orr; J&H; Mair; UPC; RPCNA; ARP; OPC; PCA. Apparently verse 43 was added by Orr and retained in the editions noted. It is also in the PCUSA 1797 proofs which must be an independent change as the change does not appear in any of the examples of KNCDBc or Kerr or any of the long series of Blair editions. When Rothwell began putting the scriptures in full, he put part of verse 43 in the text, but not in the citation, and this is apparently the reason for the introductions of the verse into the reference.

18. Q. 29. PCUSA. In “o” both Aitkens, Woodward and Finley have Luke 16:24, 25, 26, with a portion of verses 24 and 26 given, but without ellipses. The 1821 dropped the reference to verse 25 altogether and added a dash between the portion given from verse 24 and that from verse 26, which carried over to the 1894 set.

19. Q. 32. PCUSA. In “v” Robert Aitken has 1 John 1:11–12, but the actual text is from 5:11–12. This continued through Woodward and Finley, and was corrected in the 1821.

20. Q. 32. PCUS. In “d” Book of Confessions (1999) mis-set Titus 2:14 as Titus 2:24.

21. Q. 33. PCUSA. In “e” verse 9 was dropped by the 1821 edition. The new proof-texts of 1894 returned to the original Westminster text of verses 6–9.

22. Q. 33. PCUS. In “e” the “&c.” following Heb. 8:7–8 was changed to “ff” from 1944 onward.

23. Q. 35. PCUSA. In “p” the Robert Aitken edition did not distinguish between the Scripture text and the commentary. The 1806 edition added square brackets around the commentary.

24. Q. 36. Westminster. In “v” the original reference as published in the early editions contained the mistake: Heb. 7: 14, 25. This was corrected once the Scripture texts were printed in full by Rothwell in 1658.

25. Q. 38. Westminster. In “g” the early printed texts have Heb. 9:11–16, as do the Rothwell editions, but in iterating the text, Rothwell left off at verse 15. Subsequently, THIRD and Cox changed the reference to read: Heb. 9:11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and this was followed by Dunlop and L&R. From L&R the dropping of verse 16 carried into the traditional text, and into the American texts. The RP texts retained the correct reference including verse 16.

26. Q. 38. PCUSA. In “d” the Aitkens, Woodward and Finley, have the Titus 2:13–14 reference, with only the text of verse

14 given. The reference to verse 13 was dropped altogether by the edition of 1821 and in subsequent editions.

27. Q. 38. PCUSA. In “f” v 68 was dropped from the Luke 1:68, 69, 71, 74 reference by the 1821 edition, and in all subsequent editions. The text given by Aitken through Finley was a portion from verses 69 and 71 without ellipses. The 1821 edition added a dash to indicate ellipsed text.

28. Q. 39. PCUSA. In “n” the Aitkens, Woodward and Finley have Heb. 4:15, 16, with the text only of verse 16. The 1821 edition dropped the reference to verse 15 altogether, and this persisted through all subsequent editions, and came into the new scripture proofs of 1894 as well.

29. Q. 40. PCUSA. In “o” in the Aitkens, Woodward and Finley, the text of Matt. 1:21, 23 is given with abbreviated text from verse 23 only. Verse 21 was dropped altogether from the 1821 edition forward, and a dash was added for the ellipsed text from verse 23. Verse 21 was restored in the 1894 set, and the text given for both verses.

30. Q. 42. PCUSA. In “t” Acts 3:21 was dropped in the edition of 1821 and in all subsequent editions. While Acts 3: 21, 22 had been given as the reference in the Aitkens through Finley, only the text of verse 22 was given.

31. Q. 42. PCUSA. In “w” the Aitkens and Woodward have Isa. 9:6 with text from verses 6–7. The reference was corrected to Isa. 9:6, 7 in Finley and in the 1821 edition, and em dashes were added to indicate the ellipsed text.

32. Q. 45. PCUSA. In “f” Isa. 55:4, 5 with the text only from verse 5 appears in the editions from Aitken through Finley. As in previous examples, verse 4 was dropped in the 1821 edition, and in all subsequent editions.

33. Q. 46. OPC. Reference “s” was divided into seven: “y” at “servant,” “z” at “conception,” “a” at “birth,” “b” at “life,” “c” at “death,” “d” at “his death,” and “e” at “resurrection.”

34. Q. 48. Westminster. In “z” Isa. 52:13–14 was rendered Isa. 51:13–14, which was corrected once the Scripture texts were given in full by Rothwell.

35. Q. 48. PCUSA. In “z” Isa. 52:14 appears by reference only with no text given in Aitken through Finley. The 1821 edition added verse 13, which had been included by the Westminster divines, still by reference only. The PCUSA of 1891 dropped the added verse, which was restored in the second proof set of 1894.

36. Q. 48. OPC. Matt. 4:1–11. The draft of 2002 retains the traditional reference, but the 2005 published text drops verse 12. In corresponding with Jim Scott, the OPC Publications Coordinator who worked with others proofreading the standards for publication, he could not recall or verify in this instance if this was an intended correction or simply an inadvertent change. The reference has been through verse 12 from the earliest authorized editions through the various American proof sets up until today. This would be

the first attempt to correct the citation. As is obvious to anyone reading the entire passage, there does not seem to be any reason to include the twelfth verse as the passage regarding Satan’s temptation of Christ ends at verse eleven. Rothwell did not catch this, perhaps because he only sets the text in full from verse one, ending with “etc.” and this is how the proof reads in the traditional text down though the J&H editions of the late 19th century.

37. Q. 49. Westminster. In “a” the early editions have Mat. 17:4 for Mat. 27:4, which was later corrected by Rothwell in 1658.

38. Q. 49. Westminster. In “e”: Luke 22:24, but text correct: Duncan; RobSR; KNCD—Kerr. Corrected in Blair forward. It seems more likely this mistake was produced independently in Duncan, RobSR and KNCDa. RobSR was probably set from L&Rc, while Duncan from E.Rob or an edition set from it. Both L&Rc and E.Rob have this reference correct. KNCDa was probably set from 1771np, which also had this correct.

39. Q. 49. PCUSA. In “c” in Aitken through Finley the reference is Isa. 53:1, 3, with only the text for verse 3 given. The 1821 edition dropped the reference to verse 1 altogether, which persisted through all subsequent editions and into the new Scripture proof set of 1894.

40. Q. 49. PCUSA. In “e” Luke 22:23, which is present in the both Aitken editions, Woodward and Finley, was dropped in the 1821 as it is clearly not a correct reference. What was possibly intended was Luke 22:53, because of the phrase “power of darkness.” Evidently, rather than guessing what the reference should have been, it was simply dropped.

41. Q. 49. PCUS. In “g” the 1910 PCUS edition with new scripture proofs set Gal. 3:18 for Gal. 3:13. Before 1910 the PCUS printed the text of the Confession and Catechisms from the stereoplates of the 1853 PCUSA edition, which also used that text until 1891. Over the decades the text had become progressively more blurred as it was reprinted, and the “3” began to look like an “8.” It is possible when the new proof-texts were adopted that the typesetter was given one of the reprint editions from which to set the type, and as this reference was not one of those changed, misread the text and set the “13” as “18.” It remained unchanged through the editions with the 1944 changes bound in front and was not corrected until the volume was reset to incorporate the changes from 1939, 1942 and 1944. ■

Edwards' *Freedom of the Will*:

A Review and Analysis

By W. Gary Crampton, Th.D.

INTRODUCTION

Samuel Hopkins, Jonathan Edwards' friend and first biographer, while compiling Edwards' memoirs, commented that "President Edwards was one of those men of whom it is not easy to speak with justice without seeming, at least, to border on the marvelous, and to incur the guilt of adulation".¹ The present reviewer agrees with Hopkins. And when we come to the study of *Freedom of the Will* it is perhaps particularly so. This book, which was first published in 1754, has been called Edwards' greatest literary achievement.² But as Paul Ramsey, the editor of this volume, more accurately stated:

Perhaps we should say that the *Inquiry into the Modern Prevailing Notions of the Freedom of the Will* is not the greatest of Edwards' works but the greatest of its

kind. For his *Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* (1746) in defense and criticism of the Revival stands without many peers among writings on the philosophy and psychology of religion, as does *The Nature of True Virtue* among books on ethics. And the "Miscellanies" are often described as the greatest of Edwards' works. All these, and other writings that might be mentioned, have high merit each in its own kind, and there is not much profit in comparing them with each other in order to find a summit. There is more grandeur in a range of many summits, and in the scope of the many kinds of interest and competence that are to be found in the writings of Jonathan Edwards. Uncompleted at the time of his death, his system of thought is nevertheless more complete than that of most other men (8).

Edwards' brilliance is recognized, not just in one area here and another area there, but in the far reaching implications and applications of his biblical worldview. There is real "grandeur" in "a range of many summits ... to be found in the writings" of this man. The full-orbed worldview set forth in the entirety of the Edwards' corpus is nothing short of staggering. It is a view that is sadly missing today. John Piper commented: "Edwards' relentless God-centeredness and devotion to the biblical contours of doctrine are profoundly needed in our day."³ And Mark Noll stated:

Evangelicals have not thought about life from the ground up as Christians, because their entire culture has ceased to do so. [Jonathan] Edwards' piety continued on in the revivalist tradition, his theology continued on in academic Calvinism, but there were no successors to his God-entranced worldview or his profoundly theological philosophy. The disappearance of Edwards' perspective in American Christian history has been a tragedy.⁴

THE AUTHOR: Dr. Crampton is the author of many books and articles and is a contributing editor to *The Confessional Presbyterian*.

1. Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, Volume 1, edited by Paul Ramsey, *Freedom of the Will* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1957) 1. The pagination found in the body of this article is from this edition of *Freedom of the Will*. The actual title of this work is: *A Careful and Strict Inquiry into the Modern Prevailing Notions of that Freedom of the Will, Which is Supposed to be Essential to Moral Agency, Virtue and Vice, Reward and Punishment, Praise and Blame* (vi). The text Edwards use as his frontispiece for this treatise is Romans 9:16: "It is not of him that wills."

2. In 1957, Yale University Press began to publish a new critical edition of Jonathan Edwards' works. It is far from coincidental that *Freedom of the Will* was the first work that Yale chose to publish.

3. John Piper, *God's Passion For His Glory* (Wheaton, Illinois: Crossway Books, 1998) xiii.

4. Mark Noll, "Jonathan Edwards, Moral Philosophy, and the Secularization of American Christian Thought," as cited in Justin Taylor, "Introduction," *A God Entranced Vision of All Things: The Legacy of Jonathan Edwards*, edited by John Piper and Justin Taylor (Wheaton, Illinois: Crossway Books, 2004) 13.

Jonathan Edwards was surely America's greatest philosopher and theologian, if not "the" greatest that God has ever raised up in the church of Jesus Christ.⁵ Edwards was unapologetically a Calvinist; not (simply) because it was the teaching of John Calvin, but because he believed it. Calvinism is biblical Christianity in its purest form.⁶ B. B. Warfield pointed out that Edwards "stands out as the one figure of real greatness in the intellectual life of colonial America." He was "the greatest of American Calvinists," a man who had a "remarkable sense and taste for divine things." He was a man whose "analytical subtlety has probably never been surpassed." But with this "analytical subtlety" there was "combined a broad grasp of religious truth which enabled him to see it as a whole, and to deal with the several parts without exaggeration and with a sense of their relations in the system." The system to which he held and "gave his sincere adhesion, and to the defense of which, against the tendencies which were in his day threatening to undermine it, he consecrated all his powers, was simply Calvinism." And it is "Calvinism in its completeness."⁷ No place is Edwards' defense of Calvinism seen more clearly than in *Freedom of the Will*. It is bold defense of a biblically based theological determinism.

Being the staunch and faithful Calvinist that he was, Jonathan Edwards was first and foremost a "biblicist." Scripture was foundational to his entire world-and-life view. As a biblicist, he was devoted to the concept that one should never attempt to erect a system of thought by combining secular and Christian notions. Edwards held to the Reformational principle of *sola Scriptura*. Scripture alone is the Word of God, and all studies, regardless of the subject matter, are to be judged by Scripture. Nothing stands in judgment over the Word of God. Scripture is sufficient not only for man to come to a sound and saving knowledge of God through Jesus Christ, but also to justify all knowledge and to interpret every area of life. He was a man "who put faithfulness to the Word of God before every other consideration."⁸ He was a man who "refracted ... everything through the prism of Scripture."⁹ For Jonathan Edwards, there was an absolute primacy and authority of the Word of God. According to David Brand:

The Edwardsian legacy represents a call to re-establish theology as the queen of the sciences, not in terms of a rigidity that stifles scholarship or scientific inquiry, but rather in the form of a lucid and forceful assertion of the Holy Scriptures as the fountainhead of all human endeavor.¹⁰

The view of *sola Scriptura* espoused by Jonathan Edwards was no different than that of the apostle Paul and the Westminster Assembly. In the words of Paul: "All Scripture is inspired by God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be complete, thoroughly equipped for every good work" (2 Timothy 3:16–17). And as stated by the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (1:6), to which Edwards adhered:

The whole counsel of God, concerning all things necessary for His own glory, man's salvation, faith, and life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture: unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit, or traditions of men.¹¹

The Bible infallibly, and the *Westminster Confession of Faith* in compliance with the Bible, both teach the all-sufficiency of Scripture. The Bible is sufficient for all the truth we need and all the knowledge we can have.

5. R. C. Sproul is of the opinion, as is the present writer, that Edwards was perhaps the most "prodigious thinker" that the church of Christ has had. See R. C. Sproul, "Foreword," *Altogether Lovely*, edited by Don Kistler (Moran, Pennsylvania: Soli Deo Gloria, 1997) v.

6. In *Freedom of the Will* Edwards wrote: "I should not take it amiss to be called a Calvinist, for distinction's sake: though I utterly disclaim a dependence on Calvin, or believing the doctrines which I hold, because he believed and taught them; and cannot justly be charged with believing in everything just as he taught" (131).

7. Benjamin B. Warfield, *Studies in Theology* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1988) 515–516, 528, 530.

8. Ian H. Murray, *Jonathan Edwards: A New Biography* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1987) 471.

9. George M. Marsden, "The Quest For the Historical Edwards," *Jonathan Edwards at Home and Abroad* (edited by David W. Kling and Douglas A. Sweeney (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2003) 8.

10. David C. Brand, *Profile of the Last Puritan* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1991) 146.

11. See Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, revised and corrected by Edward Hickman (Carlisle, Pennsylvania: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1834, 1974) 1.cxxi. Here Edwards writes: "As to my subscribing to the substance of the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, there would be no difficulty." According to John H. Gerstner, the *Westminster Confession* was Edwards' "favorite creed"; *The Rational Biblical Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (Powhatan, Virginia: Berea Publications; Orlando, Florida: Ligonier Ministries, 1991–1993) 1.160. And Norman Fiering commented that the *Westminster Confession of Faith* was Edwards' "dogmatic heritage," to which he held firmly; *Jonathan Edwards's Moral Thought and Its British Context* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1981) 51. The citations in this essay from the Westminster Standards are from the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (Glasgow, Scotland: Free Presbyterian Publications, 1994).

In the “Author’s Preface” to *Freedom of the Will* we read:

Of all kinds of knowledge that we ever can obtain, the knowledge of God, and the knowledge of ourselves, are the most important. As [the Christian] religion is the great business for which we are created, and on which our happiness depends; and as [the Christian] religion consists in an intercourse between ourselves and our Maker; and so has its foundation in God’s nature and ours, and in the relation that God and we stand in to each other; therefore, a true knowledge of both must be necessary, in order to true religion (133).

This is how Edwards begins his treatise. Without a knowledge of one’s self, there is no knowledge of God. But to know one’s self, as God’s image bearer, there must first be a knowledge of God. The more man “knows of God,” preached Edwards, “the more he will know of himself.... Indeed, he who does not have the true knowledge of God has no true knowledge of anything.” He who “has no knowledge of God knows nothing as he ought to know.”¹² God, then, must be the first object of knowledge. And according to Edwards, the only way for one to come to this knowledge of God (and the self) is by “the exploration of the heart, in light of Scripture.”¹³ Like the apostle Paul and the Westminster divines before him, Jonathan Edwards began his theological and philosophical enterprise with epistemology (the theory of knowledge). And the epistemological starting point for the Puritan divine was the Bible as the Word of God. All knowledge is to be deduced from the axiom of God’s infallible and inerrant special revelation.

Jonathan Edwards, along with the Westminster theologians before him, also believed in the absolute sovereignty of God. “It is axiomatic in Edwards,” wrote Sang Lee, “that God is the absolutely sovereign and eternal ground of all existence and creativity.” Of supreme importance to him “was the principle of God’s absolute sovereignty in all aspects of reality, both the material and

the spiritual.” This doctrine “remained for him a fundamental principle of all that he thought and wrote.”¹⁴ There was a time in his life, prior to his conversion, when he had reservations concerning this “horrible doctrine,” especially in matters of election and reprobation. But when God worked salvifically in Edwards’ life, bringing him into a state of genuine conversion, he “... seemed to be convinced, and fully satisfied, as to the sovereignty of God, and His justice in thus eternally disposing of men, according to His sovereign pleasure.... Absolute sovereignty is what I love to ascribe to God” (Hickman, 1.xii–xiii).

The doctrine of God’s sovereignty includes the fact that He has decreed all things which ever come to pass, thus rendering the future certain. This is the Reformed doctrine of “theological determinism.” As explained by the *Westminster Shorter Catechism* (Q. 7), “The decrees of God are, His eternal purpose, according to the counsel of His will, whereby for His own glory, He has fore-ordained whatsoever comes to pass.” The sovereignty of God in His decretive purposes, therefore, said Edwards, extends even to the Fall of man, and all other sins as well: “God has decreed every action of men, yea [even] every action that is sinful and every circumstance of those actions.” Sin “is foreordained in God’s decrees, and ordered in providence.” God decrees all things, and “even all sins.” Nothing falls outside of God’s eternal decrees. This, however, does not mean that God is the author of sin. He “orders” sin, but He does not “author” it (Hickman, 2.527–528, 534; 1.217).

God is the eternal “First Cause” of all things which ever come to pass (Hickman, 2.483). Yet, this does not negate or undermine the fact that in His sovereignty He chooses to use secondary causes to bring about His decrees.¹⁵ This is explained in the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (3:1; 5:1–2, 4) as follows:

God from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy counsel of His own will, freely, and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass: yet so, as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty ... of second causes taken away, but rather established.

God the great Creator of all things does uphold, direct, dispose, and govern all creatures, actions, and things, from the greatest even to the least, by His most wise and holy providence, according to His infallible foreknowledge, and the free and immutable counsel of His own will, to the praise of the glory of His wisdom, power, justice, goodness, and mercy.

12. Jonathan Edwards, *Sermon on Isaiah 6:5*, cited in *The Puritan Pulpit*, edited by Don Kistler (Morgan, Pennsylvania: Soli Deo Gloria, 2004) 143.

13. William J. Scheick, *The Writings of Jonathan Edwards* (College Station, Texas: Texas A & M University Press, 1975) 132.

14. Sang Hung Lee, *The Philosophical Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988) 8, 47–48.

15. Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, Volume 23, edited by Douglas A. Sweeney, *The “Miscellanies” 1153–1360* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2004), *Miscellany* 1263.

Although, in relation to the foreknowledge and decree of God, the First Cause, all things come to pass immutably, and infallibly: yet, by the same providence, He orders them to fall out, according to the nature of second causes.

The almighty power, unsearchable wisdom, and infinite goodness of God so far manifest themselves in His providence, that it extends itself even to the first Fall, and all other sins of angels and men; and that not by a bare permission, but such as has joined with it a most wise and powerful bounding, and otherwise ordering and governing of them, in a manifold dispensation, to His own holy ends; yet so, as the sinfulness thereof proceeds only from the creature, and not from God, who being most holy and righteous, neither is, nor can be, the author or approver of sin.

This doctrine of God's absolute sovereignty is very significant when it comes to Edwards' theory of causation (a theory which plays a very important role in *Freedom of the Will*, 180–185). In the view espoused by the Westminster theologians, and championed by Jonathan Edwards, "nothing ever comes to pass without a cause" (181). All effects necessitate a cause. And a cause, by definition, is "that after, or upon the existence of which, or its existence in such a manner, the existence of another thing [necessarily] follows."¹⁶ God is the eternal First Cause of all things that ever come to pass; yet, He uses secondary causes to accomplish His decretive will. And the secondary causes (in the case of men and angels) are responsible for their actions (156–167).¹⁷

THEOLOGICAL SETTING

Freedom of the Will was written to counter the pervasive Arminian influence of the eighteenth century. Edwards saw Arminianism as a threat to biblical Christianity as a whole, and especially at the point of "free will." There is, he stated, "no one thing more fundamental in their [Pelagians and Arminians] schemes of religion: on the determination of this one leading point [free will] depends the issue of almost all controversies we have with such divines."¹⁸ This being the case, Edwards wrote:

It is very necessary, that the modern prevailing doctrine concerning this point [free will], should be well understood, and therefore thoroughly considered and examined: for without it there is no hope of putting an end to the controversy about original sin, and innumerable other controversies that subsist, about many of the

main points of [the Christian] religion. I stand ready to confess to the fore-mentioned modern divines, if they can maintain their peculiar notion of freedom, consisting in the self-determining power of the will, as necessary to moral agency, and can thoroughly establish it in opposition to the arguments lying against it, then they have an impregnable castle, to which they may repair, and remain invincible, in all the controversies they have with the Reformed divines, concerning original sin, the sovereignty of grace, election, redemption, conversion, the efficacious operation of the Holy Spirit, the nature of saving faith, perseverance of the saints, and other principles of the like kind (*Works*, 3.376).

Said another way, if the Arminian view of a self-determined free will (a form of libertarianism) can be rationally established, then the system of truth known as Calvinism would fall into ruin; God's gracious plan of sovereign salvation would be in shambles. Christianity would be false.¹⁹ No longer could it be said that "salvation is of the LORD" (Jonah 2:9). This is no small matter. In 1757, Edwards wrote his friend John Erskine about the seriousness of this situation:

The doctrine of a self-determining will, as the ground of all moral good and evil, tends to prevent any proper exercises of faith in God and Christ, in the affair of our salvation, as it tends to prevent all dependence upon them. For, instead of this, it teaches a kind of absolute independence on all those things, that are of chief

16. Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, Volume 6, edited by Wallace E. Anderson, *Scientific and Philosophical Writings* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1980) 352.

17. Jonathan Edwards held to the philosophical view of "occasionalism," i.e., that God is the efficient cause of all things, whereby with every "occasion" of the consent of the mind of man to act in a certain way, God moves to bring about that act. The movement of the creature is only the "occasion" in which God acts according to His customary manner of acting; see Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, Volume 18, edited by Ava Chamberlain, *The "Miscellanies"* 501–832 (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2000), *Miscellany* 629. This being so, God is the only real and efficient cause of all things. But this does not rule out the existence of secondary causes. God uses secondary causes to bring about His purposes.

18. Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, Volume 3, edited by Clyde A. Holbrook, *Original Sin* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1970) 375.

19. Dr. John Gerstner pointed out to the present writer that if the Arminian concept of a "self-determined" will is correct (which it is not), then it would be a sin to preach the gospel to the fallen sinner. The reason being that it would be an attempt to have the fallen sinner make a choice based on motive, which involves causality, i.e., something "determining" the will from outside of itself.

importance in this affair; our righteousness depending originally on our own acts, as self-determined. Thus our own holiness is from ourselves, as its determining cause, and its original and highest source. And as for imputed righteousness, that should have any merit at all in it, to be sure, there can be no such thing. For self-determination is necessary to praise and merit. But what is imputed from another is not from our self-determination or action. And truly, in this [Arminian] scheme, man is not dependent on God; but God is rather dependent on man in this affair: for He only operates consequentially in acts, in which He depends on what He sees we determine, and do first.... The nature of true faith implies a disposition, to give all the glory of our salvation to God and Christ. But this [Arminian] notion is inconsistent with it, for it in effect gives the glory wholly to man (468–469).

For Edwards, said Ramsey, “the issue is a simple one: either contingency and the liberty of self-determination must be run out of this world, or God will be shut out” (9). However, as Edwards went on to say: “But I am under no apprehension of any danger, the cause of Christianity or the religion of the Reformed is in, from any possibility of that notion’s being ever established, or of its being ever evinced, that there is not proper, perfect, and manifold demonstration lying against it” (*Works*, 3.376). *Freedom of the Will* was written to be such a “manifold demonstration lying against it.”²⁰

Jonathan Edwards addressed his arguments, first from the propositions of biblical revelation, and then, in an *ad hominem* (“to the man”) fashion, from rational argumentation. Whether “these things are agreeable to Scripture,” said the Puritan divine, “let every Christian, and every man who has read the Bible, judge: and whether they are agreeable to common sense [rational thinking], let everyone judge, that have human understanding in exercise” (326).

The fundamental issue in this treatise is that of moral responsibility. The thrust of Edwards’ argument is the denial of and refutation of the Arminian view of what it is that constitutes responsibility. The author then sets forth the Calvinist view which is in actuality absolutely essential to moral responsibility.²¹ Edwards’ overall thesis is given in the concluding chapter of the work as follows:

It is easy to see how the decisions of most of the points in controversy, between Calvinists and Arminians, depends on the determination of this grand article concerning the freedom of the will requisite to moral agency; and that by clearing and establishing the Calvinistic doctrine in this point, the chief arguments are obviated, by which the Arminian doctrines in general are supported, and the contrary doctrines demonstratively confirmed. Hereby it become manifest, that God’s moral government over mankind, His treating them as moral agents, making them the objects of His commands, counsels, calls, warnings, exhortations, promises, threatenings, rewards and punishments, is not inconsistent with a determining disposal of all events, of every kind, throughout the universe, in His providence; either by positive efficiency, or permission. Indeed such an universal, determining providence, infers some kind of necessity of all events; such a necessity as implies an infallible previous fixedness of the futurity of the event: but no other necessity of moral agents, or volitions of intelligent agents, is needful in order to this, than moral necessity; which does as much ascertain the futurity of the event, as any other necessity. But, as has been demonstrated, such a necessity is not at all repugnant to moral agency, and the reasonable use of commands, calls, rewards, punishments, etc.

The things which have been said, obviate some of the chief objections of Arminians against the Calvinistic doctrine of the total depravity and corruption of man’s nature, whereby his heart is wholly under the power of sin, and he is utterly unable, without the interposition of sovereign grace, savingly to love God, believe in Christ, or do anything that is truly good and acceptable in God’s sight. For the main objection against this doctrine is, that it is inconsistent with the freedom of man’s will, consisting in indifference and self-determining power; because it supposes man to be under a necessity of sinning, and that God requires of him, in order to his avoiding eternal damnation, which he is unable to do; and that this doctrine is wholly inconsistent with the sincerity of counsels, invitations, etc. Now this doctrine supposes no other necessity of sinning than a moral necessity; which, as has been shown, does not at all excuse sin; and supposes no other inability to obey any command or perform any duty, even the most spiritual and exalted, but moral inability, which, as has been proved, does not excuse persons in the nonperformance of any good thing, or make them not to be the proper objects of commands, counsels and invitations. And, moreover, it has been shown, that there is

20. Clyde A. Holbrook, *The Ethics of Jonathan Edwards: Morality and Aesthetics* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1973) 38–39.

21. C. Samuel Storms, “Jonathan Edwards on the Freedom of the Will,” *Trinity Journal* 3 NS (1982) 132.

not, and never can be, either in existence, or so much as in idea, any such freedom of will, consisting in indifference and self-determination, for the sake of which, this doctrine of original sin is cast out; and that no such freedom is necessary, in order to the nature of sin, and a just desert of punishment (431–433).

According to Jonathan Edwards, then, "the decision of most of the points in controversy, between Calvinists and Arminians, depends on the determination of this grand article concerning the freedom of the will requisite to moral agency." *In nuce*, the Arminian view is that three things are necessary for such freedom to exist: 1) The will must have a self-determining power, i.e., a certain sovereignty over itself whereby it determines its own acts; 2) There must be a state of indifference, wherein the will is without antecedent bias; it must be entirely free of any prior inclination to choose one thing or another; and 3) The acts of the will must be contingent, i.e., opposed to all constraint and to all necessity as well; there must be no certain connection with a previous ground for these acts of the will; nothing outside of the will must affect the choices made by the will.

The Calvinist view, on the other hand, as championed by Jonathan Edwards, avers that the concept of a self-determined will is without meaning. It is a violation of the principle of *ex nihilo nihil fit*, i.e., nothing can come from nothing; there is no such thing as an effect without a cause. The very idea of the will exerting a choice while at the same time being in a state of perfect indifference is palpably absurd. One cannot choose without making a choice; one cannot have a preference without preferring. And due to the fact that nothing can ever come to pass without something causing it to come to pass, the acts of the will can never be contingent, or without necessity. Every act of the will is necessarily determined by something prior to the act, and this means that there is a moral necessity for the will to act as it does.

The Edwardsian view is taught in the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (9:1) as follows: "God has endued the will of man with that natural liberty, that it is neither forced, nor by any absolute necessity of nature determined to good or evil." As explained by Robert Shaw: "The liberty of a moral agent consists in the power of acting according to his choice; and those actions are free which are performed without any external compulsion or restraint, in consequence of the determinations of his own mind." Indeed, the very essence of the freedom of the will is found in its making a choice for either this thing or that thing, or refusing

to choose either this thing or that thing, without any external compulsion or constraint, but according to the rational principles which God has given to man.²² According to the *Confession*, man has been endowed with the inalienable or natural right and ability to freely choose what he desires to choose; in fact, he could not do otherwise. Man has a will which is not "naturally" forced to do good or evil; he is free to make choices.²³ Therefore, when a man "necessarily" acts in conformity with his own desires, he is at liberty to do so. He has the natural, God-given ability to make such uncompelled choices. This necessity is a moral necessity for which man is held responsible.

This is the view adhered to by Edwards. In this view:

Freedom, or liberty, must be identified with the absence of constraint, or the power one has "to do as he pleases." But this is clearly a freedom which is consistent with necessity, and with the strictest predestinarian claims. One has the power to do what he will, although his will is determined by God.²⁴

This is the basic theological setting in which *Freedom of the Will* was written. A more in depth review and analysis of Edwards' rebuttal of the Arminian doctrine of libertarianism, along with his rational defense of the Calvinistic teaching will be studied below. But first it will be helpful to look at the historical setting in which this volume was written.

HISTORICAL SETTING

According to Edwards' nineteenth-century biographer and great-grandson, Sereno Dwight, Edwards expressed an interest in joining the argument with the Arminians seven years before the work was actually written. In 1747, just subsequent to the publishing of his *Religious Affections* (1746), he wrote the Reverend John Erskine, a teaching elder in the Church of Scotland, informing his correspondent of his desire to address this matter:

22. Robert Shaw, *An Exposition of the Confession of Faith* (Ross-shire, Scotland: Christian Focus Publications, 1845, 1980) 115–116. The present writer has used Shaw's explanation of the Edwardsian view in this section of his "Exposition."

23. John H. Gerstner, Douglas F. Kelly, and Philip Rollinson, *A Guide to The Westminster Confession of Faith: Commentary* (Signal Mountain, Tennessee: Summertown Texts, 1992) 54.

24. William L. Reese, "Jonathan Edwards 1703–1758," *Dictionary of Philosophy and Religion* (Atlanta Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1980) 142.

I have thought of writing something particularly and largely on the Arminian controversy, in distinct discourse on the various points of dispute, to be published successively, beginning first with a discourse concerning the freedom of the will, and moral agency; endeavoring fully and thoroughly to state and discuss those points of liberty and necessity, moral and physical inability, efficacious grace, and the ground of virtue and vice, reward and punishment, blame and praise, with regard to the dispositions and actions of reasonable creatures (2).

Edwards recognized Arminianism as a threat to the gospel of Jesus Christ. For Edwards, and Puritanism in general, this is “another gospel.”²⁵ This false view has “departed from God,” and “eats out the heart of [the Christian] religion.”²⁶ Although the Arminian theologians “disclaim the popish doctrine of merit, and are free to speak of our utter unworthiness and the great imperfection of all our services,” nevertheless, in this false system of thought, “it is our virtue, imperfect as it is, that recommends men to God, by which good men come to have a saving interest in Christ and God’s favor ... and these things are bestowed in testimony of God’s respect for their goodness.” So that whether or not they allow the term “merit,” they hold “that we are accepted by our own merit in the same sense, though not in the same degree, as under the first covenant.”²⁷ Or as summarized by Shaw: “The Arminians, in words, ascribe the conversion of the sinner to the grace of God; yet they ultimately resolve it into the free will of man” (Shaw, 117).

Edwards’ desire to write on the doctrine of the freedom of the will was postponed for several years, due

to a “remarkable series of events.” First came the death of David Brainerd in 1747, and shortly thereafter the death of his daughter Jerusha in 1748. Again, in 1748, Edwards wrote two more letters to Erskine informing him of the events that had “remarkably hindered” the intended publication, and asked for his prayers. He then began to write *An Account of the Late Reverend Mr. David Brainerd*, which was published in 1749. Then in 1750, the controversy over qualifications for communion, which had begun a year earlier between Edwards and the Northampton, Connecticut parishioners, came to a head, and the Northampton pastor was dismissed from the pulpit he had occupied since 1729 (3–5).

In 1751, Edwards moved to Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where he served as minister of the church and missionary to the Housatonic Indians. Although there was much work to be done as pastor and missionary, the transition allowed the Puritan theologian to spend more time writing. During the next several years, Edwards wrote some of his weightiest and most influential treatises: *Freedom of the Will*, *The Great Christian Doctrine of Original Sin Defended*, *Concerning the End For Which God Created the World*, and *The Nature of True Virtue*.²⁸ Here in Stockbridge, he also finished *The History of the Work of Redemption*,²⁹ a work he had begun earlier. In July 1752, Edwards once more wrote to Erskine, informing his friend that he now intended to begin the work he had wanted to write for so long. In August 1752, he began to write the treatise, but again there was a slight interruption until November of that year. It took him four months and a half to finish the first draft, and in April 1753 he sent Erskine a letter telling him that at last the work was ready to be published. Actual publication was delayed until early 1754, however, in order to enlist some subscribers in Scotland (5–8).

In this treatise, those whom Edwards chose as representatives of the Arminian position were the deist Thomas Chubb (1679–1747), the Anglican Daniel Whitby (1638–1726), and the “hesitating Calvinist” and hymn writer Isaac Watts (1674–1748). Watts was much more in line with Edwards’ doctrinal views than Chubb and Whitby, even though he was inconsistent in his theology³⁰ (65–118). As editor Paul Ramsey commented, the three “opponents represent sufficient diversity of opinion to be representative of the thought prevailing at the time; and it would be easy to show that if Edwards’ argument against them is really sound, it can be applied with equal force to other proponents of libertarianism. In fact, in the range of opinion and churchmanship among them is to be found the best reason for their selection” (66).

25. Don Kistler, *Jonathan Edwards: His Life and Legacy*, a tape series (Morgan, Pennsylvania: Soli Deo Gloria, 2003) tape 3.

26. Edwards, *Sermon on Jeremiah 2:5*, cited in Gerstner, *The Rational Biblical Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (Powhatan, Va.: Berea Publications; Orlando, Fla.: Ligonier Ministries, 1991–1993) 2:78.

27. Jonathan Edwards, *Justification by Faith Alone*, edited by Don Kistler (Morgan, Pennsylvania: Soli Deo Gloria, 2000) 146–148.

28. Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, Volume 8, edited by Paul Ramsey, *Ethical Writings* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1989), “Concerning the End for Which God Created the World” (403–536); “The Nature of True Virtue” (537–627). Edwards wrote these two volumes with the intention that they be published together; he referred to them as the “Two Dissertations” (400).

29. Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, Volume 9, edited by John F. Wilson, *A History of the Work of Redemption* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1989).

30. The moniker “hesitating Calvinist” was given to Isaac Watts by Dr. John Gerstner, due to the hymn writer’s inconsistent way of expressing a seemingly “Calvinistic” theology; Gerstner, *The Rational Biblical Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 3:259.

When Edwards set out to write this treatise, wrote Allen Guelzo, "he would bend his energies to two tasks: undermining the notion that the human will possesses some sort of unique autonomy, or 'self-determination,' and showing that a universe in which all events have been determined by God is not inconsistent with human liberty."³¹ But, from a theological and historical perspective, what was the impact of this volume? From a human standpoint, of course, it is impossible to measure such things. But there are reasons to believe that this work did indeed have an impact beyond its immediate setting. Arminianism was on the rise in Edwards' day, and as we have seen, he found this system of thought to be threat to the gospel itself. He wrote to combat it, and he was successful in his attempt. In the final analysis, Warfield may well be correct in his assertion that:

The [Arminian] movement against Calvinism which was overspreading the land was in a great measure checked, and the elimination of Calvinism as a determining factor in the thought of New England, which seemed to be imminent as he wrote, was postponed for more than a hundred years.³²

THE TEXT OF FREEDOM OF THE WILL

After the "Author's Preface," the volume is arranged into Parts I–IV, followed by a Conclusion.

Part I (135–167) contains definitions: "Wherein Are Explained and Stated Various Terms and Things Belonging to the Subject of the Ensuing Discourse."

Defining terms used in theological discussions is always important, but in this case it is especially so. As Storms stated, "apart from a clear apprehension of Edwards's use of certain words, there is no possibility of following his argument." This part of the treatise, then, "aims to alleviate those misapprehensions of language which inevitably arise when discussing the freedom of the will" (Storms, 135).

THE WILL

Jonathan Edwards believed that the soul, or spiritual aspect of man, has two "faculties": the mind and the will, the latter of which is virtually identical with the "affections."³³ In *Religious Affections* he wrote:

God has endued the soul with two faculties: one is that by which it is capable of perception and speculation, or by which it discerns, and views, and judges of things;

which is called the understanding. The other faculty is that by which the soul does not merely perceive and view things, but is some way inclined with respect to the things it views or considers; either is inclined to them, or is disinclined, and averse from them; or is the faculty by which the soul does not behold things, as an indifferent unaffected spectator, but either as liking or disliking, pleased or displeased, approving or rejecting. This faculty is called by various names; it is sometimes called the inclination; and, as it has respect to the actions that are determined and governed by it, is called the will: and the mind, with regard to the exercises of this faculty, is often called the heart.... The will, and the affections of the soul, are not two faculties; the affections are not essentially distinct from the will, nor do they differ from the mere actings of the will and inclinations of the soul, but only in the liveliness and sensibleness of exercise.³⁴

When it comes to defining the "will," Edwards said that it "is that by which the mind chooses anything." It "is that faculty or power or principle of mind by which it is capable of choosing." An act of the will "is the same as an act of choosing or choice." There are different levels of "affections" involved in making choices, some higher than others, and vice-versa, depending upon the degree of like or dislike, pleasure or displeasure, etc. But "a man never, in any instance, wills anything contrary to his desires, or desires anything contrary to his will." It cannot be otherwise (137–140).

THE DETERMINATION OF THE WILL

By "determining the will," wrote Edwards, "if the phrase

31. Allen C. Guelzo, "Freedom of the Will," Sang Hyun Lee, editor, *The Princeton Companion to Jonathan Edwards* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2005) 116.

32. Warfield, *Studies in Theology*, 532. It should also be noted that *Freedom of the Will* is destructive of the views expressed by the "open theists," who maintain that God does not possess exhaustive foreknowledge. Commenting on such a position, Edwards wrote: "One would think, it should be wholly needless to enter on such an argument with any that profess themselves Christians" (239). That is, Edwards viewed the open theist's claim so preposterous (and blasphemous), that it was to be recognized as outside of the Christian faith altogether.

33. Jonathan Edwards did not adopt the faulty view of man known as "faculty psychology," which maintains that the spiritual aspect of man consists of the "faculties" of the mind, the will, and the emotions. Rather, he believed that these are three distinct "functions" of the one human person.

34. Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, Volume 2, edited by John E. Smith, *Religious Affections* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1959) 96–97.

be used with any meaning, must be intended, causing that the act of the will or choice should be thus, and not otherwise: and the will is said to be determined, when, in consequence of some action, or influence, its choice is directed to, and fixed upon a particular object.” Necessarily involved here is the understanding that “to talk about the determination of the will, supposes an effect, which must have a cause” (141), because if the will is determined (which is an effect), there must be something that determined it (which is the cause). In the Edwardsian view, as noted above, “nothing ever comes to pass without a cause” (181). Hence, every effect necessarily needs a cause; an effect is something that is caused. Although Edwards does not develop this issue at this point in the treatise, the fact that every effect needs a cause reduces the Arminian concept of a self-determined will to the level of absurdity.

What is it (as a secondary cause) that determines the will? It is the “strongest motive.” It is “that motive, which, as it stands in the view of the mind, is the strongest, that determines the will.” And what is a motive? “By ‘motive,’ I mean the whole of which moves, excites or invites the mind to volition, whether that be one thing singly, or many things conjunctly.” There may be a number of things which encourage or induce the mind to make a choice; some of these are weaker and some are stronger. But it is always the strongest motive that “determines the will.” The strongest motive is the one which appears to be the most agreeable or attractive; or said another way, it is the “greatest apparent good.” This being so, “the will always is as the greatest apparent good is.” A man will always choose that which seems most agreeable to him at that time; he will always choose based on “the greatest apparent good.” It will never vary from this. “The choice of the mind never departs from that which, at that time, and with respect to the direct and immediate objects of that decision of the mind, appears most agreeable and most pleasing, all things considered” (141–147).³⁵

As stated by Wainwright:

35. Stephen Daniel points out that when Edwards wrote that “the will always is the greatest apparent good (as opposed to saying is *determined* by the greatest apparent good),” he was showing how “the intentionally of intellectual activity links the understanding intimately to the operation of the will.” That is, that the mind is involved in the choice of the will. Edwards does this, says Daniel, by identifying the good with that which agrees with the disposition of the mind. See Stephen H. Daniel, *The Philosophy of Jonathan Edwards* (Indianapolis, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1994) 163.

36. William Wainwright, “Jonathan Edwards,” *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/edwards/>) [Accessed on October 3, 2006].

The argument from motivation depends upon Edwards’ identification of willing or choosing with one’s strongest inclination or preference. Since choosing is a prevailing inclination, it is logically impossible to choose in the absence of a prevailing motive. If there is a prevailing motive, however, then the will is necessarily determined by it, for if the will were to choose contrary to a prevailing motive, the agent would have two opposed preponderant inclinations at the same time. All choices, therefore, are necessarily determined.³⁶

Implicit in Edwards’ thought here is the biblical view concerning the fallen nature of man. The Reformed doctrine of “total depravity,” as taught in Scripture (Romans 3:9–18; 8:7–8), and explained by the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (6:2, 4), maintains that fallen man is “dead in sin, and wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of the soul and body.” This being so, “we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil.” Because of this, as the *Confession* (9:3) goes on to say, “man, by his fall into a state of sin, has wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation.” “God made man upright,” says Solomon, “but they have sought out many schemes” (Ecclesiastes 7:29). And as taught in Jeremiah 13:23 (“Can the Ethiopian change his skin or the leopard its spots? Then may you also do good who are accustomed to do evil”), a person is not able to make choices which are contrary to his nature. Therefore, since man is in this state of total depravity, and “has wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good,” the greatest apparent good to fallen man will never be pleasing to God. Fallen man, as Paul states in Ephesians 4:17–19, always “freely” chooses to sin “with greediness.” Man loves his sin, and he sins greedily. And God holds him accountable for his sin.

As the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (9:4–5) teaches, man only has the ability to choose that which pleases God when he is converted: “When God converts a sinner, and translates him into the state of grace, He frees him from his natural bondage under sin; and, by His grace alone, enables him freely to will and do that which is spiritually good; yet so, as that by reason of his remaining corruption, he does not perfectly, nor only, will that which is good, but does also will that which is evil.” Yet, there will come a day when the “will of [Christian] man is made perfectly and immutably free to good alone,” but this is to be found “in the state of glory only.”

Jonathan Edwards, commented that when a person is converted, there is not an essential change in this person’s mind or will; that is, there is not a “new

faculty of understanding," nor is there a "new faculty of will" involved. What has changed is that the person has a new and inward "sense of the heart." There is now a "new and holy disposition of heart that attends this new sense"; there is a "new foundation laid in the soul" of the converted sinner that enables him to do those things, to make those choices which please God (*Works*, 2.206). This new sense will then necessarily be followed by certain "distinguishing marks" that reveal the inward work of God the Holy Spirit in the converted sinner's life.³⁷

But here again, in this new state, the converted sinner is active in his response to God. God is sovereign, but man has a responsibility to act:

In efficacious grace we are not merely passive, nor yet does God do some, and we do the rest. But God does all, and we do all. God produces all, and we act all. For that is what He produces, viz. our own acts. God is the only proper author and fountain; we only are the proper actors. We are, in different respects, wholly passive and wholly active (Hickman, 2.557).

NATURAL AND MORAL NECESSITY

According to Jonathan Edwards, something is said to be "necessary" when it "must be, and cannot be otherwise" (149). No matter what the opposition, if an event will necessarily take place, then nothing can successfully oppose it. It is impossible that it not occur.³⁸ But we must distinguish here between external acts and internal acts, or natural necessity and moral necessity. In the former sense, the idea of opposition is essential. For example, tomorrow morning is going to come no matter what the opposition to its coming. When we speak of internal acts or moral necessity, however, we use the word "necessity" in a different sense. Here we may use the word when no opposition is involved at all. For instance, a man may have a virtuous desire to do something, without any inclination to do the opposite. His choice will necessarily occur, and be virtuous, even though there is nothing opposing this choice. The choice is not less virtuous because the individual "necessarily" has made it without contrary inclinations (Gerstner, "A Deterministic Model," A1–A2).

Edwards goes on to speak of metaphysical or philosophical necessity, and says that it "is nothing different from certainty." Philosophical necessity "is really nothing else than the full and fixed connection between the things signified by the subject and predicate of a

proposition, which affirms something to be true" (151–152). Both natural and moral necessity are included in the definition of philosophical necessity. Natural necessity would involve a compulsion from "the force of natural causes" (such as gravitational forces); whereas moral necessity, "such as habits or dispositions of the heart," would not be forced or compelled by such outside acts (156–157). Natural necessity would occur when the will of man is compelled to make a certain choice. These are very rare, but when they occur, man is not blameworthy. Moral necessity, on the other hand, takes place when there is "that necessity of connection and consequence, which arises from such moral causes, as the strength of inclination, or motives, and the connection which there is in many cases between these, and such certain volitions and actions" (156). Here there is an internal desire, without opposition (in the strict sense), while at the same time there is a certainty of occurrence (in the philosophical sense). In the case of moral necessity, the "will" produces the choices and man is responsible for them (156–162).

NATURAL AND MORAL INABILITY

Edwards also makes the distinction between natural inability and moral inability. A man is naturally unable to do a certain thing when he cannot do it even if he desires to do so; it is naturally impossible for him to do it. Moral inability, on the other hand, has to do with a lack of desire or inclination to do a certain thing. Here there are contrary motives involved. With moral inability, it is not that the person does not have the natural ability to do a certain thing; rather, it is that he does not desire to do it. In the case of natural inability, man is prevented from accomplishing something. This is not the case with moral inability. In the latter, the only thing that is lacking is a willingness to do accomplish something. A person may have the "natural" desire to help a needy individual, yet not have the wherewithal to aid him, i.e., he is naturally unable to be of help. This is not blameworthy. But if the person may have the natural ability to help a genuinely needy individual, and lack the compassion or desire to do so, this is blameworthy. Here the problem is a lack of moral ability; the person

37. Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, Volume 4, edited by C. C. Goen, *The Great Awakening* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1972), "The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God" (213–288).

38. John H. Gerstner, "A Deterministic Model: Jonathan Edwards' Freedom of the Will" (a handout sheet used by Dr. Gerstner in his lectures on *Freedom of the Will*) A1.

simply (and wrongfully) does not want to be of help (156–162).

When this distinction is applied to man's responsibility to repent and turn to God, it is not that man does not have the natural ability to pray, to confess his sins, to seek God, and so forth. The problem is that fallen man does not desire to do this. As the apostle Paul writes: "There is none who seeks after God"; "Because the carnal mind is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God, nor indeed can be. So then, those who are in the flesh cannot please God" (Romans 3:11; 8:7–8). And in the words of Jesus Christ, men "loved the darkness rather than the light, because their deeds were evil" (John 3:19). It is not so much, then, that men cannot "naturally" seek the light of the gospel; it is that they do not desire to do so, because they prefer to live in the darkness rather than in the light (Kistler, *Jonathan Edwards*, tape 3). Slavery to sin, then, leaves man without excuse, because his inability is moral, not natural.

Edwards also differentiates between "determinism" and "compulsion." As we have noted, according to the Westminster divines and Jonathan Edwards, every effect necessarily has a cause, and is therefore determined to occur. Since God has decreed all things that will ever take place (and therefore foreknows that they will occur), it is absolutely certain that they will take place. Nothing will ever change this necessity. This does not mean, however, that every event is a compelled event. There is a difference between a determined act and an act that takes place by compulsion. As stated by Ramsey, "free acts are uncompelled acts, not uncaused or undetermined acts" (37). These things being so, said the Puritan divine, theological determinism and moral necessity are not incompatible. Man is responsible before God to make moral choices, and he will be held accountable for the choices he makes (see, e.g., Matthew 12:36).

One of the places in Edwards' theology that we see this distinction between natural ability and inability and moral ability and inability most clearly, is in his doctrine of "seeking salvation." When the gospel is preached, some hearers are hardened by it and reject it outright. Others are convicted of their sin by the message and turn to Christ in faith and repentance for their salvation. But there are still others who are also convicted of their sin by the truth of God's Word, and are "awakened" to their "sottish" (i.e., lethargic) spiritual state. These sinners become aware of their desperate need for the Savior Jesus Christ, but they have not yet positively

responded to the call of the gospel. What are they able to do? Jonathan Edwards told them to seek their salvation. Although these persons are not "willing" to believe in the gospel and be saved, they do have the "natural" ability to prepare for it. John Gerstner explained:

Probably the most distinctive thing about Jonathan Edwards' evangelistic message is his theory of seeking. A natural man could do certain things (use the means of grace, obey the commandments of God outwardly, etc.) that would probably issue in his salvation. This theory falls between the Arminian, on the one hand, and the extreme Calvinist, on the other. According to the Arminian theory of salvation, the sinner was able of himself alone to repent, believe, and be saved: all without the working of regeneration having previously taken place. According to Calvinism, regeneration must precede such gracious acts as believing and repenting. When the message comes to the unconverted he has no ability to receive it savingly unless God, at the time the message is given, works faith in the person. He will then evince this regeneration by believing the gospel which is presented. But if God does not work faith, there is nothing, according to some Calvinists, that the sinner can do. At this point perhaps the Calvinist Edwards is distinctive (through certainly not among Puritans). He insists that there is something that the sinner can do; in that, he agrees with the Arminians. Still, he denies with vigor that the sinner can do what the Arminian thinks he can do. But at the same time he disagrees with those Calvinists who say there is nothing that the sinner can do. According to Edwards, he can do something non-saving but promising and hopeful: namely, seek.³⁹

Edwards taught that apart from the gracious, salvific work of God in the sinner's heart, he would surely perish in his sin. But even though the sinner had no "moral" or "spiritual" ability to repent and believe the gospel, the "awakened" sinner, being under conviction of sin, and being aware of his spiritual condition and concerned about it, does have the natural ability to do those things which may lead to his salvation. The unregenerate man can and should go to church, where he will hear the Word of God preached. He can and should read the Bible. He can and should cry out to God for mercy. He can and should talk to his pastor and other Christians about his need for a Savior, asking them to pray for his salvation. None of these acts of "seeking" or preparation will merit the lost sinner anything before God. But God may use these to draw the sinner savingly to Christ (Gerstner, 71–88).

39. John H. Gerstner, *Jonathan Edwards: Evangelist* (Morgan, Pennsylvania: Soli Deo Gloria, 1995) 191–192.

FREEDOM

Edwards defines freedom or liberty as the "power, opportunity, or advantage, that anyone has, to do as he pleases." The will, as defined by the Puritan divine, is the mind of the person choosing. And when the person is free from constraint, he possesses liberty. "The will itself is not an agent that has a will: the power of choosing, itself, has not a power of choosing. That which has the power of volition or choice is the man or the soul, and not the power of the volition itself." According to Edwards, it is the man who is free to choose; it is not the will that is free. "Let the person come by his volition or choice how he will, yet, if he is able, and there is nothing in the way to hinder his pursuing and executing his will, the man is fully and perfectly free" (163–164). The "proper question," then, "is not whether or not the will is free, but whether or not one wills freely."⁴⁰ As Holbrook explained, "to be prevented from carrying out an act of will because of some natural impediment and defect exterior to the will robs man of freedom and excuses him of guilt, but moral inability signifies lack of inclination to act and does not excuse" (Holbrook, *Ethics of Jonathan Edwards*, 43–44).

Edwards concludes Part I by pointing out that Arminians and other antagonists "who oppose the Calvinists" have a different definition of liberty. As has been noted above, there are (at least) three elements which are added: 1) self-determination, wherein the will possesses a certain sovereignty over itself; 2) indifference, wherein the mind is viewed in a state of equilibrium prior to its choices; and 3) contingency, wherein it is asserted that there is an absence of all necessity in making choices, so that there is no fixity or connection between the choice and some prior reason of the choice being made (164–166). A goodly portion of the balance of the treatise is concerned with refuting these points.

SUMMARY

So far we have seen that Jonathan Edwards believed that it is not possible for something to come to pass without a cause; every effect necessitates a cause, including every act of the human will. This means that every act of the will (which is the mind choosing) of man is caused by something. God, of course, is the eternal and ultimate First Cause of all things that ever occur, but He also brings about His purposes by means of secondary causes. The secondary cause for the will making a choice is the motive which appears to be most agreeable to the mind of the person at the time of his choice. The will is

as the greatest apparent good. The act of the will, then, is "necessarily" connected with the strongest motive as perceived by the mind. This is a moral necessity, and, unless compelled to make a choice (which is rare), man is held responsible for his choices, because the will is involved in the choices made. A man's freedom has to do with his doing as he pleases to do. In this, the Edwardian view, "a person is free to do what he wills; he enjoys freedom in the exercise of this liberty. But will, which is not its own cause, is determined by something outside and beyond itself."⁴¹ The Arminian view, on the other hand, contends that for man to be free it must be self-determined or spontaneous, and/or indifferent, and/or contingent (See Storms, 148).

Part II (169–273) deals with the Arminian notion of freedom: "Wherein It is Considered Whether There is or Can be Any Such Sort of Freedom of Will, as That Wherein Arminians Place the Essence of the Liberty of All Moral Agents; and Whether Any Such Thing Ever Was or Can be Conceived of."

THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE WILL

Jonathan Edwards begins his refutation of the Arminian view of freedom in Part II. In the Arminian view, the will of man is self-determined; it is the cause of its own choices. The cause must come solely from the will because the will must be self-determined. Nothing outside of the will determines the will. But for the will to determine itself is an act of the will. This being the case, what causes the will to "determine itself" must be a prior act of the will. The reason for this is that the will cannot produce its own choice as that would be an effect without a cause. Or said another way, if the will is actually "self-determined," then it would be at the same time both the cause (the "determiner") and the effect (that which is "determined"). This, of course, is a logical contradiction. So when asked what it is that caused the prior act of the will (since it cannot come from nothing), the only answer the Arminian is able to give is that it must have been another prior act of the will, and *ad infinitum*. This view reduces itself to logical absurdity, because there is no starting point to the actions of the will. If, on the other hand, we arrive at an act of the will which is not determined by a prior act of the will, then it would not be a "free" act (as per the Arminian view),

40. William J. Danaher, Jr., *The Trinitarian Ethics of Jonathan Edwards* (London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004) 161.

41. Harold P. Simonson, *Jonathan Edwards: Theologian of the Heart* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1974) 119.

since it would not be self-determined (171–179). Conrad Cherry explained it this way:

The Arminian presupposition is that human freedom must consist in the will's determining itself when man acts. Edwards demonstrates on the Arminians' own ground that this way of conceiving human liberty contains a logical contradiction. For if the will freely determines itself in all its acts, then each act of will must be preceded by another free act. The chain of acts either leads *in infinitum* or stops with a first act which is not self-determined.⁴²

And Storms commented that “the Arminian notion of freedom as self-determination either contradicts itself by positing an un-chosen choice, or shuts itself wholly out of the world by an infinite regress” (Storms, 149). In Edwards' own words:

If the will determines the will, then choice orders and determines the choice: and acts of choice are subject to the decision, and follow the conduct of other acts of choice. And therefore if the will determines all its own free acts, then every free act of choice is determined by a preceding act of choice, choosing that act. And if that preceding act of the will or choice be also a free act, then by these principles, in this act too, the will is self-determined; that is, this, in like manner, is an act that the soul voluntarily chooses; or which is the same thing, it is an act determined still by a preceding act of the will, choosing that. And the like may again be observed of the last mentioned act. Which brings us directly to a contradiction: for it supposes an act of the will preceding the first act in the whole train, directing and determining the rest; or a free act of the will, before the first free act of the will. Or else we must come at last to an act of the will, determining the consequent acts, wherein the will is not self-determined, and so is not a free act, in this [Arminian] notion of freedom: but if the first act in the train, determining and fixing the rest, be not free, none of them all can be free (172).

Edwards' conclusion is that “this Arminian notion of liberty of the will, consisting in the will's self-determination, is repugnant to itself, and shuts itself wholly out of the world” (174).

THE SPONTANEITY OF THE WILL

To “evade the force” of what has been just been observed (175), some Arminians opt for a form of spontaneity of the will, i.e., that the will acts without any cause at all; the acts of the will just spontaneously happen. Instead of asserting that the will is self-caused, this alternative suggestion is that the will is uncaused. This too involves a contradiction, for it is not possible for something to come from nothing; this is the principle of *ex nihilo nihil fit*. We have studied the Edwardsian view of causality above, and we noted how very important this is in his overall theological and philosophical dealings. It is very significant in the treatise presently under review and analysis. God alone is self-existent, eternally existing without a cause. Moreover, He is the eternal and ultimate First Cause of all things, yet He carries out His decreative will by means of second causes. As stated by the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (5:2): “Although, in relation to the foreknowledge and decree of God, the First Cause, all things come to pass immutably and infallibly: yet, by the same providence, He orders them to fall out, according to the nature of second causes.” Hence, in the created universe, said Edwards, “nothing ever comes to pass without a cause” (181).

In another treatise, Edwards defined a cause as “that after, or upon the existence of which, or its existence in such a manner, the existence of another thing [necessarily] follows” (Edwards, *Works*, 6.352). Here, in a more philosophical way, he uses the word “cause”:

To signify any antecedent, either natural or moral, positive or negative, on which an event, either a thing, or the manner and circumstance of a thing, so depends, that it is the ground and reason, either in whole, or in part, why it is, rather than not; or why it is as it is, rather than otherwise; or in other words, any antecedent with which a consequent event is so connected, that it truly belongs to the reason why the proposition which affirms that event, is true; whether it has any positive influence or not. And in agreeableness to this, I sometimes use the word “effect” for the consequence of another thing, which is perhaps rather an occasion than a cause, most properly speaking (180–181).

Then in an *ad hominem* apologetical fashion, Edwards points out that if it were possible for things to come into existence without a cause, then the teaching of Paul in Romans 1:20 (“The invisible things of Him [God], from the creation of the world, are clearly seen; being understood by the things that are made; even

42. Conrad Cherry, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards: A Reappraisal* (Indianapolis, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1966, 1990) 190–191.

His eternal power and Godhead"), that God's created order gives us clear evidence of His eternal Godhead, would be rendered vacuous. If one temporal thing can come about without a cause, then there would be no reason to doubt that millions of such uncaused events could occur. Perhaps the whole universe could be an uncaused event. There would be no genuine evidence from general revelation for the Creator God. It is important to understand here that Edwards' "primary purpose" in this argument, "is to base cause on the commonly accepted knowledge of God, not ... to base the knowledge of God upon cause." In other words, his argument is a reasoning "from" special revelation, not from pure reason.⁴³

Second, Edwards asserts that such an untenable view of spontaneity would lead to a form of solipsism, i.e., we would have no reason to believe that anything exists outside of our own minds. Finally, if the will of man acts spontaneously, and thus independently of man, how can the man be held responsible for his actions? There would be no act that could rationally be considered praiseworthy or blameworthy. The inconsistencies involved in this theory are legion (180–194).

THE INDIFFERENCE OF THE WILL

The indifference of the will of man is another necessary part of the Arminian view of freedom. The thought here is that for the will to be free, it must be completely indifferent when it makes its choices. This again is a logical absurdity. It is irrational to contend that one is able to make a choice without a prevailing motive. What this would mean is that the mind would have a "preference, at the same time that it has no preference." It is impossible to conceive of a situation wherein "the mind is indifferent before it comes to have a choice, or till it has a preference; which is the same thing, that the mind is indifferent until it comes to be not indifferent." To make a choice, one must prefer one thing above another, or one could not ever choose one thing rather than another. "The very act of choosing one thing rather than another, is preferring that thing, and that is setting a higher value on that thing." To suppose "the will to act at all in a state of perfect indifference, or to do anything else, is to assert that the mind chooses without choosing. To say that when it is indifferent, it can do as it pleases, is to say that it can follow its pleasure, when it has no pleasure to follow." Indeed, "choice and preference can no more be in a state of indifference, than motion can be in a state of rest." The Arminian theory here, as elsewhere,

is "full of nothing but absurdity and self-contradiction" (196–198, 207, 212).

THE CONTINGENCY OF THE WILL

We have noted that the Arminian notion of libertarianism contends that no act of the will is necessary. All such actions, therefore, must be contingent events; they may occur or they may not occur, but they certainly do not "necessarily occur. The Edwardsian response (as found also in the Westminster Standards) is that all effects necessitate a cause. No event, such as an act of the will (an effect) can possibly occur without a cause. This being so, the acts of the will cannot ever be contingent (213–216).

Moreover, as also studied above, every act of the will, every choice or refusal, is necessarily connected to an antecedent cause, which is not the will itself, but is a choice of the mind. The will is the mind choosing. And the (secondary) cause in every act of the will is the strongest motive. The will of man is governed by the cause of the greatest apparent good. Again we see that the actions of the will are not contingent (217–238).

Finally, Jonathan Edwards (and the Westminster theologians) taught that God comprehensively and immutably foreknows all things that will ever occur. This necessarily includes every human choice. God "has a certain and infallible prescience of the acts of the will of moral agents" (257). It is not possible, however, to foreknow something that is contingent; future contingencies cannot be "foreknown." "What a contradiction is this," wrote Edwards, "to say that God knows a thing will come to pass, and yet at the same time knows that it is contingent whether it will or no!"⁴⁴

Since God's knowledge of the future is comprehensive and immutable (thereby rendering the future certain), then no future event, including every human choice, can possibly be contingent. At the same time, we must insist that because God foreordains all events to fall out by means of secondary causes (to include human acts of the will), the foreknowledge of God and human responsibility can be in perfect accord. On the other hand, however, comprehensive divine foreknowledge and contingency are unable to coexist. (239–269). Edwards draws the following conclusion:

43. Josh Moody, *Jonathan Edwards and the Enlightenment* (New York: University Press of America, 2005) 126, 121.

44. Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, Volume 13, edited by Thomas A. Schafer, *The "Miscellanies" a-500* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1994), *Miscellany* 16.

On the whole, I need not fear to say, that there is no geometrical theorem or proposition whatsoever, more capable of strict demonstration, than that of God's certain prescience of the volitions of moral agents is inconsistent with such a contingency of these events, as is without all necessity; and so is inconsistent with the Arminian notion of liberty (268–269).

John Gerstner summarized Edwards' assertions in Part II follows:

In essence, he [Edwards] shows that if choice is by "self-determination," from a state of "indifference," in a "contingent" of uncaused sequence ... then, choice would never occur. Self-determination would preclude means; indifference would preclude means; and, contingency would preclude means. There could be no means to influence choice and there could be no choice (Gerstner, *Rational Biblical Theology*, 2.180).

Part III (275–333) is on freedom and moral responsibility: "Wherein is Inquired, Whether Any Such Liberty of Will as Arminians Hold, be Necessary to Moral Agency, Virtue and Vice, Praise, and Dispraise, etc."

The Arminians contend that the deterministic view espoused by Edwards and the Westminster divines disallows the concept of responsibility. Necessary actions, it is alleged, cannot be praiseworthy or blameworthy. But this is not so. First, as even the Arminians admit, God is necessarily holy; He cannot sin. "God is necessarily a good and gracious Being ... it is impossible but that God should do good." Does this mean that He is not worthy of our praise? On the contrary, "He is worthy of our supreme benevolence for His virtue." He "deserves to be thanked and praised for His goodness" (280). The necessity of God's doing good in no way alters His praiseworthiness. Herein "is *prima facie* evidence that necessity is not inconsistent with morality" (Gerstner, *The Rational Biblical Theology*, 2.27).

Second, in His earthly ministry, Jesus Christ was necessarily obedient to every jot and tittle of the law of God. He was "necessarily holy," while at the same time He was "truly virtuous" (281). The impeccability of Christ was decreed by God before the creation of the world; then, it was prophesied in the Old Testament: He was to live a perfectly obedient life and die an atoning death. These things were necessary to occur because God cannot lie (Titus 1:2). Then too, God promised the Virgin Mary

that her Son would be the recipient of a kingdom that would never end, and He gave Him the Spirit without measure to carry out His task. Further, the hypostatic union that exists between the divine *Logos* and the human nature of Jesus Christ guarantees the impeccability of the Son of God.⁴⁵ All of these reasons (and more) assure us that it was "necessary" for Jesus Christ to be without sin, to be perfectly holy; He could not be otherwise. Yet, He was "truly virtuous," and worthy "to be praised" (281–294).

Third, if the Arminian belief that actions that are necessary are not worthy of praise or blame is true (which it is not), then those whom God has hardened so that they will necessarily sin (Psalm 81:12; Acts 7:42; Romans 1:24) would be found excusable. But this is unimaginable because God has told us in His Word that they are culpable even though He has hardened their hearts (295–301).

Fourth, the Arminian view of free will avers that if the Calvinist is correct that all acts are necessary, then the use of commands and prohibitions would be rendered meaningless. Edwards suggests that it is really the Arminian notion that destroys the use of commands and prohibitions. First, there is the problem of a self-determined will. The Arminian "notion of the freedom of the will consisting in the soul's determining its own acts of will, instead of being essential to moral agency, and to men's being the subjects of moral government, is utterly inconsistent with it. For if the soul determines all its acts of will, it is therein subject to no command or moral government." In actuality it is "the Arminian scheme, and not the scheme of the Calvinists, that is utterly inconsistent with moral government, and with all use of laws, precepts, prohibitions, promises, or threatenings" (303–304).

The same is true of the Arminian view of contingency or spontaneity, because laws are of no use to a will that acts by "perfect accident." When a person's choosing is determined by nothing but "chance," apart from "any cause or rule," then commands are useless (304). Further, the notion that the will is indifferent, in a state of equilibrium, without any previous bias or prior inclination to choose one thing over another, is just as useless when it comes to the use of commands and prohibitions. What virtue could there in an act wherein a person acts in obedience to a command when he is in a state of indifference (which is actually impossible) to his actions? "What dignity or privilege is there," asks Edwards (rhetorically), "in being given up to such a wild contingency as this, to be perfectly and constantly liable to act unintelligibly and unreasonably, and as much without

45. See also Edwards, *Sermon on John 14:2*, cited in Gerstner, *The Rational Biblical Theology of Jonathan Edwards*, 2.414.

the guidance of understanding, as if we had none, or were as destitute of perception as the smoke is driven by the wind!" (273). Scripture commands us to love God with all of our heart, soul, mind, and strength, and to love our neighbor as ourselves. How can a heart that allegedly seeks to fulfill these commands from a state of total apathy or contingency be considered virtuous? This view of indifference would even have to claim that Jesus Christ Himself made choices from a state of indifference, even the thought of which is repugnant (320–327). As Storms explains, "the demand for indifference and self-determination precludes responsibility, for there can be then no virtue in such habits as humility, love, meekness, patience, or any preponderance to good" (Storms, 159).

Edwards concludes Part III as follows:

By these things it appears, that the argument against the Calvinists, taken from the use of counsels, exhortations, invitations, expostulations, etc., so much insisted on by Arminians, is truly against themselves. For these things can operate no other way to any good effect, than as in them is exhibited motive and inducement, tending to excite and determine the acts of the will (331).

John Gerstner, the following summarizes Edwards' teaching in Part III:

Again it is shown that self-determination admits of no moral means; indifference admits of no moral means; and contingency admits of no moral means. On this view there can be no choice; especially no moral choice. So far from "free will" being necessary to virtue it necessarily makes virtue impossible.... If, on the other hand, motives necessarily move the will [as in the Edwardsian "deterministic" view], means are vindicated as the fuel for all our psychological machinery. Causality, the very foundation of all necessitarianism, is the connective tissue of the web of existence (Gerstner, *Rational Biblical Theology*, 2:180).

Edwards hereby vindicated means and human responsibility in his system of theological determinism.

Part IV (335–429) has to do with the consideration for the reasons for self-determination: "Wherein the Chief Grounds of the Reasonings of Arminians, in Support and Defense of the Fore-mentioned Notions of Liberty, Moral Agency, etc. and Against the Opposite Doctrine, are Considered."

In this section Edwards rebuts Arminian libertarianism as he states and further argues that the doctrine of

"necessity" as expounded by the Calvinists is in perfect accord with human responsibility. On the one hand, there is a difference between natural necessity and moral necessity. The former has to do with a necessity of compulsion. Here the "will is compelled to make a choice by a force external to the will." In such cases, the person is not blameworthy (Gerstner, "A Deterministic Model," A1). But moral necessity (which is the view the Calvinists are asserting) has to do with those choices where there is no compulsion involved. The person freely chooses that which he desires to choose. The Arminians have confused this distinction, and therein is their error (337–364).

On the other hand, the Arminian objection has to do with a truncated understanding of the nature of human depravity. In the biblical view, as espoused by the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (9:3):

Man, by his fall into a state of sin, has wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation: so as, a natural man, being altogether averse from that good, and dead in sin, is not able, by his own strength, to convert himself, or to prepare himself thereunto.

In Edwards' words, in this state of total depravity "men are naturally God's enemies" (Hickman, 2:134). Their "depravity is both odious, and also pernicious, fatal and destructive." Man "as he is by nature, is in a deplorable and undone state." He is "truly ruined and undone." He is "corrupt, miserable, and helpless," in a state of "spiritual death" (Edwards, *Works*, 3:129, 258). And when it comes to his free choices, the problem with fallen man is that "his heart [is] wrong." This individual "does as he pleases," but what he pleases is wrong because he has a wrong heart; "there is something bad in himself...he has a bad disposition." Nevertheless, the person is blameworthy because he freely chooses to do wrong from his sinful heart. That is to say that he is to blame for it because his will is in the choice; it is a choice that he willingly makes. "When a thing is from a man, in that sense, that it is from his will or choice, he is to blame for it, because his will is in it," and "so far as the will is in it, blame is in it, and no further" (357, 427).⁴⁶ Therefore,

If a man is not restrained from acting as his will determines, or constrained to act otherwise; then he has liberty, according to common notions of liberty, without

46. See Storms, "Jonathan Edwards on Freedom of the Will," 161; and Cherry, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards: A Reappraisal*, 192.

taking into the idea that grand contradiction of all the determinations of a man's free will being the effects of the determinations of his free will.... He that in acting, proceeds with the fullest inclination, does what he does with the greatest freedom, according to common sense [rational thinking] (359).

Finally in Part IV, we come to the objection that so many have leveled against the Calvinist teaching of "theological determinism," which is that if the Calvinist view is correct, then God must be the author of sin. We have addressed this subject above, but we need to review it again. The *Westminster Confession of Faith* (5:4) teaches that:

The almighty power, unsearchable wisdom, and infinite goodness of God so far manifest themselves in His providence, that it extends itself even to the first Fall, and all other sins of angels and men; and that not by a bare permission, but such as has joined with it a most wise and powerful bounding, and otherwise ordering and governing of them, in a manifold dispensation, to His own holy ends; yet so, as the sinfulness thereof proceeds only from the creature, and not from God, who, being most holy and righteous, neither is, nor can be, the author or approver of sin.

This is the Edwardsian view as well. Edwards states it this way:

They who object, that this doctrine makes God the author of sin, ought distinctly to explain what they mean by that phrase "the author of sin." I know, the phrase, as it is commonly used, signifies something very ill. If by "the author of sin," be meant the sinner, the agent, or actor of sin, or the doer of a wicked thing; so it would be a reproach and blasphemy, to suppose God to be the author of sin. In this case, I utterly deny God to be the author of sin; rejecting such an imputation on the most High, as what is infinitely to be abhorred; and deny any such thing to be the consequence of what I have laid down. But if by "the author of sin," is meant the permitter, or not the hinderer, of sin; and at the same time, a disposer of the state of events, in such a manner, for wise, holy, and most excellent ends and purposes, that sin, if it be permitted or not hindered, will most

certainly and infallibly follow: I say, if this be all that is meant, by being the author of sin, I don't deny that God is the author of sin (though I dislike and reject the phrase, as that which by use and custom is apt to carry another sense), it is no reproach for the most High to be thus the author of sin. This is not to be the actor of sin, but on the contrary, of holiness. What God does herein, is holy; and a glorious exercise of the infinite excellency of His nature. And I don't deny, that God's being thus the author of sin, follows from what I have laid down (399).

The omni-benevolent triune God of Scripture cannot sin; neither can He be the author or approver of sin (397–419). Edwards lists numerous biblical passages where God is clearly shown to be the "permitter, or not the hinderer, of sin." He lists (among others) Exodus 4:21; 7:2–5; 9:12; 10:1–2; 14:4; Genesis 45:5–8; Psalm 105:17; Deuteronomy 2:30; Joshua 11:20; etc. (400–403). As to God, in these cases, not being "the actor of sin, but on the contrary, of holiness," God is decreeing and using the sinful actions of men to bring about a greater good: the redemptive work of Jesus Christ, wherein God will receive all of the glory. In the Edwardsian view, not only is the *Westminster Shorter Catechism* (Q. 1) correct when it teaches us that "man's chief end to is to glorify God, and to enjoy Him forever," but it is also the case that God's chief end is "to glorify Himself, and to enjoy Himself forever" (Kistler, *Jonathan Edwards*, tapes 2 and 6); and in this case in the redemption of fallen elect creatures through Jesus Christ. Edwards developed this thesis more fully in his *Concerning the End for Which God Created the World*. There, as stated by Piper, Edwards convincingly argues that God created the world, "first, that the glory of God might be magnified in the universe, and second, that Christ's ransomed people [the elect] from all times and all nations would rejoice in God above all things. And ultimately, these "two great passions" of God "are not at odds," but are really one.⁴⁷ In Edwards own words:

Thus we see that the great and last [or ultimate] end of God's works which is so variously expressed in Scripture, is indeed but one; and this one end is most properly and comprehensively called, "the glory of God"; by which name it is most commonly called in Scripture.... What has been said may be sufficient to show how those things, which are spoken of in Scripture as ultimate ends of God's works, though they may seem at first view to be distinct, all are plainly to be reduced to this one thing, viz. God's internal glory or fullness extant externally, or

47. Piper, *God's Passion for His Glory*, 31, 33. Jonathan Edwards Jr. also stated that his father's concept of the chief end of God as His own glory and the good of elect sinners are "both [the] ultimate end of the creation, that they are only one end, and that they are really one and the same thing." See Hickman, 1.cxcii.

existing in its emanation. And though God in seeking this end, seeks the creature's good; yet therein appears His supreme regard to Himself.... The emanation or communication of the divine fullness, consisting in the knowledge of God, love to God, and joy in God, has relation indeed both to God and the creature: but it has relation to God as its fountain, as it is an emanation from God; and as the communication itself, or thing communicated, is something divine, something of God, something of His internal fullness; as the water in the stream is something of the fountain; and as the beams are of the sun. And again, they have relation to God as they have respect to Him as their object: for the knowledge communicated is the knowledge of God; and so God is the object of the knowledge: and the love communicated, is the love of God; so God is the object of that love: and the happiness communicated, is joy in God; and so He is the object of the joy communicated. In the creature's knowing, esteeming, loving, rejoicing in, and praising God, the glory of God is both exhibited and acknowledged; His fullness is received and returned. Here is both an emanation and remanation. The refulgence shines upon and into the creature, and is reflected back to the luminary. The beams of glory come from God, and are something of God, and are refunded back again to their original. So that the whole is of God, and in God, and to God; and God is the beginning, middle, and end of this affair (*Works*, 8.530–531).

The Fall was necessary for this to be accomplished. Therefore, as God sovereignly decreed that the Fall occur, and then providentially brought it about, He was working all things together for a greater good, the glorification of Himself through the salvation of elect sinners.

Finally we come to the *Conclusion* (430–439). Above we saw that Jonathan Edwards believed that if the Arminian view of libertarianism were true (which it is not), it would destroy the Christian faith; it would undermine the great teachings of biblically based Calvinism, especially in the realm of soteriology. He wrote:

I stand ready to confess to the fore-mentioned modern [Arminian] divines, if they can maintain their peculiar notion of freedom, consisting in the self-determining power of the will, as necessary to moral agency, and can thoroughly establish it in opposition to the arguments lying against it, then they have an impregnable castle, to which they may repair, and remain invincible, in all controversies they have with the Reformed divines,

concerning original sin, the sovereignty of grace, election, redemption, conversion, the efficacious operation of the Holy Spirit, the nature of saving faith, perseverance of the saints, and other principles of the like kind (*Works*, 3.376).

Therefore, in the concluding pages of this volume, Edwards defends the "five points" of Calvinism, designated by the acrostic "TULIP": Total depravity, Unconditional election, Limited atonement, Irresistible grace, and the Perseverance of the saints.⁴⁸ Conrad Cherry explains the significance of this:

Edwards intended his *Freedom of the Will* to silence Arminian objections against the Five Points of the Calvinist Synod of Dort – objections against the total depravity of man, efficacious grace, the sovereign freedom of God's electing certain men to salvation, the limited atonement, and the perseverance of the saints. All five of Dort's points were claimed by Edwards as necessary defenses of God's power and glory in the salvation of man and as necessary means of preventing the ascription of power and glory to man instead. Man is totally corrupt and incapable of extricating himself from sin; the grace which does save him is given freely by the electing God through the "limited" atonement (i.e., limited to elected saints); and this efficacious grace alone is sufficient for man's perseverance in faith (Cherry, 189–190).

Was Edwards successful in his endeavor? As already noted, B. B. Warfield believed that Edwards work postponed the threat of Arminianism for about a century. But perhaps Samuel Storm's comments, with which the present writer is in agreement, come to the heart of the matter:

If there is one thing Edwards' treatise has proven ... it is that if man is to be saved it must be by a sovereign and miraculous work of grace. The doctrines of human inability, necessity, and constitutional depravity are not mere scholastic distinctions, but vocal testimony that salvation, if it is to be at all, must be of the Lord (Storms, 169).

Continued on Page 302.

48. For more on the "five points" of Calvinism, see David N. Steele, Curtis C. Thomas, and S. Lance Quinn, *The Five Points of Calvinism* (Phillipsburg, New Jersey: P & R Publishing, 2004). See also Kenneth G. Talbot and W. Gary Crampton, *Calvinism, Hyper-Calvinism, and Arminianism* (Draper, Va.: The Apologetics Group, [1990] 2006).

In Defense of the *Descendit*: A Confessional Response to Contemporary Critics of Christ's Descent into Hell

By Daniel R. Hyde

The phrase in the Apostles' Creed, "He descended into hell," was rejected outright as early as the mid-fifteenth century English bishop, Reginald Peacock.¹ Yet in the churches of the West, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, this clause has ever been defended, included, and recited as a part of our "undoubted Christian faith" (Heidelberg Catechism, Q&A 22).² It is simply a part of the inheritance of catholic Christianity that we confess and in which we catechize our churches.

Despite its historicity and usefulness, among some Reformed and evangelical authors this clause is believed to be either dubious or an embarrassment recently. One Reformed author, Randall Otto, says,

Reformed churches have from their inception generally accepted only doctrine and forms of worship which

have clear substantiation in Scripture. Because the view of Sheol and Hades as a netherworld is incompatible with the Reformed view, and because there is no truly sensible or widely acceptable meaning for the clause, the *descensus* should be omitted from the liturgical use of the Apostles' Creed. The doctrine and practice of the Reformed faith, recognized for their consistency with Scripture, cannot but be confused by the use of such a problematic article. Let the Reformed congregation rather undertake to know and make Christ known as he is clearly revealed in the gospel.³

Otto's conclusion is that Reformed churches should not recite this phrase in the Apostles' Creed, and, further, that it should be omitted from the Creed altogether because of the Protestant doctrine of *sola Scriptura*. Also, he points out, there is no agreed-upon meaning for the phrase. Another contemporary Reformed writer who advocates the removal of the *descendit* clause is Michael Williams. While agreeing with Otto that we should not recite this phrase and that we should delete it altogether, his main ground for his assertion is what he calls "confessional integrity."⁴ He explains that since "by their very nature the creeds set forth that which is essential and binding" the *descendit* does not belong in the Creed (Williams, 89). In fact, Williams pushes the argument further than Otto. Williams does not set *sola Scriptura* over against the Creed, but argues that the nature of the Creed itself demands our refusal to recite this phrase: "Refusing to confess that which we do not believe, is not only biblical, but it is also fully creedal," since the creeds stand under the Word of God (Williams, 90). To these Reformed authors' conclusions we can add the conclusion of the evangelical theologian Wayne Grudem, which was encapsulated in the subtitle of his article on this subject: "A Plea for Following Scripture Instead of the Apostles' Creed."⁵

THE AUTHOR: The Rev. Daniel R. Hyde (M.Div., Westminster Seminary California) is the pastor of the Oceanside United Reformed Church (URCNA) in Carlsbad, California. He is the author of *Jesus Loves the Little Children: Why We Baptize Children* (Reformed Fellowship, 2006), *The Good Confession: An Exploration of the Christian Faith* (Wipf & Stock, 2006), *What to Expect in Reformed Worship: A Visitor's Guide* (Wipf & Stock, 2007), *With Heart and Mouth: An Exposition of the Belgic Confession* (Reformed Fellowship, forthcoming 2007), and "The Holy Spirit in the Heidelberg Catechism," *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 17 (2006) 211–237.

1. Reginald Peacock's *Book of Faith*, ed. J. L. Morison (Glasgow: J. Maclehose and Sons, 1909), 304ff. Cf. J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co Inc., 1950) 5.

2. All citations of the Heidelberg Catechism come from *The Creeds of Christendom*, ed. Philip Schaff, rev. David S. Schaff, 3 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker, reprinted 1996) 3:307–355.

3. Randall E. Otto, "Descendit in Inferna: A Reformed Review of a Creedal Conundrum," *Westminster Theological Journal* 52 (1990) page 150.

4. Michael Williams, "He Descended Into Hell: An Issue of Confessional Integrity," *Presbyterion* 25:2 (Fall 1999) 80–90.

5. Wayne Grudem, "He Did Not Descend Into Hell: A Plea for Following Scripture Instead of the Apostles' Creed," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 34:1 (March 1991) 103–113; cf. the

In contrast to the conclusions of these contemporary theologians that the *descendit* clause *does not* belong in the Creed nor on the lips of the biblically conscious believer, the argument of this author is that it *does* belong in the Creed and deserves to be retained because it is an essential part of the doctrine and spiritual life of the Christian church and of its members.⁶ This position was well summarized in the words of the seventeenth century Dutch Reformed theologian, Herman Witsius (1636–1708), who said that Christ's descent was "one of the most mysterious, essential, and useful doctrines of our holy Religion," and, even though the exact phrase cannot be found in Scripture, "We sincerely believe and assert it, when rightly explained."⁷

SOME HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

We begin with a few words about the history of the Apostles' Creed in general before moving on to the history of this phrase in particular. The phrase "he descended into hell" is found in the Latin manuscripts either as *descendit ad/in inferna* in the *textus receptus* of the Creed and Rufinus' commentary, *descendit ad inferos* in the Athanasian Creed, or *descendit ad infernum* in Venantius Fortunatus (Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, 2:45, 46 n2, 49).⁸ This clause was part of the developing creed that has come to us in the *textus receptus* (T) that we call the Apostles' Creed. Ambrose first called it the *symbolum apostolorum* in 389.⁹ Current scholarship has shown that the Creed developed from a fourth-century creed known as the Old Roman Creed (R) and before that, from a mid-third century creed called *proto-R*, until the time of Charlemagne, who solidified the Creed in his realm around 800.¹⁰ This is not to mention the personal creeds extant from the ancient church in writings such as Ignatius of Antioch's summary of the faith in his *Epistola ad Trallianos* (ca. 107).

This development went hand in hand with the practice of baptism in the ancient church. In his *Apostolic Tradition* (ca. 200), Hippolytus gave a detailed account of a baptism ceremony. Before a candidate received the sacrament, he answered a series of questions, summarizing the faith into which he would be baptized.¹¹ Over time, this local practice developed into a universal practice using an approved list of the basic articles of the Christian faith.

During this period of development, we first read of the *descendit* among orthodox writers in the *commentarius in symbolum apostolorum* (also called *expositio symboli apostolici*) of Rufinus, a priest in the church in Aquileia, around the year 390. He notes that this

phrase was neither in the Eastern nor the Roman form of the Creed at that time. In his commentary, he said, "Its meaning, however, appears to be precisely the same as that contained in the affirmation BURIED" (emphasis in original).¹² This was also the sentiment of Cyprian.¹³ Since some creeds had "buried" while others had "descended," the "burial" of Christ, therefore, was the same as saying the "descent" of Christ (Schaff, *Creeds*, 1:21 n6).

This use of the *descendit* clause as a synonym of "buried" is also that of the Athanasian Creed, written around the year 430, and the Creed of Venantius Fortunatus, written around 570, which substitute the *descendit* clause and omit that Christ was "buried." Among orthodox writers, then, to say that Christ "descended" was originally another way of saying that Christ was "buried." The Nicene Creed confirms this conclusion by using "buried" with no reference to the descent.

The first use of these two phrases together in one creed is in the Third Sirmian Creed, written by the Arians in 359.¹⁴ In his *Ecclesiastical History*, the early

language of the evangelical theologian Millard J. Erickson who neither rejects nor accepts the truth of the phrase in "Did Jesus Really Descend to Hell?" *Christianity Today* 44:2 (February 7, 2000) 74.

6. Cf. Cornelis P. Venema, *What We Believe: An Exposition of the Apostles' Creed* (Grand Rapids: Reformed Fellowship, 1996) 67.

7. Herman Witsius, *Sacred Dissertations on What is Commonly Called the Apostles' Creed*, trans. Donald Fraser, 3 vols. (Phillipsburg: P&R, reprinted 1993) 2:148, 141.

8. Cf. Liuwe H. Westra, *The Apostles' Creed: Origin, History, and Some Early Commentaries*, *Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia* 43 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2002) 21.

9. "Letter 42" in *Saint Ambrose: Letters*, The Fathers of the Church 26 (New York: Catholic University of America Press, 1954) 227.

10. On the historical development of the Apostles' Creed, see Westra, *The Apostles' Creed* 21–72. Cf. *The Creeds of Christendom* 2:52–55. David P. Scaer says that this development should not be traced from these historical sources only, but from Scripture itself, which is a confessional document. "He Did Descend to Hell: In Defense of the Apostles' Creed," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 35:1 (March 1992) 92.

11. *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome*, ed. Gregory Dix and Henry Chadwick (Ridgefield, Conn: Morehouse Publishing, reissued 1992) 33–38; cf. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* 30, 49; Stuart G. Hall, *Doctrine and Practice in the Early Church* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991) 20; Gerald Bray, *Creeds, Council and Christ* (Leicester: IVP, 1984) 96–98.

12. *vis verbi eadem videtur esse in eo quod sepultus dicitur*. Rufinus: *A Commentary on the Apostles' Creed*, trans. J.N.D. Kelly, *Ancient Christian Writers* 20 (New York: Newman Press, 1954) 52.

13. Cyprian, *In Expos. in Symb. in loc. p. 22* ed. Oxon. 1682, as cited in *The Decades of Henry Bullinger*, ed. Thomas Harding 2 vols. (1849–1852; Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Press, reprinted 2004) 1:137.

14. Martin F. Connell, "Descensus Christi Ad Inferos: Christ's Descent to the Dead," *Theological Studies* 62:2 (June 2001) 266 n7;

church historian Socrates recounts this creed as saying, “When he had descended into the subterranean regions and had administered things there, the keepers of Hades, having seen him, shuddered.”¹⁵

In the early church period, then, the *descendit* clause was not used in the earliest extant creeds. Furthermore, once this phrase began to be used by the orthodox, it was as a graphic synonym for Christ’s burial.

VARIOUS VIEWS

Not only were there variations on the use of the *descendit* in the early church, its interpretation has varied throughout the ages of Christian thought. There are at least six major interpretations of Christ’s descent into hell, which include he suffered further after the cross; he went to give a second chance to the dead; he went and pronounced his victory to those that already believed in him before their deaths; he went to pronounce his victory to Satan; it was a synonym of his burial; and that it means he suffered his whole life—especially on the cross.¹⁶ These shall briefly be summarized below, while the first four, those not adopted by the Reformed confessions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, shall receive a brief response.

The Punishment View

In the first view, which I call *the punishment view*, Jesus’ human soul descended into hell and underwent more suffering for our sins in order to finish the work

of our redemption in the place of punishment and the abode of demons. Modern-day Prosperity Gospel preachers have latched onto this phrase in the Creed, consciously or unconsciously, to promote their heretical views. For example, Los Angeles preacher Frederick K.C. Price said:

Do you think that the punishment for our sin was to die on a cross? If that were the case, the two thieves could have paid your price. No, the punishment was to go into hell itself and to serve time in hell separated from God ... Satan and all the demons of hell thought that they had Him bound and they threw a net over Jesus and they dragged Him down to the very pit of hell itself to serve our sentence.¹⁷

According to world-renowned televangelist Kenneth Copeland, this punishment was necessary:

When Jesus cried, “It is finished!” He was not speaking of the plan of redemption. There were still three days and nights to go through before He went to the throne... Jesus’ death on the cross *was only the beginning of the complete work of redemption* (emphasis mine).¹⁸

Finally, Paul E. Billheimer explained the necessity of this suffering of Christ in hell, saying,

Because He was “made sin,” impregnated with sin, and became the very essence of sin, on the cross He was banished from God’s presence as a loathsome thing. He and sin were made synonymous ... [I]t was not sufficient for Christ to offer up only His physical life on the cross. *His pure human spirit had to “descend” into hell....* His spirit must not only descend into hell, but into the lowest hell.... The Father turned Him over, not only to the agony and death of Calvary, but to the satanic torturers of His pure spirit as part of the just desert of the sin of all the race. As long as Christ was “the essence of sin” he was at Satan’s mercy in that place of torment.... While Christ identified with sin, Satan and the hosts of hell ruled over Him as over any lost sinner. During that seemingly endless age in the nether abyss of death, Satan did with Him as he would, and all hell was “in carnival.”¹⁹

This view teaches that the work of Christ’s obedient life and death was insufficient to accomplish our redemption. This understanding should be judged in error because it is contrary to our Lord’s own words when he said, “It is finished” (John 19:30).²⁰ Contrary

John Yates, “He Descended Into Hell”: Creed, Article and Scripture: Part 1,” *Churchman* 102:3 (1998) 247-44.

15. Cited in John Pearson, *An Exposition of the Creed* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1877) 405.

16. William Perkins gave four views of Christ’s descent: a local descent; as a synonym for “buried”; as a metaphor of Christ’s sufferings; and as a way of speaking of continuing under the curse of death. William Perkins, *An Exposition of the Symbole, or Creed of the Apostles* (London: John Legatt, 1623) in *The Workes of that Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the University of Cambridge, Mr. William Perkins*, 3 vols. (London: John Legatt, 1626) 1:231, col. 2–233, col. 2.

17. *Ever Increasing Faith Messenger* (June 1980) 7, quoted in Hank Hanegraaff, *Christianity in Crisis* (Eugene, Ore.: Harvest House, 1993) 163.

18. “Jesus Our Lord of Glory,” *Believers Voice of Victory* 10:4 (April 1982) 3, quoted in *Christianity in Crisis* 164.

19. *Destined for the Throne* (Fort Washington, Pa.: Christian Literature Crusade, special edition for TBN, 1988) 83–84, quoted in *Christianity in Crisis* 164–165.

20. Unless otherwise indicated, all Scripture quotations are from The Holy Bible, English Standard Version, copyright © 2001 by Crossway Bibles, a division of Good News Publishers. Used by permission. All rights reserved.

to Copeland's assertion, Jesus' words *do* refer to the accomplishment of our redemption. John records Jesus' words with the perfect verb *τετέλεσται* to denote that Jesus accomplished the work of redemption that was prophesied in Scripture; he accomplished all that the Old Testament required as our sacrifice, and there was no need for him to suffer further in hell.²¹

The Second-Chance View

Another interpretation of the *descendit* is that it means Jesus' resurrected and glorified body and soul went to Hades, the place of provisional punishment in the intermediate state, to preach the gospel to those who had died before his first coming in order to give them a second chance to believe. The ancient northern Italian Philastrius of Brescia condemned this view around 380, when he said,

Others are heretics because they claim that the Lord descended into hell, and that he again preached to all who were there after death, so that, assembling in faith there, they might be saved. Against this one can find the prophetic saying of David: "But who will believe in you in hell?" [Psalm 6:6]. And in the apostle: "As many who sinned without the law, will perish without the law" [Romans 2:12]."²²

More recently, this was the view of E.A. Litton (1813–1897), who says that according to 1 Peter 3:19 and 4:6, the "descent" actually took place sometime between Christ's resurrection and ascension.²³ Litton therefore concludes that if Christ went to those who were penitent at the "eleventh hour" of the flood, then he may have "descended" again to those who had never heard of the Savior: "What occurred once may have occurred, and may occur, again" (Litton, 191).

This is also the interpretation of the contemporary German Lutheran theologian Wolfhart Pannenberg, who argues on the basis of Jesus' being the second Adam; he therefore suffered hell for all humanity.²⁴

Like the first view, this interpretation ought to be judged as false. The most fundamental reason is that it violates the justice of God. Not only is there no clear text in Scripture that teaches a "second chance," Jesus himself said, "He who does not believe is condemned already, because he has not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God" (John 3:18). For this reason, the justice of God is proclaimed by the apostolic teaching that "it is appointed for man to die once, but after that comes judgment" (Heb. 9:27; cf. Luke 16:26).

The Pronouncement-of-Triumph-to-Believers View

Moving closer to an acceptable interpretation is the third view that Jesus descended into hell to pronounce his triumph to those who believed in him. In this view, Jesus' "human soul united to His divine person"²⁵ went to "Abraham's bosom," the place of provisional blessing, to proclaim his victory to those who hoped in him before his advent and to apply his benefits to them.

The Roman Catholic Church, many Anglicans, and many of today's evangelicals hold this point of view.²⁶ In fact, Joseph Ratzinger (now Pope Benedict XVI) said, "The few places where Scripture seems to say anything about this matter (1 Pet. 3:19f., 4:6; Eph. 4:9; Rom. 10:7; Matt. 12:40; Acts 2:27, 31) are so difficult to understand that they can easily be expounded in many different ways." Yet he goes on to defend the traditional Roman Catholic doctrine based on Jesus' sufferings on the cross and Psalm 22, as well as the universal experience of

21. On the view that this verb is used as the fulfillment of Old Testament Scripture, see Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John XIII–XXI*, The Anchor Bible 29A (New York: Doubleday, 1970) 907–908; for the view that it is used as the accomplishment of redemption, see Herman Ridderbos, *The Gospel of John: A Theological Commentary*, trans. John Vriend (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997) 616–618. Leon Morris says this word is another of John's double entendres, signifying that Jesus' life had come to an end, but most importantly, that his work for our redemption had come to an end. *The Gospel According to John*, The New International Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, reprinted 1987) 814–815.

22. Philastrius of Brescia, *Diversarum hereseon liber*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, volume 9, ed. F. Heylen (Turnholt, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 1957) 288–289 translated and cited in Connell, "Descensus Christi Ad Inferos": 265.

23. E.A. Litton, *Introduction to Dogmatic Theology on the Basis of the Thirty-Nine Articles*, ed. H. G. Grey (London: R. Scott, 1912) 189–191. Interestingly, most Anglicans criticize the view of John Calvin by saying he takes this phrase in the Creed out of sequential order but here, the Anglican Litton also does this as he places the "descent" after the resurrection, even though the phrase occurs before the clause on the resurrection.

24. *The Apostles' Creed in the Light of Today's Questions*, trans. Margaret Kohl (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1972) 92–95; *Jesus: God and Man*, trans. Lewis L. Wilkins and Duane A. Priebe (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1975) 271–273. Cf. the universalism of Connell, "Descensus Christi Ad Inferos," 265–269.

25. *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (New York, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1994) 181.

26. For the Roman Catholic teaching, see Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* 3.52, *The Catechism of Trent*, 1.5, and *Catechism of the Catholic Church* 179–181. In terms of Anglicans, it is important to note that the Anglican view is that of the Thirty-Nine Articles, "As Christ died for us, and was buried; so also it is to be believed, that he went down into Hell" (Art. III). The interpretation of this article of faith varies among Anglicans. For the Evangelical view, see Hank Hanegraaff, *Christianity in Crisis* 396 n10.

humanity in suffering.²⁷ It should also be stated, that this was the view of the Italian Reformed theologian Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562). In his 1542 commentary, *A Plain Exposition of the Twelve Articles of the Christian Faith*, he said that while Christ's body went into the grave at death, his soul went into the "lower regions" and "experienced the same condition as other souls separated from their bodies."²⁸ It was in that place that the saints were awaiting their salvation. While in these lower regions, Christ preached to the condemned, "rebuk[ing] them for the obstinacy and incredulity they had shown to the words and divine promptings addressed to them by God while they lived on earth" (Vermigli, 44).

The words of Melito of Sardis in his sermon, *On the Passover*, often provide evidence of this view in the ancient church. These words, though, may be taken as a rhetorical proclamation of victory at the resurrection:

100. But he arose from the dead and mounted up to the heights of heaven. When the Lord had clothed himself with humanity, and had suffered for the sake of the sufferer, and had been bound for the sake of the imprisoned, and had been judged for the sake of the condemned, and buried for the sake of the one who was buried,

101. he rose up from the dead, and cried aloud with this voice: Who is he who contends with me? Let him stand in opposition to me. I set the condemned man free; I gave the dead man life; I raised up the one who had been entombed.

102. Who is my opponent? I, he says, am the Christ. I am the one who destroyed death, and triumphed over the enemy, and trampled Hades under foot, and bound the strong one, and carried off man to the heights of heaven, I, he says, am the Christ.²⁹

27. Joseph Ratzinger, *Introduction to Christianity*, trans. J. R. Foster (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970) 223–230. Cf. St. Bonaventure, *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, Meditation 85, trans. Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961) 350–351.

28. In *Early Writings: Creed, Scripture, Church*, trans. Mariano Di Gangi and Joseph C. McLelland, ed. Joseph C. McLelland (The Peter Martyr Library: Volume One; Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, Inc., 1994) 43–44.

29. "A New Translation of Melito's Paschal Homily," trans. Gerald F. Hawthorne in *Current Issues in Biblical and Patristic Interpretation: Studies in Honor of Merrill C. Tenney Presented by His Former Students*, ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975) 173. A legitimate ancient source for the *descendit* doctrine is the *Odes of Solomon*, 42:11–20.

This view is founded on one main premise: before Christ's first coming, the souls of the dead went to Hades (ᾍδης), which was divided between Paradise and Gehenna (γέεννα). Paradise, called "Abraham's bosom" (Luke 16:23) and the *limbus patrum* in Roman Catholic theology, was not heaven, but a temporary holding place for those who would go to heaven *after* the advent of the Lord. Gehenna, on the other hand, was the temporary holding place for those who would go to hell *after* the advent of the Lord.

In response to this view, the apostle Paul calls Paradise "heaven" (2 Cor. 12:2, 4 cf. Rev. 2:7, 22:2, 14). If the response of the pronouncement-of-triumph-to-believers advocate is that Paul said this *after* the advent of Christ, it needs to be reasserted that the blessed hope of the Old Testament saints was to go to heaven and be in the presence of God (e.g., Gen. 5:24; Num. 23:10; 2 Sam. 12:23; Pss. 16:9, 11, 17:15, 49:15, 73:24, 26; Prov. 14:32; Ecc. 12:7; Matt. 22:31–32; Heb. 11:5ff, 13–16). This hope of the ancient fathers is the same hope of New Testament saints (e.g., Luke 16:23, 25, 23:43; Acts 7:59; 2 Cor. 5:1, 6, 8; Phil. 1:21, 23; 1 Thes. 5:10; Eph. 3:14–15; Rev. 6:9, 11, 14:13).

The Pronouncement-of-Triumph-to-Satan View

Closely related to the previous view is that Jesus descended into hell to pronounce his triumph over Satan. The difference is that while the previous view was a part of Christ's humiliation, this view teaches that Jesus' human soul united to his body went into hell to proclaim his victory over Satan and his minions and to pronounce their condemnation as the first step of his exaltation. This is the view of Lutheranism. In *The Solid Declaration of the Formula of Concord*, the Lutherans state:

1] And since even in the ancient Christian teachers of the Church, as well as in some among our teachers, dissimilar explanations of the article concerning the descent of Christ to hell are found, we abide in like manner by the simplicity of our Christian faith [comprised in the Creed], to which Dr. Luther in his sermon, which was delivered in the castle at Torgau in the year 1533, concerning the descent of Christ to hell, has pointed us, where we confess: I believe in the Lord Christ, God's Son, our Lord, dead, buried, and descended into hell. For in this [Confession] the burial and descent of Christ to hell are distinguished as different articles; 2] and we simply believe that the entire person, God and man, after the burial descended into hell, conquered the devil, destroyed the power of hell,

and took from the devil all his might. 3] We should not, however, trouble ourselves with high and acute thoughts as to how this occurred; for with our reason and our five senses this article can be comprehended as little as the preceding one, how Christ is placed at the right hand of the almighty power and majesty of God; but we are simply to believe it and adhere to the Word [in such mysteries of faith]. Thus we retain the substance [sound doctrine] and [true] consolation that neither hell nor the devil can take captive or injure us and all who believe in Christ (art. 9).

A contemporary Lutheran expression is found in David P. Scaer, who appeals to Luther's explanation of this phrase as deriving not from texts such as 1 Peter 3, but from the parable of the binding of the strong man (Scaer, 97).³⁰

This view holds in common with the second-chance view and the pronouncement-of-triumph-to-believers the medieval doctrine of the "harrowing of hell."³¹ The harrow was an Old English pronged tool that was used to move stones from a field before planting. The imagery of the harrowing of hell is that of separating out the righteous from the unrighteous.³² This separation, or distressing, of hell, was a part of the faith and piety of medieval people. This concept is clearly visible in cathedral frescos, Byzantine plaques, and the paintings of artists such as Fra Angelico, Benvenuto di Giovanni, and Agnolo Bronzino, where Christ is pictured in hell fighting the powers of hell and freeing the righteous captives from its prison (Hornik and Parsons, 18–26, 50).

In response, this view misunderstands the main texts upon which it is based, such as Ephesians 4:9–10 and 1 Peter 3:18–19.

Ephesians 4:9–10

One biblical text to which proponents of all the above views normally appeal, especially the Lutheran view, is Ephesians 4:9–10:

But grace was given to each one of us according to the measure of Christ's gift. Therefore it says,

"When he ascended on high he led a host of captives, and he gave gifts to men."

(In saying, "He ascended," what does it mean but that he had also descended into the lower parts of the earth? He who descended is the one who also ascended far above all the heavens, that he might fill all things.)

As commentators have demonstrated, St. Paul here gives a rabbinic *pesher* upon Psalm 68:18, citing the Psalter and explaining its words in the new context of Christ's victory.³³ In doing this, the apostle presupposes a three-tiered cosmology of the earth ("lower parts"), the heavens ("the heavens"), and the highest heaven (Paul's "far above"). This cosmology sets up his antithetical comparison between Christ's "descent" from the highest heavens, through the heavens, to the "lower parts of the earth" and his "ascent" from the "lower parts," through the heavens, and back to the highest heaven. This highest heaven was earlier spoken of in Ephesians 1:20–21, where Paul said that God "raised [Christ] from the dead and seated him at his right hand in the heavenly places, far above all rule and authority and power and dominion."

This meaning of Christ's descent to the "lower parts of the earth" as his Incarnation and not to a netherworld after his death can be established in the following way.³⁴ First, Paul's explanation is that Christ's descent was the fulfillment of Psalm 68, where David praises God for his mighty victory over his enemies. In the language of the Psalm, the LORD himself "descended" and therefore "the earth quaked, the heavens poured down rain, before God, the One of Sinai, before God, the God of Israel" (v. 8). He came down to earth, to Mount Sinai, and later to Mount Bashan, and then ascended back to his "holy habitation" (v. 5 cf. 18). According to Paul, the Lord of whom Psalm 68 speaks is none other than our Lord Jesus Christ, who descended to earth in order to vanquish sin and death and thereby raise us to heaven. This explains the NIV's translation of this phrase as a genitive of apposition, "the lower, earthly regions."

This interpretation is further evidenced by the use of the phrase "the lowest parts of the earth" elsewhere. In Psalm 139:15 we read, "My frame was not hidden from You, when I was made in secret, and skillfully wrought in the *lowest parts of the earth*" (NKJV; cf.

30. Cf. *Luther's Small Catechism with Explanation* (Saint Louis: Concordia, 1986) 135.

31. On the "harrowing of hell" see J. M. McCulloch, *The Harrowing of Hell: A Comparative Study of an Early Christian Doctrine* (Edinburgh, 1930) 83–130; T. F. Worthen, "The Harrowing of Hell in the Art of the Italian Renaissance" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1981).

32. Heidi J. Hornik and Mikeal C. Parsons, "The Harrowing of Hell," *Bible Review* 19:3 (June 2003) 22.

33. E.g., F.F. Bruce, *The Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Ephesians*, The New International Commentary on the New Testament, ed. F.F. Bruce (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984) 340–345.

34. W. Hall Harris III identifies the "descent" of Ephesians 4 as Christ's coming on Pentecost to give gifts to his church. "The Ascent and Descent of Christ in Ephesians 4:9–10," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 151 (April–June 1994) 198–214.

“depths” in NIV/ESV). David was created as a human being in his mother’s womb (v. 13), that is, in the “lowest parts of the earth.” The prophet Isaiah also uses this phrase as a metaphor of the inhabitants on earth (Isa. 44:23) and the prophet Ezekiel uses it to speak of death and burial in the ground (Ezek. 26:20, 31:14). This led the church father John Chrysostom to say, “He calls death, the lowest parts of the earth” (Witsius, 2:139).³⁵

Finally, Jesus’ own use of the descent/ascent motif in John 3:13 is illuminating. He speaks of descending (Incarnation) and ascending (exaltation). This concept is echoed in the Nicene Creed, which so beautifully states, “Who, for us men and for our salvation, came down from heaven.” Just as Christ descended once already to earth, so too he will come again by descending to the earth, not into hell.

Ephesians 4:9–10, therefore, speaks of the Incarnation and ascension of our Lord and has nothing to do with his descent “into hell.”³⁶ As John Calvin (1509–1564) said, “Many have made glosses much too strong on this passage, saying that Jesus Christ went down not into the grave, but also even into limbo, a place forged out of their own brain.”³⁷

35. Cf. *Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians*, ed. Mark J. Edwards, Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: New Testament 8 (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1999) 164.

36. This is in contrast to L. Joseph Kreitzer, who argues that the “lower parts” refers to a subterranean cavern next to the temple of Apollo in Hierapolis, which was viewed as the passageway to the underworld into which Hades took Persephone in Greek mythology. “The Plutonium of Hierapolis and the Descent of Christ into the ‘Lowermost Parts of the Earth’ (Ephesians 4, 9),” *Biblica* 79:3 (1988) 381–93. Yet Kreitzer’s numismatic and archaeological evidence from that time period never make the connection between the “lower parts” and the Plutonium.

37. *Sermons on Ephesians* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, reprinted 1987) 350. Cf. *Commentaries of the Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians*, trans. William Pringle, Calvin’s Commentaries, 22 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker, reprinted 1996) 21:275, where Calvin says it is “torture” to these words and “exceedingly foolish” to apply these words to purgatory or hell.

38. Nelson D. Kloosterman, *Pilgrims Among Pagans: Studies on First Peter* (Grand Rapids: Reformed Fellowship, Inc., 1994).

39. For the view that *pneumatic* here refers to Christ’s resurrection, see J. N. D. Kelly, *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and Jude* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1969) 150–156; Edward Gordon Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981) 197; Ramsey Michaels, *1 Peter*, Word Biblical Commentary 49 (Waco, TX: Word, 1988) 18–19.

40. Herman Bavinck, *Gereformeerde Dogmatik*, III:547 as cited in Louis Berkhof, *Systematic Theology* (4th rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, reprinted 1994) 341.

1 Peter 3:18–19

Two other texts used to support a literal descent of Christ into the netherworld after his death and before his ascension are found in 1 Peter 3:18–19:

For Christ also suffered once for sins, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh but made alive in the spirit, in which he went and proclaimed to the spirits in prison.

In order to understand the sense of Peter’s words, the overall context of 1 Peter cannot be forgotten. This epistle is about “pilgrims among pagans,” to borrow the title of a recent work.³⁸ Peter writes to the pilgrim people of God in first-century Asia Minor on how to live in the world while not being of the world. In the immediate context, Peter writes about the suffering of these pilgrims, saying that if they suffer it is the will of God (2:21, 3:17); that suffering is a means of graciously conforming them to the image of Christ, the paradigm of suffering (2:19–21); and that suffering is a means to bear witness to the pilgrims’ hope (3:15–16). 1 Peter 3:18–19 communicates the irony of triumph as it comes through suffering.

In our sufferings as Christians, then, Peter says, “Christ also suffered” (3:18). Our suffering is linked to his sufferings, not only theologically but also grammatically, as the opening *ὅτι καί* clause signifies. Christ suffered “for sins, the righteous for the unrighteous” (3:18). This is a clear reference to his crucifixion, which purpose was to “bring us to God.” Peter then expands upon Christ’s sufferings and our benefit from them, saying Christ was “put to death in the flesh.” This phrase is the result of what he just said about dying “for sins” and “for the unrighteous.” His dying in the “flesh” (*σὰρκι*) was not a way of saying the “body,” but a way of saying the realm in which he died. Jesus came and died in our place as a fallen sinner.

Peter then says Christ was “made alive.” This new life occurred “in the spirit” (*πνεύματι*), that is, in the realm of the Holy Spirit, not of Christ’s human spirit. As he was put to death in the realm of sin we were made alive in the realm of holiness. Peter speaks mysteriously of what Paul said so clearly, when he said Christ was “declared to be the Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness” (Rom. 1:4).³⁹ 1 Peter 3:18, then, speaks of Christ’s death and resurrection, in which he triumphed.⁴⁰

Verse 19 is where Christ’s descent seems to be taught. The “spirits in prison” (*τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν*)

that Jesus is said to have preached to have been commonly understood either to be all those in the underworld who heard the gospel through the history of redemption, as in the first four views; as the fallen angels, since the word “spirits” is not used without a modifying statement for believers (Venema, 64); or to be restricted to those who died in the flood in the days of Noah after hearing the “preacher of righteousness” (2 Peter 2:5, NIV). Grudem follows the ancient view of Augustine and the view of Reformed expositors such as John Calvin in this latter interpretation, correctly pointing out in response to any second-chance view, that a proclamation of the gospel in hell would lessen the evangelistic impetus to which Peter has already exhorted these congregations (1 Peter 3:15).⁴¹ 1 Peter 1:11 strengthens the view that verse 19 speaks of Noah’s preaching, since it says the Spirit of Christ preached through the Old Testament prophets.

This traditional view of Augustine and Calvin is sufficient to refute the view of the Lutherans. Even more convincing, though, is the work of recent scholars such as Andrew J. Bandstra and Karen H. Jobes, who explain 1 Peter 3:18–19 along with its immediate context in 3:20–22, as teaching not only that Christ died and was raised, but that his ascension *was* his proclamation of victory.⁴² After telling his persecuted readers that Christ suffered for them to lead them to God, Peter explains how Christ did this: he was “put to death” (crucifixion, v. 18), he was “made alive” (resurrection, v. 18), and he went into heaven (ascension, v. 22 cf. 19). When 3:19 says Christ preached to the spirits in prison, Peter says he did this in the resurrected status of 3:18, which the Spirit accomplished: “in whom/which” (ἐν ᾧ). In this Spirit Christ “went” and proclaimed his victory in his ascension. The verb “went” (πορεύθεις) is not the verb for “going down” (καταβαίνω) in the New Testament. Furthermore, the context of this verb in verse 19 is determined by its use in verse 22: “who has gone (πορεύθεις) into heaven.” In 3:18–22, Peter uses four passive participles to express the action of the text. Although Christ suffered unjust persecution and tribulation, he triumphed, because through his death he was made alive and went into heaven. In the same way, Peter comforts his readers that although they, too, may die for their faith unjustly, they will be united to Christ’s resurrection and ascension, since Christ came to “bring us to God” (3:18).

In conclusion, these main New Testament texts used to support a literal descent of Christ into hell do not conclusively teach this doctrine. They more clearly teach that Christ descended in his Incarnation

and ascended back to heaven in his resurrection and ascension (Eph. 4:9–10) and that he died, was raised, and ascended (1 Peter 3:18–19). With these conclusions in mind, it is understandable why those such as Otto, Williams, and Grudem would advocate removing the *descendit* clause altogether from the Creed.

The Literary Interpretive View

Other than Peter Martyr Vermigli’s espousing of the third view, Reformed theologians from the sixteenth century forward have rejected the first four views in favor of a literary or symbolic view of Christ’s descent into hell. As we will see, these are not two mutually exclusive views, but two sides of the same coin, so to speak. These two views appreciate the theology and piety that flow from this doctrine, contrary to the critics of the *descendit*.

The fifth view, then, is a literary interpretation of the creedal clauses “buried” and “descended into hell.” Following the ancient creeds’ interchanging of the phrases “buried” and “descended” as well as the comments of Rufinus in the late-fourth century, this view states that after Jesus died he was buried; that is, he descended into *Hades*, which is a biblical way of saying “the grave.” In 1531 the reformer of Zurich, Ulrich Zwingli, expressed this view, when he said,

If he had not died and been buried, who would believe that he is very Man? And for the same reason the apostolic Fathers added to the Creed the words, ‘He descended into hell.’ They used this expression periphrastically, to signify the reality of his death.⁴³

This interpretation was given confessional status by the Westminster Divines in their *Larger Catechism*, Q&A 50:

41. Augustine, “Letter 164” in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: First Series* 1, trans. J. G. Cunningham (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 2004) 515–521; John Calvin, *Commentaries on the First Epistle of Peter*, trans. John Owen, Calvin’s Commentaries, 22 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker, reprinted 1996) 22:112–116; Grudem, “He Did Not Descend Into Hell,” 109–110.

42. Andrew J. Bandstra, “‘Making Proclamation to the Spirits in Prison’: Another Look at 1 Peter 3:19,” *Calvin Theological Journal* 38:1 (April 2003) 120–124; Karen H. Jobes, *1 Peter*, Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005).

43. Ulrich Zwingli, *An Exposition of the Faith*, in *Zwingli and Bullinger*, trans. G. W. Bromiley, The Library of Christian Classics (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1953) 252.

Q. Wherein consisted Christ's humiliation after his death?

A. Christ's humiliation after his death consisted in his being buried, and continuing in the state of the dead, and under the power of death till the third day; which hath been otherwise expressed in these words, *He descended into hell*.

The Westminster Standards' interpretation is further explained when the Shorter Catechism, says that a part of Christ's humiliation consisted "in being buried, and continuing under the power of death for a time" (Q&A 27). Appended to the Assembly's Shorter Catechism were the Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer, and Apostles' Creed. An explanatory note to the descent phrase said, "i.e. Continued in the state of the dead, and under the power of death till the third day."⁴⁴ This interpretation is received with approval in the various commentaries on the Westminster Larger and Shorter Catechism. The mid-seventeenth century Puritan Thomas Vincent (1634–1678) commented,

Q. 7. How did Christ humble himself in regard of the consequents of his death? A. Christ humbled himself in regard of the consequents of his death, in that—1. He was buried. "And when Joseph had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new tomb."—Matthew 27:59–60. 2. He continued under the power of death for a time, namely, until the third day. "As Jonah was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth."—Matthew 12:40.⁴⁵

The well-known Puritan Bible commentator, Matthew Henry (1662–1714), also produced a commentary on the Shorter Catechism, in which he explicated with even more questions:

14. When Christ was dead, was he buried? Yes: they took him down from the tree, and laid him in a sepulchre, Acts 13:29. Was he buried according to the custom? Yes: as the manner of the Jews is to bury, John 19:40. Did he

continue under the power of death for a time? Yes: for as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth, Matt. 12:40. Was this his descent into hell? Yes: he descended into the lower parts of the earth, Eph. 4:9. Did his separate soul go to paradise? Yes: This day shalt thou be with me in paradise, Luke 23:43. Did his body see corruption? No: Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption, Acts 2:27.⁴⁶

A final example is that of Francis R. Beattie (1848–1906), who in his commentary said approvingly of both the Westminster Catechisms:

This brings us to the deepest depths of his humiliation. His body was taken from the cross by kind-hearted strangers, who were, perhaps, secret disciples, and buried in a new-made tomb. He remained in the state of the dead and under the power of death for a time.... It seemed as if now, surely, the powers of darkness had gotten the victory, and that Satan had triumphed. Death, the penalty of sin, had laid him low, and the grave held him firmly in its grasp. He was really dead. His spirit had gone to God who gave it, and his body lay cold and lifeless in its rock-hewn tomb. It is in this connection that the phrase in the Apostles' Creed, "and he descended into hell," which is alluded to in the Larger Catechism, properly comes up for some brief remarks. This much-discussed phrase does not mean that Christ, in his disembodied spirit, actually went, after his death and prior to his resurrection, to the spirit world, and to that region of the unseen abode where the spirits of the saints of the Old Testament dispensation were held for the time, to declare the full gospel message to them, and so to bring them into the enjoyment of the felicity of the heavenly state. Nor does the phrase mean that the human soul of Christ went really into hell, there to secure a victory over Satan in his own proper abode. Nor, again, can it be rightly taken to signify that his human soul actually went to that place of punishment where the souls of the lost are kept, that he might there fully endure all that was needed to make a full penal satisfaction for sin. To understand the phrase, the meaning of the word *hell* must be observed. It does not mean the place or state of the finally lost, but it rather denotes the invisible world of departed spirits. Hence, the meaning of the phrase is, that during the period between his death and his resurrection Christ's human spirit, or soul, was in the region of departed disembodied souls in the unseen

44. *The Confession of Faith; the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, with the Scripture-Proofs at Large...* (Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1855) 319. Citations from these Standards are from this edition.

45. Thomas Vincent, *An Explicatory Catechism: or, An Explanation of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism* (New Haven: Walter, Austin and Co., 1810) 80–81.

46. Matthew Henry, *An Exposition of the Shorter Catechism, or, A Scripture Catechism in the Method of the Assemblies* (Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1850) 60.

world, and at the same time his body was lying in the tomb. In his case, of course, the departed human spirit would go to the estate of the blessed, for he had said to the thief on the cross, who died penitent, that they would be together that day in paradise.⁴⁷

The Symbolic View

The sixth view explains that the *descendit* clause means that Jesus suffered the agonies of hell during the entire state of his humiliation, but especially on the cross. This view is most memorably expressed in the words of the Heidelberg Catechism, Q&A 44:

Q. Why is it added: He descended into Hades?

A. That in my greatest temptation I may be assured that Christ, my Lord, by his inexpressible anguish, pains, and terrors which he suffered in his soul on the cross and before, has redeemed me from the anguish and torment of hell.

The language of the Catechism was drawn directly from the theology of John Calvin, who said, “If it is left out much of the benefit of Christ’s death will be lost,” while calling the Roman Catholic dogma of Christ’s descent into *limbo* “nothing but a fable.”⁴⁸ Even before Calvin, forms of this interpretation were expounded by Durand of St. Pourcain in the fourteenth century and Pico della Mirandola and Nicolas of Cusa in the fifteenth century.⁴⁹

EXPLAINING THE REFORMED VIEW(S)

The Reformed interpretations of both the Westminster Standards and Heidelberg Catechism express the correct doctrine of Christ’s descent as two sides of one coin: as to the body of Jesus Christ, he descended into the state of death; as to the soul of Jesus Christ, he suffered the agonies of hell. This double meaning was that of the father of much of Reformed thought, John Calvin, who in his 1545 Catechism of the Church of Geneva, wrote:

It is immediately added, *He descended into hell*. What does this mean? That he not only endured common death, which is the separation of the soul from the body, but also the pains of death, as Peter calls them (Acts 2:24). By this expression I understand the fearful agonies by which his soul was pierced (Q&A 66).⁵⁰

Descent of Christ’s Body

Let us look at the first side of the coin: regarding the body of Jesus Christ, he descended into the state of death. We see this concept most clearly taught in the previously cited Westminster Larger Catechism, Q&A 50. As was noted earlier, the phrase “he descended into hell” simply means that Jesus died; it is synonymous with “buried.” With this conclusion Witsius agreed:

Whoever intends, then, to express our Lord’s condition in the grave and in the state of death, in the language employed by ancient patriarchs and prophets, cannot make use of more elegant or striking terms than these: ‘*Christ descended into hell, hades*.’ And this is the native, proper, and literal sense of the expression” (Witsius, 2:143).

Therefore, in terms of his body, the Lord Jesus Christ “descended” into the grave (Ps. 141:7) and passed into the state of death (Gen. 38:35; Ps. 49:14; Isa. 38:10), fulfilling Old Testament prophecy as the promised Messiah. How does this view explain another text that is often appealed to in order to prove that Christ literally descended into hell—Psalm 16:8–10? There David says,

I have set the LORD always before me;
because he is at my right hand, I shall not be shaken.

47. Francis R. Beattie, *The Presbyterian Standards: An Exposition of the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms* (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1896) as cited at http://www.shortercatechism.com/resources/beattie/wsc_be_027-028.html (accessed May 3, 2007). James Fisher (1697–1775) in his *The Assembly’s Shorter Catechism Explained, By Way of Question and Answer* (Glasgow: Printed for James Gillies, 1796) 133, said, “Q. 39. What do you understand by these words in the CREED, He descended into Hell? A. Nothing else but his descent into the grave, to be under the power of death, as its prisoner, Psalm 16:10.” Cf. Thomas Boston, *Commentary on the Shorter Catechism*, Classis Collector’s Edition, 2 vols. (1853; Edmonton: Still Waters Revival Books, reprinted January 1993) 1:499–501; Johannes G. Vos, *The Westminster Larger Catechism: A Commentary* (Phillipsburg: P&R Publishing, 2002) 112–113.

48. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960) 2.16.8. Calvin’s full treatment is in 2.16.8–12. It should also be pointed out that this is the interpretation by the contemporary Lutheran Braaten-Jensen, *Christian Dogmatics* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 1:548.

49. D. D. Wallace, “Puritan and Anglican: the Interpretation of Christ’s Descent Into Hell in Elizabethan Theology,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 69 (1978) 251.

50. John Calvin, “Catechism of the Church of Geneva,” in *Selected Works of John Calvin: Tracts, Part 2*, ed. and trans. Henry Beveridge, 7 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker, reprinted 1983) 2:46.

Therefore my heart is glad, and my whole being rejoices;
my flesh also will dwell secure.

For you will not abandon my soul to Sheol,
or let your holy one see corruption.

This view is not negated by proof-texting Psalm 16, since the New Testament gives the authoritative interpretation of these words. The apostles Peter and Paul both apply this text to the resurrection of Jesus Christ *from the grave*, where David's body remains to this day (Acts 2:30–31, 13:34–35). David's body did not go to an intermediate place of blessing or punishment, but remained in a tomb, in the state of death until the day of resurrection. To get a fuller picture of this reality, let us examine this in some detail.

First, what is the meaning of *Sheol* (שְׁאוֹל) and its New Testament counterpart, *Hades* (ᾗδης)? Depending upon the context, there are three major ways to understand these words.

First, *Sheol/Hades* can refer to the abstract *state of death* and not a spatial locality. For example, Psalm 9:17 speaks of wicked nations who now boast of their power, but who shall be wiped out by *death*. Psalm 55:15 uses *Sheol* in parallelism with *death* to signify sudden death, while in Proverbs 15:24 it is paralleled with life. In Genesis 37:35, 42:38, and 1 Samuel 2:6 the term is used figuratively to speak of death. Since both believers and unbelievers enter the state of death, both believers and unbelievers enter *Sheol/Hades* (cf. Job 14:13–14, 17:13–14, 38:17; Ps. 89:48; Hos. 13:14; Acts 2:27, 31; Rev. 6:8).

Second, when *Sheol/Hades* denote a literal, spatial locality, they can refer to *the grave* (e.g., Gen. 29:31, 37:25, 42:38, 44:29; 1 Kings 2:6, 9; Job 14:13, 17:13, 21:13; Pss. 6:5, 16:10, 88:3, 141:7; Eccles. 9:10). In this sense, Scripture says descending into *Sheol/Hades* is a warning to the wicked (e.g., Job 21:13; Pss. 9:17, 49:14, 55:15; Prov. 5:5, 7:27, 9:18, 15:11, 24, 23:14, 27:10; Luke 16:23).

Third, when *Sheol/Hades* denote a literal, spatial locality, they can also refer to *hell*, the place of eternal punishment for the ungodly (e.g., Num. 16:30; Deut. 32:22; Pss. 49:14–15, 88:3; Prov. 9:18; Ecc. 9:10; Luke 16:23, 28; 1 Peter 3:19; 2 Peter 2:9).

When we read the word “hell,” then, we must not immediately think of it as the place of eternal punishment, as this is only one of its three denotations.

In Psalm 16:10, *Sheol* means the literal grave. We come to this conclusion because of the context in which it is used in Acts 2:27 and 2:29–31. In these places Peter contrasts David, whose body “is both dead and buried, and his tomb is with us to this day” (v. 29), and Christ, who was raised from the dead, from his tomb. Furthermore, נַפְשִׁי, translated “soul” in Psalm 16:10, is often used as an idiom for the personal pronoun “me” in Scripture (e.g., Num. 23:10, 31:19; Judg. 16:30). In Psalm 16:10, David is saying “You will not leave *me* in Sheol, nor will you allow your Holy One to see corruption.” More specifically, “me” refers to David's dead body, as Peter points out in Acts 2.⁵¹ This was an Old Testament way of speaking, as Numbers 19:11 and 13 make evident; “Whoever touches the dead נַפְשִׁי of any person.” Finally, the poetic parallelism in Psalm 16, in which the second line adds to the first, is between the words “soul” (נַפְשִׁי) and “Holy One” (קֹדֶשׁ) on the one hand, and *Sheol* (שְׁאוֹל) and “corruption” (רֶשֶׁת) on the other. David's “soul” is the same as saying the LORD's “Holy One,” that is, as we said above, “me,” while saying *Sheol* is to say “corruption.” The corruption of which David is speaking is the corruption of the body in the grave, in the tomb. Therefore, Jesus Christ *had to be* raised to fulfill this prophecy.

Psalm 16:8–10 speaks not of a descent into the literal place called hell, but of the descent into death, into the grave, from which David hoped for the resurrection of Christ, the first fruits of the final resurrection. For this reason Grudem's description of the view of the Westminster Larger Catechism as being unpersuasive, awkward, and “an inaccurate attempt to salvage some theologically acceptable sense out of the words” misses the mark, since hell translates *Hades*, which can mean the place of the dead as Grudem acknowledges (106). In fact, Grudem bases his rejection of the WLC on the English meaning of word “hell” and not on the word of the Greek version of the Creed, *Hades*. Grudem goes on to argue against Acts 2:27 being a proof for a literal descent into hell based on the fact that the Greek *Hades* and Hebrew *Sheol* can mean “the grave” and “death” (107). Williams also confuses these words when he argues that “the Catechism's interpretation of the descent is within the semantic reach of *sheol* and *hades* (see Acts 2:27), but not *hell* (*gehenna*)” (88).

In contrast to the views of Rome, Lutheranism, and many Anglicans and evangelicals, this exegesis of Psalm 16 means that when Jesus' body was buried, his human soul did not descend into hell, but actually ascended to His Father, as he said on the cross, “Father, into Your hands I commit my spirit” (Luke 23:46; cf.

51. It is interesting to note that Theodore Beza translated Acts 2:27 in his 1st edition of the Greek New Testament as “Thou wilt not leave my dead body in the grave.” Cited in Witsius, *Sacred Dissertations* 2:144.

Ps. 31:5; Acts 7:59). Jesus also told the penitent thief on the cross that he would be with the Lord in Paradise: “Assuredly, I say to you, today you will be with me in Paradise” (Luke 23:43)— the eternal dwelling of God (2 Cor. 12:2; Rev. 2:7). Because of these basic truths from the lips of Jesus, Witsius gave a *reductio ad absurdum* of the views that Christ descended into a place of punishment:

Nor is it probable that the soul of Christ, after conducting the soul of the malefactor to paradise, straightway left it, descended into hell, called out the fathers, and forthwith hastened back again, and introduced them to heaven; whence, at the commencement of the third day he returned to the body, – having, within so short a period, traveled over the space of the whole world, no less than four times (Witsius, 2:145).

Descent of Christ’s Soul

The second side of the Reformed understanding of Christ’s *descent* concerns his soul, in which he suffered the agonies of hell. This metaphorical view finds expression among Reformed writers and in confessional documents such as the Heidelberg Catechism, Q&A 44. Besides the already quoted question and answer of John Calvin’s Geneva Catechism, he continued in the very next question:

Q. 67. Give me the cause and the manner of this.

A. As in order to satisfy for sinners he sisted himself before the tribunal of God, it was necessary that he should suffer excruciating agony of conscience, as if he had been forsaken of God, nay as it were, had God hostile to him. He was in this agony when he exclaimed, “My God, my God, why have You forsaken me?” (“Catechism of the Church of Geneva,” 2:46–47).

A few questions later, he asks the student a further question on this subject:

Q. 70. How, on the other hand, is it possible that Christ, who is the salvation of the world, should have been subjected to this doom?

A. He did not endure it so as to remain under it. For though he was seized with the terrors I have mentioned, he was not overwhelmed. Rather wrestling with the power of hell he subdued and crushed it (“Catechism of the Church of Geneva,” 2:47).

This exposition of the *descendit* that found its way into the Geneva Catechism (1545) and Heidelberg Catechism (1563) also made its way into the Confession of Faith of John Knox’s English congregation in Geneva:

Suffered his humanity to be punished with a most cruel death, feeling in himself anger and severe judgment of God, even as if he had been in the extreme torments of hell, and therefore cried with a loud voice, “My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?” (Witsius, 2:519 n26).

This interpretation was not only held by the magisterial Reformed movement on the continent but is echoed in the Westminster Confession of Faith (1647):

This office the Lord Jesus did most willingly undertake; which that he might discharge, he was made under the law, and did perfectly fulfill it; *endured most grievous torments immediately in his soul*, and most painful sufferings in his body; was crucified, and died, was buried; and remained under the power of death, yet saw no corruption. On the third day he arose from the dead, with the same body in which he suffered; with which also he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of his Father, making intercession; and shall return to judge men and angels at the end of the world (8.4; emphasis added).

Whereas the Westminster Larger Catechism gives an ancient historical and literary interpretation to this phrase in the Creed, the Heidelberg Catechism and other expressions give us a theological and practical interpretation.

Thus in regard to the soul of Christ, the descent is a metaphor of the dreadful agonies and terrible sufferings of our Mediator and Savior—his experience of “God-forsakenness” (Venema, 66). This terrible experience is vividly described by Michael Horton in his commentary on the Apostles’ Creed:

You see, at the end of the day, it was not the mockery and loathing of men, nor the law and judgment of Rome, that Jesus feared.... On this night, the Son is alone in hell. Not even the Father is his friend. Nobody loves the Son in this hour.... He is the enemy both of his wicked creation and of his righteous Father.... At last, the moment came: God turned his face of wrath toward his bleeding, dying Son, and made him drink that cup of rejection to the last drop. See

here the price of your redemption: God must hate his own sinless Son.⁵²

This clause in the Creed, therefore, is a use of language by which God accommodates himself to us. Grudem, though, says “this explanation does not really fit the phrase in the Apostles’ Creed” (Grudem, 106). In response, we accommodate ourselves to others in metaphorical language when we are excited and when we are down. At the peak of exultation in glory, we describe ourselves as “reaching the stars” or being “on cloud nine.” When we suffer and are in travail, we often say that “I’m in hell,” or “I feel like hell.” There is biblical precedent, as well, for this usage of metaphorical language, whether we are in glory or agony (cf. Isaiah 14:11, 13, 15; Pss. 18:4–5, 31:4, 88:3, 6, 116:3). This metaphorical use of hell was expressed by Johannes Cloppenburg (1592–1652), who spoke of Christ’s sufferings as “a peculiarly exquisite feeling of the curse, when ‘the travail of his soul’ (Isa. 53:11), conflicting with a sense of Divine wrath, sharpened the bitterness of his bodily tortures” (Witsius, 2:148). Even earlier, Calvin expressed this when he said Christ fought “hand to hand with the armies of hell and the dread of everlasting death” (*Institutes*, 2.16.10). For this reason, arguments against this interpretation—based on a chronological reading of the Creed, that Grudem (106) and Williams (88) propagate—fail.

In coming to an understanding of this Reformed interpretation, the comments of Caspar Olevian (1536–1587) on the Creed are extremely illuminating. He said the phrases “suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried” referred to Christ’s sufferings, which could be seen, while the phrase, “He descended into hell,” referred to his sufferings, which could not

be seen (cf. Ps. 18:5; 2 Sam. 22:6; Matt. 26:38, 27:46; Luke 22:44).⁵³ Extending Olevian’s helpful distinction further, we can add the fact that the darkness that was “over all the land” (Matt. 27:45) at the crucifixion was a visible manifestation of Christ’s “God-forsakenness” and invisible sufferings in his soul. Olevian went on to say that Christ’s unseen sufferings were necessary since he had to suffer for our salvation in both body and soul (Olevianus, 70).⁵⁴

BENEFITS OF RETAINING THE *DESCENDIT*

In light of the Reformed interpretation(s), the *descendit* is an essential part of the doctrine of the Christian church and of its members, yet, it remains to deduce how this is so.

In the first place, retaining this phrase in the Creed links those who confess it to the ancient catholic church as we recite the Creed liturgically and in catechesis. Despite all the problems this phrase has caused in terms of interpretation and despite their doctrine of *sola Scriptura*, the Reformers did not delete this phrase. The Elizabethan Puritan, William Perkins (1558–1602), expressed this benefit when he said, “Nevertheless considering that this clause hath long continued in the Creede, and that by common consent of the Catholike Church of God, and it may carrie a fit sense and exposition; it is not, as some would have it, to be put forth” (Perkins, 1:231, col. 2). When we recite the Creed and say, “He descended into hell,” we join the great cloud of witnesses throughout history, experiencing a transcendence that the tyranny of the urgent in our culture seeks to repress.

Second, since Christ’s descent into hell was a fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy, our faith finds assurance when we are in the midst of struggles. The fact that he not only suffered in his body but that he suffered the extreme agonies of hell for us in his soul (Ps. 22)—a suffering that we will never need to suffer—helps to build an experiential sense of assurance when we doubt. This beneficial aspect of Christ’s suffering of hell is not only taught in the Heidelberg Catechism, but expressed in our historic liturgy for Holy Communion, when the minister says,

[He] hath humbled himself unto the deepest reproach and pains of hell, both in body and soul, on the tree of the cross, when he cried out with a loud voice: ‘My God, my God! why hast thou forsaken me?’ that we might be accepted of God, and never be forsaken of him.⁵⁵

52. Michael Horton, *We Believe: Recovering the Essentials of the Apostles’ Creed* (Nashville: Word, 1998) 101.

53. Caspar Olevianus, *A Firm Foundation: An Aid to Interpreting the Heidelberg Catechism*, trans. Lyle D. Bierma, *Texts & Studies in Reformation & Post-Reformation Thought* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995) 69–70. This interpretation was called “usual” [sic.], “good,” and “true,” by Perkins, *An Exposition of the Symbole* 1:233, col. 1.

54. Cf. Belgic Confession, articles 18 and 21. On the Belgic Confession, articles 18 and 21, see Daniel R. Hyde, *With Heart and Mouth: An Exposition of the Belgic Confession* (Grandville, Mich.: Reformed Fellowship, forthcoming 2007); idem, “We Confess: Article 18,” *The Outlook* 54:11 (December 2004) 8; idem, “We Confess: Article 21,” *The Outlook* 55:3 (March 2005) 7.

55. *The Psalter* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1914) 64. This form is also found with slight modifications in the *Psalter Hymnal* (Grand Rapids: Christian Reformed Church, 1976) 145 and in the *Book of Praise: Anglo-Genevan Psalter* (revised ed.; Winnipeg, Manitoba: Premier, 1998) 597.

When we hear these words, we are assured that Christ invites us to eat the bread and drink the wine of his supper so that we may experience the accepting love of God on the basis that Christ experienced the forsaking anger of Almighty God.

Third, this phrase brings us comfort in our own physical, spiritual, and emotional sufferings. We know for certain that we are not alone in our struggles in this life because the Son of God suffered for us—as us. The book of Hebrews expresses this so tenderly, saying that Christ was “made like his brothers in every respect” (Heb. 2:17) and “tempted as we are” (Heb. 4:15). Because of the Incarnation and the sufferings associated with it, our Lord was able to be a merciful, faithful, and sympathetic high priest (Heb. 2:17, 4:15) and is therefore “able to help those who are being tempted” (Heb. 2:18).

Fourth, the *descendit* also assures us that we have no reason to fear the experience of death or even death itself. Because of Christ’s suffering the darkness of hell, we can sing and pray with David to the great Shepherd: “Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil” (Ps. 23:4). Since Christ entered hell’s agony but was brought out in triumph, we recite the victory march of the apostolic church: “The sting of death is sin, and the power of sin is the law. But thanks be to God, who gives us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ” (1 Cor. 15:56–57). This is our confident prayer because Christ has experienced all the emotions, pains, and torments of death for us.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, how important is the descent into hell of Jesus Christ for us as God’s people? This phrase is a classic way of expressing the words of the Old Testament prophecies of the burial and resurrection of our Lord, which are the foundational truths of Christian assurance. Since Christ died and was buried for us, we are confident that he will be near us in our struggles and weaknesses. With this in mind, we see why it is important not to delete this phrase from the Apostles’ Creed in Reformed churches. Not only is it a biblical phrase, following the principle of *sola Scriptura*, that expresses the work of Christ and our comfort in him, it is an historical phrase that links us as Protestants to our Christian past as members of the “one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church.” To delete this phrase would be overly sectarian and remove us from the historic catholic faith. Despite the various interpretations of this phrase and other phrases in the Apostles’ Creed, we use the *textus receptus* (T) of the Western church as an expression of

our catholicity (Scaer, 92). When we recite this phrase as Reformed believers in the all-sufficient work of our Lord Jesus Christ, then, we join myriad of myriads before the throne of grace who have come to experience the comfort we express. ■

In Brief: Alexander M’Leod on the Call to the Gospel Ministry

The Pastor according to God’s heart, has received a regular call to the ministry.

It is a general proposition of divine inspiration, That no ecclesiastical office is to be undertaken without a call from God. The head of the church was himself subjected to this law. And as there was no exception admitted in his favor, it is vain to expect it in favor of any other. *And no man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron—So also Christ glorified not himself to be made an High Priest; but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son—called of God an High Priest* (Heb. 5:4–5, 10). By a divine call to any work or office is meant, not merely that it comes to pass in the providence of God that a person is engaged in such work or office, but that he is employed by divine authority therein. The call of God to ecclesiastical office, is *inward*, when there is a divine influence experienced upon the mind, inclining and commanding the person to devote himself to the service of the Church. It is *outward*, when accompanied with external evidence for the satisfaction of the church. It is *extraordinary*, when a person is employed immediately by the Divine Being, without the intervention of such human agencies as are regulated by stated laws. It is *ordinary*, when authority is conferred agreeably to such external order as God hath appointed to be observed as the standing ordinance of his empire. The *inward call* may satisfy a man’s own mind; but others must, in order to receive him, have some external evidence. If this were not the case, there would be no end of imposture. No man is to be recognized as an ambassador of Christ without an outward call. The *extraordinary call*, is always accompanied with infallible evidence. The seal of miracles gives evidence of the authenticity of the commission, and is sufficient to remove all suspicion of fraud. To this evidence the Redeemer hath taught us by his own example to appeal. *The works that I do—they bear witness of me* (John 10:25). But miracles are ceased. It is only therefore for the *ordinary outward* call we are to look in examining the pretensions of ecclesiastical officers—and this consists in ordination by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery. *The Constitution, Character, and Duties of the Gospel Ministry: a sermon, preached at the ordination of the Rev. Gilbert McMaster, in the First Presbyterian Church, Duaneburgh* (New-York: Printed by J. Seymour, 1808) 22–23. ■

John Brown of Wamphray, Richard Baxter, And the Justification Controversy

By Bruce R. Backensto

There is nothing new under the sun.

So wrote Solomon, and errors regarding that cardinal doctrine, Justification by Faith, are not an exception to this inspired observation. A prime illustration of this is found in examining the works of two 17th century theologians; one now relatively obscure, and the other still popular in Reformed circles for his practical writings. The former is the great Second Reformation Scottish theologian, John Brown of Wamphray (1610–1679), who sets forth the true doctrine of Justification

THE AUTHOR: Bruce R. Backensto is Co Pastor of the First Reformed Presbyterian Church, Beaver Falls, PA, and an Adjunct Professor at Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh. He is working on a doctoral thesis considering John Brown of Wamphray's Doctrine of Sanctification through the Evangelical Theological College of Wales and the University of Wales, Lampeter.

1. John Brown of Wamphray, *The Life of Justification Opened, or A Treatise grounded upon Gal. 2. 11. Wherein the Orthodox Doctrine of Justification by Faith and Imputation of Christ's Righteousness, is clearly expounded, solidly confirmed, and learnedly vindicated from the various Objections of it Adversaries. Whereunto are subjoined some Arguments against Universal Redemption* (Printed in the Year MD-CXCV [1695]).

2. James King Hewison, *The Covenanters: a History of the Church in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution, in Two Volumes* (Glasgow: John Smith and Son, 1913) 2.161. Cf. J.D. Douglas, *Light in the North* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1964) 101. In Hew Scott, *Faſti Ecclesiae Scotticanae The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, New Edition, Vol. II (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1917) 224. John Brown of Wamphray is noted as "probably born and educated at Kirkcudbright."

3. John Howie of Lochgion, *The Scots Worthies Containing A Brief Historical Account of the Most Eminent Noblemen, Gentlemen, Ministers, and others, Who Testified or Suffered for the Cause of Reformation in Scotland from the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century to the Year 1688* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, n.d.) 497. Cf. *The Scots Worthies Their Lives and Testimonies including Many Additional Notes not Contained in the Original Collection*, edited by Rev. J.A. Wylie, assisted by Rev. James Anderson (London: William MacKenzie, Ludgate Hill, E.C, n.d.) 490.

in his masterful work, *The Life of Justification Opened*.¹ Among the "Adversaries of the Orthodox Doctrine of Justification" which Brown confronts is the now better known English divine of the same period, Richard Baxter (1615–1691), whose aberrant views are found in his works entitled, *Treatise of justifying Righteousness* and *Discourse of the two Covenants*.

Most everyone knows of the "First" Reformation of the sixteenth century, but the "Second" Reformation is not so popular. The "First" flew the banner, "None but Christ saves," while the "Second" flew the banner, "None but Christ reigns." John Brown was a prolific writer, who, for defending this standard of the seventeenth century Reformation, was exiled to Holland, where he wrote his many volumes defending the crown rights of King Jesus.

Born in Galloway, Scotland in about 1610, John Brown won the heart of Samuel Rutherford who wrote of Brown to one of his numerous correspondents in 1637, "I never could get my love off that man. I think Christ has something to do with him."² To John Brown's mother, Jean, an intelligent and pious woman,³ Rutherford wrote from Aberdeen on the 13th of March 1637, while John himself was a mere youth (either 26 or 27 years old), "I rejoice to hear your son John is coming to visit Christ, and to taste of his love. I hope he shall not lose his pains, or rue that choice. I had always, 'as I said to you,' a great love to dear Mr. John, because I thought I saw Christ in him more than in his brethren. Fain would I write to him to stand by my sweet Master; and I wish you would let him read my letter, and the joy I have, if he will appear for, and side with my Lord Jesus" (Wylie, 497).

John Brown was educated in Edinburgh University (MA, 24 July 1630) as an ardent Covenanter and erudite theologian. He was ordained the second minister of the church at Wamphray, Annandale, in the Presbytery of

Lochmaben.⁴ Howie writes that “He was indefatigable in his pastoral labours in that parish, as well as throughout Annandale” (Howie, 497). John Brown would remain on in Wamphray until he was in his very early fifties. He took a strong stand against the Prelacy which led to his being summoned to appear before the Council on 6 November 1662 charged with “abusing and reproaching some ministers for keeping the diocesan synod with the archbishop of Glasgow, calling them perjured knaves for so doing, because they had promised the contrary to him” (Howie, 497). The Council found him guilty and ordered him to be secured a prisoner in the Tolbooth until further orders.

The winter of 1662 in that prison was extremely hard on Mr. Brown. He petitioned, after five weeks therein, to be released for “want of free air” else he would lose his life. The council granted his request, ordering him to depart the king’s domain and not return without license from his majesty and the council or he would be put to death. On 11 December 1662 he was granted “free air” and given two months to arrange travel out of Scotland. In the spring of 1663 he landed in Holland and resided partly at Rotterdam and partly at Utrecht. From this asylum of banished Covenanters, Brown would write volumes with the hope of encouraging and strengthening his brothers and sisters to maintain faithfulness to the covenanting principles. His writings were used of the LORD to strengthen the faith of the Covenanters in Scotland such that Prelate Sharp encouraged Charles II in 1676 to write to the States-General of Holland demanding that the likes of Robert M’Ward, John Brown and Colonel James Wallace be expelled from Rotterdam as well. Reluctantly the States-General asked Brown to leave for Germany on 6 July 1677 because Charles II threatened to break friendship with Holland if Brown was not further exiled. A year later he was allowed to return to Rotterdam (Howie, 492).

John Brown was famous in his day “for learning and faithfulness, [for being a] warm and pathetic (i.e., evoking tenderness) preacher; in controversy he was acute, masculine, and strong; in history, plain and comprehensive; in divinity, substantial and divine” (Howie, 493). In the preface to the 1766 edition of his Commentary on the book of Romans, it is noted that “the particular grounds and causes why he was thus inhumanly and barbarously treated, was his strict attachment to, and maintaining the binding force and perpetual obligations of the nation’s solemn vows and covenants; his refusing acceptation of the then sinful Indulgences;... his public and zealous testifying against tolerations....”⁵ This is the man who went on to write volumes in both Latin

and English while in exile in Holland, and many of his works were translated into Dutch by his colleague and friend, Jacobus Koelman.

Now that the reader is more familiar with our teacher, let us turn our attention to his critique of Richard Baxter’s view of justification and the reader will see why it is that as this writer read Brown he could not help but to think of our present day “Justification Controversy.” It is particularly the question of the role of works in justification that caught the writer’s eye.

At the root of the controversy in Brown’s day was the meaning of the Apostle Paul in his words recorded in Romans 4:3, *Faith is imputed unto Righteousness*. Is our act of believing imputed to us as righteousness? The phrases, *Abraham believed God*, and *it was counted unto him for righteousness* and *his faith is counted for righteousness* and *faith was counted to Abraham for righteousness*, all seem to the reader that one’s act of believing is imputed to the believer as righteousness. Servetus, Socinus, Arminius and the Papiſts all subscribe to this view of justification, that is, the believer’s act of faith is imputed as righteousness. Is their understanding of this verse correct? The Scottish Covenanter says, “No!” By critiquing Richard Baxter’s erroneous teaching regarding faith’s role in justification the reader will be better able to appreciate the Reformation doctrine of *sola fide*. Baxter, widely known for his excellent book, *Reformed Pastor*, was born November 12, 1615, the Lord’s Day, in a village near High Ercall, England, and died December 8, 1691, in Charterhouse Yard where he assisted the ministry of Matthew Sylvester for roughly five years. Baxter was a Nonconformist in that he rejected the idea of subscribing to the tenets of the Church of England *ex animo*. “[S]ubscription, and the [sign of the] cross in baptism, and the promiscuous giving of the Lord’s Supper to all drunkards, swearers, fornicators, scorners at godliness, etc., that are not excommunicated by a bishop or chancellor that is out of their acquaintance—these three were all that I now became a Nonconformist to.”⁶ Baxter would speak against the *Et cetera* oath

4. *Faſti Ecclesiae Scotticae*, vol. 2. Scott liſts John Haitlie [or Haſtie], M.A. (Edinburgh, 25th July 1618); min. in 1632; died before Sept. 1659, as the firſt miniſter of the church which was dedicated to St. Cuthbert with a chapel of St. Bernard in the perih, ſince the Reformation. John Brown is cited as his ſucceſſor around 1655. This would make Mr. Brown approximately 45 years of age when he was inſtalled at Wamphray.

5. John Brown of Wamphray, *An Expoſition of the Epiſtle of Paul the Apoſtle, to the Romans, with large Practical Obſervations, delivered in ſeveral lectures* (Edinburgh: Printed by David Paterson. MDCCLXVI [1766]) v.

6. *The Autobiography of Richard Baxter being the Reliquiae Baxter-*

which called ministers to swear “That we would never consent to the alteration of the present government of the Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, etc.” (19). He also decried the “Ship-money” as ordered by the King. Later in his life he was in conflict with Bishop Laud, as was Brown. Dean Stanley called him “the chief of English Protestant Schoolmen.” Others refer to him as an English Puritan church leader, divine scholar and controversialist.

THE QUALITY OF THE RIGHTEOUSNESS IMPUTED

The first question Brown asks concerns the quality of the righteousness imputed. Is it perfect or imperfect righteousness which Abraham enjoys on account of his faith? Since justification rests on perfect righteousness, the imperfect righteousness which one's faith is only capable of demonstrating leaves one still unrighteous if one's faith alone results in the imputation of righteousness. An impure faith is not able to result in a perfect righteousness. Brown says, “The reason is, because our faith is not perfect in itself, there being much dross admixed, and many degrees wanting in it; far less can it be a Perfect Righteousness, seeing a Perfect Righteousness must comprehend full Obedience to the whole Law of God” (314).

Brown goes on to argue that “Imputation” is something made to the believer by God which the believer did not already have. Since Abraham had this faith and exercised it, this faith itself cannot be the imputed righteousness. “Therefore, it is not the act of Believing, properly taken, that is imputed, or accounted here” (315). One is not able to bestow something which already is present. Therefore, the word “impute” cannot mean “account,” because “account” means “bestow, grant or reckon” to someone. It can only mean, “esteem, judge or repute” according to Brown. “But when God esteemeth, judgeth, or reputeth any thing to be in us, he doth not change it, nor make it something, that it was not before; but judgeth it to be, what it is indeed, for his judgment is according to truth *Rom. 2: 2*” (315). Since righteousness is revealed from faith to faith (Romans 1:17) and not according to the works of the law, for by that no flesh shall be justified, the act of believing cannot be imputed unto righteousness, it is all of grace. No room is left the believer to boast. God's grace is set forth in the propitiation one enjoys through faith in Jesus Christ's blood (Romans 3:24, 25). Boasting would certainly be the result of one's act of believing if

it was imputed as righteousness. The righteousness of Christ would be of naught. Verses 2 and 3 of Romans 4 make clear that Abraham's works could not form the basis of his righteousness for they were imperfect only. Imperfect faith begets imperfect works, not perfect righteousness. If one's act of believing is the ground and formal object of righteousness, room is left for glorying in oneself.

Verses 4 and 5 make it abundantly clear when Paul says, “Now to him, that worketh, is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt: but to him, that worketh not, but believeth on him, that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for Righteousness.” Brown concludes, “Now if Faith, properly taken, be imputed, the reckoning shall be of just debt: for to reckon a man righteous, who is righteous antecedent to that act of accounting, is no act of grace, but of just debt: but Faiths being accounted for Righteousness is an act of grace, and therefore it must be the Object of Faith, or the Righteousness, that Faith laith hold on, that is here said to be counted upon the Beleevers score; and this indeed is no act of just debt, but of grace.” The Scottish theologian further points out that if faith, that is, the act of believing on the part of the sinner, is imputed for righteousness, then God may not be called the justifier of the ungodly. “But if we take faith here, for the object of faith, or for the Righteousness of Christ, which faith fleeth unto, and layth hold on, all is clear and harmonious; for when a man is not a worker, but believeth, and he believeth on God, that justifieth the ungodly, that is one, that hath no Righteousness in himself, but must have it elsewhere; even imputed to him, and bestowed upon him, through Faith; and when he thus believeth, or layth hold on Christ's Righteousness, this Righteousness, which by faith he leaneth to, is counted on his score for Righteousness, and he is thereupon Justified” (316).

Brown works his way through the rest of the verses in this fourth chapter of Romans to show that the righteousness enjoyed through one's faith is not found in faith itself but in the object of one's faith, namely the Lord Jesus Christ. Abraham was counted righteous before he was circumcised. If it were after his circumcision, an act of obedience, one might argue that his faith was reckoned as righteous, but this was not the case. Neither is it the case with Gentiles who are reckoned righteous through faith. Both Abraham and all Gentiles who are counted as righteous find that righteousness in the promised seed of the woman, in whom all nations of the earth should be blessed if embraced by faith (verses 9–11). In verse 13 we find that the righteousness is not an act of virtue and obedience because if that were so

ianae Abridged from the folio [1696] (Rpt. Mobile, Ala.: R E Publications, n.d.) 17.

our righteousness would be based on the Law. But the promise is made on the basis of the righteous seed, not on the works of the Law. If one's righteousness is rooted in one's act of believing it is not free nor gracious but earned as set forth in verse 13. Brown points out that "the very essence of justifying faith lyeth in looking to, laying hold on and leaning to a free and gracious promise" (317). Verse 15 clearly shows that the Law works wrath and not righteousness unto the sinner. An act of obedience to the Law cannot become our righteousness because the Law requires perfect obedience and not one of the natural born sons or daughters of Adam obeys perfectly. Brown moves on to point out that Baxter seeks to support his idea that one's act of believing is imputed as righteousness on two other false notions. Baxter argues, first, "that our Faith or our act of believing is the whole of our Gospel-Righteousness ..." and "that Christ hath procured that it should be so, by procuring the New Covenant, whereof this faith is made the Condition" (327).

Drawing on Baxter's words as found on page 48 of *The Discourse of the two Covenants*, our exiled author shows again that Baxter rejects the notion that it is the righteousness of Jesus which is imputed to the believer. Baxter argues, "That God, in a way of special grace, or by virtue of a new Law of grace and favour, which was established by God, in Christ (Gal. 3:17) that is, in reference to what Christ was to do and suffer, in time then to come, did reckon his practical faith to him [Abraham] for Righteousness, that is, that which in the eye of the new Law, should passe in his estimation for righteousness, subordinate to Christ's Righteousness, which procured this grant or Law." And from page 40 of Baxter's work, Brown reveals, "That it is an act of God's special favour, and by virtue his new Law of grace, that such a faith, as he hath described (that is, a faith taking in all Gospel Obedience, as we saw above) comes to be reckoned or imputed to a man for Righteousness; and through God's imputing it for righteousness, to stand a man in the same, if not a better stead, as to his eternal concern, as a person fulfilling of the original Law from first to last would have done. Christ's Righteousness being presupposed the only Meritorious Cause of this grant or Covenant." And further from page 50, "There are two things, which constitute and make up the Righteousness of the Law of Grace, first, that which consisteth in the forgiveness of sins and 2. the righteousness of sincere obedience: And in inference to both, he saith, faith is imputed for righteousness by virtue of the Law of Grace; for, saith he, faith as practical is imputed to a man for righteousness, as it is that and all that,

which is required of him himself by the Law of Grace, to entitle him to the righteousness, which consisteth in remission of sins." And finally from page 52 Brown quotes Baxter, "That faith is imputed for righteousness, which is practical or productive of sincere obedience, without which properly it is not a fulfilling of the Law of Grace, as a condition of the promised benefites, and consequently cannot justifie a man, in the eye of that Law: for, as he addeth, there must be repentance, and forgiving men their injuries, and faith must be such as worketh by love, and then he tells us, that Abraham was justified by his works. Jam. 2" (327-328).

In order to further show the error of this thinking John Brown cites a work supporting the old Socinianism. Socinus writes in *de Servat.* (lib. 4. c. 4, 7, 11)

God justified the ungodly, but now converted, penitent, and after he hath left off to be ungodly: the justified are not ungodly in themselves, neither are they so called, yea they are not sinners, and which is more, they do not now sinne. And so faith and works, that is, obedience to the commands of Christ, as the forme of faith, doth jusifie us before God, and by them through them (per illa, ex illis) he justifieth us. Smalcus disþ. 4. Faith, Charity &c. are so far from being effects of justification, that without them justification can no way really exist, for God justifieth no man, but him, who is completely adorned with all these vertues – yea the study of good works and walkeing before God were the case (though not the chiefe) of the justification of Noah, Abraham and others, who are said to be justified by faith. Socin. ubi supra de Serv lib. I. c. 4. Faith doth not justifie by its proper vertue, but by the mercy and good will of God, who justifieth such, as do such a work, and imputeth it for righteousness. With Paul, to have righteousness imputed is nothing else, but to have faith imputed, and to be accounted just. [sic] faith is so imputed to us, as that because of faith, we, howbeit guilty of many unrighteousness, are esteemed perfectly righteous, or God so dealeth with us, as if we were perfectly righteous, who can doubt, that the Apostle meaneth no other thing than that we are not righteous before God, because our works require that, as a due reward, but because it hath so seemed good to the Lord, to take our faith in place of righteousness; so that we receive the reward of grace, by which we are declared righteous before him (328).⁷

7. Brown is citing Faustus Socinus, *De Iesu Christo servatore, hoc est, cur & qua ratione Iesus Christus noster servator fit ... disputatio* ([Krakoiw]: A. Rodecki, 1594); also in *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1 ([Amsterdam]: 1656).

These thoughts of Baxter, Brown believes, are adequately handled by the orthodox writings already in print against the Papists, Socinians, and Arminians, therefore he only offers a few reasons why Baxter's teaching is not to be accepted. In the first place Brown shows that Baxter is, in effect, saying that faith alone is not sufficient unto justification. "The Apostle argueth thus, we are Justified by faith; therefore we are not Justified by works. This man reasoneth on the contrary, we are justified by faith; therefore we are justified by works; because by a faith that includeth works; as if the Apostle had meant a Faith that was dead, and had no affinity with works" (329).

Second, Baxter confounds that which is required of a believer, or of such who are in covenant with God, with that which enables one to enter into covenant with God. Brown uses the example of marriage. How foolish it is to think that "all the marriag-duties, required of such as were already in that marriage state, were conditions of entering into the marriag-state."

Third, Baxter confounds justification with glorification. He does this by "making all that Faith and sincere obedience, which is required in order to actual Salvation and Glorification, to be necessary before Justification: And thereby must say, that no man hath his sins pardoned, so long as he liveth; but if he be sincerely obedient, he is in the way to a Pardon, to Justification." Baxter wrote, "The just man in the eye of this new Law, ... is everyone that rightly believes, repents, and sincerely obeyes, because that is all that it requires of a man himself to his Justification and Salvation." Justification and salvation obviously go together with Baxter in that they have the same condition.

Fourth, Baxter confounds the two covenants, "or gives us a new Covenant of Works, instead of the Covenant of Grace; for this practical Faith, which includeth all obedience, hath the same place, force and efficacy in the new Covenant, that complete Obedience had in the old. And this Gospel is but the old Law of works, only with this change, that where as the old Law required Perfect Obedience to the end, in order to Justification and Salvation; this new Covenant of works requireth Sincere Obedience to the end, in order to Justification and Salvation ... as *Adam* would have been, if he had continued in obedience to the end; and this Faith and sincere Obedience is as really, and to all ends and purposes, as effectually and formally our Righteousness, as Perfect Obedience would have been the Righteousness of *Adam*" (329). This would mean that the reward reckoned is a debt paid, and not of grace at all. Hence, all glory and boasting falls to those with sincere faith.

Fifth, Baxter confounds the *right* to, with the *possession* of eternal life, relative to their cause and antecedents. For the orthodox the new and holy obedience is that the kingdom of God may be possessed, while for Baxter, "it is made the cause or way of the Right *jus* to the Kingdom" (330). This is contrary to Galatians 3:18.

Brown of Wamphray maintains that when Baxter talks about Christ's righteousness, he argues that if it

is alike common to all, to the Reprobate as well, as to the Elect, and so it can be imputed properly to none: And as to its effective Imputation (as *Suarez* calleth it) or Imputation, as to its effects or in its causality (as other speak) after that it is offered and held forth to all, and hath the same common effects, unto all, until the condition be performed, that dependeth wholly upon mans performance of the Conditions; And as to its antecedent effects, it is equally and absolutely imputed to all; that is, it is imputed to none, but the effects are equally made common to all, in making Salvation possible, and the condition to be faith.... all that, which Christ procured, was That all such, as should acquire a Gospel-Righteousness of their owne, should be justified &c. And thus Christ died to purchase a vertue and merite to our faith, and that to this end, it should become a Gospel-Righteousness, whereby they might have whereof to boast and to glory before men, at least (331).

Baxter seeks to answer this objection and Brown quotes him, "In regard of that justification, which is from the accusation of the Law of works, I say faith is but a condition and no otherwise justifieth, but because it is made that condition by a New-Law, per legem remedium, and we must be judged by that Law: therefore, when the case is, whether we have performed the conditions of that new law, or not? then faith is materially that Righteousness, by which we must be justified, against all accusations of Non-performance" (333). Brown still sees in this that faith is made the condition of the believer's righteousness and because it is made a new condition by the new law, this righteousness is said to be complete and perfect, as all righteousness must be, however that is impossible for man to offer.

From this concern Brown takes his readers to consider how faith may be a condition of justification. "It may be of some use.... to enquire in what way faith is and may be called a Condition.... The orthodox never denied, that it may be called a Condition.... yet withal we must alwayes look upon Faith, as an Instrument, or Instrumental Meane in Justification, because of its

being as the hand of the soul to receive, bring-in, grip to and lay hold on the Righteousness of Christ, as the Righteousness of a Cautioner and of a publick person, to the end they might be Justified, Absolved from the sentence of the Law, and Accounted and pronounced Righteous, in the sight of God" (339). Because Socinians and Arminians cast the whole Gospel in a new mould, they deny faith to be an instrument and "assert, that it is only a Condition, or a *cause sine qua non*, as they speak ..." (339). Because they understood "that Faith properly taken was imputed unto Righteousness, and by vertue of Christ's merites was accepted of God for a Righteousness, and was so accounted and now consequentially they must say, that Faith (together with new Obedience, which they, also adde and conjoine, as making up one Righteousness) is to be looked upon, as a Condition, or *causa sine quo non*" (340).

After a careful consideration of the various ways the word "condition" is used in the writings of the 15th and 16th centuries, Brown concludes, "We know, how variously the word *Condition* is used, in our ordinary language: and how some time, that is called a condition, which is the real price, and worth of the thing given upon that condition; as when a man is willing to quite his house, lands or horse to another, upon condition of so much money, which is the real price, or valuable consideration: if we should call Faith and Good Works such a condition, the error would be worse than Popish" (340–341). There are times when a person of whom a certain condition is required, has the full power to perform the condition, except when there is some inevitable and unforeseen impediment which befalls the person, but how can faith be reckoned in this fashion? It is not within man's power to believe. "Whereby to all, who are not Pelagians, Socinians and Arminians in this matter, but acknowledge Faith to be the pure gift of God, and wrought by the Spirit, Regenerating the soul and giving an heart of flesh, it may be manifest, that no kinde of Conditions, spoken of by *Lawyers*, who treat only of Compacts, and other Actions, betwixt man and man, can comprehend this matter; whereof we are now speaking" (341).

No one makes a promise based upon a condition unless that condition is fully within the ability of the person making the promise doing it. If one made a promise based on a condition which could not be met, it would be an *impossible condition*. A *casual condition* is one which the person making the promise is capable of keeping. What sort of condition is faith unto one's salvation? From a human perspective it is an *impossible condition* to meet if one must exercise faith to be

justified. Brown uses the following illustration in this connection. "If a father should promise his little child an apple, on condition he should touch the Crown of his fathers head with his finger, which were impossible for him to do, unless the Father should either stoop so low unto him with his head; or take him up in his armes, that he may reach his head; who would call this a *poteslative condition*" (341)? This is what Baxter calls the condition of the Covenant, a *poteslative condition*. Baxter wants to talk about a "Potential Right" according to Brown. With this Baxter's universalism seems to be revealed.

But what is a Potential Right? Is it the same with a remote right? and how very far remote must that Right be (if it be at all) which the Reprobat have? And is there no difference as to this *Remote* and *Potential Right*, or what way it may be called, which is opposite to an *Actual Right* betwixt the Reprobat and the Elect, before Faith? It is like, Mr. Baxter will say, there is none, by reason that the Redemption is Universal and for all alike, and so that Right, how ever it be called, that proceedeth the Actual Right, is equally common to all, if we meane that Potential Right, which followeth upon the Redemption. But to us, who affirme, that Christ died only for the Elect, and that he took on their debt, and in due time made full satisfaction, according to his undertaking, these Elect ones for whom Christ engaged, in the Covenant of Redemption, have another sort of right, call it Potential, or what you will, than the Reprobat have: because Christ hath purchased all the blessings, promised in the Covenant, unto them: and he hath a Right kepted, for them, and not for the rest: so that a Right unto all these good things, being purchased by their Lord Redeemer, and Cautioner, and left to them as his sure legacie, in his Testament, and all so ensured, that in due times: according to the methode condescended upon, they shall be put in possession of the same, their Right is in Christ's purchase, and they are put in actual Possession of Justification, when they believe; which Faith is also purchased for them: all the benefites they shall enjoy concerning grace and glory are equally by him purchased, and are equally neer related unto his merites and death, as to the right, though as to the actual collation, Sovereigne wisdom hath appointed an Order and determining of one, before another, and so hath resolved to give faith, and then Justification &c. Although it be true, that in this case, what is *in conditione, non est in obligatione*, as to the actual possession; yet we cannot think, but a holy and Just God, having received satisfaction from the Mediator, in behalfe of such, for whom it was laid down, is under an obligation (as we

may conceive, and speake) unto the Mediator, to cause him see of the travel of his soul, and to give him his seed, and those he purchased, and in due time to call them effectually, and work Faith in them, and then Justifie &c. Adopt them &c thus bestow all the benefites purchased upon them, in the time and methode wisely determined. But if Mr. Baxter understand by this *jus actuale*, that is constituted upon the performance of the condition, a plaine, and simple Right unto the benefite, we can acknowledge no such Condition, lest we render the death of Christ void: for in him alone, have we all our Law-title and Right to all the blessings of the Covenant, to Faith, and all that follow upon it (342).

After giving ten reasons why faith cannot be a condition of justification, Brown gives the following reason as to why faith may be spoken of as a condition of one's justification.

That Christ having purchased all the good things of the Covenant, all the sure Mercies of David, all Grace, and all Glory, unto the chosen ones, and the Father having promised the actual collation and bestowing of all and every one of these mercies and blessings, so purchased and procured; and Jehovah and the Mediator both, in the counsel of their will condescending on such a methode and way of making the ransomed ones the owners of the Blessings purchased, that is, first to give the New Heart and the heart of flesh and in effectually calling, worke them up to Faith in and Union with Christ and so draw them to the mediator, and cause them accept of him, and wait upon him, and rest there, for life and salvation; and then to Justifie, Accepte of as Righteous, Adopte them, and then worke the works of holiness by his Spirit and more, in their soul; and so carrie on the work unto Perfection, till grace be crowned with glory: matters, I say, being thus wisely ordered, in the counsel of heaven, there is a Priority of order; Faith, receiving Christ, and resting on his Surety-righteousness, going before; and Justification following, and a firme connexion made betwixt the two, that who so ever beleeveth thus, shall be justified, and none shall be justified who beleeveth not thus: Now, when by vertue of this constitute order and Method, explained and revealed in the Gospel, the Ambassadors of Christ, in obedience to their Injunctions, call upon all, who heare the Gospel, to receive Christ and refuge themselves under his wings, and receive the atonement through his Righteousness, and promise them thereupon, in their Masters name, Pardon, Peace with God, Reconciliation; and acceptance &c. nothing more is here insinuated, than that such a Methode and Order is wisely

determined, and that there is a fixed connexion made betwixt Faith and Justification; so that who ever would be saved from the wrath to come; would enjoy God for ever, must come unto God in this way, and according to this methode, and must receive his blessings and Favours, in this order, first believe, and lay hold on Christ's and his Righteousness, and then receive Justification &c. Thus we see faith is no legal, Antecedent Condition, no Proper or Poteslative Condition; but only a consequent, or Evangelick Condition, or a Condition denoting a fixed and prescribed Order and Method of receiving of the blessings purchased by Christ, with a firme and fixed connexion betwixt the performance of the condition, and the granting of the thing promised thereupon. Thus Christ hath the whole glory of the work; Man is abased, and hath nothing to glory in himself; The reward is not of debt, but purely of grace; The wisdom and love of God is wonderful and remarkable; All ground of carnal security and self confidence is removed; A plaine and powerful ground is laid for ministers, to press, exhort, and obtest to Faith in the first place, with all seriousness and zeal; Full security and ground of confidence of being Justified and Accepted of God upon our believing, is given; The difference betwixt the Covenant of works and the Covenant of Grace, is distinctly observed; The *Antinomian* mistakes, saying we are Justified from eternity, or at the death of Christ, or at any time before faith, are manifestly obviated; And all grounds of excepting against, or dissatisfaction with this way, are removed from all such, as will willingly comply with the designe of free grace, in the Gospel (345–346).

In contrast with Baxter, Brown is in harmony with the majority of Reformed thinkers in speaking of faith as *Instrumental* in one's justification. He says, "[O]ur Divines did owne and plead for Faiths Instrumentality, in the matter of Justification, viz. because the Righteousness, which they called the Formal, or others the Material Cause thereof, was not any Righteousness inherent in us, as *Papists* said; but the Surety-Righteousness of the Cautioner Christ, without us: And therefore they behoved to look on Faith, in this matter, otherways then *Papists* did, and not account it a part of our Formal Righteousness, but only look upon it, as an hand to lay hold on and bring in the Surety-Righteousness of Jesus Christ; and therefore judged it most fit to call it only an Instrumental Cause" (348).

The Scotsman moves to discuss briefly, yet quite helpfully, what the *Papists* say with respect to justification as an instrument. "[Papists] judge the whole Protestant cause naught, because we erre in these, and yet make

this the maine part of the Protestant cause; yet we must not be scarred from these truthes; Yea, because this point hath such a connexion with the other, concerning the Righteousness, upon the account of which we are to be Justified in the sight of God, we are called to contend also for this, and that so much the rather, that though *Papists* do utterly mistake the Nature of Justification, and confound it with Sanctification; yet Mr. Baxter hath more rational apprehensions there about, and yet will not have Christ's Righteousness to be Formal Righteousness, upon the account of which we are Justified." Furthermore, Baxter "will not have Christ's Righteousness to be that Formal Righteousness, upon the account of which we are Justified" (348–349).

This instrumental nature of faith is not to be seen in a strict philosophical sense. Brown and others use the term instrumental as "the Application of the Righteousness of Christ, which is made by Faith, as a meane or mid's laying hold upon without which we cannot be Justified, according to the Gospel; And though in these borrowed expressions from Causes, metaphysical accuracy be not intended, yet the true meaning and intendment of the users of these termes being obvious, it is but vanity, to raise too much dust thereabouts; unless difference about others more Principal Questions, in the matter of Justification, enforce it, as indeed all such as place the Formal Cause or reaction of our justification before God in our own Inherent Righteousness, and not in the Righteousness of Christ imputed to us and received by faith, must of necessity deny all interest of faith here, as an Instrument, or as any thing like it; because, having all their Righteousness within them, they have no use for Faith to lay hold on and bring in one from without" (349).

Brown further elaborates on faith as an instrument,

That God justifieth ἐκ πίστεως, δια πίστεως, *by faith and through faith* and πίσει *by faith* Rom. 3:24, 25, 28, 30. Gal. 3:8. and 2:16. and that even when justification is denied to be by works; So that Faith must have a far other interest in; and must otherwise concur unto our Justification, than any other Works, or Graces; and therefore must be looked upon, as having some peculiarity of interest and influence here, and this peculiarity of interest, can not be otherwayes better expressed, so as the matter shall be cleared, then by calling it an Instrument. Not as if it did concur to the producing of the effect of justification by any Physical operation, as Physical Instruments do; but as a medium and mean required of us, in order to justification, according to the free pleasure of God who disposeth the order and methode of his bestowing

of his Favours upon us, and the Relation and Respect, that one hath unto another, as he seeth most for his own glory, and for our good; and that such a mean, as concurrereth therein, and thereunto, according to what is said, in such a way, as we can best understand by calling it an Instrument.... for Justification is not here taken simply and strickly for that, which is properly God's act, but more largely and complexly, including other things requisite unto justification, such as the Imputation of the Righteousness of Christ, which Faith, as the Instrument or hand of the soul, layeth hold on, and bringeth in, for this end, that the man being clothed therewith, may be acquitted before the Tribunal of God, Pardoned, and accepted of as Righteous. And howbeit it be God, that justifieth, and as to this act of God justifying, Faith hath no real interest or influence; yet Scripture saying, that God justifieth by Faith, and through faith, we must acknowledge some interest, that Faith hath, in the work and Effect; as when the Scripture saith, that He *purifieth the heart by faith* Act 15:9. the purifying of the heart is God's work, and yet it is said to be done by Faith, which is our work. It is said Heb. 11:11 that *through faith Sara herself received strength to conceive seed* and vers. 33. 34 that some *through faith subdued Kingdomes, stopped the mouthes of Lions, quenched the violence of fire &c.* all which were the works of God, and yet while they are said to be done by faith, faith must have had some interest and influence in these effects. So in working faith in the soul, which is God's work alone, the Lord useth the preaching of the Gospel, and ministers, and the peoples hearkening and listening to what is preached, as means and midses thereunto; though preaching and hearing be mens work, yet God useth them for his ends; and as he sendeth Preachers to preach and moveth persons to hear, that thereby he may, according to his own will and pleasure, work Faith in them; so he worketh Faith in souls, that he may, thereby Justify them ... But that Faith hath some Influence, is manifest from the Scripture, not of it self, it is true, but by the gracious appointment of God; and that this Influence cannot be better and more saifly expressed, than by the name of an Instrument, appeareth to us clear; hereby nothing of the glory due to God, or unto Jesus Christ, and to his Righteousness, is ascribed unto man, nor is any more hereby granted unto Man, than a beggar, as to the enriching of himself, when it is said his hand made him rich, by receiving the Purse of gold, that was given unto him: yea hereby is Christ and his Righteousness more fixedly established, in their due place, because faith is considered not as a Righteousness of it self, nor as a part of Righteousness; but purely and simply as an Instrument of the soul laying hold on

the Righteousness of Christ, and pleading the same, as the only Formal ground of his justification before God (350–351).

Brown explains what he means by faith justifying.

When we speak of Faiths justifying, as an Instrument, we consider the physical, or *quai* physical way of its operation, and denote only its kindly acting on Jesus Christ, and on his Righteousness which it layeth hold on, applyeth, apprehendeth, and putteth on. And when we say it justifies as a condition, we consider it as appointed of God unto that end, and as placed by Him, in that state and relation unto justification, which now it hath: And either of these can be called the *proxima ratio causalis* of Faith, according to its different consideration: if justification, (meaning not God's act only, but the complex relative change) be considered in *genere Physico*; or *quasi physico*, then the nearest causal interest of faith, is its instrumentality: but if it be considered in *genere morali*, or *legali*, then its nearest causal interest is, that it is a condition. As when a rich man bestoweth a purse of gold on a beggar, and requireth that he, in order to the possessing of it, stretch forth his hand, and take it, considering this an act of enriching him in *genere physico*, his hand acteth herein, as an Instrument, apprehending the purse, and taking it to himself: considering this, in *genere legalis* or *moralis*, the stretching forth of the hand, and apprehending the purse is a condition; for the donor hath determined to give the riches, after such a manner and methode, for his own ends, according to his own good pleasure. Thus we see, how faith can, in its way, produce one and the same effect of justification, both as Instrument, and as a Condition (352).

Another way Brown seeks to show the difference between what he means by faith being an instrument and what Baxter means when he speaks of faith as an instrument is found in the following:

In our sense, faith is no more, but as the hand receiving bread, and as the mouth eating it, in order to food and nourishment thereby; in their sense, faith is made the very food and nourishment, or meat it self that nourisheth: When we say, that Faith Justifieth as an Instrument, it is but, as if we said, man liveth by his hands taking meat, and by his mouth eating it; when they say, that faith justifieth as a work, and that the τὸ *credere* is imputed for Righteousness, it is, as if they said, the hand and the mouth are the very food, or the meat it-self, by which we live and are nourished: we look upon

Faith as an Instrument, as upon the hand and mouth, as instruments of nourishment, ascribe all the vertue of nourishment unto the meat. They, denying the hand and the mouth to be considered here as Instruments, and saying that we live and are nourished by the hand and the mouth, (just as they do, when they make the τὸ *credere* our Righteousness, in reference to justification) ascribe all the vertue of nourishment unto the hand and the mouth, and so set up the hand and the mouth, in the place, that is due unto the meat, and rob the meat, of that power and vertue, that is only proper to it. Yet with all, when we say, that hands and mouth nourish us as Instruments, we do not deny, but in a general sense, our receiving of meat with our hands, and eating of it with our mouth, are conditions of nourishment, importing hereby, that the wise God hath appointed this order and methode, giving us hands to receive meat, and mouths to eat it, and a stomach to digest it, in order to the living, and receiving thereby nourishment; only we do not say, they are such conditions, as have all the vertue of nourishment in them (353–354).

Brown contrasts the idea of faith being a condition in the Covenant of Works and in the Covenant of Grace this way. “Adam’s perfect obedience might have been called the condition of a free gift: and we cannot give the same place and power to Faith in the New Covenant, that perfect obedience had in the old; for Adam if he had perfectly obeyed, had gote his reward without any intervention of a Price by a Mediator, purchasing it, but we must hold all our reward solely of Christ, that he may have the glory of all” (355).

REPENTANCE

Brown spends a whole chapter discussing the interest repentance has in one’s justification. It will help us to understand what this Scottish Covenanter believes biblical *repentance* means.

The Hebrew word, which is rendered *repent*, is of a general signification for it signifieth *to return*, whether from a place, or from the distemper of our minds, or from our former courses; and so denoteth a motion or change of the body from one place to another; or of the mind from any purpose, or of the whole way and walk, and in special, it sometime signifieth a change of the whole man to the better, both as to his Mind, Resolution, and Deportment, and thus denoteth a mans turning unto God: And accordingly we read in the *New Testam.* of the Prodigals coming or returning to himself, or to his right

mind and wits; and we heare of Repentance towards God. In the *New Testam.* there are two greek words, the one μεταμέλεται importing such a change, as it attended with after care; and the other μετανοεῖν signifying such a change, as denoteth after-wit or after thought. Some do so difference the two, as that they say the last signifieth so to sorrow for what is done, as to amended it, called by the latines *Resipiscere* and therefore properly is meant of a good and saving Repentance, wherein the penitent returneth to his right wits, so as to reforme and amend what hath been amisse; and the *other* denoteth properly care, anxiety and solicitude after something done, called by the Latines *panitere*, and this may be used in an evil sense, as denoting properly no change of minde or carriage to the better, but simply such a trouble and anxiety for what is done, as maketh them wish, it were not done, whether the thing done was good or evil. But in the *New Test.* we finde not this difference constantly observed; for μεταμέλομαι is taken both in a good sense, for a good Repentance, and saving *Mat. 21:32, 29.* and for a common Repentance, that is not saving. *Mat. 27:3.* where mention is made of *Judas* repenting μετανοέω indeed and μετανοοῖα that cometh therefrom, import a good and saving Repentance, except. *Heb. 12:17* (357).

Brown finds the word repentance is used in three ways. First, repentance is used in a common sense. There may be a legal sorrow brought about by conviction of hazard, because of sin, with the accompanying grief, however, nothing more than what happened with Judas when he exercised repentance for his betrayal of Jesus takes place. This sort of repentance is not accompanied with the forgiveness of sins. 2 Corinthians 7:10 is cited as the biblical basis for repentance having this sense. Second, there is a repentance which is common to those who are already justified and pardoned. Such repentance is accompanied by “Self-aborring, Self-lothing, Melting of heart, and Tenderness and the like. *Ezek. 16:63 ... 36–25, 26, 27, 28. comp. with vers. 31*” (358). Finally there is repentance which is a saving work of the Spirit going along with Faith. This repentance arises from the sense of sin committed and an apprehension of the mercy of God in Christ. This causes spiritual grief, sorrow and indignation at themselves and their sinful ways. Sin is hated and there is a fixed purpose to forsake it accompanied with a turning to the Lord. This is frequently mentioned in the Bible. It is this repentance which Brown says may be understood in two ways. “*First* as it is in these, in whom the Lord is working a work of Conversion, and whom He is translating out of darkness into the Kingdom of his

dear Son, and *Secondly* as it is in such, as are already brought in to a justified state, after new sins committed (358).

It is to the first use which the Scot directs our attention “because we are speaking of Justification, which holdeth forth a change of state, as was formerly explained” (358). Brown finds nine different senses of the word repentance in the Scriptures. Briefly they are:

(1) It denotes grief, sorrow or what is called contrition. This is explained by sitting in sackcloth as in Luke 10:33. Jeremiah 8:6 and 2 Corinthians 11:21 are also cited as examples of this sense of repentance.

(2) It denotes mostly a change of former courses and ways, whether from error as in 2 Timothy 2:25 or from dead works as in Hebrews 6:1. Other Scriptures include 2 Chronicles 7:14, Ezekiel 18:21, Acts 8:22 and Revelation 2:21, 22.

(3) It denotes the entire work of conversion and turning unto God. Acts 26:20, 3:19, Ezekiel 18:30, Deuteronomy 4:29, 30, Hosea 5:4, 2 Chronicles 7:14, and Revelation 3:19 all demonstrate Brown’s point.

(4) It is sometimes expressly distinguished from Godly sorrow and is mentioned as a consequent or fruit and effect as 2 Corinthians 7:9.

(5) It is sometimes expressly distinguished from faith as Acts 20:21, Hebrews 6:1 and Jeremiah 31:19.

(6) It may signify nothing else than receiving the Gospel and believing in Christ. Mark 1:15 is Jesus’ proclamation of what John the Baptist proclaimed as in Matthew 3:2, 11, Mark 1:4, Luke 3:3, Acts 13:24, 19:4, Matthew 4:17, Mark 1:14, Luke 10:9, Matthew 10:7, Luke 6:9, Mark 6:12, Matthew 9:13, Mark 2:17, Luke 5:32, Luke 15:7, 10 and Matthew 18:11, Luke 15:4, 19:10, Matthew 11:20, Acts 2:38, 11:18, 26:18, 20.

(7) Sometimes it denotes a recovery from some measure of defection into which a person has backsliden as Revelation 2:5 and 3:3.

(8) It is distinguished from works of obedience that follow upon and flow from repentance. Matthew 3:8, Luke 3:8 and Acts 26:10 show this sense of repentance. Finally,

(9) Sometimes it includes everything pertaining to salvation upon man’s part as 2 Peter 3:9. Luke 13:3, 5, Acts 5:31, 17:30 and Luke 24:47 all help us understand how repentance may be taken to refer to the whole of salvation (359–360).

ROMAN CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF REPENTANCE

Our attention is now directed to understand that Brown does not accept the *Papists* doctrine about repentance.

He says, “That the Question is not, whether the doctrine of *Papists* about Repentance in order to Justification, be to be owned, in whole, or in part? for none now appeareth in the direct owning of their Assertions, who commonly are utterly ignorant of true Justification, as different from Sanctification, as may sufficiently appeare by the very naming of their positions for (1) They look upon Repentance as having force and efficacy to expell sin, as light hath to expell darkness, taking Remission to be a destroying of the very being of sin, and expelling of Corruption by contrary gracious Qualities, and inherent Holiness, of which they make Repentance a part. (2) They make Repentance concur, as a material cause disposing the soul for receiving a gracious Quality, for the expelling of sin. (3) They make Repentance to obtain pardon by way of merite, and (4) by way of Satisfaction. Not to mention (5) their Sacrament of Penance” (360).

The question is not “whether the Lord call for Repentance as a duty, at the hands of such as either are to be Justified, or are already justified? for both these we willingly grant, as being divine truthes, richly confirmed in the Scriptures, what ever *Antinomians* say to the contrary.” Neither is the question “whether Repentance be a Condition of the Covenant, or not? For if by *Condition of Covenant*, we understand every thing, that is a duty, required of the Covenanters, it is readily granted, as was said, that Repentance is a duty required of such as are really in Covenant with God; but if by a *Condition of the Covenant* be meant a duty required in order to the closing of the Covenant, or entering into Covenant, upon the performing of which the Covenant is immediatly closed and entered into, this is denied; and abundantly confuted ...” (361). The question is,

if Repentance hath the same Place, Office, Use and Consideration in Justification, that Faith hath; so that it may be every way as well, and as fully called the Condition of Justification, as Faith is; and so that it is called for in order to Justification, upon the same account, and under the same formality, that Faith is called for. *Socinians and Arminians* (as we heard above) joine Repentance and Faith, in the same Order and Place, and ascribe the same Office Use and Power unto both, in order to Justification. And *Baxter* tells us *Confess. Pag. 37. n.12*. The Repentance is made by God, in the Gospel, a proper Condition of our first general pardon of sin, as well as Faith is. And he [Baxter] laith down a ground for this interest of Repentance (which, I suppose, will reach to the including of other works also) in the foregoing n. 18, saying, a quare nus ad omne valet consequential. *If faiths formal interest in*

pardon be, as it is the Condition of the act of pardon, then whatsoever is such a Condition, must have the same Kind of formal interest, as faith. By the first general pardon of sin here, he meaneth Justification; for with him Remissions of sins and Justification is all one thing. And yet afterward pag 96. *Concl. 29.* he hath words which would seem to give some peculiar interest unto Faith; and so contradict what is here said, for he saith. *If any say, that seing faith hath a peculiar aptitude to this office, therefore it must have a peculiar Interest.* I [Brown] answer, so it hath. 1. it doth alone, without (merites, or) any positive Gospel works of obedience (as such at least) procure (as far as belongs to its office) our first full Justification. 2. The love of Christ received, Gratitude &c. are but as modification of Faith, which is called the receiving itself. Though some of them be distinct physical acts, yet all the rest, morally considered, are but as it were, the modification of faith: I mean of that act, which is the acceptance of Christ, and life freely given &c. Now I suppose, he will grant (as he doth above, as we may see) that Repentance hath not that peculiar aptitude, to this office, as he confesseth: I suppose also, that he will put Repentance, in the same rank with Gospel-Works of Obedience; and consequently it must no more share of that special Interest, that belongeth to Faith, in this office, than they: I suppose likewise, that he will grant Repentance to be but a Modification of Faith, as well, as Love and Gratitude: and then I would know, how Repentance can be said to be as proper a Condition of Justification, as Faith is? Sure, if it be as proper, it must have as peculiar an interest, for this peculiarity of Interest cannot respect its aptitude merely, but its designed and appointed state, in that office; otherways the objection, which he moved and answered, should have this sense, seing Faith hath a peculiar aptitude to this office; therefore it must have a peculiar aptitude to this office, which were non sense (361–362).

Brown offers several reasons why repentance does not have the same interest in justification as faith does. First, he points out that the Scriptures nowhere say that justification is by repentance as it does time and again say that justification is by faith. Since the Scriptures do not say we are justified by repentance as it does regarding faith, there must be a vast difference between the two. Some may say that these are “equipollent when it is said, *Repent that your sins may be blotted out: and Repentance and Remission of sins* are joyned together and the like. I [Brown] answer, Leaving the particular examination of these and the like passages alledged, untill afterward, I shall only say this at present. (1) That justification and Remission of sins are not every way

the same. Though *Mr. Baxter* hath several times said it; yet in his *Catholick. Theolo. of God's Covenant &c. Sect. XIII. N. 208.* he saith *our first constitutive justification is in its own Nature a Right to impunity* (and this, as he oft elsewhere tells us, is Remission) and *to life or glory*. Now what is beside a Right to Impunity, also a Right to life and glory, is more than Remission of sins: And therefore the consequence from Remission to Justification cannot stand. (2) In like manner, because it is said *Luk. 6:37 – forgive and it shall be forgiven you*, it may be inferred, that for-giving of our Neighbour some fault, that he hath done us, is the Condition of our Constitutive Justification, and hath as great an interest in our Justification, as Faith it self, and by it we have as really Right to impunity, and Right to life and glory, as by Faith.... I doubt, if *Mr. Baxter* shall make this one and the same with Faith, as he laboureth in his *Catholick Theol.* to make Faith and Repentance" (362).

That being said regarding Baxter's unwillingness to connect forgiveness with faith, he nonetheless desires to have faith and repentance connected.

"*Mr. Baxter* cleareth. *Of God's Govern. Sec. XII.* how Faith and Repentance is all one thing. I [Brown] *Ans.* (1) if the Spirit of the Lord had but once said, in his word, that we were justified by Repentance, we might then be allowed, to think of such explications, as might make either both one thing, or shew, how both hath the same interest in Justification: but when the Scripture never once saith, that we are justified by Repentance, for us to divisse such explications, as to make the Scripture speak what it never speaketh, is not faire, nor is it to edification, because it has no tendency to explaine the matter, as expressed in the Scriptures; and is so far from clearing up the truth, that it darkeneth all; for hereby we are taught to understand faith, wherever we hear of Repentance, and Repentance, where mention is made of Faith; so that we may ascribe all to Repentance, that is spoken of Faith *Heb. 11.* and say, that Repentance is the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen &c. (2) Though it is true, the word *Repentance* (as we have seen) is sometime taken so largely, as to include faith; yet that will not allow us, to say, we are Justified by Repentance, as we are justified by Faith: It is best for us to follow Scripture language: The Scripture expressly denieth, that we are justified by works; and yet Repentance is sometimes, taken in such a large sense, as to include all acts of Obedience; This way then would allow us to say, we are justified by all works of obedience, (even as to constitutive Justification) as we are by Faith: Yet *Mr. Baxter* in his *Confess. P. 89, 90.* putteth a difference betwixt Faith and Evangelick

Obedience as to this Constitutive Justification, making the one, like consent to marriage relation, or taking one to be my Captaine; and the other conjugal fidelity and obedience, or obeying the captain, and fighting under him, and tells us, that he no more comprizeth all Obedience in Faith, than conjugal obedience in the marriage consent. (3) That Repentance is not the same with Faith in the matter of justification; (in reference to which, we now speak of both) will appear from our following reasons: So that whatever paines be taken to make them one, on other accounts, will be to no purpose, as to our present business" (362–363).

John Brown continues to demonstrate that if faith and repentance are considered alike in the matter of justification,

then works shall have the same interest with Faith; but this is diametrically opposite to all the Apostles dispute *Rom. 3. and 4. and Gal. 2. and 3.* The reason of the Consequence is, because Repentance includeth works, and is a special work and act of obedience itself *Mr. Baxter* tells *Confess. p. 94.* That *Paul's scope is both to take down Moses's Law (especially its necessity and conceited sufficiency) and the Dignity of legal works (and consequently of any works) and that therefore by works Paul meaneth to exclude only merites, or works, which are conceited Meritorious, or which for the worth of the deed done, should procure Pardon and acceptance with God, without a Mediators blood; and so Paul himself described the works, that he speaketh against Rom, 4:4. That they are such as make the Reward to be not of Grace, but of debt.* *Ans.* This is but the same we heard before from *John Goodwin*,⁸ the same answer may suffice. (1) If the scope of *Paul* had been only to take down Moses's Law; why did he speak so much of the Gentiles, and shew how they were all under sin, and therefore must be justified by Faith, and not by the Law, or by works? This had no manifest tendency to that scope. (2) Why brought he in the Instance of *Abraham*, who was before the Law of *Moses*? *Abraham's* not being justified by works, could not prove the insufficiency of *Moses's* Law thereunto: (3) To think, that the Jewes did conceite, that they would obtaine Pardon and Acceptance with God, only by their laborious performance of Ceremonies and costly Sacrifices, excluding all Moral acts of obedience, is apparently groundless; contrary to *Rom. 9:30, 31, 32 and 10:3, 4, 5.* and would say, that *Paul* took not a right medium to destroy the nullity of that Law, now under

8. John Goodwin (1594?–1665) is the person whose works initiated Brown's *Life of Justification Opened*.

the Gospel; hereby all occasion of further debate being perfectly removed. (4) *Paul* is so far *Rom. 4:4* from describing the works, that he speaketh of, to be such only as make the reward of debt, that he proveth that Justification cannot be by works, by this *medium*, because then the reward should be reckoned, not of grace, but of debt, and so telleth us, that all works make the reward of debt: This is a manifest perversion of the Apostles argument: for he saith not, *now to him, that so worketh, as to conceite his works meritorious, the reward is not reckoned of grace, but of debt; but now to him that worketh*: far less can this be the meaning or construction of the words, *now to him, that maketh the reward to be not of grace, but of debt*: for what sense is here? And further the meaning of the following words must accordingly be this: *but to him that so worketh, as not to make the reward of debt but of grace, his working is counted for Righteousness*. While as the Apostle saith a plaine other thing. *But to him, that worketh not, but beleeveth on him, that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness*. Sure, working without conceite of merite, is not believing on him, that justifieth the ungodly, neither are these works counted for Righteousness; for holy *Abraham* wrought without that conceite and yet he was not justified by works, *vers. 2, 3*. Nor did *David* meane, that mans blessedness did consist in the imputation of such works; nor did he describe that blessedness, when he said, *blessed are they, whose iniquities are forgiven &c*. Consider *1 Cor. 4:4. Ephes. 2:9. Phil. 3:9. Tit. 3:5* (363–364).

Furthermore, Brown points out that repentance has no instrumental acting on Christ and his righteousness so that we may be justified. “But faith hath this as was shown in the foregoing *Chapter*. Therefore Repentance hath not the same Interest in Justification, that Faith hath. It is requisite and necessary, in order to our Justification, that we be clothed with a Righteousness, even the Surety-Righteousness of Christ: and Faith only can lay hold on this and put it on, and not Repentance. Repentance doth not act so upon any thing without a man, to bring it home that it may become the mans Righteousness, it hath other work, and acteth upon another object, upon sin within the man” (364). For Baxter

Faith's accepting of Christ, and life offered on that condition, only its aptitude to the office, and that the formal reason of its office as to our Justification, is its being the performed condition of the Covenant, as he there speaketh; yet that will not invalidat our argument: for (1) Faith's aptitude (as he calleth it) or rather its work and acting in Justification, is not merely an accepting of Christ and life

offered on that condition; but it is the accepting, laying hold on, leaning to, and applying the Surety Righteousness of Christ, presupposing the accepting of Christ himself. (2) Though it may be said, that the nearest formal Reason of Faiths office, is the Lord's appointment; yet this being too Philosophical here contributeth nothing to the clearing up of the matter, in order to practice, so neither was Philosophical accuracy the ground whereupon they went, who said, that Faiths interest in Justification, was as an Instrument, but rather their end was to clear the matter in order to Practice; so as poor souls might not fall into mistakes; and this I [Brown] judge to be the best Theological acuracie, howbeit he should account many such speeches nothing but unintelligible phrases, and such doctrine to contain such senselessness and consequences, as the opening up of would offend, as he there speaketh. (3) It is certaine, that Repentance doth not so act on Christ, and his Surety-Righteousness, in order to Justification, as Faith doth, Repentance, as such is no acceptance of a free gift, far less of a gift of Righteousness, and of an Atonement there-through; Repentance acteth not this on Christ: Yea the reason he giveth *Confess. p. 39*. why Repentance was made a condition of pardon, doth sufficiently shew, that it cannot have that interest, that Faith hath. His reason is this. *Because without it (Repentance) God and the Redeemer cannot have their end in pardoning us; Nor can the Redeemer do all his work, for which we do accept him: for his work is, upon the pardoning of us, to bring us back, in heart and life to God; from whom we were falled and strayed. This was Christ's work. Therefore the conditions, which Christ maketh are, as if he should say, If you will be saved by me, and are willing that I shall bring you back to God, I will both bring you into his favour by Pardon, and into a capacity of personal pleasing and enjoying of him. Now our Repentance is our consent to God, and the change of our mindes, by turning from former sin, that was our idol, and being willing by Christ to be restored to obedience. By this, I [Brown] say, it is clear, that Repentance hath a more direct aspect upon, and reference to the consequences of Pardon and Justification itself; we grant its necessity unto all the ends mentioned, and its necessary presence in such as are Justified and that its contrare, or positive impenitency, cannot consist with Faith, in such as are to be Justified: Yet that will not give ground to inferre, that it hath the same Interest, Influence and Consideration, in Justification, that Faith hath* (365).

Baxter still argues that “*God hath made them [repentance and faith] the Condition of the promise*” (366). Brown does not find any proof offered by Baxter to show

that God indeed made such conditions for one's justification, much less that man is able to find repentance and faith within himself naturally. Furthermore, while repentance is necessary in one that believes, that is, faith cannot be without repentance, "Yet Repentance hath no place in the office of Justification, it hath no plaine formal and immediat interest in the receiving of Justification; as that turning of the minde from other Suitors to that one hath no formal interest or place, in closing the Marriage Covenant, though it be a very necessary prerequisite unto right closing and consenting the marriage Covenant." Brown uses the illustration of a woman changing her mind from other suitors to one to demonstrate that repentance does not have justification as its interest. Baxter holds that repentance is unto faith, "but as the woman changing her mind from other Suitors to one, is to the consenting unto the Marriage proposal. And if upon a Persons being a Penitent it cannot be formally inferred, that he is in Covenant with God and a Justified person, that Repentance hath not that interest in Justification, that Faith hath, for upon a mans beleev- ing, it can formally and immediatly be inferred, that he is in Covenant, and is Justified" (366).

To this the Scotsman adds, "I say *formally*; because consequentially it will follow, that a Penitent man (meaning one that is truly penitent) is justified, upon this account, that where ever there is true Repentance, there is also true Faith: But as the change of the womans mind is not formally the making up of a marriage Covenant; So neither is Repentance that, which formally constitutes a man a Covenanter with Christ, and a Justified person, only Faith doth this; as the womans consent maketh up the marriage Relation" (366–367). Certainly one would not want to argue that repentance which precedes faith is to be understood as that Gospel-Righteousness spoken of by Baxter because that would make justification actually to rest upon repentance and not faith alone. Brown argues that repentance which is connected with faith follows faith and therefore is manifested only in those who have been justified through faith alone. He cites 2 Corinthians 7: 10 and 11 along with Jeremiah 31:19 to show how repentance follows faith. Godly sorrow which leads to repentance is the fruit of faith. "And repenting *Ephraim Jer. 31: 19 said, after I was turned, I repented; and after I was instructed, I smote upon my thigh: I was ashamed, yea, even confounded &c. This being instructed, and being turned* includeth Faith; and the rest, that followed upon it, are expressions of Repentance: and hence it would follow, if only completed Repentance be that Repen- tance, that hath Interest in justification that Faith hath,

a man cannot be said to be justified upon his believing, no not untill Repentance be brought to this Perfection; And then Faith cannot be the consenting act, where- upon the bargaine is closed" (367).

Brown further fears that the notion that repentance has the same interest and impact on one's justification as faith does, that

many poor awakened sinners" will be kept "off the Rock of ages, and at least, a meane to hinder or retard their motion Christ-ward, in order to Peace and Reconcilia- tion with God: for experience teacheth such, as deale with wakened Consciences, that the most of their work oft times is to keep them from resting on something within themselves, in order to Peace, and particularly from re- lying and resting upon some sort of Griefe, Sorrow, or Repentance, which they conceive to be in themselves and to bring them unto a cleanly resting upon Christ and his Righteousness, forsaking all other things: And when now they hear, that Repentance hath the same interest in justification that Faith hath, how will they be fortified in their Resolutions, so that all the labour and paines of Ministers, or other Christians may prove much fruit- less, unless the Lord come in a wonderful manner, and many others may perish in their presumptuous thoughts, founded on their inward Sorrow and Repentance, as they supposed, because they would never go out of themselves to leane to Christ and his Righteousness. It is true, These of the contrary minde, presse not Repentance alone, but Faith and Repentance together. Yet by their way, I finde not the right Gospel-exercise of Faith-pressed, that is, faith bringing in an imputed Righteousness, or laying hold on Christ for Righteousness, and refuging the Soul in Him, and resting upon that, as the only and absolutly surest ground of Confident appearing before God, and of expecting Pardon and Peace; but only such or such an act of faith pressed, as being under the *New Covenant* in the same place, that Perfect Obedience had in the *Old*, whereby, as the *Old Covenant*⁹ is but rewarded, so the wakened or alarmed sinner is but taught to look after and lean to something within himself, as his immediat Righ- teousness, upon which he must be justified (368).

Because Baxter wants to make faith and repentance together to be conditions for one's justification, it does

9. We do well to remember what John Brown means by "Old Coven- ant" because one may be tempted to think he is setting the New Covenant in contrast with what some call the Mosaic Covenant or Sinatic Covenant. This is not what he has in mind when talking of the "Old Covenant." Brown means the covenant God established with our first parents in the Garden of Eden.

not surprise us that repentance or some other gospel righteousness will be necessary to maintain one's justification. In chapter 30, *Whether Love, Purpose of Obedience, or perseverance be Conditions of Justification*, Brown addresses the matter of love or perseverance being a condition of justification, and arguing against it in the following way. He raises the question as to whether perseverance is a condition of justification and answers,

it is apparent how false this is. Every thing, that is required of such, as are believers, cannot be called a Condition of Justification. It is said, that a Condition suspendeth the obligation, to bestow the benefite promised upon Condition, untill it be performed: And so it will hence follow, that, if Perseverance to the end be the Condition of Justification, no man can be justified, untill he have persevered to the end; and so no man shall be justified in this life; whereby an end is put to all our present debate, the subject thereof being taken out of the way.

If it be said, That faith is the Condition of Justification, as it endureth to the end. I Ans. That that faith, which will endure to the end, is the Condition, I grant. But I deny, That Faith is the Condition of Justification, as it endureth to the end, we no where read of Faiths being the Condition, under this reduplication, as enduring to the end; for then it would follow, that no lively faith, how strong so ever, could unite a soul to Christ, untill it had endured to the end, and so man upon his first Beleeving, let his faith be never so livly and strong, can be said to be justified, to have passed from death to life; contrare to all the Scriptures. And this would too much assimilate the New Covenant unto the Old, wherein Adam was to work out his dayes-work to the end, ere he had Right to his wages. Yea and hence it would follow, that in this life, there were none of the fruites of justification to be had, such as Peace with God, Accesse to God, Glorifying in tribulations, Joy and Comfort, contrare to experience, and the Scriptures. *Rom. 5:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 11. and 8:35. to the end. Luke 7:50. Mat. 9:2. 2 Thes. 2:16. Heb. 6:18, 19. 1 Pet. 1:4.*

So that in a word, from what hath been said, it is evident, how little ground Mr. Baxter hath to glory in this way of his, and though to an inadvertent person it may appeare Plausible, what is adduced for a reason, yet when considered, it will be found froath and a flourish of words: for be it so, that justifieing faith receive whole Christ (which we doe not deny: for Christ is not divided: for as

there is but one faith, so but one Christ. And I will have occasion to speake more fully to this matter afterward.) Yet what doth Mr. Baxter gain? hath he gained his Pepper-corne of Faith or Gospel-obedience to be imputed unto us for Righteousness according to the new law (he should say, the new edition of the Old Covenant, or rather the Old Covenant newly established?) no, by no means: for be it granted, That Justifieing Faith as such respected Christ equally as King and Prophet, as it doth him as Priest (which yet I deny, and shall, without dividing Christ, make it appeare) I aske him, how doth it receive Christ Jesus the Lord? Surely he cannot but say, as he is offered in the Gospel; well then, the Lord, who knoweth what we are, offereth him to us, and makes him to us wisdom, Righteousness, Sanctification and redemption, so that God in the offer of his Christ as a King, lookes upon the sinner in the same capacitie to obey him, as in the offer of him as a Priest he is to pay his debt, and that is not onely in no capacitie but as opposit to such a thing of himself, Hence it is as evident that Faith receives Christ as a King not by promiseing or purposeing to obey him, but from a Conviction of its own aversion to purpose to please God, that he by his Kingly Power shall kill the enmity, Conquer the soul, bring it to purpose, as well as practice, work in it to will as well as to doe, cast down imaginations, that exalt themselves against the knowledge of God, and bring every thought in captivitie to his obedience, so when Faith acts on Him as a Prophet, there is in this act neither purpose nor promise, to obey him as a teacher &c. But from a Conviction that the mind is not onely void of light, but it is prepossessed with corrupt principles, so that the man that hath nothing but the soul of a man, takes up the whole Gospel Myserie as foolishness. And it is impossible for him, to know these things, since they must be spiritually discerned. I say from this Conviction he receives Christ as his wisdom, as he that shall give him an understanding, to know him that is true; and to make him who is not onely as a beast, but so much worse, that his light is darknesse, of a quick understanding in the feare of the Lord, and wise to salvation. Now this exactly answereth the sinners need, and hath all his wants made up by Jesus Christ according to his riches in glory, and God's end in making his Christ to poor sinners wisdom, Righteousness &c. That so he, who glorieth may glory in the Lord. Now if Mr. Baxter will Consider this, he will even lay aside his Pepper-Corne as of no Price; for here all is without money and without Price to the poor soul &c. and he is considered as a receiver of all from Christ (382–383).

GOSPEL OBEDIENCE NOT THE CONDITION OF
JUSTIFICATION

Brown's next chapter is entitled, *Gospel-obedience is not the Condition of Justification*. The exiled theologian writes that Baxter "himself will not say, that Gospel-obedience is the Condition of Justification," and cites Baxter's comments from page 132 of the *discourse of the two Covenants*. "That the sense, in which the Apostles did assert it, (i.e. Justification by Faith without the works of the Law) was, that faith Justifieth without works, antecedent to believing (This is what Bellarmine¹⁰ and other Papiſt's say) and without works, as the works of a literal observation of Moses law, which was opposed by the jewes to faith" (383). Brown calls this "his fiction, and its grounds may come to be considered afterward. But what is this Faith? It is Faith (saith he) that hath Repentance, Regeneration and sincere Obedience in a holy life for its inseparable effects. Then (1) this Faith is not fruite of Regeneration, because Regeneration is an effect of it. (2) Then upon a mans sincere Beleeving, he cannot be said to have passed from death to life, and be freed from Condemnation, nay not untill all the effects of faith be produced. And this he expresseth more clearly within a line or two, calling Regeneration and new obedience parts of the Condition; thus making men able to Regenerat themselves, with some help of the Spirit, according to his former doctrine" (383–384).

Brown proceeds to consider each of the ten grounds Baxter offers in defense of the idea that *Faith hath Repentance, Regeneration and sincere Obedience in a holy life for its inseparable effects*, and finds the fundamental error in Baxter's thinking in his statement. "That works of Evangelical obedience are never in Scripture opposed to God's grace in reference to Justification and Salvation" (384). By putting justification and salvation together in a way that it is all antecedently required unto salvation, and also unto justification, Baxter "muſt acknowledge no justification, untill Salvation come" Brown cites Ephesians 2:8–10 as a perfect contradiction of Baxter's teaching. "Here grace is opposed to works, to good works, unto which we are created in Chriſt Jesus, and in which we are to walk, and that in reference to the Salvation, that is in justification." Brown believes that Baxter "cannot but grant, that Works and Grace are opposed to other: but he giveth us a very sceptick evasion, telling us, that then by works we are to understand either works antecedent to conversion, or as they are denyed (I think he would have said deemed, or some such thing) to merite, at the hands of God; or the works of the Law of Moses, as erroneously contended for by the jewes; or

the works of the Law as Typical and as opposed to things typified; or the works of the Law, as the Law is in its rigour opposed to the milder oconomie of the Gospel." This is, as Brown points out, contrary to Paul's statement that Abraham was not justified by works but by faith as seen in Romans 4:1–3. "And Abraham's works here excluded from Justification, can be reduced to none of these heads of works here mentioned; They were not works antecedent to Conversion, for in opposition to these it is said, his Faith was reckoned unto him for Righteousness, long after his Conversion." Furthermore, "Faith was reckoned to Abraham for Righteousness, even when he was in uncircumcision. Rom. 4:9, 10, 11, &c." (384).

Of course, Brown points out, this is in opposition to what Paul says in Romans 4:1–3 concerning Abraham being justified by faith and not works. Abraham's works muſt be seen as extending from justification. "They are not works antecedent to Conversion; for in opposition to these it is said, his Faith was reckoned unto him for Righteousness, long after his Conversion. Nor did the holy father dreame of any merite in his works, nor were these the works of the Law in any of the senses mentioned; for Faith was reckoned to Abraham for Righteousness, even when he was in uncircumcision. Rom. 4:9, 10, 11, &c." (384). Baxter cites Titus 3:5, *not by works of Righteousness, which we have done, but according to his mercy, he saved us*. [Baxter's copy of Titus 3:5 cited]. "But," Brown counters, Baxter "giveth us p. 143, this glosse. *This change of their condition was not effected, or so much as begun among them by any reformation of their own, till the Gospel came to work it (which is meant by the appearing of the kindness and Love of God vers. 4. and is of like import with. Ch. 2:11, 12. Ans. By what either Law or Reason he restraineth that appearing of the kindness, and Love of God, mentioned vers. 4. to the Gospel, I know not. (2) And though the Gospel were here understood, that would not help the matter; for the Text saith, that after this did appear, he saved them (that is Justified in the first place, as we see vers. 7.) according to his mercy, and not by work of Righteousness. (3) These works are called works of Righteousness; But no works of their own, before Conversion, can be so called: can the works of such as are foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving diverse lusts and pleasures, living*

10. Robert Francis Romulus Bellarmine (1542–1621) was a distinguished Jesuit theologian, writer, and cardinal. He entered the Society of Jesus at the height of the Counter-Reformation. He began his theology at Padua in 1567 and finished it at Louvain in 1569 where he obtained a fuller acquaintance with the prevailing heresies. His first major work, *The Controversies*, was published in 1586 and became the standard apologetic used in disputes with Protestants.

in malice and envie, hateful and hating one another, be called works of Righteousness? and yet such were these, before the kindness and Love of God reached them, as vers. 3 showeth. He thinks the same answer may be given to 2 Tim. 1:9" (384–385).

On page 144 Baxter says, "That Paul, in speaking against Justification by works, giveth sufficient caution not to be understood thereby to speak against Evangelick obedience in the case. That is, not to speak against justification by Evangelick works; which were to say, he took much paines for nothing; for if he had but said, that the Ceremonial Law was abrogate, he had sufficiently confuted justification by the Ceremonies, if that had been all the Law he meant." But to this Baxter adds Romans 3:31. Brown then asks,

But I wonder how did the Apostle by his doctrine establish the Ceremonial Law? *In spirit of it* (he saith) *in as much as in preaching Justification in the Gospel way, he preached in plaine precepts, the necessity of that Spiritual purity unto Salvation, which was but darkly taught by the Ceremonial Law.* Ans. (1) Then this man supposeth, that he is establishing the Ceremonial Law, by his doctrine in this book; for he thinks, that therein he is preaching up Justification in the Gospel way. (2) Neither did the Ceremonial Law more darkly, nor doth the Gospel in more plaine termes preach the necessity of spiritual purity, as the Condition of Justification: So this Author beggeth what he cannot prove. (3) But that this is the Moral Law, hath been frequently shown above; as also it hath been shown, how and what way it was established, by the doctrine of justification without works; so that we need not regard his saying; *that by the doctrine of justification by faith, they established the moral law, both in the letter and Spirit of it, in teaching the necessity of Evangelical obedience to it, after a more spiritual and forcible manner, than had been taught before.* For this saith nothing for their pleading for obedience to this Law, as a Condition of Justification; which is the thing, he should have said: And if he know not, how Justification without the works of the moral Law, can consist with necessity of Obedience to the Moral Law, upon Gospel-grounds, he is ignorant of the Gospel, and hath been more educate in Socinus his School, than in the orthodox Church (385).

11. Jonas Schlichtingius (1592–1661) argues against the imputation of Christ's righteousness unto one's salvation because Socinians believe this distracts from the person who is justified by faith alone living a holy life. The active and passive obedience of Jesus are not necessary unto our salvation either. And on goes the heresy of the Socinian.

Baxter comments on Romans 10:4 with a line which the Scottish writer calls a Socinian gloss: "*Christ was the end of the Law in his doctrine, having taught that Righteousness of living, which the Law itself taught, but in a more excellent spiritual and effectual manner*" (385). A clear reading of Romans 10: 7–10 dispels Baxter's teaching according to Brown. Even though Baxter cites Romans 7:4 and Galatians 2:19, 20 in support of his position, Brown finds no hint of holiness to be performed as a Condition of Justification. He argues, "... for we are not against the necessity of holiness, but see more Sure, more Comfortable, more Heart quieting, more Divine, and more Gospel like grounds, whereupon to presse holiness, than any he discovereth in all his book, according to his principles" (386).

Baxter argues on page 147 of the same work, "*That Regeneration or the new creature, as including Evangelical Obedience, is opposed to works of the Law, in the business of mans Justification, as well as Faith is, and as well as the grace of God itself is.* And this he thinketh to prove from Gal. 6:15. as Schlichtingius¹¹ the Socinian did before him *cont. Meysner* p. 143" (386). Schlichtingius is further cited by Baxter commenting on Galatians 5:6 and circumcision. He says,

That Evangelical obedience as well as faith, and together with faith, is opposed to the works of the Law, in reference to Justification and Salvation.... Ans. He supposeth here, that Circumcision is the same with the works of the Law, while as these that were crying it up at that time, took it only for a privilege, which might be kept together with Christianity; and therefore the Apostle told them vers. 3. which they did not take notice of, that by their taking on that badge of circumcision, they made themselves debtors to do the whole Law. (2) All that is required in reference to Salvation, is not required in reference to Justification. (3) Faith working by Love denoteth the right and the lively Faith, which only is Justifying and Saving, but bringeth not in all Evangelick Obedience under Love, as sharing with faith, in the same prerogative of justification, as was shewed above."

Again drawing on Schlichtingius Baxter argues from 1 Corinthians 7:19 that "*Evangelical Obedience alone is opposed to the works of the Law, in reference to Justification...* [but Brown says] two things are wanting, to make this passage a confirmation of his Assertion, one is, that by Circumcision here is meant the keeping of the Law: and what shall then be understood by Uncircumcision? The other is, that the Apostle is speaking this reference to Justification, contrary to the whole context" (386).

The assertion that “*faith itself is an act of Evangelical obedience*” has already been answered. It has been shown that faith is not considered an act of Gospel-obedience, but an instrument which lays hold on the Righteousness of Christ, the Cautioner. Next is Baxter’s assertion “*That by Gospel-obedience Christians came to have a Right to Salvation* Revel. 22:14. This ἐξουσία liberty (as it is in 1 Cor. 8:9) Power or privilege, as it would seem to import 1 Cor. 9:18. and elsewhere, is no proper Right; for all that can be called proper Right, the Saints have it through the purchase of Jesus Christ; his blood and his blood alone, hath brought the inheritance to us: And hereby we see the true tendency of this Man’s doctrine, even to give us heaven as that, which we have bought with our labour and obedience; that is, to give us heaven by a new Covenant of Works, which Christ hath procured to be made with us ... And can only prove, what we deny not, *to wit*, the necessity of Holiness, in order to the actual injoyment of life: but what saith this unto justification? He will not have us put any difference betwixt them, alledging that, such as do, are more curious and nice indistinguishing, than *Paul* was. And why so? *Paul calls Justification*, the Justification unto life. Rom. 5:18. Therefore Justification and Glorification is one and the same, and have every way the same conditions: *Ans.* It followeth not. He citeth next Rom. 8:30. which clearly maketh them distinct. What more? *He* (i.e. *Paul*) *proves that men shall be justified by faith, because it is written, the just shall live by faith Gal. 3:11. and with him to be justified and blessed are all one Gal. 3:8, 9. Rom. 4:7, 8, 9. Ans.* What that from Gal. 3:11. can be made to prove him, I know not. And as for the text, it will prove as much, that is, just nothing” (387).

Baxter uses righteousness and justification and life as synonymous terms because of his understanding of Galatians 3:21. But that implies, according to Brown, that “justification were not a state of life, unless it were the same with Glory.” Baxter asserts “*Salvation as well as justification is promised to believing Joh. 3:16. Act. 3:31. Heb. 10:39. and therefore both must be the immediat effect of faith. Ans.* Himself answereth all this, by adding, *if we take Salvation, as begun here in this life, as the Scripture represents it to be Joh. 5:24. 1 Joh. 3:14. and 5:12.* He would further prove it from *Jam. 2:14.* As if in one Chapter the Apostle could not speak, both of Justification and Salvation, unless he would make them both one thing: But though there be a life begun in Justification, that shall at length end in Glory, we see no ground to say, for all that he hath brought forth, that they are so the same, as to require previous Conditions: How profitable so ever *Mr. Baxter* account this Treatise to be, yet

I cannot think, that he shall approve of this, which yet is the maine designe of the book” (387).

The promise of the forgiveness of sins, in Baxter’s mind, is sometimes made unto Evangelical obedience as based on 1 John 1:7. Brown points out that John is not talking about those who first confess sin that they may be justified. The Apostle is talking about those who entered the Justified life through faith alone and are now confessing daily sin that they may be forgiven. Those mentioned in 1 John 1:7 are already in a justified state. But Baxter adds 1 Peter 1:2, *they were not elected to the benefite of being sprinkled with the blood of Christ, without obedience.* To this the Scotsman comments, “Making that a condition of being sprinkled with the blood of Christ, which the Apostle mentioneth, as a distinct medium, to which they were elected, in reference to eternal life, the supream end, as to them: And he might as well say, they were not elected to the benefite of obedience without being sprinkled with the blood of Christ: and that too agreeth more with truth” (388).

Baxter cites the petition of the Lord’s Prayer in Matthew 11:25 relative to one’s sins being forgiven upon the forgiveness of others by the petitioner. This, in Baxter’s thought makes the asking for forgiveness a condition of justification. To this Brown replies, “Though men cannot be pardoned without this, it will not follow, that therefore it is a part of the condition of Justification: but only proveth, that this must be present, as an evidence of their acting Faith on Jesus Christ, in truth and reality, in order to pardon: And these passages are explications of the fifth petition of the Lord’s prayer, the sense whereof is well given in our larger Catechisme. 194. in these words, *which we are the rather emboldened to ask. and encouraged to expect, when we have this testimony in ourselves, that we from the heart forgive others their offences*” (388).

Finally, Baxter cites Acts 17:30 and Luke 13:3, 5 as teaching “*That Repentance is an act of Evangelical Obedience Act. 17:30. and yet pardon of sin, which is essential to justification, is not to be obtained without it. Luk. 13:3, 5*” (388). Since Luke 13:3, 5 do not mention remission of sin, how may these verses be used to prove Baxter’s position? Luke’s point is that one will perish if one does not repent. On page 117 of Baxter’s work he argues “*that doubtless Paul’s denial of Justification and Salvation to be by the Law, is to be understood in the very same sense, in which the incredulous jewes, against whom he disputed, did hold these to be attainable thereby, so that for the use of the Church unto the end of the world.*” Brown replies,

But sure, if no other works here understood, than this Author will have here understood, it could be of little use to the Gospel churches, after the subject of the question, the Ceremonial Law, it self is taken away: And had it not been a shorter and most effectual way to have confuted the jewes error here, simply to have proven (as he doth elsewhere) the abolishing of that Law? Beside, we finde many things spoken of this Law, against Justification by obedience to which the Apostle disputeth, that cannot agree to the Ceremonial Law, as hath been several times touched. But let us hear what the true question was. *He must understand him* (he saith) *to deny a freedom from the eternal punishment to be attainable by legal Sacrifices: and also to deny that the promise of eternal life was made upon Condition of literal Circumcision, and a literal observation of the Mosaical Law.* Ans. If this had been to what purpose, I pray, did the Apostle laboure so much to prove, that not only the jewes, but the Gentiles also were under sin, *Rom. 1 and 2.* The Gentiles were not, nor yet were to be under Law of Ceremonies. (2) How could the Apostle inferred, that by the deeds of the Law, there should be no flesh justified, from his proving, that both jewes and Gentiles were guilty of the breach of the Moral Law, whereby every mouth was stopped, and all the world become guilty before God *Rom. 3:10–20*? (3) did only the Law of Ceremonies give the knowledge of sin? Himself proveth the contrary *pag. 57.* (4) did the curse only belong unto the Ceremonial Law? or did Christ only become a Curse, in reference to the breaches of that? *Gal. 3:10.*

He will not so much as yield p. 119. that *Paul* doth, on the bye, deny Justification by other works: And that merely because it would destroy his fabrick of a *Judaical Socinian* justification: though he pretend, that thereby the Apostles doctrine would be made inconsistent, not only with the Faith of the holy men of old, but also with his own doctrine: But neither did the holy men of old express the Condition of Justification (which he confoundeth with the Condition of the Covenant of mercy) by loving God and keeping his commandments: nor doth *Paul* speak any such thing, as we have seen, what ever he with *Socinians* and *Arminians* say (389).

THE OBJECT OF JUSTIFYING FAITH

Having shown in Chapter 31 that “Gospel-obedience [is] no Condition for Justification,” chapter 32 is titled, “Of the object of justifying Faith.” Brown believes that to understand the object of justifying faith is to know what it is to live by faith. Here is a glimpse of what he

says on this subject. When one properly exercises and exerts faith it is unto “accepting the offered Saviour and Salvation through him, a Conviction of sin and misery, in one measure, or other, finde no remedie, or reliefe for himself, within himself, and to a concluding, that he is an undone man, if there be no other remedie, than what he is able to do for himself,” and after fleeing to many hands for help finally “preventing grace” comes and draws that soul to “comply with the only Man-abasing and Grace-exalting way of Salvation, through Faith in Christ, revealed in the Gospel ... And further, it is presupposed, as necessarily requisite hereunto, some knowledge of the grounds of Religion; and particularly of the Gospel, of Christ, of his offices, Work &c. all revealed in the Gospel” (391).

Of course this faith is that which unites one to Christ and closes with Him as He is offered in the Gospel so that it improves upon Him to all ends and uses. “So that it is one and the same Faith, whether it be called Uniting Faith, Saving Faith, Justifying Faith, Sanctifying and heart-purifying Faith, or the like” (391). It is this faith “whereby the believer is Married to Christ, and Covenanteth with Him, as Head, Husband, Lord and Saviour, by the same is he justified, adopted and brought into a state of Peace and Reconciliation with God. By the same Faith also doth the man get his heart Purified, and liveth the life of Sanctification. By the same also he getteth Strength, Reviving, Comfort, and Support in time of Temptation and Trial. So that the Beleevers life first and last is by Faith, the beginning, progress, all the steps of it, and final Salvation is by Faith, whence it is called Saving Faith, to distinguish it from that Historical Faith, which, (though true in its kind yet) is not from the saving grace of God, nor hath it effects accompanying Salvation” (392). And while this faith is necessary for life from first to last, it does not act in the same manner as it is serviceable and useful to the Christian according to the need of the moment. It acts differently when seeking comfort, or when subduing sin, or when desiring justification, nevertheless, in every case what counts is “his apprehension to Christ, according to his Condition and wants, which he would have helped and supplied.” Furthermore, while the object of this faith is always the same, “there may be some particularities in that object, which Faith eyeth more in one case, than in another: As we finde the Saints, in their adresses to God, in their several straits and necessities, sometimes pitching upon one attribute of God, sometimes upon another; according as thereby Faith presented God to the soul in a suitableness to the present case, it was in....” Brown argues that there are times when one’s faith leans

more toward Christ as Prophet, other times as Christ is King, and other times in His Priestly office Christ is sought by faith. “Yet, (which is carefully to be observed, to prevent *Mr. Baxter’s* challenge) I do not say, nor see I any necessity to say, that these several acts of Faith, are as so many several Conditions unto the receiving of the several favours, taking the term *Condition* in his [*Baxter’s*] sense; I do not say, that Faith acting one way on Christ is a proper Condition of Justification, and Faith as acting another way on Christ is the proper Condition for Adoption, and that Faith acting a third way on Christ is the proper Condition of Sanctification &c. but that, as the effects and benefites, which sinners stand in need of, are ascribed unto several effectuating acts of Christ, and to the several Relations and offices he hath taken on: so Faith in order to the receiving of these benefites, acteth suitably on Christ, and the believer is, taught so to do by the Spirit of the Lord, to his Comfort, Hope and Encouragement” (393).

The formal object of all divine faith, according to Brown is the “Truth and Veracity of God; for all divine faith giveth credite unto divine Revelations upon the Creator, the Truth and Veracity of the Revealer, *Thus saith the Lord*, who is true, and who is Truth itself, is the sole Formal ground and Ratio of this Faith” (393). Furthermore, the comprehensive material object of all divine faith “is the whole will and mind of God, concerning whatsoever thing it be revealed, whether by the Scriptures, or by the Light of Nature. If the Truth and Veracity of God be the only Formal Ground of this Faith, then all that this God revealeth must be believed and received, as true, when known to be revealed by Him” (393).

It must be cautioned that the believer does not need to know all truth in order to be assured that he enjoys saving faith for what is embraced as true is understood to be revealed as such by God. Now what object of faith does immediately and directly concern “our delivery from our natural state of sin and miserie; and our eternal Salvation: And this, we judge, to be *whole Christ Jesus, as he is hold forth in the Gospel*” (393). To speak of the “whole Christ” is to speak of Him in all that He is. Therefore, according to Galatians 2:6 “this Faith is called *the Faith of Christ* ... and the Faith of the Son of God, *Gal. 2:20*¹² So then Saving and Justifying Faith taketh whole Christ” (394). Faith lays hold of Jesus according to His nature and offices, according to the relations he has taken on with reference to His people (i.e., husband, head, chief cornerstone, vine, witness, leader, commander, and light), according to the work and ends He performs and secures according to each office and

relation He exercises with respect to His own. Faith lays hold of Jesus according to “the *Furniture and Qualifications*, whereby he was fitted for the discharge of the duties, belonging to the Offices, which he did execute both in his Estate of Humiliation and Exaltation; and for throughing and perfecting of the work, which he undertook to do.... “ Faith receives him “as to all the sinners Necessities, Cases, Wants, Straits, and Difficulties, which they either are, or may be into, from first to last: All the vessels must hand on Him.” To embrace Jesus with this faith “receiveth Him, with all Sufferings, Crosses, and Inconviences, that can follow: Faith taketh up the Crosse, and followeth Christ. *Mat. 10:37, 38. Mark. 8:34. Mat. 16:24. Luke 9:23*” (395). Since “Christ as revealed, held forth, and offered in the Gospel, is the object of Saving and Justifying faith ... He is received, as the result (so to speak) of the wonderful Contrivance and Designe of free Grace, Love, Goodness, Mercy, and Wisdom, concerning the glorifying of God, in the Salvation of the chosen ones, in and through Him.... He is received as the great Gift of God.... as offered and held forth in the Promises ... as the great meane of declaring and setting forth the glorious Attributes of God ... as the grand and only Meane to bring about all the great Ends, designed of God, and desired by them ... And, in a word, He is received as the grand meane to Interest them in God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, as theirs; to bring them nigh unto God, in Covenant with Him, and to enjoy the several Effects and Benefites of their Workings. They come to God through Him, as the only way to the Father *Joh. 14:6*. They close with the Father as their God and Father through Him, and with the Holy Ghost, as their Sanctifier, and comforter through Him, who sendeth the Spirit from the Father. *Joh. 15:26. and 14:26*” (395–396).

THE OBJECT OF FAITH IN JUSTIFICATION

Chapter 33 is entitled “The Righteousness of Christ is the special Object of Faith in Justification.” It is here that we are able to see just how Socinian Baxter is when he denies the imputation of Christ’s righteousness unto the Justifying of the believer. It is

because *Mr. Baxter* in his *Apologie* against *Mr. Blake*

12. Obviously Brown has in mind the Authorized Bible’s translation of Galatians 2:20 when he speaks of *the faith of the Son of God*. This author recognizes that there are compelling reasons given by exegetes today to understand that phrase in Galatians 2:20 to speak of a life of faith “in the Son of God Who loved me [Paul is speaking] and gave Himself for me.”

11. is pleased to tell us, that *Faith, which is the Justifying condition, is not terminated on the Righteousness of Christ: And that it is meer fancy and delusion to speak of the receiving a Righteousness, that we may be justified constitutive thereby, in such a sense, as if the Righteousness were first to be made ours, in order of nature before, our Justification, and then justification follow, because we are Righteous.* But, sure, this eyeing of, laying hold on, and leaning to the Righteousness of Christ, holdeth clear correspondence with the experience of the Children of God, not only at their Conversion, when delivered from under the Convictions of sin, and the terrors of the Law; but even afterward, when exercised with new assaults of Satan, objecting unto them their Unworthiness, and Filthiness, and hence inferring their exclusion from the face of God: for then their maine quieting refuge is the Righteousness of Christ; wherein they seek only to be found, acknowledging that in themselves, they are but sinners, and so rejecting their own worth and holiness, as too ragged to cover the shame of their nakedness, wherein they have the Apostle *Paul* going before them *Phil. 3:8, 9.* (which may also serve, for a Scriptural proof of the truth in hand) He rejected all these things, wherein sometime he gloried, and he did now (even long after his Conversion, while a prisoner at *Rome* and after all his great Labour and Paines in spreading the Gospel) *count all things* (nothing is here excepted) *but loss* (saith he) *for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus, my Lord, for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ, and be found in him, not having mine own Righteousness* (it is not good that *Mr. Baxter* should carp at Writers and Preachers, for speaking and teaching after this manner, as he doth *Cath. Theol. Mor. Works. 176.*) *which is of the Law; but that, which is through the faith of Christ, the Righteousness which is of God by faith.* This saith clearly, that in order to Justification before God, faith laith hold on a Righteousness, which is of God, and which is had by the Faith of Christ.

And this Surety-Righteousness of Christ, is that which can only prove suitable unto the case of a wakened sinner, pressed with the guilt of sin, and seeing justice armed against him, stopping his way to life, because of his Unrighteousness. What can be more welcome to such a sinner, than the news of a Righteousness, and of having Christ to become the Lord his Righteousness, as made of God Righteousness? And what can his faith gripe to more earnestly, than to this Righteousness, that he may be covered therewith, and think with joy of appearing before God? How else shall he think to be justified by God, who

is just, even when the justifier of a believing sinner. He knoweth, that God is Righteous, and will not acquit the guilty; and therefore he must have a Righteousness, that he may be in case to stand before the Righteous God: So that he can have no peace, till by faith he have interest in the Surety-Righteousness of Jesus Christ; for he knoweth, that he hath none of his owne, and that there is none any where else to be had (398–399).

It takes the righteousness of God to render a sinner righteous before such a God, Brown goes on to argue.

Hence, this Righteousness is called the *Righteousness of Faith*, or of Christ beleaved in, and laid hold on *Rom. 4:13. and the Righteousness of God, which is by faith of Jesus Christ Rom. 3:22. Phil. 3:9. and a Righteousness through the faith of Christ, ibid.* All which and the like expressions do manifestly say, that faith laith hold on a Righteousness, even on the Righteousness of God. And this Righteousness is said to *be unto all, and upon all them that beleeve Rom. 3:22 πάντα καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας.* And imputed, or reckoned upon their score. *Rom. 4:24. Mr. Baxter* in the forecited book. *Cath. Theol. 131.* saith that the meaning of this *Rom. 4:24.* is *no more, but that God reputeth, or judgeth us Righteous*, either of our own, or from some other: of ourselves, we have not a Righteousness, unless he account believing all our Righteousness, against which we have said enough above; and the very words of the text will not admit of this glosse, as was also shown above. If it be the Righteousness of Christ, who was delivered for our Offenses, and was raised againe for our Justification *vers. 25.* then it is a fit object for faith to lay hold on, it being Christ's Surety-Righteousness, or the Righteousness, which he performed and wrought out, when he was delivered for our offenses; and which was publicly declared to be accepted, when he was raised againe for our Justification. And whatever *Mr. Baxter* think, this is, and must be so far made our owne, through the gracious Imputation of God, that the Righteous God, whose judgment is to according to truth, may pronounce us Righteous, and accept of us, as such. But saith he, *Imputing Righteousness to us, is a consequent act (after faith) of God as judge, and not an antecedent donation.* Yet it is such a consequent act of God, as necessarily presupposeth God's free antecedent Donation: for it is God's reckoning that Righteousness upon the beleevers score, in order to the Justifying of him thereupon; and because this Righteousness must be given, we not having it of ourselves, there must a free donation antecede, and this groundeth Faith accepting thereof, and receiving of it (400).

Baxter joins Righteousness and Remission while Brown separates them thusly:

“But to us Remission is a benefite purchased by this Righteousness, and followeth upon our having interest therein through Faith, according to the appointment of God: a Pardoned man, as such, is not a Righteous man. But he tels us there, that *our divines of the Assembly do perfectly define justifying Faith to be*, a receiving and resting on Christ alone for Salvation, as he is offereth in the Gospel. *It is of dangerous consequence to define justifying faith to be the receiving of justification, or Righteousness.* Ans. Here we have Justification and Righteousness made one and the same, which with me, differ as Cause and Effect; our divines of the Assembly give a more full definition or description of Justifying Faith, in the Larger Catechisme, and there tell us, that thereby the convinced sinner *receiveth and resteth upon Christ, and (N.B.) his Righteousness therein (i.e. in the Gospel) held forth, for pardon of sin, and for the accepting and accounting of his person Righteous in the sight of God for Salvation.* And if Mr. Baxter would say so much, as is here, this debate would bear an end, and yet I finde not this among his exceptions, against that Catechisme, in his *Confession*. And when our devines mentione this Receiving and Resting upon Christ's Righteousness, they make not Justifying Faith to be a receiving of Justification; but the one cause of the other: And he addeth a little thereafter, (which is considerable to our present purpose) *That reception Ethica activa of justification, or of Righteousness (for they are both one thing with him) goeth before Justification, as a small and secondary part of condition, it being the accepting of Christ himself, that is the maine condition:* And we never spoke of the receiving by Faith of Christ's Righteousness, as exclusive of the receiving of himself. He tels us next, *That Christ's Satisfaction or Redemption (solvendo preuum) and merit, cannot properly be received by us; for they are not in themselves given to us.* We grant the price was payed to God, but it being payed to God for us, it may be imputed to us, and reckoned upon our score; and we may that way receive it by faith, and Lean our soul upon it, to the end, that the fruit of it may be given to us” (401).

Brown would have his readers understand that “Our being made Righteous is different from the obedience of one Christ Jesus; and by the Imputation of this Obedience to us, do we become Righteous, as our being made sinners is different from Adam's act of Disobedience; and we are made sinners by the Imputation of it to us. And as sin and death are different, when it is said, *that*

sin hath reigned unto death; so Eternal life is different from Righteousness, when it is said, *so might grace reigne through righteousness unto eternal life*” (403).

In chapter 34, “Faith in Justification respecteth not in a special manner Christ, as a King, but as a Priest,” Brown cites Baxter saying in *Aphorismes*

That the Accepting of Christ for Lord, is as essential a part of Justifying Faith, as the accepting of him for our Saviour; that is, as he explained himself, That faith, as it accepteth Christ, for Lord and King, doth justify. And this was asserted by him, to the end, he might cleare and confirme how Sincere Obedience cometh in with Affiance to make up the Condition of Justification; for his *Thesis LXXII*. Did run thus. *At the accepting of Christ for Lord (which is the hearts Subjection) is as essential a part of Justifying Faith, as the accepting of him for our Saviour; So consequently, sincere obedience (which is the effect of the former) hath as much to do in justifying us before God, as Affiance (which is the fruit of the later).* Hence the question arose, and was by some proposed thus; Whether faith in Christ *qua* Lord, be the justifying act: or, whether the Acceptation of Christ, as a Lord, and not only, as a Priest, doth justifie. And Mr. Baxter in his *Confess.* p. 35. 13. saith, that *it is only without any ground in God's word, but fully against it, to say, that faith justifieth only, as it apprehendeth Christ, as a Ransome, or Satisfier of justice, or Meritier of our Justification; or his Righteousness as ours; and not as it receiveth him, as King, or as a Saviour from the staine and tyranny of sin* (403–404).

To this the Scotsman objects “because Justifying Faith receiveth Christ, as King; Therefore Obedience is a part of the Condition of Justification, yea, or therefore a Purpose, or a promise of Obedience is a part of the Condition of Justification.”

So that, in order to the disproving of that Assertion, that maketh obedience, or a Purpose, or a promise of obedience, an essential part of the Condition of Justification we need not trouble ourselves with this question: Yet, in regaird that the speaking to this may contribute to the clearing of the way of Justification by faith, (which is our great designe) we shall speak our judgment there anent.... [W]ether Christ, as a King, belongeth to the compleet and adequate object of that faith, which is the true and justifying faith: [is not the question] for this is granted, as was shown above, this faith, being the same faith, whether called True Faith, or Saving Faith, or Uniting and Covenanting faith, or Justifying faith, it must have one and the same adequate Object. [W]ether

Faith in order to Justification, doth so act on Christ, as a Priest, as to exclude either virtually, or expressly, the consideration of any other of his offices, or of Christ under any other of his offices: for under whatever office Christ be considered; when faith acteth upon him, whole Christ is received, and nothing in Christ is or can be excludeth; So that there is no virtual exclusion; nor any other of his offices is looked to a right and received; for such an exclusion would be open rejection of Christ, and no receiving of him (404).

Brown goes on to explain what it means to accept Christ as Priest and what it cannot mean, and concludes the argument

That the wakened sinner, in that case, while seeking reliefe from sin and guilt, and from the curse, by Absolution and Justification, in the sight of God, in compliance with the Gospel methode and designe, making Justification to be by faith, and in obedience to the Gospel command, saying, Beleeve and be justified, is to act faith in a special manner on Christ's Mediation and Satisfaction; and to betake himself to Christ as a Priest, and rest on him and on what he did as a Priest, that is, on his death, Blood, and Satisfaction. This is it, which others call the justifying Act of Faith: or that special act of faith, required in order to Justification (405).

Of the seven reasons Brown offers for not accepting the idea that justifying faith must be especially on Christ as King, allow the sixth to stand for the whole.

The end and designe of asserting Christ, as King to be as specially the Object of Faith, in Justification, as is Christ, as Priest, may sufficiently render it suspicious; for it is, as we touched above, to bring in *our Obedience*, as distinct from Faith, or as included in it, to be the Condition of Justification, the same manner or way, that Faith is: though, as was cleared above, the consequence will not be found good. The reall question here (as is well observed by others) is not, whether any thing of Christ, is to be excluded from being the Object of Justifying Faith. But what, in and of our selves, under the name of Receiving Christ as King, is to be admitted to share with Faith, in its place and interest, in our Justification (409)?

The final chapter to be discussed is chapter 35, "Faith is the only Condition on our part, of the continuance of justification."

Having spoken of *Justification*, as to its beginning, or as to a Beleevers entering into that State of Living; and having spoken to some Questions for further clearing of the truth: We come to speak a word or two of the Continuance of this Privilege and State: That it is a continueing and permanent State, we have seen above. The Question then, that we have to discuss, is, Upon what termes and Conditions is this State continued? or what is it, which the Lord requireth in order thereunto? or whether any thing more be required of us for continueing this Relation than was at first required to the making of it? that is, whether Faith alone, or Faith together with Works of sincere obedience. *Mr. Baxter* in his *Confess.* p. 47. n. 40. tells us, that *there is much more goeth to the continuing and consummating our Justification, than doth at first to justify us as to the condition on our parts, to be performed to that end: This Continueing of our State of Justification, and Not-losing of it, he maketh one and the same, and that, which he requireth, as necessary unto the Not-losing or Continueing of this State, he maketh to be Sincere obedience, and many particular materials of this obedience, as to be humble, to forgive others, to confess Christ, and suffer for him, if called to it* (414).

Brown first reminds Baxter and his colleagues "that there is an Holiness and Personal Obedience and Conformity to the Law, called for at the hands of all Justified persons, that are come to age.... for we still affirme that the Law is in force and obligeth unto obedience, and that all such as are justified, have received a new frame and disposition of soul, inclineing them to obedience; Yea, and that they have now both peculiar Obligations unto Holiness, and also Advantages and Helps thereunto: They are his workmanship created in Christ Jesus unto Good Works; which God hath before ordained, that they should walk in them, *Ephes. 2:10* (414-415).

The second point Brown considers which Baxter maintains is, in Baxter's words, "*that no justified person shall ever lose his justification; and that God hath promised to cause them persevere.*" Brown points out that being in the state of justification is a completely unique state. It may not be compared with the state of marriage, for instance, because that state is losable. If a state is not losable, why would one speak of conditions of not losing that which is fully secured from all losing? "[T]o speak of Conditions of not losing it [our justification], may occasion Apprehensions in the mindes of men of its being losable. It were saifer then, in my apprehension, to enquire how or what way is this State and Relation continued? or what is required on our part, in order thereunto? then to

enquire what are the Conditions of Not-losing this State" (315 [sic 415])?

The exiled theologian is unsettled by Baxter's clear position as set forth in *Confess.* p. 109, that there is no new sin which would destroy one's state of justification, because he insisted on enumerating conditions of not-losing the state of justification. Brown points out that the use of the term "condition" here must be in the same sense as it was used earlier when speaking of the condition of our first entering the state of justification. Because it was used to indicate "a proper legal antecedent Poteſtative condition" because if all Baxter means by "condition" is "a mere Consequent Evangelick Condition: the question only would be. What is the Lord's Way, Methode and Manner, how and by which he persevereth his own, in that State of Justification? But, according to their acceptation of the word *condition*, the question really cometh to this, What that is, which believers betake themselves unto, and which they can, may, and should plead with God upon, for the continuance of their state, that is, of their Reconciliation unto, and Acceptance with God, of the Pardon of their sins and Right to glory?"

Brown points out that the question being asked is not "what is required on our part for keeping the sense and evidence of our justification in our own Consciences ... But the Justification here spoken of, is that which is before God, whereby the Beleever is indeed brought into a State of Peace and Reconciliation with God, and hath obtained a Right unto the Inheritance of Life" ([4]15–416). Because Brown understands the fundamental question raised by Baxter to be what conditions are necessary to maintain the state or relation of justification there are "two distinct questions. What is the Condition of our final Absolution in Judgment; and what is the Condition of the continuance of our justification here; which *Mr. Baxter* seemeth to confound *Confess.* p. 83. as the *Papists* do confound their second justification with the last judgment, when they are pleading for works, being required as the causes thereof" (416).

The heart of the matter is seen in the fact that "Justification importeth more than Remission of sins. Yet in this question of the Condition of the Continuance of Justification, the matter seemeth to be brought to this issue; whether works of Obedience be the Condition of future Remission of sins, in the justified." Thus, one must ask how future sins will be remitted, "for if it be found, that the same course is taken for Remission of future sins, that was taken at first, it will be manifest, that justification is continued upon the same termes, or in the same manner, that it was at first obtained, if

properly we can speak at all of the Conditions of its Continuance."

The question comes to this,

Whether faith alone, or works alone, or faith with works, are the condition required on our part, for the Continuance, or not-losing of the state of justification? And I judge as faith alone was required at first, in order to justification, so that alone is to be called the Condition of the continuance of justification: or that the Condition both of our first installing in that state of justification, and of the Continuance of the Privilege, or of Beleevers continuing in that state, is the same grace of Faith. Yet these two things would be noted. 1. That though the first act of Faith in Christ, doth suffice to the entering of a soul into the state of justification; Yet we do not meane, that that one first, solitarie, and numerical act sufficeth for all coming, albeit it sufficeth for making up of the Relation, according to the appointment of God; for the same Faith is to continue in its habite; Yea and in its actings. So that we state not the Question so strictly, as *Mr. Baxter* seemeth to do, *Confess.* p. 47. when from the Continuance of the habite of Faith, and from the renewing acts of that Faith, required after the first act of Faith, he inferreth, that much more goeth to the continueing of our justification, than doth at first justifie us. But our question is about the addition of *sincere Obedience* which he there mentioned. 2. When we suppose the Continuance of Faith, not only as to its habite, but as to its renewed actings; we do not suppose, that the actings and Effects, or Concomitants of Faith afterward, are every way the same, with what they were at first; so that we may also yield to this difference, and grant that some thing more may be requisite afterward. Particularly, in order to the Remission of some heinous sin, in the acting of Faith, or in the Effects or Concomitants thereof, at least as to measure, or outward significations, *to wit*, in Godly sorrow, Humiliation, Forgiving others, Restitution, or the like; and yet it will still remaine true, that justification is continued by Faith, and not by Works (416–417).

Beginning with Habakkuk 2:4, "the just live by faith," Brown offers the grounds for the doctrine that the just remain in faith and not works to continue in the state of justification. These words are spoken of those who already believe and are justified, therefore, they point the way one is to live in an evil time. Hebrews 10:38 and 39 say the same thing. "Now the just shall live by faith; but if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him. But we are not of them, that draw back, unto perdition, but of them that beleeve to the saving

of the soul” (417). Here we see that living by faith is opposed to drawing back through unbelief, for to do so is to enter upon perdition.

[S]o beleeving is to the saving of the soul; and therefore the Continuation of this life of justification unto the end, even unto the final Salvation of the soul, is by Faith. This life of justification, as it is begun by Faith (as the Apostle evinceth *Rom. 1:17*. and in our present Text citing in both places these same words, for that end) so it is continued by Faith, as the only condition thereof.... Therefore, as this assertion, that the *just liveth by faith*, proveth justification by faith without the works of the Law; so the same proveth the Continuation of Justification, without the works of the Law, as the Condition thereof.

From Romans 3:22, 34–36 the grounds and causes of justification are set forth as being necessary at the first, that being the righteousness of God apart from the Law, it follows that to continue in the state of justification the same grounds and causes are necessary. “Justification first and last is free by his grace, through the Redemption, that is in Jesus Christ, whom God hath set forth to be a Propitiation, through faith in his blood. And there is not the least hint given, that the matter is altered, in the Continuation of Justification.”

Since all boasting is eliminated at the outset of justification, so it must be void with regard to the continuance of justification. If

works be admitted, as Conditions of the Continuance of Justification, though they be denied to be the Condition of the Beginning thereof, all boasting shall not be excluded, contrary to *Rom. 3:27*. for if a sinner, after that he is justified by the merite of Christ, at first, should have it to say, that for the Continuance of his justification, he were beholden to his own Works, he should surely have matter of boasting in himself, in so far at least, *Papists* think to exite this Argument against their Second Justification by works, by saying that all these good works are not of themselves, but of the Father of Lights. But this shift will not help, for all these works are not the Righteousness of Christ, but are works of Righteousness, which we do, and are excluded in this matter, as occasioning boasting, or giving ground thereunto; as the next Argument will more fully cleare.

Moving to that argument just anticipated by Brown we find

13. The edition of Brown's work cited misquoted James 2:26 by leaving “out” off “with”.

Abraham is said to have Righteousness imputed by faith unto him, and Faith imputed unto Righteousness, and so to be justified by faith, not only when he was first justified, but many years thereafter, even when he offered up *Issac* his son. *Rom. 4.* and *Jam. 2:21, 23*. So was he justified first and last, as to have no ground of glorying, and therefore not by works. *Rom. 4:1, 3, 4*. But it will be said, that *James* saith expressly, in the place cited, that our father *Abraham* was justified by works, when he had offered his Son *Isaac* on the Alter. I *Ans.* Not to engage in the whole explication and vindication of that Passage of Scripture here, which is of late to good purpose, and most satisfyingly done by the learned *Doctor Owen*; I only say, that *Abraham's* being justified by works, was such, as thereby the Scripture was fulfilled; which saith, *Abraham* beleeveth God, and it was imputed unto him for Righteousness &c. *vers. 23*. Now if *Abraham* had been justified by works, properly so taken, the Scripture had not been made good, *to wit*, that works were imputed to him, and he was justified by them, as by his Righteousness. But the meaning is, that *Abraham* was justified by faith, a true faith, that proved itself such, in time of trial, by works of obedience, and particularly by obedience to that command, whereby the Lord tried or tempted him *Gen. 22:1, 2*. and by such a Faith as wrought with his works, and was perfected, or discovered and manifested to be real, after trial of the fire. *Jam. 2:22....* The Proposition is set down *vers. 14*. *What doth it profite, my brethren, though a man say he, hath faith, and have not works, can faith, (or that faith) save him.* Whereby we see, that the Apostles scope is to prove, that that Faith, which the man supposeth he hath, who hath no works, is not that Faith, by which we are Justified and saved; and that because it is unprofitable to poor indigent brethren, in necessity *vers. 15, 16*. is dead *vers. 17, 20*, it can not be shown by works *vers. 18*. it is a Faith that devils have *vers. 19*. All which and what followeth is cleared from the Conclusion *vers. 26*. *for as the body without the Spirit is dead, so faith with[out]*¹³ *works is dead also* (418).

From this Brown points out that “if the Continuance of Justification were by works; and works were counted for Righteousness, in order to the continuance of justification; God should not continue to be the justifier of the ungodly,” as stated in Romans 4:5, “but should justify the ungodly at first, and thereafter justify the Godly; whereof the Text giveth not the least hint. The Instance of *David* cleareth this also *Rom. 4:6, 7, 8*. for *David* is there *Psal. 32*. speaking of himself, long after he was first justified, and yet his words saying *blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven &c.* prove Justification

by faith, without the works of the Law....” Furthermore, “that Pardon of sins committed after Justification, is not had by works, but by the imputation of Righteousness, without works, for saith *Paul*, *David describeth the blessedness of the man, unto whom God imputeth Righteousness, without works*: And how did *David* describe this? When he said, *blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven &c*” (419).

Romans 5:2 tells us that we have access by faith into grace and that we stand in that faith rejoicing in the hope of God’s glory. Since we enter this state of justification through faith, it stands to reason that we continue in that state through faith alone and not by works. Galatians 2:20 confirms this according to Paul’s own experience as he sets that forth in that verse. Paul lived unto God as one who was dead to the Law, therefore he lived *by the faith of the Son of God*. “As this was true of the life of Sanctification: so much more of the life of justification; for the whole life of a Christian, now crucified with Christ, and living unto God, is here spoken to: And this is in opposition to the works of the Law, as is clear from *vers. 16*. and from the following *vers. 21*” (419).

Brown then cites Ephesians 2:8–10 as further proof that to continue in justification one must live by faith alone and not works. Of these verses he says, “This Salvation taketh in both the Beginning, Continuance and End of our life, of Justification; and all this is by Faith alone, lest any man should boast ... and these works are of Gospel-obedience, and he tells us of another end and use of these, than to be the Condition of the Continuance of our Justification, even to be the way we should walk in, according to the fore-ordination of God, and carry as his workmanship, created thereunto” (419–420).

The following verses are offered as further proof of Brown’s point that the continuance of justification is by faith alone and not of works: Philippians 3:9; Galatians 2:16; and Titus 3:5–7. Paul often declared that he rested not in his own righteousness to maintain fellowship with God because it is faith which is the entrance unto justification, therefore, it is faith which demonstrates continuance in the state of justification. Some of the reasons Brown offers for his point are worth noting as well. He says,

We have proved above, that justification at first is by the Imputation of the Righteousness of Christ, received by faith; and we have shown, that Faith in Justification specifically eyeth the Righteousness of Christ, and resteth thereupon. If then our personal Obedience be brought in to be the Condition of the Continuance of Justification,

Christ’s Righteousness is quite laid aside from having any Further interest therein, and the Beleever is never, after the first time, to act faith upon that Righteousness of Christ; and the reason is, because works do not act so upon the Righteousness of Christ, as Faith doth; neither have they that capacity to do so. But how absurd is it to think or say, that the Beleever hath no more to do with Christ’s Righteousness? And how contrary is it to the fixed resolution of *Paul Phil. 3:9*. And how inconsistent with the whole scope of the Gospel, which is the power of God unto Salvation to every one that beleeveeth, and wherein is the Righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith, as it is written, the just shall live by faith *Rom. 1:16, 17*? If it be said, That this cannot militate against such, as take-in Faith with works. I *Ans*. It will militate against such; for works cannot act upon the Righteousness of Christ, as faith doth; and therefore if faith and works concur as conditions, in one and the same manner, Faith is not here considered, as acting on the Righteousness of Christ, but only as a work, and another moral vertue: and so the Righteousness of Christ is quite excluded (420–421).

Brown next addresses each passage Baxter offers in support of his contention that there are conditions set by which one continues in the state of justification. The first set of verses Baxter adduces is Matthew 12:36, 37. Brown contends that these verses do not speak of justification but of the final judgment. There is no reason to understand justification “with the last judgment, as *Paptists* do confound their second justification with this last judgment; and abuse the same Scriptures here adduced by *Mr. Baxter* and the like, to prove their second justification to be by works” (423).

James 2:24 is the next verse put forth by Baxter to prove the idea of conditions for continuance in the state of justification. Brown finds in this verse what is necessary at the beginning of justification. Justification is not enjoyed

by a dead faith or by a faith, that cannot produce works of Obedience, or by such a faith, as devils have; but by a faith that is working, and making the soul prompt and ready to yeeld all Obedience unto the Lord: and this is the true meaning of the words ... and the whole scope of the place of evidenceth. Will *Mr. Baxter* say, that by a dead Faith, and by a Faith that cannot save, and by a Faith that is the devils and is attended with no Christian Love, we are brought into a justified state at first? ... and yet this faith, that *James* opposeth unto works, or rather unto a working faith, whereby we are justified first and last, as

was *Abraham vers.* 21. whose faith was such, as it wrought with his works, and by the same was manifest to be what it was, the true and saving faith of God's Elect. And sure, this Faith of *Abraham*, and the Faith that wrought in *Rahab*, was another sort of Faith, than is the Faith of devils, of that Faith, that is but a dead carcase (423).

Matthew 6:14, 15 speaks of the forgiveness of sins. How is this a criteria for remaining in the state of justification? What is to be thought of heathen or wicked persons who may forgive someone their sins? Does that mean God is obliged to justify such persons?

If it be said, that such cannot forgive others a right, not having a principle of grace, and not being in Christ. True, but then we see, that it is not this forgiving abstractly considered, that is spoken of here, but a Forgiving, flowing from faith and principled thereby; and so the meaning of the place is, That without such a Faith in Christ, as principleth and prompteth to Pardoning of others, we can expect no pardon of our own sins from God; nor have ground to suppose that we are indeed pardoned of God: our forgiving of others then is here mentioned as the native Effect and evident Signe of Faith (423).

Other commentators (Pareus and Gualter)¹⁴ are referenced by Brown as dealing with this matter and he cites Pareus' discussion of Matthew 18 to show that it "will not have our forgiving of others said to be the *causa sine qua non* of our obtaining Remission from God. This place then saith, That while we cannot finde in our heart, a readiness cheerfully and heartily to forgive others, we have no ground to imagine, that our sinnes are pardoned; for all such as are pardoned on God, have this Christian disposition flowing from faith in Christ: They may have this, as to the seed and root; but till it grow up to yeeld this fruite, they want the evidence of their faith and consequently of pardon" (424).

1 John 1:9 certainly calls upon the person who will confess sin to be doing so "with a running to the Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous, who is the Propitiation for sins *Chap.* 2:1, 2. Most wicked persons, as *Saul* may make confession of their sins; but not so as to run to the fountaine, the blood of sprinkling: And by a Confession, that is not accompanied with this acting, they can attaine to no Remission before God:

14. David Pareus (1548-1622), *Operum theologicorum*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt, 1647), Rudolphus Gualter (1519-1586), *D. Matthæus Evangelista* (Tiguri: Excudebat Christophorus Froschouerus, [1581]).

And therefore faith only acting in humble Confession to the glory of God, and to the taking of shame to themselves, is the condition of Pardon, and of Continuance of Justification, as to this" (424).

The Papiſts use Revelation 22:14 to prove their doctrine of the second justification to be by works.

The word ἐξουσία, here used, doth not always denote *right*, or *jus*: for it sometimes signifieth mere freedome, liberty and power to do such or such a thing, as 1 *Cor.* 9: 4, 5, 6. And so here the words import, that such as do his commandments, are blessed; for thereby they have free access unto the tree of life, unto Christ, their objective blessedness, which is the same with that, which is commonly said, *viz.* that Works of Obedience are the way of the Kingdom, but not the cause of reigning. It will not suite with the Gospel, to say, that by our works of obedience we buy a right to the tree of life, even in part, or in subordination to Christ's blood; for Christ hath purchased the whole Right: and nothing of ours must be joined, as a part of that price, otherwise must we have a proportionable share of the glory to ourselves. Nor can it be said, that by our works of Obedience we obtaine a Right to Christ and to his Merites; for before we have a Right to Christ, we can do no works of Christian Obedience, and Christ alone hath brought to us both Grace, and Glory: But our works of Christian Obedience, though they cannot precede our Right to, yet they may go before our Possession of the Inheritance purchased; now Right and Possession are different things. But *in sine* we say, that this place, speaking of the possession of glory, is not apposite to the purpose now in hand, for Justification is different from Glorification. *Rom.* 8:30. And of Justification, as continued are we here speaking (424).

The fifteenth chapter of John and verses 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, and 10 are given by Baxter as evidence of a condition of continuance in the state of justification, but this cannot be because "*Vers.* 4 sheweth that there is no fruitfulness in Grace, but by a constant abiding in, and sucking of sap by faith from Christ the true Vine, which none denieth. *Verse* 8. sheweth that by fruitfulness in good, the Father is Glorified, and thereby a demonstration is given to the world, who are indeed the true disciples of Christ, *vers.* 6. holdeth forth the dreadful punishment that attendeth Apostates; but we hope, true beleivers are secured against full and final Apostasie. *Vers.* 10 proveth indeed, that keeping of Christ's commands, is a mean to keep the sense of our being beloved of Christ fresh in our souls, and to enjoy the fruites of his Love of Beneficence: but saith nothing of good works being

the Condition of our Continuance in the state of justification: unless we will also say, that Christ's obedience was the Condition of his Continuing in the State of Justification" (424–425). 1 John 2:24 "proveth, that full and final Apostasie from the faith and truth of the Gospel will indeed cutt off from all Interest in Christ, and from benefite by him: But as true beleivers are secured from this, as *vers.* 27 cleareth. So this will only prove, the continuance in Faith, is the Condition of continuance of Justification" (425).

Finally, Matthew 18:35 is offered as proof of a condition of continuance in Justification, however, Brown points out that it "Only proveth (and so confirmeth what was said to *Mat.* 6:14.) that such as do not from their hearts forgive their brethren their trespasses, can have no ground of Assurance, that God hath forgiven them theirs.... our Cruelty and Unmercifulness towards our Brethren, may give us sufficient ground to doubt of our Pardon, whatever seeming assurance we had formally. So that this place speaketh nothing of the Condition of our pardon, but of the condition of our Sense, Feeding and grounded Assurance of Pardon; which is a far different thing."

Having gone through all these verses by which Baxter would prove his first argument, Brown now offers the following quote from him as his second argument.

Our first faith having then the nature of a Covenanting with Christ, and giving ourselves to him, and taking him for our Lord and Redeemer: therefore it follows, that as the Covenant making and accepting was of necessity, as the condition of our first right and remission; so is our Covenant keeping of the same necessity to our continued right. And that God is, as it were, disobliged, if we should not keep Covenant. And the keeping hath more in it, than the bare making. No Covenant-relation usually are entered among men, but the Covenant keeping is more the making; and the condition of their continued right more than of their first right. So it is with a Subject to his Prince, wife to a husband, Souldier to a commander, Scholer to his Teacher. Servant to his Master &c. Promising will give them the first right, but performing (in the essentials) must continue it, it or [sic, or it] will cease: for the end of the promise was its performance: And in that respect faith, which is the Covenant, is inferiour to obedience, which is promised, though in other respect, it may be superiour (425).

Our Covenanting theologian offers an eight point answer to this argument.

(1) Though Justifying Faith be also a Covenant faith, and

so uniteth [t]he soul with Christ; Yet in order to Justification, it hath not (to use his words) the true Nature of a Covenanting with Christ, nor a giving up ourselves to Him: but rather it is a receiving and resting on Him, and his Righteousness, and a fleeing to his Merites for refuge. (2) Nor doth faith, in order to justification, (as we cleared above) receive Christ, or goe to him, as Lord and King, but rather as Priest. (3) Nor doth the receiving of Christ at first, as King, formally include Obedience, or a promise of obedience; as was also manifested above. (4) Therefore, from this first acting of faith in order to justification, it can no way follow, that Obedience, or Covenant keeping (as he speaketh) is the condition of our continued Right, or of our continued justification. (5) What God hath promised upon Covenant-keeping, he is, it is true, disobliged from giving to speak so, when the Covenant is not kept: But we finde not, that he hath promised Justification, or the continuance thereof upon these termes. (6) There is no Covenants among men, that can fully quadrate, either with God's Covenanting with us, or with the matter of Justification, about which we are now speaking. The sentences of judges absolving the debtor, upon the payment of the Cautioner instructed, agreeth more with this; and we finde not in such sentences, any such-like Conditions, mentioned of their Continuance in force. (7) Some of these Relations or Covenants mentioned are purely aliene, being betwixt a Master and his servant, and the Captain and the Souldier; these are meer mercenary contracts, having Obedience and service for their only end, and promising a reward upon that Condition. Our justification hath no likeness to this. (8) Even in these Relations, every act of disobedience, or non-performance of the duties required, doth not dissolve the Relation; and therefore it cannot be said, that upon the contrare performance, as a condition, the continueing of the Relation dependeth; *Mr. Baxter* seeing this, addeth a restriction, (*in the essentials.*) And in our case, I would require, what he will account Essential? It must be that, sure, the contrary whereof is inconsistent with a Justified state: and what can this be, but a total Apostasie? From which there is full securitie laid-in, in the New Covenant, (which is not in any of the Covenants among men, which he hath mentioned.) And this total Apostasie must include a full renouncing of Christ, and his Righteousness, as to Justification: And this rather would say, that the continuance of Justification dependeth on the continuance of Faith, adhering to Christ and his Righteousness: and to this I shall willingly assent. And this taketh away the force of the 3. Arg. which he adduceth, saying,

3. Arg. *If there were no more necessary to the continuing of our justification, but only the same thing, which did constitute it, then we should be justified by no act of faith, to our lives end, but only the first instantaneous act; and so our faith, after that instant, should never more be justifying faith. But that's false, &c.* Ans. This whole argument, I yeeld unto; for I plead not against the interest of faith here; but against our works being the condition of continued justification; as was said above (425–426).

John Brown of Wamphray has shown us what happens when we begin to attribute justification to something other than the finished work of Jesus Christ in behalf of those given to Him by His Father before the foundation of the cosmos in the Covenant of Redemption. It is only by faith alone, and that faith is a gift of God itself, that the finished work of Jesus is embraced as the sole means of one's right standing with a thrice holy God. Baxter began to leave the path of orthodoxy with respect to justification when he attributed one's justification to one's exercise of faith through a misunderstanding of Romans 4:3. With the precision of a surgeon's scalpel Brown cuts through the web woven as a result of such a poor foundation. Is our act of believing imputed to us as righteousness? Certainly not. Why? Because our act of believing cannot be what is imputed unto us as righteousness because imputation implies something is granted from the outside. A believing act initiates with the one believing. "Imputation" is something made to the believer by God which the believer does not already have. For Baxter the word "Imputation" means "esteem, judge or repute." It cannot mean "account" in the sense of "bestow, grant or reckon." There is the further complication of the perfection of one's act of believing. Justification rests on perfect righteousness alone. Is any one's act of believing perfect? Of course not. If the act of believing on the part of the sinner is imputed for righteousness then God may not be called the justifier of the ungodly. Baxter wants our faith to be seen as "our Gospel-Righteousness" because, according to Baxter, Jesus' death secured a new condition for one's justification. Justification is based on a sinner meeting the condition of exercising faith. It is not obedience to the Law of Moses but obedience to the new condition of faith. Of course, faith is a condition for justification, however it is not so as Baxter defines it. Brown points out that faith is a condition in that faith lays hold of Jesus Christ and His righteousness as a beggar lays hold of a morsel of food when it is offered.

From his distorted view of faith, Baxter finds two things which constitute "the righteousness of the Law of Grace." First, there is the need for forgiveness being

exercised by the one who desires to be justified. Second, there is the need for the righteousness of sincere obedience. Furthermore, Baxter writes about repentance, forgiveness and sincere obedience as necessary for one to be justified. As we find in some circles today, justification is no longer *an act of God's free grace, wherein he pardons all our sins, and accepts us as righteous in his sight, only for the righteousness of Christ imputed to us, and received by faith alone* (Shorter Catechism 33). Justification is confused with sanctification which is *the work of God's free grace, whereby we are renewed in the whole man after the image of God, and are enabled more and more to die unto sin, and live unto righteousness* (Shorter Catechism 35). Baxter confounds that which is required of a believer, or of such as are in covenant with God, with that which enables one to enter into covenant with God: "The just man in the eye of this new Law, ... is everyone that rightly believes, repents, and sincerely obeys, because that is all it requires of a man himself to his justification and salvation" (329). This would mean that the reward reckoned is a debt paid, and not of grace at all. And this would further mean that justification would not be enjoyed until one lived the days allotted by God unto the person's death.

I leave the reader with one of Brown's illustrations concerning faith being a condition of justification. Remember the story he told of the man who promised his son a gift. All the son had to do was to take the gift from the top of his father's head. As long as the father stood uprightly, it was impossible for the son to receive the gift offered to him. The father needed to stoop low enough for the son to remove the gift from his father's head.

God the Son, like the father in the illustration "stooped." He came in the form of human flesh, lived a life of covenant faithfulness unlike our first parents, went to the cross to shed His life's blood as the propitiation for our sins, was buried, rose again the third day, and ascended to the right hand of God the Father where He sat down to govern the affairs of men and nations. God the Holy Spirit was sent by the Father and the Son so that those sinners whom the Father gave to the Son would be justified. Our justification is in no way a result of anything that we did, do or will continue to do. Our justification is an act of God's free grace which is enjoyed at a moment in our life, when by grace, through faith, we "take the gift off our father's head," as it were, and it is held securely by the promise of the One Who begins a good work in us and continues it unto the day of salvation. Our justification is indeed *sola fide, sola gratia, solus Christus*. ■

The Denial of the Imputation of the Active Obedience of Christ: Piscator on Justification

By J. Wesley White

INTRODUCTION

The recent controversy over the so-called Federal Vision and the views of Rev. Norman Shepherd has focused our attention on many issues, including the denial of the imputation of the active obedience of Christ (hereafter IAOC). On the one side, Norman Shepherd claims that the classic Reformed theologians such as Calvin and Ursinus did not hold to the IAOC and that it was an invention of later Reformed theologians.¹ On the other side, Shepherd's opponents have countered that Calvin and Ursinus did hold to the active obedience and that the denial of the active obedience of Christ must be condemned, pointing particularly to the French Reformed synods of Privatenens (1612) and Tonneins (1614).² What are we to make of this issue? Should a denial of the active obedience of Christ be tolerated in the Reformed Church? Was it tolerated historically? If Shepherd or the proponents of the so-called Federal vision do deny it, should they be driven from the ministry?

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

To begin with, even though this denial was condemned by the French Reformed Churches, a great part of the Reformed Churches did not reject as ministers those who denied the IAOC, let alone count them as heretics.³ For example, clearly Gataker, Twisse, and Vines denied the IAOC, but they and their views were tolerated by the Westminster Assembly.⁴ Second, there were various ministers throughout the Reformed Churches who held this viewpoint, such as John Jacob Alting who taught at Groningen in the Netherlands in the 17th century.⁵ Third, the proponents of the theology of Saurmur denied the imputation of the active obedience of Christ. Of course, the Swiss Reformed Churches condemned this viewpoint and other Salmurian views in

the *Formula Consensus Helvetica*, but other Churches did not. Fourth, this denial was extremely common amongst the German Reformed Churches including theologians such as Piscator, Ursinus, Pareus, Crocius, Wendelin, and Scultetus (among others!). From all this, we observe that a significant minority did deny the IAOC, often with toleration.

Some have particularly objected to the view that Ursinus denied the IAOC because his views have implications for the Heidelberg Catechism, which the continental Reformed Churches hold as a secondary doctrinal standard. We believe that Shepherd is probably right that Ursinus did deny the IAOC. Consider three prominent authorities who say that Ursinus did deny the IAOC. First, Heinrich Heppe, the great historian of German Reformed history, claims this in his *Reformed Dogmatics*.⁶ Second, Johann

THE AUTHOR: The Rev. Wes White is the pastor of New Covenant PCA in Spearfish, SD. He graduated in 2004 from Mid-America Reformed Seminary and is currently a Th.M. student at Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary. He has published articles in the *Mid-America Journal of Theology* and *The Outlook*.

1. See Norman Shepherd, "Justification by Works in Reformed Theology" in *Backbone of the Bible*, ed. by Andrew Sandlin (Nacogdoches, Tex.: Covenant Media Press, 2004) 103–120.

2. See R. Scott Clark, "Do This and Live" in *Covenant, Justification, and Pastoral Ministry*, ed. by R. Scott Clark (Philipsburg, N.J.: P&R Publishing, 2007). In this article, Clark also demonstrates quite convincingly that an affirmation of the IAOC was certainly the majority view.

3. On the 17th century view of heretics, see Samuel Maresius, *Systema Breve Universae Theologiae* (Groningen: Johannes Collanus, 1659) 492–510.

4. Alexander F. Mitchell, *The Westminster Assembly: Its History and Standards* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1883) 149–156.

5. Bernhardinus De Moor, *Commentarius perpetuus in Joh. Marckii compendium theologiae christianae didactico-elencticum*, vol. 3 (Lugdunum Batavia, 1765) 968.

6. Heinrich Heppe, *Reformed Dogmatics*, trans. G.T. Thomson, rev. & ed. by Ernst Bizer (London: Wakeman Great Reprints) 460.

Gerhard, the great Lutheran scholastic, placed him alongside Piscator as one who denied the IAOC. Gerhard provides no quotation but simply lists Ursinus along with several other German Reformed theologians.⁷ Third, the great Dutch Reformed theologian of the 18th century, Bernhardinus de Moor, in his *Commentarius Perpetuus*, dealt at length with this issue, citing a rare (to us!) source to shed light on this issue.⁸ De Moor was an ardent proponent of the IAOC, but he admitted that Ursinus did deny it. De Moor cited John Jacob Schultens who demonstrated at length that Ursinus held to this position;⁹ however, Schultens also added that Ursinus did not hold to this position before 1566.¹⁰ One final piece of evidence demonstrates that Ursinus did deny the IAOC is the fact that his great pupil, David Pareus, who assembled Ursinus' famous *Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism*, also denied the IAOC. There-

I would put in the same category the views of Albrecht Ritschl in his *A Critical History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*, tr. by John S. Black (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1872) 248.

7. See Johann Gerhard, *Loci Theologici*, Vol. 3 (Berlin: Gust. Schlawitz, 1865) XVI.57.

8. On the weight of De Moor's opinion, consider Richard Muller's comment on him, "De Moor's efforts did for late Reformed orthodoxy what the massive system of Quenstedt did for Lutheranism in the concluding years of the seventeenth century: the work was so exhaustive and so complete in its detail and bibliography that it virtually ended the development of Reformed doctrine in the form of orthodoxy system." *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics*, Vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 2003) 83. J. Van den Berg calls it a "monument of Voetian oriented orthodoxy," in "Het stroomlandschap van de Gereformeerde Kerk in Nederland tussen 1650 en 1750" in *Een richtingenstrijd in de Gereformeerde Kerk: Voetianen en Coccejansen (1650-1750)*, ed. by F.G.M. Broeyer and E.G.E. van der Wall (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 1994) 23.

9. De Moor, *Commentarius*, 969. The work is called *Omstandigen Brief aan den hr. Nic. Holtius over de zaak van A. v.d. Os*, 117-360.

10. Ibid. De Moor refers his reader to pp. 158 and 213-219 of the work just cited. This is also confirmed by a citation of the German theologian Marcus Friedrich Wendelin in Alexander Schweizer, *Die Glaubenslehre der Evangelisch-Reformierten Kirche*, Vol. 2 (Zürich: Orell, Füssli, und Comp., 1847) 384-385. Note also that R. Scott Clark points back to Ursinus' 1561 work *Summa Theologiae* where Ursinus affirmed the IAOC. "Do This and Live," 231-232.

11. *Ecumenical and Reformed Creeds and Confessions* (Mid-America Reformed Seminary, 1991) 46.

12. See Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, Vol. 2 (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2001) 209. Interestingly, Arminius also revolted strongly against this threefold imputation described by Beza; see James Arminius, *The Works of James Arminius*, vol. 1, tr. by James Nichols (London: Longman, Hurst, etc., 1825) 253-254.

13. Turretin, *Institutes*, XIV.xiii.32. See also the citations in Clark, "Do This and Live," 231.

14. For more information on Piscator see the appendix to this article on "The Life and Work of Johannes Piscator."

fore, it seems that we must conclude that Ursinus did deny the IAOC but not before 1566.

In light of this evidence, it is also important to note that the Heidelberg Catechism does teach the IAOC. The Heidelberg Catechism in Q. 63 states, "Yet God without any merit of mine, of mere grace, grants and imputes to me the perfect satisfaction, righteousness, and holiness of Christ, as if I had never committed any sin, and myself had accomplished all the obedience which Christ has rendered for me."¹¹ Shepherd is wrong to say in reference to this question, "Interpreting these [the satisfaction, righteousness, and holiness] as a reference to the imputation of active obedience is a reading back into earlier Reformed theology of views that developed only at a later time" ("Justification by Works," 115). On the contrary, Shepherd is the one who has read something back into the past. He has read Ursinus' later views back into the Heidelberg Catechism without warrant. According to Schultens, Ursinus did not deny the IAOC until after 1566, but Ursinus wrote the Heidelberg Catechism in 1562/3. Instead, we should note that the Heidelberg Catechism reflects most probably the views of Beza who posited a threefold guilt arising from Adam's sin and a threefold imputation of Christ's righteousness to answer that guilt.¹² The plain language of Lord's Day 23 does, then, affirm the IAOC.

Shepherd's implicit claim that Calvin denied the IAOC is dubious at best and for the same reasons listed above. Whether it is Heppe, De Moor, or Gerhard, none of them speak of Calvin as holding to this position, even though Heppe and Gerhard had no reason to refrain from mentioning it, had such been the case. When this issue is brought up, historical writers and theologians refer to Piscator, not Calvin, and the Lutheran George Cargius. Beyond this, the affirmation of the IAOC can be demonstrated from Calvin's writings, as Turretin did in his *Institutes* when debating this very issue.¹³ We are on safe ground when we say that Calvin did not deny the IAOC.

We have seen thus far that there was diversity within the Reformed communion over the question of the denial of the IAOC, with the majority affirming it. The question still remains as to exactly what the denial of the IAOC meant for those reformed theologians who did deny it.

In order to understand this denial better, we would like to look briefly at the views of Johannes Piscator.¹⁴ He is the patriarch of this view among the Reformed, and the theologian most often mentioned in connection with the denial of the IAOC. We shall examine his views from his little book *A Learned and Profitable*

Treatise on Man's Justification.¹⁵ It is a polemical work against the famous Papist apologist, Robert Bellarmine. After that, we shall compare his views to those of Norman Shepherd.

PISCATOR'S VIEW

First, in the matter of the justification of a sinner, Piscator says, "Man by himself and his own nature unjust is accounted for just" (5). Piscator emphasizes that man is accounted just or righteous not because of anything in man, even faith. "For to speak properly, that which is in a man, is not said to be imputed to him, but that which is without a man. And faith is in a man, but Christ's satisfaction which faith apprehends is outside a man" (30). Furthermore, Piscator notes that all our works "whether they be done by the strength of free will or by grace" (32) are not the ground of our justification. Consequently, Piscator could readily agree with the *Westminster Confession of Faith* XI.1 which says that God does not justify sinners "for anything wrought in them, or done by them, but for Christ's sake alone; nor by imputing faith itself, the act of believing, or any other evangelical obedience to them, as their righteousness."¹⁶

What, then, is the source of man's righteousness? It is Christ's satisfaction imputed to the believer. "[God] accepts Christ's satisfaction for the elect ... imputes the same unto them; and thereupon receives them into favor, and adopts them for sons and heirs of eternal life" (Piscator, *Justification*, 5–6). In opposition to Piscator, many have objected that to have forgiveness of sins is not the same as being accounted righteous. After all, if Christ's active obedience is not accounted as our righteousness, then how can Christ be our righteousness? Piscator responds that when sins are forgiven, someone is counted not only as not having committed any sins but also as having done all things required. In other words, as he says, "The reason of which thing is this, that remission of sins, wherein man's justification consists is remission of all sins: and therefore not only of sins of committing, but also of sins of omitting" (106). Thus, Christ is our righteousness "by a metonymy of the effect," that is, once Christ's satisfaction is imputed to us, we are counted as being righteous, even though we ourselves remain inherently unrighteous.¹⁷ Piscator would not agree that if only Christ's passive obedience is imputed to us, then we ourselves must supply positive righteousness. Rather, once Christ's satisfaction is imputed to us, we are in a state of having done everything required because our sins of omission are forgiven. Thus, for Piscator,

the source of our righteousness in justification is only Christ's satisfaction imputed to us.

This becomes even clearer when we examine Piscator's view of faith. Faith is simply the instrument by which a sinner applies to himself Christ's righteousness. He writes:

And therefore that man is justified by faith only because he is counted just, and by consequence pronounced just, for Christ's satisfaction only which is imputed to him by faith only: for that He does not apprehend and apply it to himself but by faith (Piscator, *Justification*, 5).

He emphasizes that even faith itself is excluded as a part of our righteousness before God. Moreover, "There is no other instrumental cause whereby Christ's satisfaction is apprehended" (91). Piscator clearly teaches that faith is the alone instrument of justification and insists upon it over and over again throughout this work. This is, of course, one of the central disputes between Bellarmine and himself.

The consequence is that all of our works are excluded from our justification. While Christ's satisfaction imputed to us is the sole source of our righteousness, we are by nature unrighteous. Moreover, even the righteous acts that we do after grace and faith are excluded from our justification, which, according to Piscator, continues to rest solely in the satisfaction of Christ imputed to us. He argues against Bellarmine that all of our works are excluded from our justification before God. He argues from the fact that Paul "speaks of works in general, whether they be done by the strength of free will or by grace, [because] he entreats [in Romans 4] of Abraham's works, those which he had done of grace and faith, as that he was obedient to God's commandment" (Piscator, *Justification*, 32). Piscator holds strongly to the *sola* in *sola fidei*. He does not say that we are forgiven of our sins and then become inherently righteous people who

15. *A Learned and Profitable Treatise of Mans Iustification: Two bookes. Opposed to the sophismes of Robert Bellarmine, Iesuite. By Iohn Piscator, professor of diuinitie in the famous schools of Nassouia Sigena* (London: By Thomas Creede, for Ralphe Iackson, dwelling in Paules Church-yard at the signe of the Swanne, 1599).

16. *Ecumenical and Reformed Creeds and Confessions* (Mid-America Reformed Seminary, 1991).

17. I have taken the phrase "metonymy of the effect" from Hans Boersma's discussion of this issue. He has a helpful discussion of these issues in their British context and also demonstrates that Richard Baxter also went beyond the denial of the IAOC in his view of justification. *A Hot Pepper Corn: Richard Baxter's Doctrine in Its Seventeenth-Century Context of Controversy* (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 1993) 220–231.

are justified on that basis. Even those works that flow out of faith are clearly excluded from our justification. Even our final justification at the judgment day will simply be a repetition of the same justification that occurred in history in our consciences by the Holy Spirit, as Piscator says,

And in that day of judgment, Christ being appointed of the Father Judge of all, will with His mouth openly before all angels and men, pronounce just, and crown with life eternal the reward of justice, all those that before were justified in this life, both by imputation of justice, and by that secret testimony of the Holy Ghost (Piscator, *Justification*, 4).

The same pronouncement that gave us comfort in this life that we have a righteous standing before God will then be pronounced openly by the Lord Jesus Christ: “You are righteous on the basis of My satisfaction imputed to you.”

Finally, what are the results of this justification? For Piscator, we are not only forgiven of our sins, but when we receive Christ, we also have a right to eternal life, for when someone is justified, God “receives them into favor, and adopts them for sons and heirs of eternal life” (6). The reason why this can occur, according to Piscator, is because God has said, “Do this, and you will live” (Lev. 18:5, Mat. 19:17, Gal. 3:12).¹⁸ Once our sins are forgiven:

It comes [about] that he to whom God forgives sins, is so accounted, as if he had not only committed nothing which God has forbidden in his law, but also omitted nothing of that which he has commanded: and therefore, as if he had perfectly fulfilled the law of God (106).

Consequently, Piscator goes on to say, “God gives eternal life as a reward to those unto whom He has promised it, to wit, unto those that keep His law, such as He accounts all those whose sins He has forgiven” (Piscator, *Justification*, 108).

18. See Piscator, *Justification*, 107.

19. Norman Shepherd, *The Call of Grace* (Phillipsburg, N.J.: P&R Publishing, 2000) 19. “All of this is made possible through the covenantal righteousness of Jesus Christ. His was a living, active, and obedient faith that took him all the way to the cross. This faith was credited to him as righteousness.”

20. All quotations are from the *New King James Version* unless otherwise noted.

21. Norman Shepherd, “Law and Gospel in Covenantal Perspective,” *Reformation and Revival Journal* 14/1 (2005) 75–76.

In Piscator’s view, we are not righteous because God sees us as having done all that Christ did. Rather, we are considered righteous because our sins of commission and omission are forgiven on the basis of Christ’s satisfaction. Thus, we are still dealing with a view that causes men to look wholly outside of themselves and to Christ for their righteousness. We agree with the conclusion of De Moor who said, “However much these learned men may be deceived on this point, it must be confessed that they place our right to eternal life in Christ alone without any of our works” (De Moor, *Commentarius Perpetuus*, 968).

THE EXEGESIS OF SHEPHERD AND PISCATOR

Does this mean that Shepherd’s viewpoint should be tolerated in Reformed Churches? We should not draw this conclusion because Shepherd’s viewpoint deviates radically not only from the majority position but also from Piscator’s. We shall illustrate this first from their exegesis and then by a brief comparison of Shepherd’s view of justification with Piscator’s.

First, they have a very different exegesis of the key passages on justification. Romans 4:5 says that for the one who believes his faith is credited as righteousness, following Gen. 15:6. Piscator interprets this as teaching “that man is justified by faith inasmuch as he lays hold on, and applies to himself Christ’s satisfaction” (Piscator, *Justification*, 29). On the contrary, Norman Shepherd does not believe that these and other texts refer to the justification of a sinner alone. Norman Shepherd believes that this text refers to the way that any human would be justified by God. Thus, Shepherd says that Jesus Christ’s “faith was credited to him as righteousness.”¹⁹ Piscator would say that this text refers only to the justification of a sinner. Shepherd says that they refer to the only justification possible whether for sinners or Christ or Adam before the fall.

For Martin Luther, one of the key passages teaching justification by faith alone was Romans 1:17. It says, “For in [the Gospel] the righteousness of God is revealed from faith to faith; as it is written, ‘The just shall live by faith.’”²⁰ Once again, Shepherd does not refer this simply to the justification of the sinner. He claims that this is the method of justification for all creatures whether sinful or not. He writes concerning Adam, “He would live and live forever not by the merit of works but by faith. He would exhibit the principle stated in Habakkuk 2:4 and reiterated by Paul in Rom. 1:17.”²¹ He goes on to say, “The method of justification for Adam before the fall is exactly what it is for Paul after the fall: ‘The

righteous will live by faith' (Rom. 1:17)." In contrast, Piscator believes this passage refers only to the justification of a sinner. He writes,

I think [the righteousness of God] is to be simply expounded as that which God gives to be imputed, namely, through faith, the righteousness acquired by the death of Christ. Meanwhile, I also confess, that this righteousness is opposed to the righteousness of men, that is, the righteousness that men would obtain, if they fulfilled the law by their own ability. And the Apostle clearly sets down this antithesis in [Romans] 10:3 as well as Phil. 3:9.²²

Whereas Piscator considers this passage to be clearly setting forth the Gospel in distinction from the law, Shepherd blends the two and considers this passage as speaking of the way that God deals with all humans, even unfallen ones.

Second, there is also a difference in the exegesis of the texts that refer to the law. Piscator takes the "do this and live" passages as referring to the perfect obedience to which God promises eternal life, as we have already seen. Piscator says that when God forgives our sins on the basis of Christ's satisfaction, this includes our sins of omission and so we are reckoned as having obeyed the law perfectly and consequently worthy of eternal life. Shepherd says that this statement in Leviticus 18:5 was not meant to show that perfect obedience was necessary for eternal life but rather that it "was designed to nurture the righteousness of faith," which means, for Shepherd, that "Israel's welfare depended upon her faithfulness to the Lord" (Shepherd, *The Call of Grace*, 33). According to Shepherd, if this verse is taken out of context, it might mean that there is salvation by works. However, rightly understood, this passage teaches that salvation is by faith and grace. In other words, Shepherd is saying that in their proper context, "do this and live" means the same thing as "the just shall live by faith." This is something with which Piscator certainly would have disagreed.

As we shall see more fully below, this difference is also seen in how they interpret the works of the law that are excluded from justification. Shepherd says, "The works of the law are the works of meritorious self-righteousness that only serve to mask gross sin and disobedience."²³ Shepherd here does not mean those works that are literally "meritorious." Rather, he means that they are works by which someone thinks that they can merit, even though they are still in great sin. Shepherd interprets the works that are excluded from justification as only some works commanded by the law or works of

a certain type. In contrast, Piscator holds to the most obvious meaning of the terms and says that works of the law are simply "that which the law commands" (Piscator, *Epistolarum Pauli*, 31).

Finally, we see a great difference in the way that the two men interpret those passages that describe the effects of faith. Consider, for example, their exegesis of James 2.²⁴ Shepherd describes the attempts to say that James and Paul are speaking of justification in different senses as "various exegetical and dogmatic devices of dubious validity ... used to defuse and tame these texts so that they ... fit" (Shepherd, *The Call of Grace*, 62). In contrast, Piscator concurs with the classic Protestant exegetical tradition in affirming that Paul and James are speaking of faith and justification in different senses. He comments on James 2:

But it is to be diligently noted before all things that the question of this passage is not over how a man is justified, which Paul treats in Romans and Galatians. Rather, after it is established that a man is justified by faith alone, he inquires what sort of faith it is or with what sort of faith man is justified.²⁵

Piscator emphatically distinguishes the questions treated in James and Romans. Shepherd says they are the same.

Another passage often cited in this connection is Galatians 5:6. Here Norman Shepherd says that this is referring to our justification before God. He writes:

When we come to verse 6 we are clearly in the sphere of judgment and justification, and in this verse faith expressing itself through love is set over against circumcision (the presence or absence of works of the law),²⁶ which do not avail for justification (Shepherd, "Justification by Faith," 93).

22. Johannes Piscator, *Analysis Logica Epistolarum Pauli* (London: George Bishop, 1591) 10. "Puto simpliciter expondendum, quam donat Deus imputando scilicet per fidem iustitiam partem morte Christi. Interim fateor, hanc iustitiam opponi iustitiae hominum, hoc est, quam homines adipiscerentur, si ex propriis viribus satisfacerent legi: quam antithesis aperte instituit Apostolus infra 10:3, item Phil. 3:9."

23. Shepherd, "Justification by Faith in Pauline Theology," in *Backbone of the Bible*, 99.

24. Norman Shepherd, "The Grace of Justification" (Document online: http://www.hornes.org/theologia/content/norman_shepherd/the_grace_of_justification.htm). All online materials for this article were accessed as of May 10, 2007.

25. John Piscator, *Analysis logica Septuaginta Epistolarum Apostolorum que Catholicae appellari solent* (London: John Wolf, 1593) 15.

26. Note that Shepherd does not mean by works of the law all works whatsoever. He only means a limited amount of works. See the discussion below on Shepherd's view of justification.

According to Shepherd, faith expressing itself through love avails for justification. In contrast, Piscator says, "In Christ only faith avails for justification" (Piscator, *Epistolarum Pauli*, 332). According to Piscator, in this passage, the Apostle specifically says that circumcision cannot avail for justification against the false Apostles. He sees the Apostle as answering in 5:6 the specific charge of whether or not this doctrine takes away godliness and answers by saying that "faith is active in performing the duties of love, and thus true faith is known from its proper effects" (332). But Piscator denies that these effects can avail for justification.²⁷

In the exegesis of Piscator and Shepherd, we see a wide divergence. Piscator basically interprets the passages of law and Gospel according to a traditional Protestant framework. Shepherd, on the contrary, interprets the Gospel passages as being applicable to Christ and pre-fall Adam (such as Rom. 4:5 and 1:17) and the law passages as referring to the Gospel (such as Lev. 18:5 and Gal. 3:11). Moreover, whereas Piscator with the classic Protestant tradition carefully distinguished passages which spoke of justification by faith alone and those which speak of the effects of faith in sanctification, Shepherd blends the two together, referring the works in Gal. 5:6 and Jas. 2 to our justification before God. The result is a radically different doctrine of justification.

PISCATOR'S DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION COMPARED WITH SHEPHERD'S

Just as their exegesis diverges significantly, so Piscator's and Shepherd's view of justification is also very far apart. First, for Piscator, the righteousness of faith is the righteousness of Christ imputed to us, that is, His satisfaction credited to our account by faith. For Shepherd, the righteousness of faith is the result of obedience to the law. "The righteousness of those who obey the law is

not the righteousness of meritorious achievement, but the righteousness of faith."²⁸ For Shepherd, faith itself is the righteousness by which we are justified, and this is why he can say that Jesus' "faith was credited to Him as righteousness." On the contrary, Piscator says that faith is credited as righteousness because of what is connected to faith, namely, Christ. He then goes on to say, "For to speak properly, that which is in a man is not said to be imputed to him, but that which is without a man. And faith is in a man, but Christ's satisfaction which faith apprehends is without a man" (Piscator, *On Justification*, 29–30). Thus, the difference between Piscator and Shepherd is that Piscator says that Christ's satisfaction is our righteousness before God, whereas Shepherd says that faith itself is our righteousness before God.

It hardly needs to be said here that Piscator and Shepherd disagree on the instrumentality of faith. Piscator believes that faith is an instrument taking hold of the righteousness of another. Shepherd does not. Shepherd believes that faith itself is our righteousness. He says that for pre-fall Adam and for us, the method of justification is the same, "the just shall live by faith" (Shepherd, "Law and Gospel in Covenantal Perspective," 76). Since faith in pre-fall Adam cannot be understood as an instrument apprehending the righteousness of another, the faith that justifies sinners cannot be understood as an instrument in that sense either. For Shepherd, faith is our righteousness, not an instrument taking hold of the righteousness of another.²⁹ For Piscator, faith is not our righteousness before God.

Finally, they differ significantly on what works are excluded from our justification. Shepherd rightly says, "We have to ask what are the works of the law that Paul sets over against this faith and excludes from justification" (Shepherd, "Justification by Faith," 95). But Shepherd wrongly answers, "By works of the law Paul means obedience to a *limited selection of laws* found in the Scripture (emphasis mine)" (97). In contrast, Piscator says, "He speaks of works in general, whether they be done by the strength of free will or by grace" (Piscator, *On Justification*, 32). Shepherd says, "These works of the law were not good works; they were *not the obedience of faith wrought by the power of God* (emphasis mine)" (Shepherd, 99). Piscator says otherwise, "He entreats there of Abraham's works, those which he had done of grace and faith," and "Moreover, it is false that the Apostle understands those works only which are done according to God's law by the strength of free will" (Piscator, 34). Here is the major difference. Piscator excludes *all* of our works from our justification, and Shepherd only excludes *some*. In other words, Piscator

27. Amazingly, Shepherd claims, "Calvin, however, did think this verse was talking about justification, and Calvin was right." "Justification by Faith," (92). Calvin, however, disagrees and refutes the very idea that Shepherd is presenting in his article. He says, "When you are engaged in discussing the question of justification, beware of allowing any mention of love or of works, but resolutely adhere to the exclusive particle. Paul does not here treat of justification, or assign any part of the praise of it to love." John Calvin, *Commentaries XXI* (Grand Rapids, Baker Book House, 1999) 153.

28. Norman Shepherd, "Justification by Faith in Pauline Theology" in *Backbone of the Bible*, 94.

29. Shepherd does believe that faith in the post-fall situation does apply Christ for washing away our guilt and corruption, but this helps us to attain "faith," which, for Shepherd, is the righteousness by which we are justified. See my article "Saying 'Justification by Faith Alone' Isn't Enough," *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 17 (2006) 256–266.

says we are justified by faith alone, and Shepherd says that we are justified by faith and works.

CONCLUSION

There were certainly theologians amongst the Reformed who denied the IAOC, and they were tolerated in many places. The reason for this is, as De Moor says, “however much these learned men may be deceived on this point, it must be confessed that they place our right to eternal life in Christ alone without any of our works” (De Moor, *Commentarius*, 968). But neither De Moor nor we can say the same about Shepherd. Shepherd views the righteousness of a sinner as his own righteousness by the help of Jesus Christ. Piscator says that we have everything for justification in Christ. Piscator’s view still points people to Christ alone. Shepherd points people to Christ and then back to themselves. This is a radical difference. Perhaps we can tolerate Piscator’s views, but we cannot tolerate Shepherd’s or any other view that mingles faith and works in our justification.

APPENDIX – THE LIFE AND WORK OF JOHANNES PISCATOR

The English theologian Edward Leigh (1602–1671) wrote in his *Treatise of Religious Learning* concerning Piscator, “He was an excellent Scripture-Divine, but no School-Divine, and therefore no marvel if he want the accurateness of Scholastical expressions.”³⁰ Whatever Leigh may have meant, Johannes Piscator or Fischer (March 27, 1546–July 26, 1625) has remained a controversial figure in the area of systematic theology, even though his greatest work was as a Biblical commentator and translator.

Piscator was born in Strasburg in 1546. He studied in various places throughout Germany and eventually became a teacher. In 1576, he was professor at the Heidelberg University along with Tremellius, Junius, Olevianus, and Ursinus.³¹ After the Elector of the Palatinate turned to Lutheranism, Piscator departed with the others and taught at Siegen, Neustadt, and Moers in various schools.

On July 10, 1584, a new university was founded in Herborn in the Wetterau districts of Germany to do the work that could no longer be done at Heidelberg.³² Caspar Olevianus (1536–1587) was chosen to organize and teach at the new university. Piscator, who was also Olevianus’ son-in-law, joined him at the university and taught there until his death in 1625.

The university prospered greatly under the work of

Olevianus and Piscator. The university received students not only from Germany but also from Poland and Hungary. After Olevianus’ death in 1587, Piscator became the leader of the school. J.I. Good notes that “his aim was to make Herborn a purely Reformed university” (Good, *Origin*, 228). Piscator was seeking to make a Reformed university in contrast to a Lutheran one as many of the Lutheran areas of Germany continued to become Reformed during this time period.³³ The school was especially successful during Piscator’s tenure there. In 1606–1610 it boasted a student population of three to four hundred students (Good, *Origin*, 227). Piscator’s students went throughout Europe and included the first of the great Buxtorfs, Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629), the great Hebrew scholar of the day who produced *Synagoga Judaica*,³⁴ a description of the Old Testament Church, and the Hebrew lexicon of his day.³⁵

Piscator lived a long and productive life of nearly 80 years. In that time, he produced numerous works on a wide range of subjects in theology, exegesis, and logic.³⁶ He was most famous for his work in systematic theology and Biblical translation and exegesis.

His most famous work in systematic theology was his *Aphorisms of Christian Doctrine*. The subtitle tells us that it is for the most part excerpted from John Calvin’s *Institutes of the Christian Religion* and set forth in brief sentences. It was reprinted numerous times and was translated into English and printed in London in 1596. Piscator wrote numerous other works on systematic theology, but he is best known for his denial of the imputation of the active obedience of Christ. If one finds him mentioned in histories of doctrine or theology, he will most likely be mentioned as one who denied this doctrine. Piscator was also a rather extreme supralapsarian.³⁷

30. Edward Leigh, *A Treatise of Religious Learning and of religious and learned men* (London, 1656) 291.

31. See *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, document online: http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/p/piscator_j.shtml.

32. See J.I. Good, *The Origin of the Reformed Churches in Germany in the James I. Good Collection* (The Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States, 2004) 225–228.

33. See Good, *Origin*, for the entire story of how the Reformed Church in Germany came out of the Lutheran Church.

34. See <http://www.uwm.edu/~corre/buxdorf/myintro.html>.

35. J.I. Good, *The Swiss Reformed Church Since the Reformation in the James I. Good Collection* (The Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States, 2004) 159ff.

36. See the entire list in the *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*.

37. See Albert Henry Newman, *A Manual of Church History*, Vol. II (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1903) 338–339.

In spite of his fame (or infamy) for the denial of the imputation of the active obedience of Christ, Piscator's great work was as an exegete and Bible translator. He commented on all of the books of the Bible. In 1602–1603, he issued the first new German translation of the Bible with notes since Luther's translation. It was adopted officially as the Bible of Bern and a few places in Germany. He also published a Latin version of the Old Testament with Beza's Latin version of the New Testament in several volumes from 1601–1615. He also published with it his commentary on the Old Testament as well as Junius and Tremellius' version of the Old Testament. His commentaries were later published separately.³⁸ In spite of the often severe disagreement with his views on the imputation of the active obedience of Christ, Reformed theologians continued to appreciate his exegetical labors. As Neele notes, Petrus van Mastricht recommended that pastors and theologians read Calvin, Piscator, Poole, and others after they had done their own exegetical work.³⁹

Piscator continues to be a controversial figure in the history of the Reformed Church. He represents the labor of the post-reformation theologians to consolidate, appropriate, and organize the work of the Reformation through his exegetical and polemical labor. He also represents the controversies that arose in the attempt to clarify the original work of the Reformation. As with so many other figures of post-reformation history, more work should be done to understand the life and work of this significant theologian. ■

Newman provides a few excerpts from Piscator's debate with Conrad Vorstius to illustrate Piscator's supralapsarianism. Newman claims that Piscator eventually became an Arminian, but he provides no documentation. I have been unable to substantiate his claim from any of the sources I examined. The *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia* does mention that he became an Arminian, but it cites Newman's work. Confusion may have come about because Piscator denied the imputation of the active obedience of Christ, and the Arminians did as well. But note that they did this for different reasons. Piscator said that when Christ's passive obedience is imputed to us, we are considered completely righteous, but the Arminians said that faith itself was counted as our righteousness.

38. The information in this paragraph is taken from James Townley, *Illustrations of Biblical Literature Exhibiting the History and Fate of the Sacred Writings* (New York: Carlton & Porter, 1856) 484.

39. Adriaan C. Neel, *The Art of Living to God: A Study of Method and Piety in the Theoretico-practica theologia of Petrus van Mastricht (1630–1706)* (Pretoria, South Africa: University of Pretoria, 2005) 138.

In Brief: Alexander M'Leod on a Pastor According to God's Heart

The Pastor according to God's heart, has a life corresponding to the functions of his holy office.

There is a striking analogy between a saint and the church. Grace is not complete until it terminates in glory; and the church militant is imperfect. Professions are frequently hypocritical, appearances are often discovered to have been without reality. "Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name?—And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity." Ministers may have a divine call to the office, and yet afterwards give themselves up to the service of Satan, and betray their master. Judas was an Apostle. There must therefore be a check upon Christian confidence. It is not sufficient that the Pastor has been regularly called, he must also adhere to his instructions. He that is *near the heart of God*, כִּלְבִי, has not only received a regular ordination, but also continues to perform faithfully the duties of the pastoral office. Ministers are to be honorably received, and diligently watched. While they continue to live a life corresponding to their ministry, let them be esteemed as the servants of God, as the ambassadors of Christ. But when they shall have forsaken God, let them be rejected by the church. You will bear, my brethren, with our personal infirmities; you will sympathize in our calamities; you will pity our intellectual weakness; you will mourn for our unsuccessfulness; and if we should never acquire great popularity, we are not, merely on that account, to be rejected of the church. Not great attainments in eloquence, not courtly manners, not a talent of pleasing the high or the low, not popularity, nor even the degrees of success with which a ministry is accompanied, can determine whether a Pastor be far off, or near the heart of God. He is a Pastor approved of God, who is *pious, diligent, and faithful*.

The constitution, character, and duties of the Gospel ministry: a sermon, preached at the ordination of the Rev. Gilbert McMaster, in the First Presbyterian Church, Duanesburgh (New-York: Printed by J. Seymour, 1808) 48–49. ■

The Regulative Principle of Worship: Sixty Years in Reformed Literature

Part Two (2000–2007)

By Frank J. Smith, Ph.D., D.D. with Chris Coldwell

OVERVIEW (1946–1999)

In Part One of this two-part series covering the years 1946–1999, it was noted that of all of the doctrines maintained historically by the Calvinistic branch of Christendom, perhaps none has been subject to as much controversy within that tradition as the regulative principle of worship. This principle is most simply defined this way: whatever is commanded by God for worship is required, and whatever is not commanded is forbidden. It is contrary to the view of worship embraced by Roman Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Anglicanism, viz., that whatever is not forbidden in worship is allowed. The Calvinistic branch of the Reformation maintained this stricter view, which was refined during the time of the Second Reformation and the ascendancy of Puritanism, and classically defined in the Westminster Confession of Faith Chapter 21:

The light of nature sheweth that there is a God, who hath lordship and sovereignty over all, is good, and doth good unto all, and is therefore to be feared, loved, praised, called upon, trusted in, and served, with all the heart, and with all the soul, and with all the might. But the acceptable way of worshipping the true God is instituted by Himself, and so limited by His own revealed will, that He may not be worshipped according to the imaginations and devices of men, or the suggestions of Satan, under any visible representation, or any other way not prescribed in the Holy Scripture.¹

However, adherence to this foundational principle of Presbyterianism began to wane in the eighteenth century, and it largely lost its hold in much of the Reformed community by the early nineteenth century. As was noted, the reasons for this development are many: the decline of Reformed piety and orthodoxy in general;

a rising of secularism founded in pluralism; the influence of the several revival movements toward an emotionalistic worship, and a breakdown in denominational distinctives; and an increasing rationalism leading to the diminution of the doctrine of *sola scriptura*. All of these trends pulled Presbyterianism in two somewhat disparate directions by the opening of the twentieth century: toward an evangelicalism that drank deeply from the well of maudlin Romanticism; and toward a high church liturgical perspective which aped Anglicanism.

By the 1940s liberalism had destroyed the Northern mainline church, and was in the process of destroying her Southern sister. However, the founding of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church by conservatives from the PCUSA led to an opportunity for a classic restatement and setting forth of this Reformational principle governing the worship of God. Drawing upon the literature of Scottish and nineteenth century Southern Presbyterianism, John Murray brought renewed if fledgling interest in the regulative principle in the 1946 paper on worship song.² In the 1950s and 1960s there were a few individuals who called attention to and defended the principle, but it remained very much true in America

THE AUTHOR: Frank J. Smith is pastor of the Covenant Reformed Presbyterian Church of Sheboygan, Wisconsin, and a contributing editor to *The Confessional Presbyterian*. The author thanks Mr. Coldwell for his assistance in researching many of the books and articles considered in this survey. Thanks also go to Wayne Sparkman, Tom Reid, John Muether, Sherman Isbell, and Dr. R. S. Clark for suggesting works for consideration or for help in obtaining copies of some of the more obscure items.

1. S. W. Carruthers, M.D., Ph.D., *The Westminster Confession of Faith: Being an account of the Preparation and Printing of its Seven Leading Editions, to which is appended a critical text of the Confession with notes thereon* (Manchester: R. Aikman & Son, [1937]) 129.

2. "Report of the Committee on Song in the Public Worship of God to the Fourteenth General Assembly" (*Orthodox Presbyterian Church, Minutes of the General Assembly* [1946]).

what Iain Murray stated in 1963 regarding his country: the “Puritan teaching on the regulative principle of Scripture is almost as obsolete in England as the teaching that the earth is flat.”³ While still small, awareness of the principle would continue to grow, and in the 1970s foundations for further interest were laid, as well as for future opposition. This blossomed in the 1980s through the work of some small publishers. The 1990s opened with an historic conference on Psalmody which heralded a large increase throughout that decade in the literature. Some supported the principle clearly, some less so, others sought to redefine it, and a few sought an all-out assault.⁴

VII. THE NEW MILLENNIUM⁵

With the growth of the Internet and interest in and continued controversy over the regulative principle of worship, the production of literature greatly accelerated over the first half of the first decade of the new millennium.

TERRY JOHNSON

A minister in the Presbyterian Church in America (PCA) who pastors the Independent Presbyterian Church in Savannah, Georgia, Terry Johnson has been a major player in the discussion regarding worship. In the first part of this article, we considered his writings up through 1999. In the twenty-first century, he has continued to write as he develops his understanding of proper worship.

In March 2000, as part of the Truth for Life Series (sponsored by First Presbyterian Church, Jackson,

Mississippi), Pastor Johnson penned *Reformed Worship: Worship that Is According to Scripture*. He clearly wants to steer a middle course between a “low” church approach which would “lack the sense of the glory and majesty of God that results from well-ordered God-centered worship,” and the “high” church approach which would “lack the spontaneous and personal ‘feel’ of Reformed worship with its free prayers and expository preaching.”⁶ He proposes the following “narrow” and “precise” question for his readers: “What ought we to do in the public worship services of the Lord’s Day?”; and then proceeds to set aside several issues that might divert from a proper consideration of the matter at hand (pp. 3ff).

First, he maintains that there must be a distinction between public and private behavior. Secondly, he distinguishes between public worship on the Lord’s Day and that which “may glorify God generally.” Thirdly, “the question is not merely what may be *permitted*, or even what might one get away with and still be within the bounds of Scripture’s regulative requirements. Reformed worship may not be reduced to the regulative principle, particularly the regulative principle narrowly constructed, any more than the Reformed faith can be reduced to ‘Five Points.’ The regulative principle, interpreted merely as lists of approved and disapproved elements, does not address (when understood narrowly) a fundamental ingredient of worship: reverence. It does not address decorum. It does not address words and actions appropriate to a reverential approach to God. No, our question is what *ought* to be done in public worship.” Fourthly,

the question is not what *I* personally want, or what my *congregation* wants, or what my *generation* wants, or, heaven forbid, what my *faction* wants. The question is an “ought” question, and we raise it not for our group but for the *whole church together*. What ought we to do in public worship? For about a generation now this question has been answered idiosyncratically, with each minister or “worship team” or church or group making its own decisions without regard for the communion of the saints and unity of the broader church. This cannot continue to be acceptable for catholic and connectional denominations. There is, after all, only one baptism, not many (Eph 4:4ff). When baptisms or other forms of worship are multiplied, it becomes virtually impossible for the church to remain unified. If the church is not unified in worship it is not unified in any meaningful sense at all, whatever claims to the contrary might be made.

3. Iain H. Murray, “Scripture and ‘Things Indifferent’ A central issue in Puritan controversy,” *Diversity in Unity: Papers Read at the Puritan and Reformed Studies Conference, December 1963* (London: Available from *The Evangelical Magazine*, 1964) 17.

4. Since last year, several other works appropriate to discuss in earlier periods have come to our attention. Some of these will be noted at appropriate places. Here we would simply note an article penned by Dr. Robert G. Rayburn which gives an overview of contemporary evangelical worship (“Evangelical Worship in Our Day,” Edmund P. Clowney, ed., *Practical Theology and the Ministry of the Church, 1952–1984: Essays in Honor of Dr. Edmund P. Clowney* [Philipsburg, N.J.: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1990] 131–147). Although there was concern that worship glorify God rather than being entertainment, there was no mention of the regulative principle, and no discussion of its distinguishing features.

5. We realize that the twenty-first century (hence the new millennium) did not technically begin until January 1, 2001; nevertheless, for ease of reference, we are including works from the year 2000.

6. Terry L. Johnson, *Reformed Worship: Worship that Is According to Scripture* (Greenville, S.C.: Reformed Academic Press, 2000) 2–3.

Further to this point, he rhetorically asks:

how will the conservative Presbyterian denominations keep from fragmenting into a thousand different factions if today's liturgical multi-culturalism is not restrained? The current "best thoughts" on missiology insist on ministry forms distinctive to the tastes and preferences of each subculture at home and abroad. Such ministry includes the church's public worship. So then, the young must have their worship and the old theirs. Similarly the Hispanics, the African-Americans, the Asians, and, presumably, the Rednecks, the Skateboarders, and the Surfers, etc.

Fifthly, "the question we wish to answer is what ought we do in a *worship* service, not what may we do in other settings on other days."

Johnson contends that both the heart of worship (its spirit) and its content and form (its truth) are essential. He writes:

Periodically the question is raised, "Are you saying that God isn't pleased with the worship of such and such group of very earnest, sincere, devout Christians?" The answer we give is that form is not irrelevant. God cares about the form and content of worship as well as its spirit. One may be very sincere, and yet sincerely wrong, offering to God worship in a form that He has not authorized. The extreme case of this is found in pagan worship, such as the worship of the prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel, who practiced self-mutilation amidst their ceremonial dance and frenzied cries (1 Kgs 18:25–29). Were they earnest, sincere, devout? Absolutely. Likewise the ancient Canaanites offered their infants to Molech in human sacrifice. A more zealous expression of religious devotion can scarcely be imagined. But the form was utterly unauthorized, uncommanded, and wrong.

Form matters. Jesus says worship *must* be conducted with both the right *attitude* and the right *form*, with both spirit and truth (21–22).

The Georgia pastor next presents the regulative principle of worship, viz., that "whatever is not enjoined by Scripture (whether by command, example, or by deduction from broader principles) is forbidden" (23). He argues by using standard Biblical texts: Genesis 4:3–8 (Cain and Abel); Exodus 20:4 (the Second Commandment); Exodus 32 (the golden calf); Leviticus 10 (Nadab and Abihu); Deuteronomy 4:2 and 12:32 (warnings not

to add to or take away from God's commands); 1 Samuel 15:22 (the rejection of Saul's unprescribed worship); Jeremiah 19:6 and 32:35 (the rejection of pagan rites "which I never commanded or spoke of, nor did it ever enter My mind"); Mark 7:7, et al. (Jesus' rejection of Pharisaical worship); John 4:22 (the rejection of Samaritan worship); and Colossians 2:23 (the rejection of will-worship). He also utilizes T. David Gordon's work, which notes that rejecting the regulative principle of worship "would necessarily involve compromising central tenets of the Reformed faith;" examples of affected doctrine include the doctrines of God and man; the doctrine of sin; the doctrine of Scripture; the doctrine of the church; and the doctrine of divine sovereignty (23ff).⁷

PROFESSOR DAVID J. ENGELSMA

Throughout the year 2000 *The Standard Bearer* ran a four part series by Professor David Engelsma under the title, "Shall We Please God or (Certain Kinds of) People? or, The Regulative Principle of Worship?"⁸ In the first two installments the professor lays out the basic principle, opening with the following salvo:

7. See also below under the header Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary for a discussion of other writings of Terry Johnson on the topic. In addition, two other pieces of his on the doctrine of worship are worthy of note. *The Pastor's Public Ministry* (Greenville, S.C.: Reformed Academic Press, 2001), the contents of which were originally delivered as the Den Dulk Lectures at Westminster Theological Seminary in California, contains helpful practical suggestions for how a minister should conduct public worship. In *The Case for Traditional Protestantism: The Solas of the Reformation* (Edinburgh, UK, and Carlisle, Pa.: Banner of Truth Trust, 2004), he briefly touches on the reform of worship. His major points are as follows: "the Word of God must have the central place in worship;" "praise must be biblical and congregational;" "the sacraments must be restored to their Biblical simplicity;" and "the work of the Holy Spirit must be given precedence over forms" (pp. 125ff). Unless otherwise noted, all italicizations in quoted text are in the original.

8. David J. Engelsma, "Shall We Please God or (Certain Kinds of) People? Or, The Regulative Principle of Worship," Part 1, *The Standard Bearer*, 76.14 (April 15, 2000); Part 2, 76.15 (May 1, 2000); Part 3, 76.16 (May 15, 2000); Part 4, 77.3 (November 1, 2000). These and other papers by Protestant Reformed Churches in America (PRCA) ministers were published as: David Engelsma, Barry Gritters and Charles Terpstra, *Reformed Worship* (Grandville, Mich.: Reformed Free Publication Association, 2004). The volume contains the following: "The regulative principle of worship" (Engelsma); "The basis of the regulative principle of worship" (Engelsma); "The regulative principle of worship applied" (Engelsma); "The regulative principle of worship and singing" (Engelsma); "Contemporary worship practices" (Gritters); "A Reformed critique of contemporary worship" (Gritters); "Proper worship" (Gritters); "The active participation of believers" (Terpstra); "A conscious involvement" (Terpstra); "A serious preparation for worship" (Terpstra).

One of the most powerful winds blowing through the Reformed and Presbyterian churches today is the hurricane of “liturgical renewal,” or “progressive worship.” The service of public worship as the Reformed have conducted it for hundreds of years is summarily scrapped as “traditional” (“traditional” being uttered with scorn or with sorrow, as though describing a service that was either foolish or useless). The traditional service is replaced with a service of bands and singing troops; banners; films, skits, and drama; dialogues; dancing; and shallow, man-centered, Arminian, but lively “gospel songs.”

Or the two kinds of services are placed back-to-back on a Sunday morning. The traditional service is at 9 A.M., the progressive service is at 11. Every member can indulge his preference.

The assumption of those who spend their waking hours planning the demolition of the traditional Reformed worship and concocting new and more appealing activities of worship is that the church is free to shape the worship of God as she thinks best. And what is best is whatever pleases the worshiping people.

This assumption is shared by most of the “conservative” members of the churches where progressive worship is introduced. They dislike the innovations intensely. They complain. They attend only the 9 A.M., traditional service. But they tolerate the new worship.

How we worship is a matter of preference.

Our preference.

This assumption is shattered on the rock of the regulative principle of worship. By the regulative principle of worship is meant that God Himself regulates, or rules, the public worship of Himself by His church. God regulates worship by clearly prescribing in His Word what this worship must consist of. God Himself tells us *how* to worship Him. This “how” refers to the inner, spiritual disposition of the worshipers: “in spirit and in truth” (John 4:24). It also refers to the elements of the service of worship: the preaching of the gospel; the two sacraments, rightly administered; prayers and congregational singing; and the offerings, especially for the poor.

God does not leave the “how” of worship to the wisdom and whim of the worshiping people.

Professor Engelsma goes on in part one to express his dismay with the writings of Stevel Schlissel and John Frame.

It is discouraging then that reputedly conservative men in the Reformed and Presbyterian churches deny and even attack the regulative principle. Rev. Steve Schlissel is busy doing this. He has written a series of articles entitled, “All I Really Need to Know about Worship ... I don’t Learn from the Regulative Principle” (*Messiah’s Mandate*, 1999).

Although he pays lip service to the regulative principle, the Presbyterian theologian John Frame, professor at Westminster West Seminary, in fact, empties it of any governing power over his worship services in southern California and the worship services of anyone who heeds his instruction on worship. “It is virtually impossible to prove that anything is divinely required specifically for official services” (*Worship in Spirit and Truth*, P&R, 1996, p. 44).

Frame, supposedly a conservative at a reputedly conservative seminary, enthusiastically promotes the contemporary, progressive worship that is destroying the traditional Reformed worship regulated by God’s Word. Frame approves teaching in the services of public worship by people who are not elders; children’s church; drama as a legitimate form of preaching; teaching by means of dialogue; infant communion; worship services that are entirely given over to music, that is, services without any Bible reading or preaching; and liturgical dance.

This is to repudiate the regulative principle by gutting it and to substitute for it as the rule for worship the fancies of Presbyterians in southern California and the tastes of worship leader John Frame. Showing which way the wind is blowing, the book comes highly recommended by four leading Presbyterian theologians at two leading, purportedly conservative Reformed seminaries.⁹

In part two,¹⁰ Engelsma defends the regulative principle as Biblical (from the second commandment), Confessional (citing the Three Forms of Unity as well as the Westminster Confession),¹¹ and traditionally Reformed (not just Presbyterian: citing Zacharias Ursinus,

9. The text of part one is online at http://www.prca.org/standard_bearer/volume76/2000apr15.html.

10. The text of part two is online at http://www.prca.org/standard_bearer/volume76/2000may01.html.

11. “Accepting and practicing the regulative principle is con-

Gijsbert Voetius, and John Calvin). The professor then concludes:

The regulative principle of worship is Reformed, confessional, and biblical. We may and must worship God *only* as He prescribes in His Word. This worship is accepted by Him. Traditional Reformed worship is scorned by the “worship leaders” and shunned by the worshiping multitudes today. But one thing may be said in its favor, and we are bold by the grace of God to say it: It pleases God.

Only this worship pleases God.

Progressive worship is praised to the skies today, and the people throng the courts of religious entertainment where actors act, dialogists dialogue, musicians make music, movie makers show movies, dancers dance, and the congregation sings mindless fundamentalist ditties and rank Arminian heresies. But one thing must be said against it, and we are bold by the grace of God to say it: It displeases God.

It is image worship.

In part three of the series, Professor Engelsma descends to some particular disagreements he has with some holders of the regulative principle who he thinks take it too far and misapply it; for example, those who oppose all forms and formulas in worship (e.g., the Apostles Creed, Lord’s Prayer, etc.), observance of Christmas, and instrumental music in worship. On holy day observance the professor makes the following comment:

Some Presbyterian advocates of the regulative principle vehemently denounce Reformed churches for observing Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, Pentecost, and Christmas with special worship services. Such observance is alleged to be violation of the regulative principle. Their argument is that God has not commanded the church to worship on April 21 or December 25 in observance of Good Friday or Christmas. In reality, they charge Article 67 of the Church Order of Dordt and thus the synod of Dordt and the entire Dutch Reformed tradition with image worship.

The charge rests on a misunderstanding of the regulative principle. The regulative principle prescribes the *content* of the public worship, not the *time* when the church worships. It is the fourth commandment that

prescribes the time of public worship. And, although the fourth commandment insists that the church worship on the Sabbath Day, it permits the church to worship also on other days. The Heidelberg Catechism explains the fourth commandment this way: “... that I, *especially* on the Sabbath, that is, on the day of rest, diligently frequent the church of God.”

One may like Dordt’s rule in Article 67 [Engelsma also cites the Second Helvetic Confession], or one may dislike it, but observance of Christmas and the other “Christian festivals” has absolutely nothing to do with the regulative principle whatever. What the regulative principle requires is this: *If* you have a service of worship to remember Jesus’ birth on December 25, this service must consist of the same elements as the worship on Sunday. The special Christmas service must consist of preaching, praying, congregational singing, and giving of alms. It may not take the form of dramatic presentations of the manger scene, liturgical dance, instruction by means of banners, and the like.

I plead with our Presbyterian brothers and sisters not to find differences that divide where none exist.¹²

Professor Engelsma is perhaps even a bit more pointed in his criticism of those opposed to the use of musical instruments in public worship, singling out the great Southern Presbyterian theologian John L. Girardeau for criticism for misstating the regulative principle:

Some zealots like to present the regulative principle as requiring biblical warrant for every detail of a worship service, but this is to mistake the principle. The southern Presbyterian worthy John Girardeau was guilty of this error. His is the dubious honor of having authored what may be the most violent assault upon instrumental accompaniment of congregational singing ever launched. He called the accompaniment of congregational singing by an organ or piano “heresy in the sphere of worship.” But Girardeau brought instrumental accompaniment under the condemnation of the regulative principle by misstating the principle. He described the regulative principle this way: “Whatsoever *in connection* with the

fessional for Reformed and Presbyterian churches and people. Rejection of the regulative principle is attack upon the confessions. For an officebearer, this is transgression of his sacred vow to maintain and defend the confessions.” Engelsma, part two, *ibid*.

12. The text of part three is online at http://www.prcanet.org/standard_bearer/volume76/2000may15.html.

public worship of the church, is not commanded by Christ ... in His Word, is forbidden" (*Instrumental Music in Public Worship*, 1888, repr. New Covenant Publication Society, 1983, p. 200; emphasis added).

In fact, the church has liberty "in connection with public worship" to arrange a great many details of her worship: what time she meets; how often the Supper is administered, and how; the order of worship; sitting or standing for prayers and songs; form prayers in administering the sacraments and in exercising discipline; instrumental accompaniment of the singing, and more.

There are "circumstances" attending worship, as well as the elements themselves, and one reduces the regulative principle to an unworkable principle, if not to absurdity, if he attempts to apply it to every detail of worship. The New Testament church has liberty in Christ to arrange the details of her worship, and this liberty is important. The Belgic Confession claims this liberty for the Reformed church. In the context of "the worship of God," the Confession states that "it is useful and beneficial that those who are rulers of the church institute and establish certain ordinances among themselves for maintaining the body of the church" (Art. 32).

We appreciate the professor's sentiments expressed in the final part of his article that the "purpose of looking at these controversial matters is to plead that such differences in applying the regulative principle do not betray fundamental disagreement over the regulative principle itself. Thus, it is hoped, this examination of differing application of the regulative principle will make for peace among those who are truly one in ecclesiastical subjection to the second commandment." However, unhappily, we must point out that Professor Engelsma here misrepresents Girardeau's position and

compounds the problem unnecessarily in placing emphasis on the phrase "in connection with." The point of difference is not that Engelsma understands the distinction between what is elemental and what is circumstantial in the worship of God, and that Girardeau does not. The nineteenth century theologian actually goes into some detail on the nature of circumstantial matters and clearly understood the distinction. The point of difference is over the nature of the use of musical instruments in worship. Girardeau simply did not believe this was a circumstantial matter. In the interest of peace, however, we shall simply direct the reader to Girardeau's work on the subject.¹³

In the final installment Professor Engelsma discusses the subject of exclusive psalmody. He had previously introduced the subject at the end of part three this way:

There remains the question, whether the regulative principle requires exclusive Psalmody. Does the regulative principle demand that the Reformed church sing only the Psalms at church, or does it allow for the use of certain hymns? This is a controversial issue. Treatment of the issue in the Protestant Reformed Churches (PRC) has sometimes been ambiguous, leaving both members and those without in doubt, what precisely the stand of the PRC is.

After explaining some history and reasoning on the subject, the professor concludes on the question of exclusive psalmody in the PRCA: "In terms of the regulative principle, which does, of course, govern our singing at church, the stand of the PRC is this: God requires the congregation to sing, and He requires the congregation to sing His Word; the soundest and safest and perfectly adequate policy is to sing *His Word* as found in the Psalms, which is, after all, the songbook that God has given us."¹⁴

PCA MISSION TO NORTH AMERICA COMMITTEE

In October 2000, the Presbyterian Church in America (PCA) Mission to North America (MNA) Committee received and approved "Guidelines for MNA Sponsored Church Planters: Principles and Practices of Worship," a report intended to give guidance to its church planters. This document was, in some measure, the fruit of a more extensive discussion which had taken place in the 1990s, when the MNA Committee, without General Assembly authorization, appointed a study committee on worship.¹⁵

13. See Girardeau, *Instrumental Music in Public Worship*, 139ff, and more particularly, his "Discretionary Power of the Church," reprinted in *The Blue Banner*, 8:5–6 (May–June 1999) at <http://www.thebluebanner.com>.

14. The text of part four is online at http://www.prca.org/standard_bearer/volume77/2000novo1.html.

15. In 1992, the General Assembly turned down an overture from Eastern Carolina Presbytery which asked for a study of whether liturgical dance and drama were acceptable worship practices. Contributing to the defeat of the overture was the fact that the MNA Committee informed the Assembly that it had already appointed a task force on worship. The Committee was commended by the Assembly for "the caliber and balance of the task force assembled." Close to forty people, including several women, representing a variety of denominational backgrounds (including a liberal Methodist denomination), were on this task force. (Frank J. Smith, *The History*

The Rev. Dr. James C. Bland, III, MNA Coordinator, publicly thanked several churchmen for their work on the document, viz., Dr. Bryan Chapell, President, Covenant Theological Seminary; John Frame, Professor of Theology, Reformed Theological Seminary, Orlando, Florida; Joseph “Skip” Ryan, Senior Pastor, Park Cities Presbyterian Church, Dallas, Texas; Dr. L. Roy Taylor, Stated Clerk, Presbyterian Church in America, and Mr. Wade Williams, Director of Worship, Christ Church, Atlanta, Georgia. None of these men has been publicly identified with what could be considered to be a traditional understanding of the regulative principle of worship.

The document that was finally approved begins by listing six “Key Principles of Public Worship Practices for MNA Church Planters,” consisting mostly of quotes from the PCA’s *Book of Church Order (BCO)*. The first of these principles, quoting from *BCO* 47–1, states: “Since the Holy Scriptures are the only infallible rule of faith and practice, the principles of public worship must be derived from the Bible, and from no other source.” The sixth of these principles does list elements of worship, in a quotation from the *BCO*; but then concludes with the following statement: “Exercise of every one of the elements in this list is not intended to be compulsory in every service nor is this list intended to be an exhaustive summary of all that the Bible teaches is appropriate for public worship. (cf. differing lists in WLC #108 and WCF 21.5).”

What is particularly noteworthy in this list of principles is that there was no appeal made to the more specific Confessional Standards of the Westminster Assembly. The first principle does speak of being governed by Biblical considerations—but please note that the wording from the *BCO* does not precisely state the regulative principle of worship. Almost anyone can agree that the *principles* of our worship should be Biblical. But the Presbyterian point is that each of the *elements* is prescribed, not simply the *principles*. (The fact that John Frame could sign off on the document should be a good clue that it is not a celebration of the Presbyterian faith.)

The document quotes from the PCA Statement of Identity—despite the fact that the General Assembly in 1999 had specifically stated that the denomination’s “statement of identity” was its Constitution, not something conjured up by those outside of the courts of the church.¹⁶

The paper argues that while the glorification of God is the primary focus in worship, edification and evangelism are proper secondary and tertiary concerns. It

also, while distinguishing between worship in the “narrow sense” and in the “broad sense,” does ascribe the nomenclature of “worship” to both.

The paper avers that “our worship should be accessible to the people to whom God calls us to minister without yielding to improper cultural influences. The prudential judgment required for weighing such matters is given to the leadership of individual churches who are urged to weigh biblical mandates over personal or societal preferences. Knowing that we will be judged by our extremes, the law of love requires that churches not take advantage of their liberties in worship to the detriment of the glory of God or the good of His people (both those present and those being called to Him).”

The document answers the question, “What degree of variation should there be in our various churches’ worship practices?” by saying:

We should not embrace worship or liturgical practices that exclude our praise of God, confession of our sinfulness, our dependence on His grace, and instruction motivated by love and gratitude....

We should embrace the diversity of proper expressions of biblical worship that indicate God is moving among every tribe and nation, language and people, and that indicate we are sensitive to the varying aspects of this mission that God gives to individual churches in the way that they exercise their worship liberties....

We have no right to impose a preferred style of worship on other bodies of believers. We are responsible to

of the Presbyterian Church in America: *The Silver Anniversary Edition* [Lawrenceville, Ga.: Presbyterian Scholars Press, 1999] 516). In 1994, the General Assembly answered in the negative an overture from Westminster Presbytery, asking that this subcommittee be dismissed. However, the Assembly clarified the situation by stating that “the Worship Task Force ... is not functioning as an Ad Hoc Study Committee on behalf of the General Assembly; and its report will not have the force of such a study committee; and, nonetheless, at its completion, the General Assembly will be informed, and the report will be made available upon request, at the expense of those requesting it” (*Minutes of the Twenty-Second General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America* [Atlanta, Ga.: Office of the Stated Clerk, 1994] 175).

16. “The Presbyterian Church in America affirms that the only binding statement identifying this denomination is the Constitution of the Church as defined in the Preface of the *Book of Church Order*, Section III. All other statements are simply individual statements of opinions and are to carry no authority nor to be binding guides to practice within the churches, committees and courts of the church.” *Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America* (Atlanta, Ga.: Office of the Stated Clerk, 1999) 173. For a discussion of the Statement of Identity, see Part One of this article, CPJ 2 (2006) 147–151.

challenge all members of the body of Christ to honor His priorities and glory in worship....

That last paragraph references BCO 47–6, which does not speak of style per se, but rather states that the Lord Jesus “has prescribed no fixed forms for public worship but, in the interest of life and power in worship, has given His Church a large measure of liberty in this matter.” However, the same Constitutional paragraph does in some measure speak of style, in that “reverence” and “the beauty of holiness” are held up as necessary, and adds: “From its beginning to its end a service of public worship should be characterized by that simplicity which is an evidence of sincerity and by that beauty and dignity which are a manifestation of sincerity and by that beauty and dignity which are a manifestation of holiness.” In other words, there *is* a preferred style of worship, in contrast to what the MNA document maintains.

The MNA production concludes by quoting from a 1997 book from the Christian Reformed Church of North America (CRCNA), *Authentic Worship in a Changing Culture*.¹⁷ The authors of that book wrote:

We concluded that it was not particularly helpful to talk about the non-negotiables of Reformed worship as though Reformed worship were something totally distinct from (and superior to) *Christian worship* and something that we must feverishly defend and protect lest it be forever lost. Rather, we concluded that it was more helpful and honest to talk about Christian worship and then to acknowledge that, like every other worship tradition, the Reformed worship tradition has both received gifts from and given gifts to Christian worship and that what it has given has arisen from what it first received. In that spirit we note some of the gifts to Christian worship that the Reformed tradition has made over the centuries and encourage the continued cultivation of these gifts.

The CRCNA book lists eight “gifts,” as follows: a

17. *Authentic Worship in a Changing Culture* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: CRC Publications, 1997).

18. Andrew James Webb, *A Brief Guide to Presbyterian Worship, or, Why We Worship the Way We Do*, found on-line at <http://www.providencepca.com/essays/whyweworship.html>. The essay does maintain that Christians are required to sing uninspired hymns and spiritual songs (along with the Psalms), but offers no argument for such; and also maintains that “public confession of our faith” and “the collection” are proper elements of worship. Another article written in 2002 by Mr. Webb in opposition to the practice is *Why Do Presbyterians Observe Holy Days?* Available online at <http://www.providencepca.com/essays/holydays.html> (November 2002).

redemptive-historical perspective on worship; a fully Trinitarian emphasis in worship; an understanding of preaching that is proclamation of the Word of God, and not merely lecture or instruction; an emphasis on doctrinal (especially catechetical) preaching; the Calvinistic emphasis upon Christ’s real presence in the sacraments; an emphasis upon the acts of worship “that arise out of a view of worship as true encounter with God;” an emphasis upon congregational singing as being at the heart of worship music; a “strong appreciation of the Old Testament in general and of psalm singing in particular as part of public worship.” The astute reader will note that there is not one word about the regulation of worship, and no notion that this doctrine would form the basis for Reformed worship.

ANDREW WEBB

Offering a different perspective for PCA church planters is the Rev. Andrew James Webb, founding pastor of Providence Presbyterian Mission, Fayetteville, North Carolina (*Building Old School Churches*; <http://bible-based.wordpress.com>). In a 2002 on-line essay, *A Brief Guide to Presbyterian Worship, or, Why We Worship the Way We Do*, Pastor Webb clearly endorses the regulative principle: “The Bible, which is the Word of God, is entirely sufficient for everything in our faith, life, and practice and we do not need to add anything of our own, nor should we. Therefore our worship is to be ordered according to God’s instructions, and not according to our imaginations or traditions or in any way God has not prescribed for us.”¹⁸

“TRADITIONALISTS” IN THE PCA

Pastor Webb is one of a number of “traditionalists” in the PCA, who are striving, both through example and teaching, to turn their denomination away from “contemporary” (and non-regulated) worship. Among the major players in this effort are the Rev. David Hall, pastor of Midway Presbyterian Church, Powder Springs, Georgia; and the Rev. Dr. Ligon Duncan, pastor of the influential First Presbyterian Church, Jackson, Mississippi, who has helped to sponsor annual conferences at Twin Lakes Conference Center, First Church’s retreat facility, designed to foster a traditional understanding of ministry and worship. Other influences include Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary. The various works representing this perspective in the PCA are noted in semi-chronological order throughout the rest of this survey.

WRS JOURNAL

The *WRS Journal* is the theological journal of Western Reformed Seminary, located in Tacoma, Washington, and associated with the Bible Presbyterian Church. In 2000, the two issues of the *WRS Journal* were dedicated to the subject of worship.

In the lead article in the first issue, Dr. Kevin M. Backus wrote:

When it comes to worship, we must be seeker-sensitive, but we must be clear on who that Seeker is that we are trying to please. We have been created to worship him. In fact, all of our life is worship to God. Since the fall, God has been calling men to worship Him, calling His people out. We see that continuing on through the ends of Scripture. If we get that Target Audience right, then the rest will fall in place. If we get that Target Audience right then we can take [Rick] Warren's advice and do the detailed demographic study—but that study will be called *theology*!

The Grand Island, New York, pastor referred to the Westminster Confession of Faith Chapter 21 with regard to worship, and the Westminster Shorter Catechism Q/A 51 on the second commandment, and also observed “that good theology will produce good worship. Defective theology will produce defective worship. The relationship between theology and worship is so vital that you cannot change one without the other. And if there is a change, a major sweeping change in our worship, is it possible that our theology is unchanged?”¹⁹

In an article specifically on the regulative principle, the Rev. E. Bennett Robinson noted the great importance of both worship and salvation, and argues for the regulative principle of worship, but with some modifications.²⁰

“What is worship that is regulated by God? The most useful definition is one that will describe worship as obedience in a general sense. So then, for our purposes, *worship is an activity in response to God's Lordship*. This is a definition of worship in its broadest and most general biblical sense.”

Having conceded that worship occurs in all of life, Mr. Robinson does maintain that not all worship is the same, and that the regulation of different types of worship accordingly will differ. However, he then confuses private worship as being synonymous with life in general. Furthermore, he states that public worship “is built indispensably on the practice of private worship, and is part of the fruit and practice of that worship. Public

worship, because it involves individuals, could be diagrammed as a subset of the larger set of general or private worship.”

The writer also seems confused when it comes to distinguishing between “formal” worship and “informal” worship. Logically speaking, a time of assembly is either worship or it is not. If it is a time of worship, it cannot be considered to be “informal” in either sense of the word—i.e., either as a relaxed time, or as one in which there are no “forms” (since the “forms” are necessary aspects of each of the elements of worship).

Mr. Robinson asks four basic questions regarding worship: (1) “Is this idea of exclusive regulation taught? If so, how and where?” (2) “Are we to then receive the instruction from the Old Testament in this regard?” (3) “Is the practice of the New Testament to be prescriptive when it is descriptive?” (4) “Is this a general rule to guide us in principles and elements or does it bind us to the utmost detail?”

He answers the first two questions together, by affirming the validity of the regulative principle, and also by averring that instruction must come from both the Old and the New Testaments. Regarding the third question, he states that although not all of the practices in apostolic times are normative for today, nevertheless, Christ and the apostles give us approved examples of how to worship. From their examples, the author compiles a list of worship practices, which he says reflects simplicity (in contrast to Roman Catholic worship) as well as the dialogical nature of worship (in which God speaks and man responds).

Regarding the fourth question, Mr. Robinson quotes from the nineteenth century Scottish theologian, James Bannerman, as he properly distinguishes between things that are elemental (*in sacris*—that is, “in worship as an element”) and those which are circumstantial (*circa sacra*—that is, “circumstances around worship”). On the basis of this distinction, Mr. Robinson argues against liturgical dance and drama; but is willing to entertain the notion of the spontaneous clapping of hands.

He ends his article with a quotation from the seventeenth century Puritan, John Owen, who wrote: “The principle that the church hath power to institute any thing or ceremony belonging to the worship of God, either as to matter or manner, beyond the observance of such circumstances as necessarily attend

19. Kevin M. Backus, MYTH # 2: “We Must Make Our Church Worship Meet Today's Standards,” *WRS Journal* 7/1 (February 2000) 1–7.

20. E. Bennett Robinson, “How Shall We Now Worship? Applying The Regulative Principle,” *WRS Journal* 7/1 (February 2000) 24–35.

such ordinances as Christ Himself hath instituted, lies at the bottom of all the horrible superstition and idolatry, of all the confusion, blood, persecution, and wars, that have for so long a season spread themselves over the face of the Christian world.”

In summary, one could say that Bennett Robinson’s piece represents the movement of many in the Bible Presbyterian Church, away from fundamentalism and towards a more Reformed understanding of church life, including worship. However, the article at points lacks cogency and clarity.²¹

One of the articles in the second issue of 2000 is an abridged version of a chapter from *The Reformation of Worship: Papers read at the 1989 Westminster Conference* (London: The Westminster Conference, 1989), on the Westminster Directory of Public Worship.²² In it, the Rev. Dr. Alan Clifford, pastor of Norwich Reformed Church in England, wrote:

I would like to conclude on this note of joy in true worship. After all, the psalmist declared ‘In your presence is fullness of joy; at your right hand are pleasures for evermore’ (Ps. 16: 11). One wonders if this was always the dominant note during the seventeenth century. True,

21. For other BPC statements regarding worship, see papers in the denomination’s online Reading Room under the heading: “Music in Worship” which contains articles from the Northwest Presbytery on Exclusive Psalmody and the Regulative Principle of Worship. These papers are as follows: a “Response to the Petition from the Edmonton Bible Presbyterian Church Concerning Church Music From the Northwest Presbytery of the Bible Presbyterian Church” [this petition was received by the Presbytery on October 2, 1991]; a Paper in response entitled simply “Exclusive Psalmody,” which rejects that position and argues as well for musical instrumentation in worship and choirs; “The Music of the Church, a Paper by Pastor Edward E. Crawford,” and “The Doctrine of the Trinity and the Use of it; A Sermon by Isaac Watts,” in reaction to some exclusive psalmodists’ charge that Watt’s was anti-Trinitarian. See http://www.bpc.org/reading_room/index.html

22. Alan C. Clifford, “The Westminster Directory Of Public Worship (1645),” *WRS Journal* 7/2 (August 2000) 1–11. NB. The official title of the Westminster document is “The Directory for the Public Worship of God.” In the same issue, pp. 12–17, John A. Battle’s article on “Scriptural Singing In The Church” contains this quotation: “While Luther retained many worship practices from the Roman church, as long as they did not contradict Scripture, Calvin upheld the regulative principle that only those practices commanded in Scripture should be allowed in the churches. He believed there should be no musical instruments used in worship, and had them removed from his churches. He also restricted singing to the OT Psalms” (fn 9, p. 17).

23. Bob Burridge, *Survey Studies In Reformed Theology A Syllabus of the Genevan Institute for Reformed Studies*, “Unit 5: Nomology, Lesson 3a: Worship and the Sabbath (WCF 21): The Regulative Principle” (GIRS, 2000). <http://www.girs.com/library/theology/syllabus/nomindex.html>.

there were great theologians, mighty preachers, and occasional revivals. But there were also—to use the subtitle of Richard Baxter’s *Catholick Theologie* (1675)—the ‘dogmatical word-warriors,’ whose bitter disputings and ultra-orthodox contendings tended to drown the note of praise. Alas, the Puritans duplicated their confessions and their energies. It was a century which ended on the low notes of heresy, fragmentation, deadness, and secularism. And all this despite the faithful though formal attempts of the Puritans to complete the English Reformation. Do we not feel burdened by these things today? Do we not yearn for those seasons of revival and refreshment which would cure many—if not all—of our present ills? We dare not think that the mere reformation of worship will guarantee worship itself, any more than reformation itself automatically brings revival. There must be an earnest pleading with God and a humble dependence on the Holy Spirit.

BOB BURRIDGE

Bob Burridge, pastor of Grace Presbyterian Church (PCA), Pinellas Park, Florida, has written an on-line commentary on the Westminster Confession of Faith.²³ In his treatment of Chapter 21 (“Worship and the Sabbath Day: The Regulative Principle”), he sets forth a standard Reformed understanding of the regulative principle of worship—the “prescriptive” rather than the “proscriptive” principle. He writes that “God has not left us to derive this teaching [regarding worship] by our reason. He has made it clear in his word by direct precept and recorded example that there is offense to God and danger to ourselves when we dare to imagine what God would be pleased with beyond what he has revealed. Therefore the regulative principle of worship is not only proscriptive, it is more precisely prescriptive.”

After dealing with various Biblical examples illustrating the regulative principle (the worship of Cain; Aaron’s golden calf; Nadab and Abihu; etc.), Pastor Burridge then handles the question of Christian liberty in worship. Once again, he represents the standard Reformation view: “It should be kept in mind ... that while the outward forms of the Mosaic law are changed in Christ, the principles they represented are not eliminated. They are brought to a greater level of clarity and blessing. The overwhelming evidence of the New Testament shows us that God is still very concerned that we worship in acceptable ways, only in ways revealed to us by the one who is to be worshipped. Many references in the New Testament detail the elimination of

the priesthood, of the sacrifices, of the many holy days, of the dietary laws and other temporal regulations. But these passages never tell us that it has become acceptable to introduce man made innovations. Only God may change and institute worship forms.”

JOSEPH C. MORECRAFT, III

In 2001, the Rev. Dr. Joseph C. Morecraft, III, well-known pastor of Chalcedon Presbyterian Church in suburban Atlanta, put together a book entitled, *How God Wants Us to Worship Him: An Exposition and Defense of the Regulative Principle of Worship*.²⁴ Much of the content of this volume consists of extensive quotations from both historic and contemporary authors (such as Brian Schwertley). One of the purposes of the book is to defend the practices of special music, instrumental music, and uninspired songs in public worship, while at the same time opposing religious holy days, liturgical dance and drama, and hand-clapping in public worship. The volume seems well-suited to serve polemically on behalf of Dr. Morecraft’s denomination, the Reformed Presbyterian Church in the United States (RPCUS).

NEW CITY FELLOWSHIP

While more and more information on the historic Presbyterian regulative principle of worship has appeared, there remains a great deal of misunderstanding about it. One of the more avant-garde PCA congregations is New City Fellowship, Chattanooga, Tennessee. Its understanding of the “Regulative Principal [sic] of Worship” is that

all that we can do in worship must be biblical. We believe that we are to be courageous to use all of ourselves in worship, so we follow the teachings of the Psalms to use our bodies in such things as clapping, raising our hands, shouting and dancing. The Psalms teach us to use instruments and to call on everything that has breath to praise the Lord. We don’t think that being truly Reformed means to only use a Northern European 16th century cerebral style and functional order to worship God. Our music is eclectic and often unique since many of our songs have been written here. We use James Ward songs, Black Gospel music, charismatic praise songs and traditional hymns. We value our Reformed heritage and see it as part of the treasure of the Kingdom of God. We use many different song leaders, and emphasize piano, electric instruments and

drums. We use praise teams, ensembles, and the choir at various times. We are concerned about the racial and cultural mix of all of our worship services. We pursue a building momentum of the worship and seek strong Biblical preaching.²⁵

URCNA

The URCNA (United Reformed Churches in North America) is well represented as far as writings on the subject of the regulative principle. Shorter works include “Principles of Reformed Worship,” Adopted September 19, 2000 by the Consistory of the Escondido United Reformed Church,²⁶ and a chapter on worship in *What is the Reformed Faith*, an audio lecture series with workbook available at start.URClearning.org.²⁷ In addition, two prominent URCNA men associated with Westminster Seminary in California published works dealing with Reformed Worship in the time period under review.

Michael Horton

A minister in the United Reformed Churches in North America (URCNA), and an associate professor at Westminster Theological Seminary in California, Michael Scott Horton serves as president of the Alliance of Confessing Evangelicals, and editor of *Modern Reformation* magazine. He has been a major player in the Reformed world from a relatively early age. Now in his forties, he continues to be prolific in his writings and passionate in his advocacy of traditional Reformed doctrine.

In February 2002, the curtain was drawn on his *A Better Way: Rediscovering the Drama of Christ-Centered Worship*.²⁸ The author writes: “I am persuaded

24. Joe Morecraft, III, *How God Wants Us to Worship Him: An Exposition and Defense of the Regulative Principle of Worship* (Cumming, Ga.: Triumphant Publications, 2001).

25. From the church’s web site (<http://www.newcityfellowship.com/music.htm>). According to the Internet Archive the article’s earliest appearance was in December, 2001 (<http://www.archive.org/web/web.php>).

26. “Principles of Reformed Worship. Adopted September 19, 2000 by the Consistory of the Escondido United Reformed Church.” <http://public.csusm.edu/guests/rsclark/Principles.html>.

27. “What is the Reformed Faith, Section V, Chapter 2, Reformed Worship,” (Audio Lecture) http://www.start.urclearning.org/audio/WITRF_5_2.mp3. Rev. Adam M. Kalooonian, *What is the Reformed Faith. Workbook* (Ontario United Reformed Church Ontario, Calif., USA 2006).

28. Michael Horton, *A Better Way: Rediscovering the Drama of Christ-Centered Worship* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books,

that one of the reasons why so many churches have gone to drama and other theatrical arts in worship is because the sermon and the larger liturgical setting have failed to provide the sense that something important and dramatic is happening here, now, as we gather before God. Divine and human action easily become ‘choreographed’ by the culture when we do not sense that it is occurring at all. The clamor for ‘more excitement’ and ‘more drama’ can lead to two simplistic solutions: a retrenchment or intellectualism or adding our own dramatic gimmicks to God’s worship. The goal of this book, however, is to recover the sense of redemptive drama that we not only see illustrated in Scripture but that the Word and Spirit actually bring into our communal gathering” (13–14).

In a chapter entitled, “What Should Our Service Look Like?” Dr. Horton writes that “God is jealous not only that no other object be the focus of our worship but that our worship consist in nothing more than or less than he has commanded, the character of our liturgy is of great importance. Since God is the director and playwright as well as the central actor, it is his skill and creativity and not ours that is normative for the service” (141).

He goes on to affirm the distinction between circumstantial matters (“the order of the various elements, what time we meet, whether we have communion every week, whether the minister wears a robe”), and “clearly required elements that God has commanded for his worship.” He writes: “Unlike the ‘gods of the nations,’ the God of Abraham and Jesus does not leave the matter of how we approach him in our hands. While there may not always be a clear black-and-white answer to all our questions about which style to use in a given context, it should be fairly obvious that liturgical style is more than the window dressing of worship. In fact, it is that which brings into an embodied form all our beliefs about God, ourselves, redemption, and the chief end of human existence” (142–143).

Professor Horton appeals to the classic example of Nadab and Abihu, but does so in a unique way, viz., by

2002; paperback version, 2003). Michael Horton also mentions the regulative principle in the 2001 online article *Powerful Praise* (“Powerful Praise,” *Australian Presbyterian* [3 April, 2001] http://www.ap.presbyterian.org.au/articles/april03_01.htm). Referring to the regulative principle, Horton says: “Actually, it’s not legalistic; it’s liberating. It says: ‘Look, you can’t impose your particular preferences on me.’ It frees a congregation from the countless aberrations that a pastor could impose on it. It means the young people don’t have to be burdened with a lot of meaningless ritual and the older ones don’t have to feel like they’ve gone to a nightclub on Friday night. There is a real wisdom in God’s limitation of His worship to the elements we find prescribed in His Word.”

suggesting that they were guilty of “either a sub-biblical transcendence or a sub-biblical immanence.”

On one hand, they may have been looking for more transcendence—more ritual, another liturgical innovation. On the other hand, they may have had a desire for more immanence—a form of worship that seemed to bring God down to their level. In any case, they were sincere. They presumed to serve God in the way that they found “worshipful,” but they were unwilling to regard God’s commanded worship as sufficient. They thought this was the sort of business about which God might not care very much, at least as long as the worshiper’s heart was in the right place. They learned otherwise—with tragic results, confirmed by the anguish of their father, Aaron, who had himself accommodated to the people in fashioning the golden calf.

... God has already accommodated himself to our weakness. He is not far from us, if we will but attend to the ministry of the Word. Therefore, we must resist “the sky’s the limit” when it comes to accommodation. The Bible must be read, sung, and preached in the common language of the people, but when we introduce skits, musicals, and puppet shows on the basis of wanting to bring God down to the level of the people, they can only conclude that God has not already accommodated himself sufficiently through the ministry of the Word. There is accommodation and there is accommodation. When Moses confronted Aaron about the golden calf, Aaron replied, apparently even with the benefit of marketing surveys, “You know the people” (Exod. 32:22 NKJV) (144–145).

Dr. Horton properly distinguished between an element (something that is “necessary”) and a circumstance (something that is “up to the church’s discretion”). He then presents a list of “The Elements.” His list is as follows: The Invocation, God’s Greeting (Votum), The Reading of the Law, The Confession and Absolution, The Pastoral Prayer, The Preached Word, The Ministry of the Lord’s Supper, Thanksgiving and Offerings, and The Benediction (148ff).

From a Dutch Reformed perspective, this list may not seem novel; indeed, it pretty much follows a standard Continental-style pattern. However, it is somewhat novel from a Presbyterian perspective, for several reasons. First, notice that it distinguishes among various prayers, depending upon where in the service they are found (Invocation, Pastoral Prayer). By way of contrast, a Presbyterian would say that the element of worship,

which covers both instances, is “the praying of prayer.” Secondly, notice that The Reading of the Law is also stipulated as a separate element of worship. Again, the Presbyterian view is that “the reading of the Word” is the element that would cover all instances of the reading of Scripture. Thirdly, notice that there is no “reading of Scripture” in the list, other than “The Reading of the Law.” Fourthly, judging by the Westminster Standards, there is no place as such for The Confession and Absolution. Fifthly, there is no receiving of offerings as an act of worship in a Presbyterian service. Finally, notice that the singing of praise and the sacrament of baptism are not listed as elements. Dr. Horton does write of both practices as properly part of worship; however, he does not mention them at the point of his listing “The Elements.”

Reflecting the title of this volume, what Professor Horton is particularly concerned to convey is not the regulation of worship, but its intrinsic excitement. He writes:

The important thing to see in all of this [renewed interest in worship] is that worship is the divine drama. In it, the drama of redemption that unfolds in biblical history now unfolds as a play within a play before us in a particular place and our own time. In it, we join Abraham and Sarah at the table with their greater Son through whom all the nations of the earth are blessed. With circumcised hearts, we join the cloud of witnesses who longed for Jesus’ coming and the sending of his Spirit. Not just once but week after week, year after year, decade after decade, we are being reshaped by this counter-drama, as the plot of “this passing evil age” yields to “the age to come.”

There should be a lot of freedom here, although eclectic experimentation, whether in a “high church” or “low church” direction, must be carefully checked. There will be a liturgy at everybody’s church next Sunday. The question is whether it will be a good one or bad one, deliberately conceived and understood or followed out of unreflective routine (161).

Robert Godfrey

Westminster Theological Seminary of California President and URCNA minister Robert Godfrey’s earlier works on worship were noted in Part One of this survey.²⁹ In 2004 he published, *An Unexpected Journey: Discovering Reformed Christianity*.³⁰ In what one reviewer has called a “Reformed Theology Primer,”

President Godfrey introduces the reader to the regulative principle.

One of my early attractions to Reformed Christianity was the simplicity, seriousness, and Word-centered character of its worship. That early interest in worship has stayed with me throughout my life. I suppose that was inevitable in light of my studies of the Reformation. The Reformation was not just a reform of doctrine, but also a reform of Christian living and worship.

Medieval Christians’ experience of Christianity came primarily through worship and acts of piety. The ritual and mystery of the mass were the central focus of Christian life. So for many at the time of the Reformation, changes in worship were more immediately noticeable and made more of an impact on them than changes of doctrine.

... Luther regarded most matters of worship as things indifferent, that is, neither necessarily right nor wrong. Therefore, worship could be changed, but did not have to be changed.... The result of Luther’s approach was that many churches continued to look like Roman Catholic churches with images, altars, and ministers in vestments.

John Calvin and the Reformed fathers at the time of the Reformation were more critical of the tradition of worship that had developed in the late ancient and medieval church. They too wanted to remove anything that was forbidden in the Bible. But they went further and taught that only what the Bible positively commanded should be done in worship.

This Reformed view of worship would later be called the regulative principle of worship. This principle declares that the Bible must regulate or rule over our worship and that only what the Bible teaches either by declaration or by example can be done in our worship. The Heidelberg Catechism states this principle clearly in Question and Answer 96: “What does God require in

29. Robert Godfrey, *Pleasing God in Our Worship* (Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway Books, 1999). W. Robert Godfrey, “Calvin and the Worship of God,” *The Blue Banner*, 3.11–12 (November–December 1994) 1–10; rpt. in *The Worship of God: Reformed Concepts of Biblical Worship* (Fearn, Tain, Ross-shire, Scotland: Christian Focus Publications, and Taylors, S.C.: Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, 2005) 31–49. This is available online at the seminary website.

30. W. Robert Godfrey, *An Unexpected Journey: Discovering Reformed Christianity* (Phillipsburg, N.J.: P&R Publishing, 2004).

the second commandment? That we in no wise make any image of God, nor worship Him in any other way than He has commanded in His Word.”

The Reformed concern about worship arose from a great desire to avoid idolatry. As the early Reformed leaders read the Bible, they saw God’s passion for the purity of his worship. They saw how frequently the Bible presented idolatry as a form of spiritual adultery, in which God’s people abandoned their pure and exclusive relationship with God for the gods and forms of worship of the nations. They recognized that God in the summary of his law, the Ten Commandments, had devoted the first two commandments to the prohibition of idolatry: the first forbids the worship of false gods, and the second forbids worshipping the true God in a false way.

The second commandment in particular profoundly influenced Reformed thinking about worship. The judgment of God had fallen severely on Israel for worshipping the golden calf, even though they had called it Jehovah. Aaron’s sons were destroyed for offering strange fire on the altar of God. Uzziah was cursed with leprosy for usurping the functions of the priests in the temple. God took his worship seriously, and the Reformed concluded that they must as well.

The Reformed seriousness about worship led to much more profound changes in worship than had occurred among the Lutherans. The Reformed rejected the use of altars, images, and religious symbols in the decoration of their churches. They simplified the ceremonies of worship and the attire of ministers. They eliminated all or almost all the holy days of the church year and eliminated musical instruments from use in public worship. Reformed churches came to look very different from medieval churches.

Not all Reformed churches in Europe applied the regulative principle in the same way or were identical in their worship practices. For example, the Dutch Reformed kept a few hymns alongside their metrical psalms and continued to observe Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost—not as obligatory holy days, but as important occasions in redemptive history.

Scottish Presbyterians, on the other hand, sang only psalms and banished all elements of a liturgical calendar. When the Dutch Reform reintroduced musical instruments to worship in the seventeenth century, they did not reject the regulative principle, but rather applied it differently to the question of instruments (129–131).

C. MATTHEW McMAHON

C. Matthew McMahon has written “Strange Fire” (2002) and “The Regulative Principle in Worship: A brief article” (2002).³¹ He begins the second article by quoting the identically-worded Westminster Confession of Faith, Chapter 21, Section 1, and the London Baptist Confession (1689), Chapter 22, Section 1. He also notes that the distinction upon which the regulative principle is premised, viz., that there is a profound difference between worship and the rest of life, can seem strange and oppressive to people. Nevertheless, God ordains how His house is to be ordered.

Reflecting his ecclesiastical roots, and perhaps appealing to Baptist brethren, he argues the regulative principle from the London Confession. There are, he writes, four Biblical reasons that serve as the basis for the regulative principle.

First, “It is the prerogative of God alone to determine the terms on which sinners may approach Him in worship.” He elaborates: “Should God decree that He will be worshipped only by those wearing white T-shirts, He would have the right to do so. If God did decree that every Christian should wear a white T-shirt to worship Him, I would imagine that all Christians, who truly love the Lord, will go out and buy a whole bunch of white T-shirts so that they never run out again. They would come to church wearing the white T-shirt that God commanded they wear for worship. God is the one who commands worship of us. What arrogance for man to think that he has the least business in determining how God will be worshipped!”

Secondly, “The introduction of extra Biblical practices into worship inevitably tends to nullify and undermine God’s appointed worship.... Human innovators pay lip service to the God appointed elements of worship and simultaneously, in the very act, nullify them. How strikingly this illustrates the subtlety with which extra biblical practices have the tendency to displace the divine appointed altars of biblical worship! This tendency is illustrated in evangelical churches today where mundane or silly announcements, special music, testimony times, mime, puppet shows, liturgical dance and Christian movies either completely replace

31. C. Matthew McMahon, a former Reformed Baptist, is an up and coming scholar who is now a minister in the RPCGA. Mr. McMahon’s works can be found on his web site, A Puritan’s Mind. <http://www.apuritansmind.com/PuritanWorship/PuritanWorshipMainPage.htm>.

or severely restrict the ordained parts of worship. These or other traditions of men, for instance, often leave only 20 minutes for preaching.”

Thirdly, “if sinful men were to add any unappointed elements into worship, they would, by this action, be calling into question the wisdom of Jesus Christ and the complete sufficiency of the Scriptures alone.”

Fourthly, “The Puritans were very adamant to prove that the Bible explicitly condemns all worship that is not commanded by God.”

The article concludes:

The Puritans desired simple, biblical worship. They regulated their worship by the Bible instead of their own “wills.” They had no desire to offer strange fire no matter how “exciting” the strange fire would be to the spectators. They were not interested in putting on a show. When Elijah was on Mt. Carmel in 1 Kings 18, he asked the people if they were ready to follow God or Baal. When posed with the question, the people were silent. When Elijah said he wanted to have a “contest” with the priests (a “show”), what did the people do? They were all excited about it. “Yes! Let’s have a show!” And so they did. The “contemporary church” is the same today. They want a show. They want fire to fall from heaven. They want the spectacular, or at least as entertaining as “church may be”. But God is displeased. And if it were not for the grace of God, most “churches” today would be consumed as Nadab and Abihu were.

May the God of worship open the eyes of the blind that they may see.

REFORMED AND SOUTHERN BAPTISTS

Even the Southern Baptists are rediscovering their roots with regard to the concept of the regulative principle and its name. In a book on the Cooperative Program of the Southern Baptist Convention, Chad Brand and David E. Hankins write of the regulative principle, giving an historical overview that covers Presbyterian, Campbellite, and Baptist strands of thought.³² They conclude that Baptists have generally held to the Regulative Principle, while they have “not always agreed as to the means of its employment or the extent and specificity of its application” and have “not always agreed about interpretations of specific texts that were relevant to its application. But they have generally agreed that Baptist churches ought to follow the biblical pattern to the best of their knowledge and ability when it comes to the order, worship, polity, internal life, and mission of the church.”

Samuel E. Waldron

Perhaps some influence in the increased awareness and adherence to the regulative principle in Baptist circles may be due to Samuel Waldron’s 1989 defense in his exposition of chapter twenty-two of the 1689 Baptist Confession of Faith.³³ After noting the debate between and difference in the Puritan and Anglican views at the time of the Westminster Assembly, and making use of G. I. Williamson’s work on Westminster Confession chapter 21, the author gives four biblical arguments for the principle. “First, it is the prerogative of God alone to determine the terms on which sinners may approach him in worship.” Here he cites Bannerman who “eloquently states this: ‘The fundamental principle that lies at the basis of the whole argument is this, that in regard to the ordinance of public worship it is the province of God, and not the province of man, to determine both the terms and the manner of such worship....’”

Second, the introduction of extra-biblical practices into worship inevitably tends to nullify and undermine God’s appointed worship (Matt. 15:3, 8–9; 2 Kings 16:10–18). This tendency is illustrated in evangelical churches today where mundane or silly announcements, special music, testimony times and other such things often leave only twenty to thirty minutes for preaching.

Waldron uses John Owen to illustrate his third argument that “the wisdom of Christ and the sufficiency of the Scriptures are called into question by the addition of unappointed elements into worship. John Owen remarks: ‘Three things are usually pleaded in the justification of the observance of such rites and ceremonies in the worship of God: First, that they tend unto the furtherance of the devotion of the worshippers; secondly, that they render the worship itself comely and beautiful; thirdly, that they are the preservers of order in the celebration thereof. And therefore on these accounts they may be instituted or appointed by some, and observed by all.’ Reasoning such as Owen describes impugns the wisdom of Christ.”

For his fourth argument, that “the Bible explicitly condemns all the worship that is not commanded by

32. Chad Brand and David E. Hankins, *One Sacred Effort: The Cooperative Program of Southern Baptists* (Nashville, Tenn.: B&H Publishing Group, 2006) 54–60.

33. Samuel E. Waldron, *A Modern Exposition of the 1689 Baptist Confession of Faith* (Faverdale North, Darlington, England; Webster, N.Y.: Evangelical Press, 1989; 2005) 267–271. This confession is a revision of the Westminster Confession of Faith.

God,” Waldron addresses three classic passages, Deuteronomy 12:29–32, Colossians 2:23, and Leviticus 10:1–3. He then asks the question and answers it:

With this ample biblical support, why are men so lenient in their worship? It is because the God of modern men is not a God to be feared. Of all that is not appointed by God in his worship, we must hear Jesus saying, ‘Take these things hence!’ The child of God will not respond to the regulative principle as if it were an intolerable strait-jacket! He will pray, rather, ‘O Lord, teach me to worship you acceptably.’

Waldron concludes by explaining the important qualification at chapter 1.6 where “the Confession provides an important clarification of the regulative principle.”

When we say that what is not commanded is forbidden, we are speaking of the substance and parts of worship (see paras 2–6), not its circumstance. There are certain minor circumstantial details that God has left to be determined by the light of nature, Christian prudence and general rules of Scripture. 1 Corinthians 14 contains

34. Fred Malone, “Infant Baptism and the Regulative Principle of Worship,” *The Founders Journal* 35 (Winter 1999) http://wwwFOUNDERS.org/FJ35/article1_fr.html. See also Fred Malone, *The Baptism of Disciples Alone: A Covenantal Argument for Credobaptism Versus Paedobaptism* (Cape Coral, Fla.: Founders Press, 2003), in which he also attempts to appeal to the regulative principle in order to attack the doctrine of infant baptism.

35. See C. Matthew McMahon, “The Rejection of the Baptism of Disciples Alone,” <http://www.apuritansmind.com/BookReviews/Sourpuss/MaloneFredBaptismDisciplesAlone.htm>.

36. Mark Dever and Paul Alexander, *The Deliberate Church: Building Your Ministry on the Gospel* (Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway Books, 2005).

37. “All believers would agree that the written Word of God is sufficient to regulate their public worship. However, what they find in Scripture to justify their practices is as varied as the countless facets of prisms on a chandelier. How can we find the way ahead in this labyrinth? Let us begin by defining terms as the Reformers originally defined them when they spoke in terms of the regulative principle and the normative principle. The latter taught that if Scripture does not forbid it, it is allowed. The former said, in essence, that the only proper way to worship God is as He has commanded, instructed, and prescribed in His Word.

There is no problem with this definition of the regulative principle (especially if you add ‘supported’ after ‘prescribed’). However, we must realize that it is easier to state this principle than to apply it. This is where the debate rages—in its detailed application.” Jerry Marcellino, “Leading the Church in God-Centered Worship: The Pastoral Role,” ed. John H. Armstrong, *Reforming Pastoral Ministry: Challenges for Ministry in Postmodern Times* (Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway Books, 2001) 142.

38. The Theology Committee of the ARBCA: Rev. Don Lindblad – Chairman, Rev. Tom Lyon, Dr. Fred Malone, Rev. Fred Pugh, Dr. James Renihan, Dr. Mike Renihan, *A Position Paper Concerning the*

two examples of such general rules which God demands that we apply to our specific circumstance. They are the rules of edification and order (vv. 26, 40). God demands that these two rules be followed, but he has not given us a detailed list of what they mean in every situation. Churches may differ as to where the line is drawn between circumstances and substance and parts. As long as each church holds seriously to the regulative principle, reasonable differences should not be made the source of division. We must be charitable in such things, while clearly insisting on the regulative principle.

Fred Malone

Dr. Fred Malone, formerly a minister in the Presbyterian Church in America and now a pastor in the Southern Baptist Convention, argues against infant baptism based, at least in part, on the regulative principle. In a 1999 internet article on the web site of the Founders Movement (dedicated to helping Baptists rediscover their Calvinistic roots), he comments: “I am convinced that the ‘good and necessary inference’ which establishes infant baptism, has opened the door to other difficulties within the Reformed and evangelical Christian world. Theonomy, paedocommunion, and more recently, stated applications of the regulative principle of worship which have in fact transformed it into the old normative principle, are three such examples. Or could it be that infant baptism was always based upon the normative principle instead of the regulative? That is my conclusion. Perhaps we all, Presbyterians and Baptists alike, need to recommit ourselves to the biblically based regulative principle of worship and follow it where it leads us.”³⁴

However, what Dr. Malone has refused to recognize is that the use of inference (“good and necessary consequence”) is a necessary component of any theological system. Furthermore, as C. Matthew McMahon has pointed out in his review of Dr. Malone’s work, he does not consistently follow his own stated principles.³⁵

Other works by Baptists include the following: Dever and Alexander’s *The Deliberate Church: Building Your Ministry on the Gospel*, which has a chapter on the regulative principle;³⁶ Jerry Marcellino’s “Leading the Church in God-Centered Worship: The Pastoral Role,” in *Reforming Pastoral Ministry: Challenges for Ministry in Postmodern Times*;³⁷ *A Position Paper Concerning the Regulative Principle of Worship A Report by the Theology Committee of the Association of Reformed Baptist Churches of America*;³⁸ a 2003 interview with author

and professor and Southern Baptist, Don Whitney;³⁹ Austin Lee Goggans's "Holding to a regulative principle in worship;"⁴⁰ Ernest C. Reisinger and Matthew Allen, *Worship: The Regulative Principle and the Biblical Practice of Accommodation* (Cape Coral, Fla.: Founders Press, 2001);⁴¹ and Sam Waldron's "The Regulative Principle of Worship: The Text of a Message Given in South Africa."⁴²

R. J. GORE, JR.

R. J. Gore, Jr., represents one of several scholars who desire to move from "simple" and "prescribed" worship, to a type of worship that is ecumenical in scope. In his 2002 book on worship, Dr. Gore sketches his pilgrimage from enthusiastic support to open rejection of the Puritan regulative principle. One finds that his initial motivations for questioning the principle were experiential.⁴³ These experiences led him to question what he believed; and, upon further study, he found the defenses of Puritan worship lacking—in his estimation, little more than sloganeering. In his words, "the exegesis of the key texts upon which the principle was based often appeared overstated and unconvincing." He also found it significant that so few hold to the regulative principle of worship today, and concluded the minority should be humble enough to learn from the majority.⁴⁴

Given this pilgrimage, one is not too surprised to

Regulative Principle of Worship A Report by the Theology Committee of the Association of Reformed Baptist Churches of America (Formally Approved by the General Assembly March 8, 2001). See <http://65.71.233.194/arbca/pdf/Principle.PDF>. In their conclusion the committee writes: "Our Confession [London Baptist of 1689] is a Puritan document; therefore, the model for our churches is Puritan and not one of a number of competing contemporary ones. Different models abound, but we reject each of them as contrary to New Testament policy and polity. We eschew the following models: Roman, Lutheran, Anglican, high church liturgical, Brethren, seeker-friendly, charismatic, evangelical, etc. Essential to this Puritan model is the regulative principle of worship. To deviate from the Confession at this point and to adhere to another would be to embrace a different ethos, an altered emphasis, and most probably additional elements. The regulative principle of worship is a non-negotiable part of a Reformed Baptist theology and methodology. It is systemic to the Confession, not subsidiary."

39. Jeff Robinson, "Whitney: Worship should be God-centered & biblical," *Baptist Press*, 11 November 2003. Online at <http://www.baptistpress.org/bpnews.asp?ID=17059>.

40. Pastor Austin Lee Goggans, Blue Pond Baptist Church, Rome, Georgia, "Holding to a regulative principle in worship," *Atlanta (Georgia) Christian Index* (November 24, 2005). <http://www.christianindex.org/1767.article>.

41. According to the publishers: "This book masterfully defines, explains, and defends the Reformed principle of worship—the regulative principle. Moreover, the principle is not left in the realm of

theory. The application of the principle in the context of modern evangelical life is developed, especially how to implement the regulative principle in congregations who do not yet fully understand or embrace this biblical principle." As previously noted in Part One of this survey, the late Ernie Reisinger wrote an earlier piece entitled, *Thoughts on the Regulative Principle in a Reforming Situation* (Cape Coral, Fla.: Christian Gospel Foundation, 1982). E. Bennett Robinson critiques this earlier piece. "The regulative principle is not concerned with the details of worship's circumstances in the early church. It is concerned with establishing what parts of worship make the worship assembly what it is. Cunningham says, 'It is a caricature of the regulative principle to paint it as effort to dictate the vagaries of New Testament worship as normative.'" Robinson then cites: "Cunningham, p. 39. See Ernest C. Reisinger, 'Thoughts on The Regulative Principle in a Reforming Situation,' p. 8, as an example of this misunderstanding." This quotation is not from Cunningham (the term regulative principle was not in use) and must be someone's synopsis of his actual comments on page 39 of "The Reformers and the Regulative Principle," in *The Reformation of the Church* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1965; repr. 1987). E. Bennett Robinson, "How Shall We Now Worship? Applying the Regulative Principle," *WRS Journal* (7/1, February 2000). Online at http://www.wrs.edu/journals/volume_7-1.htm. However, Bennett has his own misconceptions of the regulative principle as noted earlier in this article.

42. Here Waldron writes more expansively on the principle, making use of the same four biblical arguments noted above. Sam Waldron, "Regulative Principle of Worship: The Text of a Message Given in South Africa." <http://www.atgeneva.com/regulativeprinciple.html> [placed online circa July 17, 2004]. There are also audio lectures available by Waldron, Mark Chanski, and Jim Savaštio. Sam Waldron, *The Regulative Principle: 1. History & Theology Parts; 2. Scriptural Support; 3. Necessary Clarification; The Corporate Worship of the Church #18–19: The Regulative Principle: Prescribed Elements: Singing; Mark Chanski, Leviticus #8: Strange Fire (1994), Leviticus #9: The Regulative Principle (1994); Jim Savaštio, The Law of God Pt. 4: The Second Commandment (2002)*. Available at http://www.npbwebsite.org/html/audio_cassettes.html. The Chanski and Savaštio messages are also at this writing available at sermonaudio.com.

43. The experiential influences he outlines include becoming increasingly unable to understand the difference between using "a visible, physical, and tangible symbol" such as a wooden cross, and the Bible's literary use of that symbol; having been greatly uplifted by means of a highly liturgical worship service at a presbytery meeting, and not knowing how to reconcile that experience with what he professed to believe; and, as a U.S. Army National Guard chaplain since 1986, having to justify his unwillingness to participate in a generic Protestant service—complete with altar set-up consisting of a brass cross and candlesticks—stipulated by the Army. R. J. Gore, Jr., *Covenantal Worship: Reconsidering the Puritan Regulative Principle* (Phillipsburg, N.J.: P&R Publishing, 2002) 4–7.

44. While conceding that "the lack of adherents, in and of itself, does not negate the Puritan regulative principle of worship," Professor Gore also suggests not only that there should be an approach of humility by Presbyterians, but also a willingness to "learn from the church catholic." *Covenantal Worship*, 7.

Regulative Principle of Worship.”⁴⁵ It would appear that Dr. Gore moved in just a matter of a couple of years from questioning the regulative principle to completing a doctoral dissertation rejecting it. Sadly, for one so strongly moved to reject a doctrine once held, the paper does not present a convincing case for doing so. The work is seriously defective, as two noted scholars have pointed out. Dr. T. David Gordon has written that the seminary “committee should have never approved the dissertation, because the methodology was so seriously flawed.”⁴⁶ And according to Dr. David C. Lachman, the research was inadequate, Calvin was misunderstood and misrepresented, and the author almost completely failed “so much as to look into what the Puritans actually had to say on the subject.”⁴⁷

Throughout the 1990s, Professor Gore continued to develop his anti-Confessional ideas,⁴⁸ and then summed up his thoughts in 2002 with his book, *Covenantal Worship: Reconsidering the Puritan Regulative Principle*, which is a revision of his earlier dissertation.⁴⁹ While the book was uncritically championed by some,⁵⁰ critical reviews were penned by Dr. Gordon, and by this author in the 2005 issue of *The Confessional Presbyterian*.⁵¹

Recently, Professor Gore replied to Dr. Gordon’s 2003 review in the pages of the *Westminster Theological*

Journal.⁵² However, it remains the opinion of the 2005 reviewers of Gore’s work in this journal that a scholarly study of the Puritans involves first and foremost reading what the Puritans had to say on the subject. Since Dr. Gore purports to be critiquing the Puritan view of worship, the fact that he has apparently failed to read them on the subject renders his work of no real value.

TIMOTHY J. KELLER

In 2002, noted Presbyterian Church in America minister Timothy J. Keller contributed to a volume on worship, in which three different Protestant approaches were presented: “Anglican,” “free church,” and “Reformed.”⁵³

Dr. Keller pastors Redeemer Presbyterian Church in New York City. His chapter, “Reformed Worship in the Global City,” describes two broad competing schools of thought in the “worship wars,” viz., contemporary worship and historic worship. There is also a third alternative, called “blended worship” (193–196).

Contemporary worship advocates “consult the Bible and contemporary culture;” while the advocates of historic worship “consult the Bible and historic tradition.” But Dr. Keller proposes to consult “the Bible, the cultural context of our community, and the historic tradition of our church.” He writes: “In summary, I believe the solution to the problem of the ‘worship wars’ is neither to reject nor to enshrine historic tradition but to forge new forms of corporate worship that take seriously both our histories and contemporary realities, all within a framework of biblical theology” (197–198).

Dr. Keller posits that John Calvin and Ulrich Zwingli both held to the regulative principle, but that they gave birth to two different traditions. Calvin’s perspective led to the Continental Reformed tradition, while Zwingli’s led to the Puritan and “Free Church” worship (199–200).

In Pastor Keller’s view, Calvin’s approach transcends the “overly simplistic processes for arriving at ... corporate worship forms” which characterize the proponents of both contemporary worship and historic worship. According to the author, Calvin looked not only to the Bible as “the supreme authority and source for God-honoring worship,” but also consulted patristic worship practices, and was sensitive to the needs of the people and their edification. “Calvin refused to pit ‘the glory of God’ against the ‘edification’ of the participants. The basic elements of gathered worship are laid out by God in his Word, but our arrangement and utilization of them is strongly controlled by what helps and touches those who come” (202–203).

45. R. J. Gore, Jr. “The Pursuit of Plainness: Rethinking the Regulative Principle of Worship.” Ph.D. Dissertation, Westminster Theological Seminary, 1988.

46. Personal Correspondence, Dr. T. David Gordon, Professor of Religion and Greek, Grove City College, to Frank J. Smith, Ph.D., D.D., February 28, 2005.

47. See Dr. Lachman’s critique of this dissertation in “Reframing Presbyterian Worship,” *The Confessional Presbyterian* 1 (2005) 141.

48. For example, see his review of Frank J. Smith and David C. Lachman, eds., *Worship in the Presence of God: A collection of essays on the nature, elements, and historic views and practice of worship*, in *Westminster Theological Journal* 56 (1994) 443–47; “Reviewing the Puritan Regulative Principle of Worship,” *Presbyterion* 20.1 (1994), pp. 41–50; and “Reviewing the Regulative Principle. Part II,” *Presbyterion* 21.1 (1995), pp. 29–47.

49. While a revision, the key defects in the dissertation noted by Dr. Lachman, remain in the book. “Reframing Presbyterian Worship,” *CPJ* 2, 135.

50. Charles Dunahoo, “Book Review. Covenantal Worship: Reconsidering the Puritan Regulative Principle by R.J. Gore, Jr.,” *Equip for Ministry* (May/June 2003). <http://www.pcanet.org/CEP/Publications/May03EFM.htm>

51. T. David Gordon, “Review Article: The Westminster Assembly’s Unworkable and Unscriptural View of Worship,” *WTJ* 65 (2003) 345–356; “Reframing Presbyterian Worship,” 141–150.

52. R. J. Gore, Jr., “Response – Covenantal Worship: Reconsidering the Critics,” *WTJ* 67 (2005) 363–79.

53. D. A. Carson, ed., *Worship by the Book* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2002).

Of course, who in the Puritan tradition would argue with this? There is no reason to believe that a seventeenth-century Presbyterian would oppose utilizing the light of history, or a concern for intelligibility, as ways of determining those “circumstances” which, to quote Westminster Confession of Faith I.6, “are to be ordered by the light of nature and Christian prudence, according to the general rules of the word, which are always to be observed.” In other words, Dr. Keller seems to be arguing against a straw man.

Dr. Keller suggests that Calvin held a “balanced” view of worship, in that he did not regard it as being sharply distinguished from the rest of life. Utilizing the notion of “balance,” the New York pastor also posits that “the ‘middle’ balanced view we are putting forth here means that there is no scriptural distinction between ‘formal’ and ‘official’ worship services and other gathered meetings of the church.” What does this lack of distinction mean practically? According to Dr. Keller, “You can become far too inflexible about what occurs within the worship service. For example, among many traditionalists in my denomination, it is allowable for a woman to teach a Sunday school class or small group, but not to speak from the pulpit during corporate worship” (203–206).

With regard to the “core” of Calvin’s corporate worship, Pastor Keller believes that it is to be found in the Calvinistic conception of grace, with the concomitant idea that worship involved God’s movement to the people, and not only the people’s movement to God. “God’s grace comes to us as *a word to believe*, rather than as a deed to be performed.” However, Calvin’s views led him not only to reject medievalism (in which the “emotional, ritual, mystical, and sacramental aspects were completely dominant”), but also to avoid “completely non-sacramental, rational, nonmystical meetings of the Zwinglians (and to a great degree the Anabaptists). It could be that he realized that there was a ‘worship-as-performance’ error on the Protestant side. Could not congregants fall into ‘performing the Word’ in order to get God to bless them?” (207–208).

Whatever may be said regarding the Zwinglian approach to worship, it is abundantly clear that the British Puritans and Presbyterians very clearly regarded Calvin as their spiritual progenitor. Furthermore, the Puritans and Presbyterians followed Calvin, not Zwingli, with regard to music in worship. However, from reading Dr. Keller, one might be (subtly) led to think that traditional Puritan and Presbyterian worship knows nothing of the Calvinistic sense of the transcendent.

Writing of “traits” of Reformed corporate worship,

Dr. Keller states that there are three: its voice—simplicity; its goal—transcendence; and its order—gospel re-enactment (208ff).

With regard to simplicity, he writes that Calvin and the Reformers rejected the “spectacle” of “pomp, ceremony, and spectacular architecture and performances” which characterized medieval worship. “Does God need a great performance before he will give us his favor? Therefore, Calvin asked not for mediocrity but for a lack of ostentation—in ceremony, music, and architecture” (209).

With regard to transcendence, “Calvin believed that the goal of gathered worship was to bring people face to face with God. His aim was not that people would simply learn information about God, but that they would truly hear God speak and know his presence in the service.” Simplicity of worship coincides with transcendence, first of all, by means of quality in worship; and, secondly, by means of a heart attitude of wonder, delight, and awe (211–214).

In terms of quality in worship, Dr. Keller writes that Calvin took a “middle way” between the Lutheran and Catholic approach on the one hand (with complex, professional musical performance), and the Anabaptist and Zwinglian approaches on the other (rejecting professionalism because of its “worldliness” and emotionalism, respectively): “Because professional musicians could turn the congregants into an audience instead of a community, he [Calvin] chose not to use choirs or soloists. But he by no means shared the view that artistic excellence was elitist.”⁵⁴

This “third way” which Dr. Keller believes Calvin followed, allows him to write the following in a footnote:

Calvin’s service book (1545) included a hymn—an indication that he did not think it a sin to sing hymns.

54. We refer the reader to the work by Jarman surveyed in Part One, page 117, who does not see such a serious bifurcation between Zwingli and Calvin. Jarman writes, “such evidence as we have presented suggests strongly that the origins of the regulative principle are to be sought in the continental theologians, particularly Zwingli and Calvin. We suggest that they both consciously taught and practised the regulative principle, so that their churches at Zurich and Geneva, together with other churches on the continent that followed their example, provided an object-lesson in what could be achieved through its application to church life and practice.” Robert D. Jarman, B.A., “The Regulative Principle of Scripture: The Origin of a Cardinal Doctrine in the Early Elizabethan Puritan Movement. A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts with a Major in Church History and the History of Christian Thought at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School. Deerfield, Illinois, June, 1977,” 111.

However, as a “quality control,” he limited worship music to the singing of metrical psalms. He also avoided organs, most instruments, and even elaborate polyphony. As we saw above, these restrictions were not grounded in the same disdain of artistic excellence that led the Anabaptists to unaccompanied song. It was due to his concern for simplicity and intelligibility. (As we have seen, musical quality is important for transcendence.) Therefore, while Anabaptist theology of art would preclude accompaniment and choirs per se from worship, Calvin’s theology does not. His “middle way” between the Anabaptists and the Lutherans points the way for Reformed worship today to include the judicious use of accompaniment, ensembles, and solos—provided Calvin’s over-arching purposes of simplicity, transcendence, and edification are honored (212).

What in the world is our brother thinking? It is this type of sloppy “scholarship” that Calvin would have eschewed, and which also makes us evangelicals the butt of jokes in academia. Anyone with any clear knowledge of Calvin knows that his opposition to “special music” (such as choirs, instrumentation, etc.) was based on Biblical principle, particularly his view that in the New Testament, those Old Covenant ways of worship had been superseded. Furthermore, Calvin’s opposition was also based on the regulative principle of worship.

However, Dr. Keller is attempting to justify his own worship practices by high-jacking Calvin and claiming that the contemporary views are “Reformed.” This is exactly what liberals, as in the mainline denominations, do all the time. It has long been amusing to this present author to read feminists and other heterodox people, as they appropriate the term “Reformed” as a cloak for their strange views. In principle, this is precisely what this PCA clergyman is doing.

Dr. Keller also describes three “tests” of Reformed corporate worship: doxological evangelism, community building, and character for service (217–221). However, please note carefully that the regulative principle is not listed as a “test” of Reformed worship. Furthermore, it also was not listed as one of the “traits” of Reformed worship.

The minimal attention to the regulative principle

becomes understandable when we consider that Dr. Keller’s concern is for worship that is Reformed and contemporary. He rejects “Reformed worship,” which does not interact with contemporary realities; and “Contemporary worship,” which does not interact with the Reformed tradition. The other two possibilities are “Reformed Contemporary worship” and “Contemporary Reformed worship,” the latter incorporating contemporary worship on a more Calvinistic base than the former (221–222).

Dr. Keller concludes his treatment by noting that Redeemer Presbyterian Church deliberately uses non-Christian musicians in the worship services. “Musical talent is the gift of God, and to ask a musician to offer up that gift in a service of worship is a good thing both for him or her and for us.” He concludes:

I believe Calvin’s own approach to music provides guidance for an approach somewhere in the middle, between, on the one hand, the evangelical church that pays its ministers but not its musicians, and, on the other hand, the mainline church that has non-Christians singing or playing as “just another gig.” When we incorporate non-Christians into our services, we pray that the gathered worship itself will have an impact on them. We model for them the difference between just performing and seeking to “catch the conscience” with our music. When we invite non-Christians to use their talents in corporate worship, we are simply calling them, along with every creature, to bring their “peculiar honors” and gifts to praise their Creator (239).

As we noted above, this Manhattan minister gives short shrift to the regulative principle—a fact which gives away what he regards as essential (and what he regards as not being essential) to corporate worship. Dr. Keller writes in an engaging fashion, and he certainly knows how to appeal to a broad audience—whether a group of yuppies in New York, or his fellow ministers in the PCA. However, what he has penned in this book turns a genuinely Calvinistic and Reformed understanding of worship on its head, and does so with enough of a façade of academic-speak to fool the undiscerning.⁵⁵

DAVID C. LACHMAN

55. In conjunction with the classic sci-fi series *Star Trek*, the term “technobabble” is used to describe impressive terminology, employed by characters on the show, which is actually scientific gibberish; perhaps we should coin a new term, “theobabble,” to describe the type of nonsense which churchmen utilize in their desperate attempts to justify innovations as having historical pedigree.

In January 2003, Dr. David C. Lachman delivered a series of lectures for a course on Scottish Presbyterianism at Puritan Reformed Theological Seminary, the seminary of the Heritage Reformed Congregations, located

in Grand Rapids, Michigan. His teaching touched upon a wide range of subjects, including worship.⁵⁶

Quoting from the venerable Scottish church historian, David Hay Fleming, Dr. Lachman said that the one word by which the Scottish Reformation could be summed up is “thorough.” “The Scottish Reformers wanted to be thoroughly Scriptural.” John Knox and others wanted to have “a church that reflected the pure word of God.” Only the Reformed or Presbyterian approach could claim of being “not a man-made tradition.”

“The matter of the true worship of God is a great emphasis in Scottish Presbyterianism,” according to Dr. Lachman, as he considered the Scots Confession of 1560, the First Book of Discipline, and the Second Book of Discipline. These Scotsmen believed that “You cannot worship God in any way that He has not positively commanded.”

The Scots wanted to “abolish all honoring of God not contained in His word.” They were “very serious” about being Biblical—for example, as in sitting around the table for the Lord’s Supper (while also acknowledging that the manner of sitting was incidental). They also emphasized the avoidance of superstition and idolatry.

There was “no contrast” or “disparity” between the Scots Confession and the Westminster Confession of Faith: a person who subscribed to one was expected to be able to subscribe to the other (Lachman, Lecture 2).

The instructor also devoted one section of the course to Worship, both making substantial reference to Calvin, Cunningham and Bannerman, and spending a good bit of time on George Gillespie’s great work against the English-Popish Ceremonies. His purpose was to say that the Scottish Presbyterians sought to conform their worship to that which God has prescribed in His Word and to exclude all rites and ceremonies of human invention. They denied that the church has any power to introduce anything into the worship of God which God has not himself commanded. They rejected the ‘ceremonies’ imposed by the Roman and Anglican churches, against those who claimed such ceremonies were 1) necessary to be followed in deference to the authority of the Church, 2) expedient on the grounds that they had become the common practice of the Church, and 3) indifferent in that they were neither inherently good nor evil. The Scottish Presbyterians held that such ceremonies were unlawful as they were not instituted by God and consequently, with Gilbert Rule,⁵⁷ “hated ceremonies and holidays [holy days], and perhaps would have died rather than practise them.”⁵⁸

JEFFREY J. MEYERS

A pastor in the Presbyterian Church in America in St. Louis, Missouri, Jeffrey J. Meyers has been involved in what he and others call “liturgical renewal.” In 2003, his substantial book (448 pages), *The Lord’s Service: The Grace of Covenant Renewal Worship*, was published by Canon Press.⁵⁹

As the title implies, the book represents a continuation of the James Jordan school of thought with respect to worship. However, this volume argues the case more substantively and with greater academic care than other attempts.

Our focus here is on the treatment of the regulative principle, which occupies the eighteen pages of Chapter 16. Pastor Meyers states: “Controversy continues to swirl around the precise meaning and application of this principle, but I am convinced that the regulative principle of worship simply means that the content and ritual of our Lord’s Day corporate worship must be informed and regulated by the Word of God. Nothing should be added to the Church’s worship without biblical warrant.” He then quotes from the relevant sections of the Westminster Confession of Faith and Larger Catechism (Meyers, 298).

However, having professed allegiance to this Puritan principle, he then proceeds to attack what he says are “at least four unworkable applications of the regulative principle of worship.” The first of these “unworkable applications” is that of “reactionary regulations.” In his estimation, the Reformed church has often opposed a variety of practices simply because they were associated with Roman Catholicism and/or Anglicanism. Among the items he discusses here are liturgical forms,⁶⁰ and the observance of religious holy days. He writes:

56. David C. Lachman, CD (MP3 format), Course #327a, Scottish Presbyterianism (January, 2003), Puritan Reformed Theological Seminary.

57. Gilbert Rule (c.1629–1701), Scottish Presbyterian minister and Principal of Edinburgh University.

58. James Walker, *The Theology and Theologians of Scotland 1560–1750* (Edinburgh: John Knox Press, Reprinted, with additional notes, from the second revised edition of 1888, 1982) 113. Walker references Rule’s *Good Old Way* (Gilbert Rule, *The Good Old Way Defended against the attempts of A.M. D.D. in his book called, An enquiry into the new opinions, (chiefly) propagated by the Presbyterians of Scotland ...* [Edinburgh: Heirs and successors of Andrew Anderson, 1697]).

59. Jeffrey J. Meyers, *The Lord’s Service: The Grace of Covenant Renewal Worship* (Moscow, Idaho: Canon Press, 2003).

60. Meyers (303) “confuses elements and forms.” Rowland S. Ward, “The Directory for Public Worship Prepared by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster in the Year 1644,” *Westminster Assembly 2004: A Conference on the Westminster Standards*,

Consider the Church year calendar, for example. Roman Catholic, Episcopal, and Lutheran churches do it, so it must be wrong. And where in the Bible are we commanded to have Advent, Christmas, Lent, and Easter? Confusion arises when statements like the following are advanced against the use of the Church year calendar: "Our heritage is rightly suspicious of the creation of ceremonies and rituals not authorized in Scripture." The problem with this is that technically the church year does not introduce new ceremonies or rituals; rather, it organizes and directs our Scripture readings, prayers, hymns, and sermons according to the life of Christ (Meyers, 299–302).

But, of course, the introduction of such special "holy days" does establish a sort of ritual. Furthermore, the observance of such days inevitably leads to the observance of various ceremonies.⁶¹

The second of these allegedly untenable applications Meyer's raises

concerns a too narrowly defined principle. The regulative principle is not well formulated when we say that only that which is commanded ought to be allowed in worship. Whatever is not commanded therefore is forbidden. Why should we need only explicit "commands"? This is completely unworkable, and in practice has never been followed. It makes for great rhetoric, but lousy biblical and liturgical theology.

Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia Pa., November 21–22, 2004 (Unpublished; MS dated February 18, 2006) 8–9 n34. Dr. Ward's lecture has been published; see R. A. Muller & R. S. Ward, *Scripture and Worship* (Phillipsburg, Pa.: P & R, 2007) 98 fn.

61. Ed. Regarding the 'holy days' of the 'Christian calendar,' a primary concern of the Presbyterian reformers was the imposition of their observance by both the church and the state, which was a violation of their Christian Liberty [See George Gillespie, *A Dispute Against the English Popish Ceremonies* (Dallas, Tex.: Naphtali Press, 1993) 1.7.31–36; 1.8.37–45. Hereafter *EPC*.]. They argued that observing a day as more holy than another without a prescription from God, was superstitious and even idolatrous. The observance of the church calendar as practiced by the Roman church should be rejected, to use the outline of George Gillespie's argument, for three reasons. First, because they were observed superstitiously (*EPC*, 3.1.7–15.140–153). Secondly, they were actually idolatrous three times over. 1. Because "they are monuments of by-past idolatry." Such monuments which were notoriously abused to idolatry should be destroyed. Retaining these would become a continual stumbling block toward idolatry (*EPC*, 3.2.154–180). 2. Because they are badges of present idolatry. "By communicating with idolaters in their rites and ceremonies, we ourselves become guilty of idolatry; even as Ahaz (2 Kings 16:10), was an idolater, *eo ipso* [for that very reason], that he took the pattern of an altar from idolaters" (*EPC*, 3.3, 181–197). And 3. Because they are formally "idols themselves" (*EPC*, 3.4.198–204).

In his view, the proper principle is that "the Church must have biblical *warrant* for the way she worships God; such warrant can be derived from biblical commands, principles, or examples" (Meyers, 303).

The difficulty with Pastor Meyers' statement is that, in the first place, he has set up a straw man, which no one holds; and secondly, that he apparently has misunderstood the fact that approved apostolic example forms a Biblical command.

The third "unworkable application" is that of applying the regulative principle "in a dispensational, semi-Marcionite way. In practice, then, the regulative principle means that we only look to the New Testament for biblical warrant. Only what the New Testament expressly prescribes ought to be done. All that ceremony and ritual, that was Old Testament worship." He attacks the Puritans (such as John Owen), as well as more contemporary authors: "Frank J. Smith asserts 'Romanism ... retained much of the Old Testament sacrificial system.' What exactly does this mean? How can Roman Catholicism be said to have 'retained' Old Covenant sacrificial practices? Did the error of the Mass develop because the Church returned to the liturgical elements of the Old Testament ceremonial system? Or did it develop as a result of the influence of alien philosophical (Aristotelian) categories on biblical teaching? Does Frank Smith want to suggest that the God-given sacrificial system was Romanist? Are we to believe that the corruption of the medieval church came about because of the influence of the Old Testament on the church's liturgy? This kind of argument is historically and theologically erroneous" (Meyers, 304–305).

The St. Louis minister proceeds to refer favorably to the work of Henning Graf Reventlow, published in 1985 by Fortress Press (a liberal Lutheran publishing house), whose scholarship showed that "English Protestants, particularly the Puritans, displayed a deep-seated hostility to anything that smacked of material ceremony and ritual and that they read the Old Testament with these colored lenses such that they tended to interpret Old Testament religion as a kind of Catholicism before Rome. Furthermore, this moralistic, anti-ceremonial bias fed right into (or possibly even 'caused') the rising humanistic antipathy to revealed religion, particularly that of the Old Testament, leading to the rise of higher critical methodologies that deconstruct the first four-fifths of the Bible. At any rate," Mr. Meyers writes, "Reventlow's research on the anti-ritual 'spiritualism' of the English post-Reformation theologians is extremely troubling. This work reveals something of the shortcomings of our own anti-liturgical, spiritualistic heritage"

(305). Mr. Meyers also castigates standard Reformed polemics for maintaining that “synagogue worship was ‘simple’ and a-liturgical and therefore must function as a model for ‘simple’ New Testament worship.” In his view, synagogue worship became “sacrificial worship without the animal sacrifices. Synagogue practice was modeled on the temple (e.g., prayers were described as ‘sacrifices,’ similar to the New Testament and the synagogue itself was considered holy space)” (306).

Before proceeding to Mr. Meyers’ fourth example of “deformations” of the regulative principle, we must pause here to evaluate what he has written regarding his third example. We are aware that those who are caricatured as “TR” (“Truly Reformed”) are often viewed as harsh in judgments about others. We would at this point simply note, however, that perhaps it is the critics of such narrow-minded “TRs” who need to examine their commitment to Christian charity. James Jordan penned an entire book, claiming that a Puritan approach to worship constituted “Liturgical Nestorianism.” Now, it is one thing to be accused of the ancient heresy of Nestorianism. But it is quite another thing altogether to be lumped in with Marcion, whose heretical views—such as denying inspiration to much of Scripture, and positing that the God of the Old Testament is not the God of the New Testament—put him well beyond the pale of Christianity. However, Jeffrey J. Meyers has clearly and unambiguously tarred the Puritan faith with the brush of Marcionism.

Yes, Roman Catholicism in point of fact does imbibes of a sacrificial approach that is akin to that of the Old Testament sacrificial system. It is not that the God-given sacrificial system was intrinsically erroneous (or Romanist); rather, the fact is that Roman Catholicism represents the tendency of a works-religion to be overly concerned with elaborate ceremony. Further, it is also true that it is God who has abolished the sacrificial system which He had established for a particular time and purpose. To continue with those sacrifices is to deny the gospel. Please note that we are not accusing Mr. Meyers of denying the gospel; instead, we are merely pointing out that because of the coming of Christ, the sacrificial system, of necessity, has been abrogated. But Romanism, with its emphasis not only on the ceremonial but also on the (purported) re-sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist, essentially continues the sacrificial system which was overthrown by the Messiah.

The fact that “sacrificial” language is employed to describe worship practices apart from the temple does not negate this reality, that the sacrificial, ceremonial law has been fulfilled by Jesus. Even Mr. Meyers has

to acknowledge the change in administration, when he writes, somewhat paradoxically, that synagogue worship was “sacrificial worship without the animal sacrifices.”

The fourth “deformation” about which he writes regarding the regulative principle of worship is that of a “New Testament-only approach” which “invariably ends up advocating an overly inward, rationalistic approach to worship.” In this section, he argues that the classic passage in John 4 regarding Jesus’ counsel to the Samaritan woman at the well of the necessity of worshipping God in spirit and truth, does not imply “a warning against all ‘outward’ and ‘external’ liturgical worship” (Meyers, 306–313).

In response, it would appear that Mr. Meyers has again constructed a straw man. We know of no one within the Reformed community who believes that there is no physicality involved in worship performed by people who have bodies.

Pastor Meyers concludes this chapter by quoting favorably A. A. Hodge’s commentary on the Westminster Confession of Faith. Mr. Meyers rejects what he calls “an unworkable, overly strict formulation” (“whatever is not commanded is forbidden”); however, he then turns around and says that “God has prescribed for us in His Word how we may worship Him acceptably.” But, if God has “prescribed” how He is to be worshipped, then what is this other than a command? And if we are to worship according to that prescription, then what other conclusion can be drawn but that all other worship, being non-commanded, is forbidden?⁶²

GREENVILLE PRESBYTERIAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

In March of 2003, Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary (GPTS) sponsored a conference on worship. Resulting from that conference was a book, which featured the addresses, including a formal debate on exclusive psalmody.⁶³

62. Mr. Meyers’ views can also be accessed at his congregation’s web site: www.prpc-stl.org/ministries_preach.html.

63. *The Worship of God: Reformed Concepts of Biblical Worship* (Fearn, Tain, Ross-shire, Scotland: Christian Focus Publications, and Taylors, S.C.: Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, 2005). There have been other conferences friendly to a more faithful adherence to the regulative principle, such as the Growing Reformed Churches Conferences for 2001 and 2002. Some of this material may be in print in other forms, but the audio of the lectures is available from the library and bookstore at Westminster Theological Seminary in California. *Growing Reformed Churches (2001): Worship in Spirit & in Truth*, Westminster Theological Seminary, Escondido, California, February 16–17, 2001. *Plenary sessions*: 1. Worship and the Bible (Dr.

In the Preface, Dr. Joseph A. Pipa, Jr., states that “there is nothing more perilous to our salvation than a distorted and perverse worship of God. The primary rudiments by which we are wont to train those whom we wish to win as disciples to Christ, are these; viz., not to frame any new worship of God for themselves at random, and after their own pleasure, but to know that the only legitimate worship is that which He himself approved from the beginning” (7)

Terry L. Johnson

Terry Johnson, writing on the regulative principle, stated that “the regulative principle includes both ‘form’ and ‘heart,’ both ‘truth’ and ‘spirit.’ The regulative principle is concerned with: (1) Content and form, or truth; and, (2) Heart and motive, or spirit” (11).

Pastor Johnson adopts the same paradigm as that of Dr. T. David Gordon, viz., of elements, forms, and circumstances. He writes:

The Reformed tradition generally, and *The Westminster Standards* specifically, distinguish between elements (which are Scripturally determined and unchanging), forms (the contents of the elements, regarding which there is considerable freedom), and circumstances, which are governed by broader considerations. For example, the element of prayer may be expressed through a written or extemporaneous form. The element of preaching may be textual or topical in form. The element of Scripture reading may be expressed in various forms: a few verses or a chapter or more, from Genesis or Revelation, or from anywhere in between. In

each case the form is the content and structure through which the element is expressed (19).

In response, let us note that it simply is not true that the Westminster divines posited “forms” as some third category. Although it is true that the Larger and Shorter Catechisms speak of “that form of prayer” taught by Christ to His disciples (the Lord’s Prayer), it is surely significant that the Westminster Assembly used the term “form” only in that very limited way to speak of the pattern of prayer (WLC 186 says: “The whole word of God is of use to direct us in the duty of prayer, but the special rule of direction is that form of prayer which our Saviour Christ taught his disciples, commonly called The Lord’s Prayer;” WLC 187 says: “The Lord’s prayer is not only for direction, as a *pattern*, according to which we are to make others prayers; but may also be used as a prayer...” [emphasis added]). Pastor Johnson quotes T. David Gordon, that “form” as a category “appears to be less well-known” than the categories of “element” and “circumstance.” Perhaps the reason why the term “form” is relatively unknown in the literature, is because it isn’t a separate category in the way that has been proposed. Furthermore, this paragraph demonstrates a confusion between an element of worship, and the particular instance of implementing that element. No one would maintain that, because the canonical books constitute the content for the reading of the Word, therefore the entire corpus of Scripture would have to be read every time the Word is read. And yet, that is the implication of the statement that “forms” are “the contents of the elements.”

Further confusion is evident in his next paragraph, when he takes exception to the views of John Frame. The Savannah pastor writes: “Are there any restrictions on forms? Indeed there are and must be, lest the integrity of the element be undermined. Forms are not limitless. The basic principle is this: A form must be consistent with the nature of the element. One may not ‘dance the sermon,’ primarily because a sermon by nature is spoken communication. Dance is not a form of preaching, but a new element, the argument of its proponents notwithstanding” (19).

Terry Johnson surely is correct that dancing would be a new element of worship, but it is not because it is a “form” in the sense in which he is using the term. When he and Dr. Gordon use the term “form,” they are referring to the particular words (the content). When John Frame uses the term “form,” he is referring to the manner in which the element comes to expression, such as through the art of preaching, or the art of dancing.

W. Robert Godfrey); 2. Worship: where and what to do (Dr. Leonard Payton); 3. The regulative principle of the church (Pastor Samuel Waldron). *Worship in historical perspective*: 1. The elements of worship (Dr. W. Robert Godfrey); 2. Worship in the Old and New Testaments (Dr. Iain Duguid); 3. Transcendence and reverence in worship (Pastor Ken Jones); 4. Emotion vs. Emotionalism in worship (Pastor Earl Blackburn); 5. Worship in American Presbyterianism (Pastor Jim Garretson). *Worship in theological perspective*: 1. Centrality of the word in worship (Pastor Samuel Waldron); 2. Musical instruments in worship (Dr. Leonard Payton); 3. Confession and absolution in worship (Dr. Kim Riddlebarger); 4. The text of hymns (Pastor Chris Beamer); 5. High church vs. low church (Dr. Hywel Jones). *Worship in pastoral perspective*: 1. Seeker sensitive worship (Dr. Michael Horton); 2. Singing psalms and hymns (Pastor Lee Irons); 3. Sacraments in worship (Dr. R. Scott Clark); 4. Children in worship (Pastor Ron Scheuers); 5. The hymn controversy (Dr. Darryl Hart). *Growing Reformed Churches* (2002): *Spiritual Worship, A Reformed Perspective on Worship; Rediscovering the Drama of God-Centered Worship*, Bethel United Reformed Church, Jenison, Indiana, November 8–9, 2002. Speakers: Dr. W. Robert Godfrey, Dr. Michael Horton, and Rev. Terry Johnson.

Pastor Johnson has fallen victim to confusion because of the two different ways in which the term “form” is used in contemporary parlance with respect to worship.

In the penultimate paragraph of his chapter, he writes:

It should be clear by this point that the real battleground today is not over elements but forms. Only a small minority of Reformed churches believe that dance and drama are legitimate elements of worship, and an even smaller minority will ever implement their use. Even the newest of New School theologians continue to affirm the regulative principle. The real debate is whether contemporary forms are adequate for the expression of the Reformed faith. Can contemporary buckets carry Calvinistic water? Can an informal, casual setting and tone, pop/rock music, minimal prayer and Bible readings, and needs based topical preaching produce a new generation of Puritans, Huguenots, and Covenanters—that is, brave, uncompromising souls who will shape civilizations? Those churches that abandon traditional forms for contemporary alternatives are unlikely to experience that depth of sanctifying grace, since it is in our Sunday public services that Reformed convictions receive their widest dissemination.... Only the historically Reformed worship can do the job. Only Presbyterian buckets can carry Presbyterian water (28f).

We certainly agree that “only Presbyterian buckets can carry Presbyterian water.” However, note once again that he has confused the notion of content (which he has said is what “forms” are all about) with that of the manner in which that content is expressed. That confusion weakens his critique, and undermines what he and most others at the Greenville Seminary conference are willing to tolerate or even promote, viz., the singing of uninspired hymns (since the “form,” defined as the content of an element, is, according to these churchmen, flexible).

To summarize our critique, the way that both Johnson and Gordon, on the one hand, and Frame, on the other hand, use the term “form” is unknown in historic Reformed theology. Both camps have picked up on this term and packed it with their own meaning for their own polemical purposes, and in so doing both miss the mark.

Morton H. Smith

The first Stated Clerk of the Presbyterian Church in America (PCA), Dr. Morton H. Smith helped found two

seminaries: Reformed Theological Seminary in Jackson, Mississippi, and Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary. In a significant chapter, this Virginia native details “The History of Worship in Presbyterian Churches” (69–99).

Dr. Smith notes that “the American Presbyterian church moved away from its historical positions on instrumental music, as well as choirs without the benefit of careful, theological scrutiny” (91). Other deviations from historic practice which he mentions include the increasing observance of religious holy days.

In the 1960s, worship services in the Southern Presbyterian Church (PCUS) became bizarre. Dr. Smith quotes at length from Dr. G. Aiken Taylor, then Editor of the *Presbyterian Journal*, in his staunch opposition to the experimental worship that was carried on at Montreat, North Carolina, under denominational auspices.

However, even though these bizarre worship practices (coupled with an open denial of the gospel) compelled ecclesiastical separation (leading to the formation of the PCA in 1973), some of the same deviant practices have been witnessed in the “separated” Presbyterian denominations. Dr. Smith writes that because of “a reframing of Presbyterian principles, the PCA is marked by a looseness of principle and strikingly broad diversity of practice in public worship. He then quotes another Dr. Smith, who “has observed that ‘in practice, the PCA is not committed to uniformity in public worship’” (97).⁶⁴

In his conclusion, Morton Smith offers the following observation:

Perhaps the most serious challenges to the regulative principle of worship are those being put forward within conservative Presbyterian circles today. Those who hold to the historic position regarding the regulative principle of worship ought to accept the challenge and carefully re-examine the Biblical teaching on this subject to determine whether the historic interpretation is the true view. If, on the one hand, the historic interpretation cannot be defended from Scripture, then we should advocate adjustments to the Standards to make them more Biblical. If, on the other hand, the historic interpretation is the proper Biblical position, then it is incumbent upon us to answer the challenges and to insist that the Church return to her Standards (98f).

64. The reference is to Frank J. Smith, *The History of the Presbyterian Church in America*, 519.

Joseph A. Pipa, Jr.

A PCA minister, and the President of Greenville Seminary, Joseph A. Pipa, Jr., wrote a lengthy chapter on “Reformed Liturgy” (121–160). The author attempts in this chapter to defend the notion of using formal liturgy for churches committed to the regulative principle of worship.

To do so, President Pipa employs the same nomenclature as have David Gordon and Terry Johnson, viz., that of three categories of “elements,” “forms,” and “circumstances.” However, he expands the definition somewhat: “Forms consist of the precise content of an element, the liturgical structure of the elements, and the postures used in the acts of worship (e.g., which song or Psalm to be sung, whether to use common prayer or free prayer, how to structure our worship, and which postures to adopt)” (130).

Cliff Blair

Cliff Blair, pastor of an Orthodox Presbyterian congregation in Charlotte, North Carolina, offered a piece in opposition to the use of choirs in public worship.⁶⁵ The author connects the appeal to Levitical choirs as necessarily “partaking of a sacerdotal theology that is completely at odds with the priesthood of all believers taught in the New Testament.” He adds: “Church history has shown that choirs have been advanced at just those times when sacerdotal theology was waxing (in the medieval period and in connection with the Anglo Catholic movement of the nineteenth century).” He concludes that “no place remains for choirs in worship independent of God’s people united in Christ” (234).

PETER J. LEITHART

Presbyterian Church in America minister Peter J. Leithart is a senior fellow of theology and literature at New St. Andrews College, Moscow, Idaho. He has long been an advocate of paedocommunion, and has long

65. “The Few on behalf of the Many: An Examination of Choirs in the Light of Scripture, Church History, and Practical Theology,” *ibid.*, 219–235. Other chapters in the volume include W. Robert Godfrey, “The Psalms and Contemporary Worship” (101–120); Brian Schwertley, “The Biblical Case for Exclusive Psalmody” (181–204); and Benjamin Shaw, “The Biblical Case for Hymnody” (205–218). The volume also contains Dr. Godfrey’s “Calvin and the Worship of God” (31–49), which is a version of the piece already noted in this article as well as in Part One.

66. Peter J. Leithart, *From Silence to Song: The Davidic Liturgical Revolution* (Moscow, Idaho: Canon Press, 2003).

imbibed of the exegetical fancies that have characterized the writings of James Jordan. In 2003, Dr. Leithart wrote *From Silence to Song: The Davidic Liturgical Revolution*,⁶⁶ a book which continues in the same vein.

The author specifically rejects the Reformed regulative principle of worship. “In the hands of at least some writers,” he writes, “the regulative principle is, in practice, hermeneutically wooden and theologically Marcionite. It is wooden because an explicit ‘command’ is required for every act of worship, and it is Marcionite because it ignores the abundant Old Testament liturgical instruction in favor of exegeting a few passages of the New.” In a footnote, he explains: “Marcion was the early church heretic who believed that the god of the New Testament was a different deity from the god of the Old. I am using ‘Marcionite’ in this context to describe a system of theology (in this case, liturgical theology) that sharply separates between the Old and the New” (Leithart, 15–16).

Dr. Leithart summarizes his thesis this way:

Refuting the Marcionite assumption must be left for another time, but the woodenness of “regulativism” is directly addressed by the passages studied in this book. As I will argue below, David’s reorganization of worship at the tabernacle in Jerusalem was based on Mosaic ceremonial law, yet it was an expansive and creative application of the law, without ceasing to be an application. David’s liturgical revolution thus provides a *canonical* illustration of how the law was applied to liturgical matters. By examining these portions of Scripture, furthermore, we can see that the church’s “sacrifice of praise” grew out of an application of Levitical law. By showing the subtlety of the law’s relation to Davidic worship, this study offers some hints about the scriptural regulation of worship in general and shows the relevance of Levitical liturgics to Christian worship (16).

According to Dr. Leithart, David’s approach, instead of a “regulation-by-explicit-command,” was “regulation-by-analogy.” Applying this principle would lead the church today to place both candles and a tablecloth on the communion table (despite the absence of any such command), since such adornments “are consistent with the analogy—the *scriptural* analogy—between the Lord’s Supper and a wedding feast” (104–105).

However, as Presbyterians (such as seventeenth century theologian George Gillespie) have noted, the types of worship practices being urged by Dr. Leithart do go beyond Scriptural teaching, and actually impugn the integrity of the Bible by suggesting that the Word of

God is not sufficient for our worship. Furthermore, there really is no stopping point once such a scheme is put into practice; and there are no adequate safeguards to prevent the kinds of abuses to which a Romanizing tendency has subjected the church.

RPCNA

In 2003, the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America (RPCNA) approved a study on worship which had been previously commissioned in response to queries from one of that denomination's ministers who was questioning the historic stance of his church. The report concluded that the regulative principle of worship, taught in the Westminster Standards and in the RPCNA Testimony, "is an essential part of Scripture's doctrine of worship;" and adduced many of the standard arguments in favor: "the need to preserve the purity of the gospel, God's holiness and man's creatureliness, the second commandment, the need to guard the liberty of conscience of the Christian worshiper together with the limited delegated authority of the Church on earth, and the unity of the Church expressed in her worship."⁶⁷

What makes this study somewhat unique is that it grounds the principle in a Biblical-theological understanding of the covenant.

The fundamental issue concerning the public worship of God, then, is the nature of the assembly of the saints before God, for what reason it comes together, and what is required of it. The assembled congregation of the New Testament Church, like the assembled congregation of Israel, is God's people met together in His presence at an appointed time to review and renew their part in God's covenant with them, and to celebrate His gracious benefits toward them. In its worship the assembly of the saints expresses its faith and its loyalty to the God of the Covenant (16–17).

The study employs Jordanesque language—that of "covenant renewal"—in order to paint the background for the regulative principle. Regarding the New Covenant assembly, the committee wrote:

Weekly the saints rehearse and confirm their covenant commitment to be the Lord's. The historic public worship of the Church in its solemn assemblies moves generally through the parts of a covenant ceremony. The parties to the covenant know themselves and each other to be called by God to meet and worship Him. At their

baptism, the saints remember how the covenant was established between them and God through Christ. They review the requirements of the covenant, they are reminded that blessings and curses are attached to the covenant, and they reaffirm their part in the covenant by a pledge. The Lord's Supper is a covenant reminder: "This cup is the new covenant in my blood" (1 Cor. 11:25).

There is a correspondence between the *elements* of worship as defined by Westminster and the parts of a covenant ceremony. For example, the parties to the covenant communicate in the reading of Scripture and in prayer. The saints are reminded of God's past dealings with them in hearing the Bible read and explained. In particular, God's people are reminded how Christ by His death redeemed them from death and gave them life. Through the reading of the law and in the preaching of the Word, the saints are exhorted to live loyally to God. In singing psalms, the Church praises its God and instructs itself at the same time. In the Lord's Supper, the Church has a memorial sign of Christ's salvation, the experience of its present communion with God in Christ, and a reminder that it awaits the return of its King. The benediction expresses the blessings of the covenant, while the warnings against unbelief (Heb. 4: 1) and the exercise of church discipline in its gatherings remind the Church of the curses attached (see 1 Cor. 5:4–5; 11:29).

The authors gave a "Summary of a Biblical Theology of Worship," as follows:

God commanded His people under both the Old Covenant and the New Covenant to assemble before Him. There is some discontinuity in the nature of these assemblies, since Christ has now fulfilled the shadows of the earthly temple, the sacrifices, and the priesthood. There is also continuity in these assemblies because they are times for pledging loyalty to the God of the covenants and for being equipped by Him to persevere in the terms of the covenant. There is likewise continuity in the provision of sacrifice to atone for the sins of the worshipers; but whether before or after Christ's coming, true efficacy of sacrifice is found only in Christ's blood. Continuity can be found also in the covenant renewal of the assembly's worship in which Scripture is read and explained, prayers offered, psalms sung, and the

67. Committee on the Study of the Doctrine of Worship, *The Worship of the Church: A Reformed Theology of Worship* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Crown and Covenant, 2004) 10–11.

covenant signs observed. The Westminster standards' understanding of the public worship of the Church as being fundamentally covenantal is correct (20).

JOHN W. KEDDIE

In 1994, this Scottish accountant and historian turned gospel minister penned a booklet advocating exclusive psalmody. Nine years later, the second edition appeared in print.⁶⁸

As might be anticipated in such a work, there is appeal to the regulative principle of worship. Chapter 4 (pp. 42–48), “The Regulative Principle,” begins this way: “All Christian churches are regulated in one way or another. It might be expected that all churches would at least claim to be regulated by the Scriptures. In many instances, however, churches have deviated from the Scriptures as their rule of doctrine and practice.” Pastor Keddie notes that the higher critical movement had a deleterious effect upon the authority of Scripture, including its regulative nature. He writes: “A church’s regulative principle in Christian faith and life by and large will be determined by a combination of the following factors: (a) the perceived *authority* of the Bible; (b) the acceptance of the *sufficiency* of Scripture; and (c) the application of a sound biblical *method* of interpretation.”

He points out the deficiencies of the Lutheran/Anglican approach to worship as a “broad principle”: “This do-what-is-not-forbidden approach really states that what the church says, either as a denomination, or for that matter as a local congregation, goes. It is hard to see how this does not amount to the imposition of commandments of men (see Matt. 15:6, 9; Mark 7:6–13; Col. 2:18–23).” Among the passages adduced in support of the principle (“To go beyond the revealed will of God was found to be perilous”), besides the customary ones, are Ezekiel 5:5–7; Malachi 2:1–17; and Revelation 2–3.

This Scotsman addresses two points raised by supporters of non-canonical songs “that are felt to qualify the more rigorous application of the regulative principle.” The first of these, the analogy with prayer and preaching, he answers by noting not only that each of

the elements is distinct from all others, but also that there is a difference between those elements which are “free” and those which are “fixed” in their content. The second objection is that of the alleged demands of the expansion of revelation. He answers this objection by arguing that it is “presumptuous to imply” from the giving of the Spirit at Pentecost “that there is thus a competence given to the Church to add non-canonical materials for congregational song. There was new revelation, of course, inscripturated in the New Testament, though, significantly, *no separate manual of praise*.”

WARREN PEEL

Writing in 2003 in the *Reformed Theological Journal*, published by Reformed Theological College (the institution of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland), Warren Peel took aim at the views of John Frame.⁶⁹ Pastor Peel adopts the same approach as that of Michael Bushell with regard to the blurring of sharp distinction between elements and circumstances of worship. Nevertheless, the Irish minister also correctly critiques Frame’s position, particularly his lack of clarity as to how the Bible applies differently between specific worship and life in general. Towards the end of the article, Pastor Peel writes:

NT worship then, is both special and to be specially regulated, just as it was in the OT. It might be objected, however, that the NT does not give regulations for worship in the manner that God gave them to Moses in the OT. A number of points can be made in response to this:

(i) The second Commandment clearly and permanently forbids the worshipping of God in any way apart from divine prescription. This Commandment is as much in force in the NT as it was in the OT.

(ii) We must interpret Scripture by deducing good and necessary consequence as well as from explicit commands (WCF I.6). Whatever is rightly implied from Scripture’s statements is itself true and equally the word of God. Frame himself accepts this principle (‘I am not enough to deny that normative content can be derived that way. Indeed this is the way all theology proceeds.’) So the fact that regulations for worship are not as explicit in the NT as in the OT in itself proves nothing. ‘Consistent apostolic example can be as binding as the words spoken to Moses by angels.’

68. John W. Keddie, *Sing the Lord’s Song: Biblical Psalms in Worship* (The Knox Press, 1994; 2nd edition Pittsburgh, Pa.: Crown & Covenant Publications, 2003). John Keddie wrote previously on the regulative principle in 1980. John W. Keddie, “Whatsoever I have Commanded You,” *The Gospel Magazine* (November–December 1980) 262–267.

69. Warren Peel, “Framing the Regulative Principle,” *Reformed Theological Journal* Vol. 19 (November 2003) 17–28.

(iii) Deuteronomy 12:32, far from being revoked, is in effect reiterated by Jesus in Matthew 28.19–20. Paul speaks strongly against ‘self-imposed worship’ in Colossians 2.23—a term that makes no sense unless there is such a thing as ‘God-imposed worship’ identifiable in Scripture.

(iv) We should expect that there would be much less about regulations for worship in the NT, not because God wants us to invent elements ourselves, but because the reality, Christ, and the outpouring of the Spirit have come, the shadows are over and worship now consists more of the inward and less of the outward.

(v) There is nonetheless quite an amount of clear precept and example in the NT—for the reading and preaching of the word, for prayer, for singing God’s praise, and for the sacraments.

(vi) We might note also John 4.24. This text is often used to prove a relaxing of the regulative principle in the NT, but the major change anticipated here by Jesus is geographical. He is teaching that a time is coming when the issue of location will be irrelevant. D.A. Carson says, ‘Implicitly, this announces the obsolescence of the temple. Worship will be as geographically extensive as the Spirit, as God himself who is spirit.’ This does not mean a laxer attitude on God’s part to how his worship is to be conducted. Quite the reverse is implied by the phrase ‘in truth.’⁷⁰

LARRY SIBLEY

A lecturer in practical theology at Westminster Theological Seminary (Philadelphia), Larry Sibley has written a brief book that approaches the subject of worship via inductive study of various Bible passages. However, there is no presentation of the regulative principle, or any interaction with any of the classical passages that support this doctrine.⁷¹ This, of course, fits well with the contemporary attitude often manifest at Westminster Seminary with regard to the regulative principle.

MALCOLM H. WATTS & DAVID SILVERSIDES

In a 2003 work, Malcolm H. Watts, pastor of Emmanuel Church in Salisbury, England, responded to Iain Murray’s *The Psalter—The Only Hymnal?*⁷² In making the case for exclusive psalmody, Pastor Watts alludes to the regulative principle (“God is *only* to be worshipped in

the ways prescribed in Scripture”), and the sufficiency of Scripture.⁷³

This booklet was preceded by a 1998 work, co-authored with David Silversides (a Reformed Presbyterian minister in Loughbrickland, Northern Ireland), *The Worship of God*. This booklet consists of three papers that were read at the Salisbury Conference in October 1997.⁷⁴

In “The Importance of Purity of Worship,” Pastor Watts states: “A study of the vocabulary of worship (‘a bowing down’ and ‘service’) will enable us to discover its true nature. It is *an approach to almighty God*,

70. Ibid., 26. The quotation at the end of point (ii) is from Christopher Bennett, “Worship Among the Puritans—The Regulative Principle,” in *Spiritual Worship* (The 1985 Westminster Conference Papers) 21.

71. Larry Sibley, *Worship: Discovering What Scripture Says* (Colorado Springs, Colo.: Shaw Books, 2003).

72. Other reviews critical of this work by Murray were: Rev. H. M. Cartwright, “Psalms or Hymns in Public Worship,” *The Free Presbyterian Magazine* (March 2002); Rpt. in *The Blue Banner*, 11.1 (January–March, 2002) 23–27; Roy Mohon, “Iain H. Murray *The Psalter – the Only Hymnal?* A Review and Response” (© 2001) <http://www.truthzone.co.uk/WHCpsalmsIHM.htm>; John W. Keddie, “A Review of the Pamphlet *The Psalter – The Only Hymnal?* by Iain H Murray, Banner of Truth Trust” (circa October 27, 2002) <http://www.reformed.com/pub/psalter.htm>; Matthew Winzer, “Singing The Lord’s Song In A Strange Land. A Review of Iain Murray’s *The Psalter, The Only Hymnal?*” (*Credo Quarterly*, March 2002)). Murray briefly covers the controversy over the introduction of hymns in Horatius Bonar’s church in the late 19th century in his well received work, *A Scottish Christian Heritage* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 2006), but other than a footnoted reference to the work above he does not cover the arguments pro or contra. He does note the rough handling some gave Bonar who wrote against his “ardent attempts to prove that the Reformers of Scotland used human hymns in the public worship of God,” to use the words of David Hay Fleming, who, while he wrote a definitive reply to Bonar, is not mentioned by Murray (David Hay Fleming, “The Hymnology of the Reformation,” *Original Secession Magazine* (January–June and September 1884; Rpt. in *An Anthology of Presbyterian & Reformed Literature* volume 4 [Dallas, Tex.: Naphtali Press, 1992] 223). Also in this later work, in a chapter on John Knox, there is a brief reference to the regulative principle in an attempt to demonstrate that Knox was a fresh innovator in circumstantial matters of worship and church order, citing the examples of frequency of the Lord’s Supper, the offices of Superintendent and Reader and weekly exercises, where those not ordained might exhort to the edification of the church (23–26). According to Murray, Knox “did not believe that what was later to be called the ‘regulative principle of Scripture’ has so determined everything in the church that we have one permanent blueprint that covers everything,” and in the areas noted legitimately adapted “plans and organization to the circumstances of the hour” (24).

73. Malcolm H. Watts, *God’s Hymnbook for the Christian Church: A Response to Iain Murray’s The Psalter—The Only Hymnal?* (N.p.: The James Begg Society, 2003) 15.

74. Malcolm H. Watts and David Silversides, *The Worship of God* (Edinburgh: Marpet Press, 1998).

acknowledging his transcendent excellence and our utter unworthiness, in order to give him the honour and devotion he so obviously deserves (Heb. 10:19–22; 1 Pet 5:6; Rev 4:10,11)” (4). Writing of the Standard of Pure Worship, the Salisbury minister quotes from John Calvin’s 1544 tract, “The Necessity of Reforming the Church”: “God disapproves of all modes of worship not expressly sanctioned by His Word;” and goes on to note that “the Calvinistic Reformers and the English Puritans ... held that the Church was entirely bound by the Word of God in matters pertaining to worship and so was restricted either to what was enjoined by inspired institution or to what was sanctioned by approved scriptural example” (11). He argues for this view from the standard texts and considerations, but also adduces Hebrews 3: 1,2: “It is unthinkable to believe that Christ was somehow less proficient or that his directions failed to cover all aspects of worship. We must surely conclude from the apostle’s statement that, like Moses before him, Christ has delivered the whole will of God concerning the whole of the Church’s worship, thus supplying us with detailed and precise teaching on every single ordinance” (13). Malcolm Watts answers the contention that the attention to detail in worship was confined to the Old Testament: “God never repealed his law concerning worship. If Christians possess a greater liberty, it is *not* that the standard has been changed: it is rather that there is now welcome freedom from the multiplicity of minute regulations and cumbersome rituals (Gal 4:9,10; 5:1)” (15).

Seven reasons are given as to why pure worship is important: “it involves the divine glory;” “the Church, as a society, belongs to the Lord;” “divinely instituted ordinances excel in beauty and glory;” “as appointed by God, it is evidently acceptable and pleasing to him;” “it is Satan’s great aim to deny God his honour by corrupting the biblical ordinances;” “it is an effective means to make God known to the world;” “only what God has appointed can be a means of grace to his people” (19ff).

David Silversides gives a perspective on “The Westminster Directory of Public Worship.” The work of the Westminster Assembly, according to participants Samuel Rutherford and George Gillespie, in revising the Psalter, was in order to provide uniformity in Scotland and England, and eventually Ireland. Pastor Silversides avers:

There is an awesome scriptural chasteness in the Directory for Public Worship. The compilers stuck close to

75. Brian M. Schwertley, *Sola Scriptura and The Regulative Principle of Worship* (Southfield, Mich.: Reformed Witness, n.d.).

Scripture and to the ordinances of Scripture because they knew that it was through these ordinances that God is glorified and the people of God are edified. Our emotion in response to the truth in these ordinances is that godly emotion of which Scripture speaks in so many places (29, 31).

With respect to uniformity of worship, the Irish minister writes: “Can we really say, in our contemporary evangelical churches, the immense variety in worship is a wonderfully rich diversity? A better way of describing it would be a deplorable shambles. It is indicative of our failure even to attempt to bring our worship under the authority of God’s written Word” (35).

In dealing with the regulative principle of worship as such, David Silversides observes: “The parts or elements of worship are given in the Confession of Faith: the Directory seeks to apply this teaching and set it in the proper context. Each individual part receives separate attention. They do not assume that what is true of one part must therefore be true of others.” He distinguishes between “the public worship of God and the living of life to his glory;” and he also appeals to “the limited nature of church authority” as requiring the regulative principle. He argues that according to the Westminster Directory, “biblical warrant is either unabrogated Old Testament warrant or established New Testament warrant” (39ff).

Having laid out the principal of worship as enunciated in the Westminster Directory, this churchman from Ulster answers the question, “How Should Our Churches Worship Today” (48–71)? He deals particularly with the issue of musical instrumentation (opposing it), and the content of worship song (endorsing exclusive psalmody). In addressing the matter of utilizing various “gifts” or talents in worship, he writes: “The Westminster Assembly along with the Scottish Church used poetic gifts to provide us with a good and accurate rendering of the Psalms. This was a legitimate use of poetic gift. Isaac Watts did not use his poetic gift correctly when he tried to replace the Biblical Psalter with his own compositions” (70).

BRIAN M. SCHWERTLEY

Trained at the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, the Rev. Brian M. Schwertley has long rejected the Anglican (and other non-Reformed) approaches to worship, and has long embraced a Presbyterian understanding. His book, *Sola Scriptura and The Regulative Principle of Worship*,⁷⁵ lays

out the traditional Calvinistic perspective on the regulative principle.⁷⁶

As implied by the book's title, Pastor Schwertley sees the doctrine of *sola Scriptura* as being foundational for the regulative principle, and the latter as being a necessary corollary to the former. Aspects of the doctrine of "only the Scriptures" include the Authority of Scripture, the Sufficiency and Perfection of Scripture, and the Completeness and Finality of Scripture. (Schwertley, *Sola Scriptura*, 13–21).

After noting the Jewish and Romanist rejection of *sola Scriptura*, the author takes on "Protestant Inconsistencies." These include the views of Episcopalianism, Lutheranism, Evangelicalism, and Reformed Declension (23–31; 33–64).

Regarding "Reformed Declension," Pastor Schwertley writes that "conservatives" in purportedly conservative Reformed denominations attempt to stem the tide of "contemporary" worship by arguing that worship must be "dignified, majestic, and reverent." However, in his eyes, one must cure not only the symptoms, but the root causes, of the present decline in Reformed worship: "As long as Reformed denominations reject or redefine the regulative principle, rendering it virtually useless, all efforts at serious reformation in worship will be seriously defeated. Without a strict interpretation of the regulative principle, the debate over worship shifts from an exegetical discussion of what is warranted by Scripture to primarily a debate over human preferences" (*Sola Scriptura*, 64).

The next section of the book deals with seven contemporary objections to the regulative principle, viz., The "False Understanding of Ethics and Adiaphora" Argument, The "All of Life Is Worship" Argument, the "Regulative Principle Only Applies to the Temple" Argument, The "Circumstances of Worship" Argument, The "Jesus Accepted and Participated in Human Traditions" Argument, The "Feast of Purim" Argument, and The "Misrepresentation of the Regulative Principle" Argument.

With regard to the first argument in opposition, the author contends: "If opponents of the regulative principle want to use Deuteronomy 4:2 as a proof text against the Reformed understanding of a strictly regulated worship, they need to demonstrate that worship ordinances belong to the sphere of life that is *adiaphora*. Are the parts or elements of worship that are delineated in Scripture in the same category as riding a bike, or wearing blue pants instead of grey pants, or planting beefsteak tomatoes instead of early girl tomatoes? The answer is: obviously not" (70).

Regarding the second objection, the author states that "the idea that all of life is worship and therefore no distinction exists between public worship and activities like mowing the lawn is absurd." He argues against this proposition on several bases: (1) the fact that Scripture is filled with instances of congregational meetings for worship; (2) that "Christ the king and head of the church has appointed public officers with special public functions that require a special public use;" (3) that "when the apostle Paul discusses the conduct of believers during public worship, he sets forth regulations that presuppose a sharp distinction between public worship and all of life" (such as prohibitions on women speaking in church services); (4) "the term for church (*ekklesia*) often denotes a society of professing Christians who constitute a local church that meets together for public worship in a particular location;" (5) "the Bible teaches that there is a special presence of God in public worship" (72–81).

In opposition to the notion that the regulative principle applies only to the temple, Pastor Schwertley advances several counter-arguments. First, the classic text of Deuteronomy 12:32, even though given in a context of dealing primarily with the tabernacle, applies (at least by inference) "to worship practices throughout the land of Israel." Secondly, passages (such as Deuteronomy 4:2) that are virtually identical to this verse "apply not only to the tabernacle/temple but to all of life." And with regard to the regulation of life, worship is a "prescribed matter of law" and does not belong to a class of *adiaphora*. Thirdly, one must not ignore the fact that the tabernacle/temple worship included not only ceremonial worship, but also non-ceremonial ordinances. "Therefore, it is overtly simplistic and exegetically unsound to argue that the regulative principle was annulled with the ceremonial order. If the regulative principle applied to the temple worship, then it also regulated the non-ceremonial worship that occurred there." Fourthly, numerous passages (such as Matthew 15:1–3; Colossians 2:20–23; and John 4:21–24) "apply the regulative principle outside the sphere of tabernacle/temple worship." In dealing with

76. See also Brian M. Schwertley, *The Regulative Principle of Worship and Christmas* (Haslett, Mich.: Covenanted Reformation Press, 2003), in which many of the arguments regarding the regulative principle are repeated and applied with respect to religious holy days. Other articles on worship published online by Brian Schwertley include: *Are Liturgies Authorized by Scripture? Paedocommunion: A Biblical Examination; Are Pictures of Christ Unbiblical? A Brief Critique of Steven M. Schlissel's Articles Against the Regulative Principle of Worship; Musical Instruments in the Public Worship of God; Exclusive Psalmody: A Biblical Defense; The Teaching of Jesus on Worship; and Head Coverings in Public Worship*.

the Matthew text (and its parallel in Mark 7), the author argues that the attempts to reject the application of those passages to worship are the same ones which Romanists have used in their rejection of the Reformed Protestant position (81–97).

With regard to the fourth argument used to oppose the regulative principle, Pastor Schwertley excoriates contemporary Presbyterians for their “clever side-stepping or back-door evasion of the regulative principle.” He writes that the attempt “to broaden the definition of the circumstances of worship, or to blur the distinction between worship elements and circumstances, or to merge distinct elements into broad categories, is unscriptural and anti-Confessional. One must never treat the elements of worship as abstractions that can be molded to fit one’s own preconceptions of what is permissible in worship. The proper biblical interpretive procedure lets the Bible tell us what the distinct elements of worship are and lets Scripture delineate the rules for each element. Although it is true that the elements of singing praise, preaching or teaching and prayer can have certain aspects in common ... the idea that these distinct elements can be collapsed into one category (e.g., teaching) or that the specific rules given by Scripture for one element can be applied to the other parts of worship completely breaks down when one examines the specific rules and context that the Bible gives to each separate ordinance” (98–109).

With regard to the allegation that Jesus accepted and participated in human traditions, Pastor Schwertley addresses several arguments. One of them is that of Jesus’ use of wine at the Passover meal.

Is the use of wine a violation of the regulative principle? No, for the Passover was a meal, and the drinking of a beverage is an ordinary, necessary circumstance of eating (especially if one is eating roasted lamb, unyeasted bread and bitter herbs). During the feast of unleavened bread the Israelites were commanded to eat unleavened bread for seven days (Ex. 12:15ff). Yet nothing is mentioned whatsoever of any beverages to be drunk. Obviously God was not requiring the Jews to die of thirst in the hot Egyptian climate. The fact that Christ and the disciples drank wine with (or after) their meal was not significant at all until Jesus made it a gospel ordinance in the Lord’s supper.

The author also argues that the suggestion that Jesus rejected the regulative principle is based on speculation and arguments from silence; and that one should not reject the analogy of Scripture, nor should he violate

the basic hermeneutical principle that obscure passages should be interpreted in light of clear passages, not vice versa (109–119).

Regarding the sixth objection, viz., the feast of Purim, Mr. Schwertley argues that its observance came about not because of a private determination, but “because of a unique historical event in Israel’s salvation history” and because it was “decreed by the civil magistrate (the prime minister, Mordecai, and the queen, Esther). Religious leaders had nothing to do with it. Moreover, “the notion that Purim proves that men are permitted to make up holy days whenever they desire cannot be true, for if it were, Scripture would contain a blatant contradiction”—not only passages that instruct that God’s people are not to add to God’s authorized worship, but also 1 Kings 12:33, where Jeroboam is condemned for setting up his own feast day (119–123).

Finally, Pastor Schwertley deals with those who would try to circumvent the regulative principle by giving it “a false definition that is scripturally and rationally indefensible.” For example, one of the caricatures of the regulative principle is that the statement, “if it is not commanded, it is forbidden,” means that only direct command may be utilized, rather than direct command, good and necessary consequence, and approved example. The author quotes from numerous Reformed sources to demonstrate that good and necessary inference also carries the force of Scripture (123–136).

In summation, the author urges that anyone who mocks the regulative principle “should be intellectually honest and join an Episcopal church.” He lays out what he calls “insurmountable theological, exegetical, logical and ethical problems that are intrinsic” to all non-Reformed views of worship. Among these problems are the following: (1) adding to divinely-authorized worship “contradicts the express teaching of Scripture;” (2) it “is also a denial of the sufficiency and perfection of God’s word;” (3) such theories “do not properly take into account God’s nature and character ... and man’s sinful nature;” (4) men cannot “impose human innovations in public worship without violating their congregants’ Christian liberty” (137ff).

The volume also contains two appendices. The first one consists of extensive quotes from John Calvin, in order to demonstrate his adherence to the regulative principle (143–171). The second one is entitled “The Neo-Presbyterian Challenge to Confessional Presbyterian Orthodoxy: A Biblical Analysis of John Frame’s *Worship in Spirit and in Truth*” (173–243).

D. G. HART AND JOHN R. MUETHER

In April 2002, D. G. Hart and John R. Muether published *With Reverence and Awe: Returning to the Basics of Reformed Worship*.⁷⁷ The book unabashedly advocates a traditional approach to worship. The authors write that, for the Reformed Church (in contrast to the Lutheran), “*sola Scriptura* means the reformation of doctrine, polity, and worship. All three are essential to the ministry of the church. Consequently, in applying the regulative principle to worship, the Reformed permitted only what God expressly prescribed in the Bible, believing that Scripture forbids in the church corporately identified whatever God does not command explicitly or by good and necessary consequence. In contrast to the normative principle, the *silence* of Scripture regarding a specific practice in worship, such as lighting candles or displaying banners, is just as much a prohibition as a direct condemnation of such a practice” (78).

The Hart-Muether contribution to the debate notes that the regulative principle was not invented by the Puritans, but rather enjoys a broad Reformed pedigree, including in the Continental Calvinistic churches. The authors quote from the Heidelberg Catechism, the Belgic Confession, and the writings of John Calvin, to demonstrate their point (79–80).

Messrs. Hart and Muether also argue for the regulative principle based on Reformed doctrine as a whole, such as God’s zeal for His own worship, man’s total depravity, and a proper conception of Christian liberty (81–85).

The authors contend that the regulative principle, along with the dialogical principle (that worship is in the form of a dialog between God and man), teach “not only what is permissible in worship, but also what is wise in worship. The Bible tells us that we must worship God with fear and sobriety in an orderly way. We do not merely meet God in prayer, Word, song, and sacraments, but we do so in a reverent fashion. So acceptable worship is a dialogue with God that displays awe and godly fear in an appropriate pattern of elements. It is not enough to have the Word of God preached by a properly ordained minister. To conduct these elements with flippancy or carelessness is to offer worship that is as displeasing to God as worship that had improper elements such as tongues and making the sign of the cross, or dance or drama” (119).

The book argues that the very detail-oriented worship of Leviticus must inform our worship today. Even though “the whole ceremonial law in Leviticus is

obsolete for the Christian,” it is also true that “Leviticus provides the theological categories for understanding Christ’s priesthood and for our worship through him. The same God who established the sacrificial system for Israel sent his own son as a sacrifice in the fullness of time. Consequently, the principles of worship revealed in Leviticus are still instructive for understanding the manner in which Christians approach God in public worship” (123–124).

As a matter of fact, the casual approach to worship taken by many contemporary Christians parallels the views of Marcion, a second century heretic.

Although the early church condemned him, Marcion could be the patron saint of many contemporary Christians because all too often we come to worship thinking like Marcion. Yes, God was strict in the Old Testament; Leviticus tells us that. But he became loving in the New Testament, or so it seems. New Testament worship is no longer formal or strict or highly regulated. The church needs to become informal, spontaneous, and user friendly—words that hardly fit the image of Leviticus (125).

The authors add several pages later:

In the end, reverent worship cultivates the sense that worshipers may offend God and will if they fail to come to him in the ways he has prescribed. Worship should be characterized by godly fear and humility. It is done not lightly but with care and diligence. It is the natural response of creatures in the presence of the holy and sovereign God. And it is worship that conforms to God’s Word ... (129).

But how does the regulative principle work itself out in practice? The authors set forth “three categories for delineating the parts of a worship service: elements, circumstances, and forms. They pertain to the what, when, and how of worship. *That* we sing in worship is established because song is an element of worship. *How often* we sing in worship is a circumstance to be determined by the session’s prudential judgment. *What*

77. D. G. Hart and John R. Muether, *With Reverence and Awe: Returning to the Basics of Reformed Worship* (Phillipsburg, N.J.: P&R Publishing, 2002). A brief discussion of the regulative principle appeared in a chapter on the worship of the OPC in an earlier work: D. G. Hart and John Muether, *Fighting the Good Fight: A Brief History of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church* (Philadelphia, Pa.: The Committee for Education and the Committee for the Historian of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, 1995) 165–179.

we sing in worship—whether psalms or hymns—is a form of worship. The same may be said of the other elements” (153).

This three-fold categorization is one which T. David Gordon embraces; however, these authors seem to go beyond Dr. Gordon’s perspective by urging that rather than avoiding forms, “we need to determine what the correct forms are” (155). They further argue that there is a necessary connection between theology and worship: “For Reformed churches to retain the theology that has been the genius of Calvinism, they must also maintain forms of worship that have historically made Reformed worship so obvious to spot” (158).

Towards the end of the book, in dealing with “Discernment in Worship,” the authors draw parallels between the liberals whom J. Gresham Machen confronted in the 1920s and 1930s, and liturgical innovators today.

Of course, we are not claiming that worship innovators are inevitably liberal in the old-fashioned sense. But in Reformed circles, when it comes to the meaning of the Reformed creeds and catechisms in their teaching on worship, we do find a similar kind of evasiveness about the historic meaning of these confessional statements that govern Presbyterian and Reformed church life. The point is that people will sometimes employ biblical and confessional language, wrongly understood, to baptize innovations. The implication is that Christians should not merely take other believers at their word but also look at their deeds. And one of the telltale signs of whether a person, congregation, or denomination is Reformed is worship. For faith cannot be divorced from practice (181–182).

In their estimation, theology undergirds worship. Therefore, “Our only standard for worship is what is revealed in Scripture, not our emotions, or what church-growth experts recommend. God’s Word is at the heart of Reformed worship, and it is the best way to be discerning about the way we gather to honor and give thanks to God” (182–183).

The book concludes with these words:

78. D. G. Hart, *Recovering Mother Kirk: The Case for Liturgy in the Reformed Tradition* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2003). Dr. Hart also engaged Professor John Frame in an email debate on the Warfield forum between February 5 to March 8, 1998. This is available as *The Regulative Principle: Scripture, Tradition, and Culture: A Debate Featuring Dr. D. G. Hart and Professor John M. Frame* (Glenside, Pa: Westminster Seminary Bookstore, n.d.). The text is available online at http://www.frame-poythress.org/frame_articles/1998HartDebate.htm.

Worship ... is the most fundamental aspect of the Christian life. To worship God is to engage in the highest calling of our creation as God’s servants and image bearers. To worship acceptably, we must worship with discernment. And we must have courage. For it is not enough to spot false worship. We must be able to call it that when we see it.

In the end, Reformed theology is only as good, only as compelling, and only as binding, as Reformed worship. And that is what the fuss is all about (187).

D. G. HART

In April, 2003, D. G. Hart published *Recovering Mother Kirk: The Case for Liturgy in the Reformed Tradition*.⁷⁸ Academic Dean and Professor of Church History at Westminster Theological Seminary in California, what Dr. Hart means by “liturgy” carries a broader connotation than simply the use of fixed phrases and sentences in public worship.

He explains: “By liturgicalism I mean an understanding of Calvinism that is firmly rooted in the ministry of the church in her gathering for worship. Liturgicalism is not simply concerned with the content or order of worship services; it involves the life of the visible church through her officers, ordinances, and public worship” (12).

Dean Hart’s definition comes in a context of introductory comments, in which he notes that Reformed people have tended to divide along three lines: doctrinal precision, cultural outlook, and religious zeal. But, he contends that this “typology,” as accurate as it may be for defining the contemporary Reformed world, has a glaring omission: “If worship was so important to Calvin and the Reformed wing of the Reformation, why are contemporary expressions of the Reformed tradition not known for their interest in worship? In other words, why aren’t there at least four groups of Reformed—the doctrinalists, the culturalists, the pietists, *and* the liturgicalists?” (11–12).

Dr. Hart believes that the real divide in American Protestantism is not between liberals and evangelicals. Rather, since the 1700s,

the real divide, not just in American Protestantism but in American Christianity, has been between formalists and antiformalists, that is, liturgicalists and pietists. The popularity of revivalism combined with cultural factors in the United States that favor individualistic expressions of Christianity have made Protestant liturgicalism

scarce. But a high view of the church and the ministry of Word and sacrament was a substantial part of historic Protestantism prior to the middle of the nineteenth century. What is more ... high-church Calvinism may prove a welcome antidote to some of the coarseness and sentimentality that have prompted some evangelicals to look to Canterbury, Rome, or Constantinople for relief. If anything, this book's aim is to show that Geneva should be another option for Protestants seeking a corporate and liturgical expression of their faith. Just as important is the point that the Reformed tradition's understanding of the church, office and ordination, worship, and the sacraments is closer formally to other confessional traditions, such as Lutheran and Anglican, than it is to evangelicalism.... The Reformed tradition's regard for the church and ministry is so high that some of its exponents have maintained, in the words of the Westminster Confession of Faith, that outside the visible church "there is no ordinary possibility of salvation" (xxv.2) [16–17].

Speaking of the worship wars, it is contended by Professor Hart:

Most of the fronts in this battle stem from a misconception of worship's purpose and the church's ministry. For doctrinalists, worship is a time to teach; for culturalists, it is a time to exhort toward harder work; for pietists, it is a time to emote. But if worship is a time during which weary pilgrims feed on the Word incarnate through preaching and the sacraments and during which they respond in prayers of praise, thanksgiving, confession, and petition, then the centrality of worship and the work of pastors to the life of believers becomes apparent (18).

Given his burden and concerns, it is not surprising that Professor Hart embraces the regulative principle of worship. He does not draw a significant distinction between the Puritans and Calvin, but writes that both held to "the regulative principle, one of the hallmarks of the Reformed tradition."⁷⁹ He defines the principle as "the idea that whatever is done in public worship must find explicit warrant in Scripture. If the Bible does not require something, then it may not be done even if the thing proposed is not inherently sinful."⁸⁰ He later writes, in connection with pointing out that Reformed worship is "Spirit-filled" (since it is filled with the Word of God), that the Reformed faith "has insisted that worship conform to the teaching of Scripture.... Because the Bible ordains prayer, preaching, the singing of praise,

the reading of Scripture, and the administration of the sacraments, the Reformed believe that these elements must be part of worship. The question is not whether the Bible permits a certain practice such as dance or drama in worship. Instead, the regulative principle requires a direct charge from the Bible" (101). He adds: "Christian worship is not true only when Christians are moved. Rather, Christian worship is true when it conforms to Scripture, whether worshipers experience it or not. When the church gathers for the reading of Scripture with 'godly fear,' the sound preaching of the Word, prayer 'with thanksgiving,' the singing of praise 'with grace in the heart,' and the administration and 'worthy receiving' of the sacraments, then and only then is worship Spirit-filled (WCF, XXI.v.iii)" (103).

In a chapter entitled, "The Irony of American Presbyterian Worship," Dr. Hart explores the reasons why many so-called "conservative" Presbyterians are liturgical innovators, and why many "liberal" Presbyterians are traditionalists with respect to worship. In doing so, he compares and contrasts the works of Hughes Oliphant Old, a minister in the Presbyterian Church (USA), and John M. Frame, a minister initially in the Orthodox Presbyterian Church and now in the Presbyterian Church in America.

The differences between the two books stand out based on a cursory glance at the table of contents. Old organizes his book around the traditional elements of Reformed worship, devoting separate chapters to baptism, the Sabbath, praise, the Word, prayer, and the Lord's Supper. Frame, however, approaches the matter inductively, gearing his argument toward specific issues in contemporary debates.... In the "liberal" PCUSA, if Old's book is any indication, the traditional elements and rites of historic Reformed liturgy are firmly in place. But in the "conservative" PCA, using Frame as a guide, the conventional pieces of Reformed worship are in flux (182–183).

Professor Hart attributes this curious reversal of roles to American Presbyterian history, going back to

79. As noted in Part One of this article, the Rev. Dr. Rowland S. Ward has criticism for Dr. Hart and others regarding a citation from Charles Baird indicating that Calvin believed in the "necessity" of set forms for public worship. See *The Confessional Presbyterian* 2 (2006) 106; R. A. Muller & R. S. Ward, *Scripture and Worship* (Phillipsburg, Pa.: P & R, 2007) 102.

80. *Recovering Mother Kirk*, 32, 71. See also page 101: "Calvin and the Puritans had good biblical and theological reasons for insisting that everything in worship have an explicit warrant from Scripture."

the revivalism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Revivalistic piety, with its emphasis upon (often emotional and dramatic) conversion experiences, undid the traditional Reformed high-church perspective (188–194).

In the twentieth century, this “Presbyterian predicament” centers around evangelism and the debate over Biblical inerrancy. The pragmatic evangelistic thrust that trumps all other considerations, made conservative American Presbyterians susceptible to John Frame’s approach, which is that of ensuring the “intelligibility” of worship to visitors (194–198). Regarding the nature of the Bible, Dr. Hart suggests that “conservative Presbyterians congenitally regard tradition with suspicion because it appears to put human wisdom on a par with the Bible. In contrast, mainline Presbyterians, perhaps because they stress the humanity of Scripture, are more comfortable with the work that humans do in the service of God” (196–197).

The professor concludes that, in a Wesleyan culture and Pentecostal age, “American Presbyterians are faced with a dilemma. To make worship accessible to persons for whom informality is as common as the air they breathe is to gut Reformed worship of its reverence, dignity, and simplicity. But to do justice to the rigor of Calvinist worship is to burn fire that may please God but certainly smells foul to residents of the United States. American Presbyterians have tried to dodge that dilemma for almost two centuries, and the consequences have not [been] propitious for the propriety, uniformity, and dignity that Calvin believed should characterize Reformed worship” (199–200).

BOICE FESTSCHRIFT

In 2003, a festschrift appeared in memory of Dr. James Montgomery Boice, late pastor of Tenth Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia.⁸¹ Several of the articles bear directly on the regulative principle of worship.

J. Ligon Duncan

The first two articles were penned by Dr. J. Ligon Duncan III, senior pastor of First Presbyterian Church, Jackson, Mississippi. In “Does God Care How We Worship?”, Dr. Duncan properly notes that the Reformers distinguished between life in general and worship in

particular. Because of God’s “full attention” to the matter of worship,

we are to exercise a special kind of care when it comes to this activity—a care distinct from that which we employ anywhere else in the Christian life. He told us what to do and how to do it, in such a way that the prime aspects of worship are a matter of following divine direction; and thus the decisions that remain to be made by us—thinking in accordance with the general principles of Scripture and sanctified common sense, in the absence of positive scriptural warrant—are relatively minor. It is not difficult to find this axiom being articulated, in various ways, from the earliest days of the Reformed tradition to our own time—and in all the representative branches of the Reformed community (21).

Pastor Duncan argues his point by referring to Calvin, Continental Reformed standards, Baptist standards, and the Savoy Declaration of Faith and Order (a Congregationalist version of the Westminster Confession), as well as Anglican David Peterson and Hughes Old (21–22).

The author addresses whether the regulative principle is “outmoded,” and asserts that “the main reason why many evangelicals have a hard time embracing the regulative principle of worship is that they do not believe that God tells us (or tells us much about) how to worship corporately in his word.” In his view, evangelicals

do not generally believe that church government is established positively in the word; they often do not see the local church as essential to the fulfillment of the Great Commission or to the task of Christian discipleship; they are suspicious of order as restrictive of freedom; and they generally juxtapose the priesthood of believers and local church autonomy over against the didactic authority of established church norms, confessional theology, and the testimony of the *communio sanctorum* through the ages (under Scripture)....

... [W]hen we recall from our study of Christian ethics that every ethical action has a standard (a norm), dynamic (that which enables or empowers someone to do the action contemplated in the norm), motivation (that which impels someone to do the action), and goal (the final object[s] or purpose[s] of the action), we may say that evangelicals emphasize the dynamic of Christian worship (the grace of the Holy Spirit) and its motivation (gratitude for grace, a passion for God),

81. Philip Graham Ryken, Derek W. H. Thomas, and J. Ligon Duncan III, eds., *Give Praise to God: A Vision for Reforming Worship: Celebrating the Legacy of James Montgomery Boice* (Phillipsburg, N.J.: P&R Publishing, 2003).

but de-emphasize the standard (the Bible) and goal (the prime *telos* of glorifying and enjoying God).

Evangelicals do think that worship matters, but they also often view worship as a means to some other end than that of the glorification and enjoyment of God: some view worship as evangelism (thus misunderstanding the goal); some think that a person's heart, intentions, motives, and sincerity are the only things important in how we worship (thus downplaying the Bible's standards, principles, and rules for worship); and some view the emotional product of the worship experience as the prime factor in "good" worship (thus overstressing the subjective and often unwittingly imposing particular cultural opinions about emotional expression on all worshippers). Evangelicals believe these things about worship, but they do not think there are many biblical principles about how to worship or what we are to do and not to do in worship (25f).

Evangelicals properly reject high-church traditions (Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Anglo-Catholicism) with their "attempt to reimpose and reapply a christological version of the priestly ceremonialism of old-covenant worship or draw on the liturgical symbolism of Revelation (itself based on the worship practices of the old covenant) as normative for the church militant of the new covenant." However, evangelicals

tend to think that there are few if any abiding principles to be gained for Christian worship from the Old Testament, or they think the New Testament emphases on the heart, the activity of the Holy Spirit, and worship-in-all-of-life displace these Old Testament principles, or they think that the New Testament has correspondingly little or nothing to say about the how of corporate worship, and some even think that the category of corporate worship disappears altogether in the new-covenant expression of the economy of God. But these assumptions are as wrong in one direction as high-church approaches are in the other. And, not surprisingly, these assumptions help an evangelicalism enveloped in a culture of individualism, relativism, and situationalism remain, in its approach to the gathered worship of God's people, strong on the individual, weak on the corporate; strong on the subjective, weak on the objective; strong on the heart, weak on the principles (26).

Ligon Duncan next argues that both the Old Testament and the New Testament teach that God "does indeed very much care about how we worship." He cites

the account of Cain and Abel, the story of the Exodus, the first and second commandments, the story of the golden calf, Jesus' rejection of Pharisaic worship, Jesus' words to the woman at the well, Paul's rejection of the Colossian heresy, and Paul's directives for Corinth (26ff).

Regarding the Exodus, he writes:

[T]he highlighting of the specific activity of corporate worship in Moses' language and teaching about worship in the era of pretabernacle worship in Exodus (i.e., in his differentiation of the two types of worship [gathered praise and life service], in his description of the specific content of that gathered worship, in his interest in the initial location of that gathered worship [the mountain that God had shown], in the inclusion of the stipulations on corporate worship in the moral law, in his heavily emphasized accounts of the subsequent abuse of corporate worship in the rebellion of the golden calf, and more) teaches us to be circumspect in our approach to corporate worship (29).

Regarding the first two words of the Decalogue, he quotes a Jewish commentator, Nahum Sarna ("The forms of worship are now regulated"), and Neil Postman ("The God of the Jews was to exist in the Word and through the Word, an unprecedented conception requiring the highest order of abstract thinking. Iconography thus became blasphemy so that a new kind of God could enter a culture"). In Duncan's words, Israel's worship "was to be aniconic—without images and visible representation of deity—because the how of worship contributes significant components to our conception of God" (31–33).

Even the divine threats against deviation from God's Word illuminate God's seriousness about worship. "Betray God by idolatry, which is spiritual adultery, and he will deal with you like a red-eyed, jilted spouse" (34f).

The golden calf incident illustrates that "how we worship is very important to God." Duncan lists the following applications from the passage: "(1) impatience with God's timing is an enemy of faith; (2) we cannot choose our own mediator; (3) we cannot picture the true God as we wish or will; (4) we cannot worship the true God and something else; (5) we cannot worship the true God except in the way he commands; and (6) false worship leads to false living and immorality" (37).

Regarding Jesus' rebuke of the Pharisees in Matthew 15 and Mark 7, this Mississippi pastor alleges that Jesus

does not critique the Pharisees for being too tied to old-fashioned practices, caring about what the Torah says too much, or being too nitpicky about God's law. He charges them with ignoring God's law and attacking God's law by adding to it! ... [Jesus' critique] has definite application to "all-of-life worship," but also to corporate worship (41).

With regard to Jesus' words to the Samaritan woman at the well (John 4:20–26), Dr. Duncan points out three (of numerous) essential principles of corporate worship: "Jesus indicates a redemptive historical shift regarding the place of worship;" "Jesus stresses that worship is response to revelation and thus must be according to revelation;" "Jesus reemphasizes the importance of worship in the new-covenant era" (42–44).

Paul's main points in Colossians 2:16–19 are that "the worship is not God-commanded but human-originated" and "the worship does not do justice to the person and exaltation of Christ or our union with him." He adds: "Worshiping according to our ideas, however sincere, is an act of self-worship and specifically the worship of our own wills and wants" (45).

Ligon Duncan also finds the regulative principle in Paul's instructions in I Corinthians 14. Furthermore, in contrast to those who parody Reformed worship as being overly-cerebral, the classic text on charismatic worship contains a strong emphasis upon the cognitive, as well as "form and order (silence, subjection, propriety)." The good doctor instructs his pupils: "The idea that order, or a concern for it, is inimical to the work of the Spirit and our response to it is dashed against the rocks by this new-covenant passage. The suggestion that applying the rule and order of Scripture will somehow quench the Spirit in corporate worship looks fairly ludicrous in light of this passage. Because God the Spirit who wrote the Lord's command is the same Spirit who enables true worship, there can be no ultimate conflict between form and freedom, between the rules of Scripture and the heartfelt expression of praise, between the precepts of worship and unfettered engagement with God." Moreover, Paul's commands were to be applied universally—that is, "in all churches, and not simply for Corinth" (47–49).

The author concludes this chapter by writing: "No matter what semantic designation is given in the New Testament for the general activity of the gathered people of God when it is engaged in reading, praying, preaching, and singing the word, it is clear that this constitutes corporate worship and that such a thing does exist even and especially in the new covenant. Only our modern

tendencies toward individualism and reticence about distinctions blind us to this fact" (50).

In the next chapter, "Foundations for Biblically Directed Worship," Dr. Duncan first posits "foundational realities." The regulative principle of worship is grounded not only in specific texts but also "on a set of even broader biblical theological realities: the doctrine of God, the Creator-creature distinction, the idea of revelation, the unchanging character of the moral law, the nature of faith, the doctrine of carefulness, the derivative nature of the church's authority, the doctrine of Christian freedom, the true nature of biblical piety, and the reality of the fallen human nature's tendency to idolatry" (51). He also adds a section on the testimony of church history, including these points: "Simple but powerful biblical worship always characterizes the worship of the church in its best ages.... There is every evidence in both biblical and postbiblical church history that declension in corporate worship is tied to declension in religion" (60).

The chapter continues with a discussion of several aspects of worship: that, what, whom, when, where, why, and how (61ff). Regarding the *that*, "Worship is the one thing he [God] 'seeks' (John 4:23)." "What corporate worship is matters to God too. It is not evangelism, nor is it even mutually edifying fellowship. It is a family meeting with God, it is the covenant community engaging with God, gathering with his people to seek the face of God, to glorify and enjoy him, to hear his word, to revel in the glory of union and communion with him, to respond to his word, to render praise back to him, to give unto him the glory due his name." "The *whom* of worship is, of course, central to true worship (John 4:22, 24).... We aim to worship the God of the Bible, God as he reveals himself, for we cannot worship him as we ought unless we know him as he is—and we cannot know him as he is except insofar as he has revealed himself to us in his word." "The *when* of corporate worship remains important in the new-covenant era." Of course, today, it is the Lord's Day. Regarding the *where*, "The place of new-covenant worship is no longer inextricably tied to a geographical location and a physical structure but to a gathered people. This is why in the old Scottish tradition, as the people gathered to enter a church building, it would be said that 'the kirk goes in' rather than, as we often say, 'we are going to church.' The new covenant *locus* of the special presence of God with the church militant is in the gathered body, wherever it might be—whether the catacombs or a storefront or beautiful colonial church building." In addition to glorifying and enjoying God, the why of

worship has many answers: “because God said to worship, because God created us to worship, because God saved us to worship, because it is our natural duty as creatures and joyful duty as Christians to worship, because our worship is a response of gratitude for saving grace, because those with new hearts long to hear his word and express their devotion, because God wants to bless us with himself, because God has chosen us for his own inheritance and seeks to commune with us in his ordinances, and more.” The *how* revolves around the second commandment, but also is a key concept in the New Testament. Ligon Duncan writes:

The Reformed tradition has not been concerned with forms and circumstances so much for their own sake as much as for the sake of the elements and substance of worship and for the sake of the object and aim of worship. The Reformers also understood two things often lost on moderns. First, they understood that the liturgy, media, instruments, and vehicles of worship are never neutral, and so exceeding care must be given to the “law of unintended consequences.” Often the medium overwhelms and changes the message. Second, they knew that the *how* of worship exists for the *what*, *whom*, and *why* of worship. The purpose of the elements and forms and circumstances of corporate worship is to assure that you are actually doing worship as defined by the God of Scripture, that you are worshipping the God of Scripture, and that your aim in worshipping him is the aim set forth in Scripture. So the Reformers care about the *how* of worship not because they thought liturgy was mystical or sacramental, but precisely so that the liturgy could get out of the way of the gathered church’s communion with the living God. Its function was not to draw attention to itself but to aid the soul’s communion with God in the gathered company of the saints by serving to convey the word of God to and from God, from and to his people.

The author also notes that the Reformers, in contrast to the interests of “modern evangelical worship theorists,” did not accommodate to the culture of their day. The Protestants “were against culture-derived worship and were more concerned to implement principles of Scripture in their specific cultures (and even to emulate the best of the Bible-inspired cultures of Scripture) than they were to reclaim current cultural forms for Christian use.”

Dr. Duncan next addresses the form and content of worship. “The regulative principle of worship helps assure that our corporate worship is Bible-filled and Bible-directed, that the substance and structure are biblical,

that the content and order are biblical.... Reformed corporate worship is by the book in two ways: both its marrow and means are supplied by the book” (65).

He then sums up the Reformed agenda for worship, by saying that it is simple, biblical, transferable, flexible, and reverent. Regarding the simplicity of worship, he takes to task those who would “liturgicize” Reformed and evangelical corporate worship,” in a return of “Liturgical Romanticism.” Regarding the biblical nature of worship, he notes that historic Protestant worship did not derive from “north European culture,” but from Scripture. In terms of the transferable nature of worship, he argues that historic Protestant worship “is more culturally transportable for the work of missions than the more elaborate high-church forms or the more electronic and entertainment-oriented forms of contemporary worship;” and he illustrates his point with diverse examples from Peru to Philadelphia to London to Malawi to Melbourne. Regarding its flexibility, “Reformed worship does not produce a cookie-cutter pattern. Following the Westminster Directory for Public Worship’s guidelines does not eliminate diversity or different cultural expressions in the forms and circumstances of corporate worship.” And regarding the reverent nature of worship, he rhetorically asks, “If worship is meeting with God, how could it be otherwise?” (65ff).

He concludes the chapter this way: “This then is our corporate worship manifesto, our call for the doxological reformation of the church: *sola scriptura* and *soli deo gloria*” (73).

There is much in Ligon Duncan’s writings on worship which we appreciate. However, even though he does distinguish between life in general and worship in particular, he is willing to denominate the former as “worship”. In our estimation, this introduces confusion into the terminology. Also, although there is a sense of continuity among churches which “read the Bible, preach the Bible, sing the Bible, and pray the Bible,” and although it is certainly true that the regulative principle of worship transcends culture (such as Anglo-American culture); nevertheless, it is hard to see how worship patterns as diverse as those offered in an Anglican church, a Free Church of Scotland congregation, and a Baptist church (which features contemporary musical forms) can all be characterized as being faithful to the regulative principle. That, it seems to us, is a stretch.

Derek W. H. Thomas

In the festschrift for James M. Boice, Derek W. H. Thomas responds to recent criticism of the regulative

principle.⁸² He defines the regulative principle this way: “Nothing must be required as essential to public worship except that which is commanded by the word of God” (75).

He laments that culture affects “our manner and style of worship more drastically than we give credit.” With reference to Marva Dawn and David Wells, he writes “that culture affects us in deep and serious ways and we had better wake up to it or find ourselves at culture’s mercy.” He adds that “what makes worship different is that its cultural ethos is determined by scriptural commands and principles rather than by personal or collective tastes or mores” (75).

Dr. Thomas applauds Jim Boice’s concern for a couple of things regarding worship: “on the one hand, a commitment to Scripture and its right to govern and oversee everything that we do, particularly the way that we worship God corporately, and, on the other hand, a respect for Calvinistic and Reformed tradition that confronts the arrogance of modernity and its distaste for the past.” In discussing these concerns, Professor Thomas states that the regulative principle is significant for two reasons. The first is that of liberty of conscience: the regulative principle “alone can defend true Christian liberty in worship. The church’s tendency to tyranny needs to be constantly guarded against.” The second issue is “the fallen propensity to idolatry;” and here he quoted Calvin’s famous aphorism of the human mind being “a perpetual factory of idols.”

This native Welshman addresses several contemporary arguments against the regulative principle. First, there is the criticism that the Puritan position goes beyond Calvin’s views. However, while making some valid points, Derek Thomas somewhat misstates the case. Certainly it is a truism that “Adherence to the regulative principle ... does not bring about uniformity of worship practice—it did not in the seventeenth century any more than it does today.” But, that is not to say that a consistent understanding of the regulative principle should not bring about uniformity of worship practice (on anything other than circumstantial matters). He goes on to say that this lack of uniformity “explains why the Westminster divines compiled a directory of worship, rather than a manual. Finally approved by parliament in 1645, the Directory for Public Worship was intended to produce a more uniform pattern in worship, but no more than that. It was never intended to legislate the order of worship in the way that, say, the

1662 Book of Common Prayer did for the Anglican communion” (78ff). However, we would respectfully respond by noting that this is to confuse elements and order of service. It is true that Westminster allowed for great flexibility regarding the precise order of worship; it is not true that Westminster envisioned incorporating into that order any additional elements (i.e., elements beyond what the divines agreed that Scripture had prescribed).

Another contemporary objection is that the regulative principle represents legalism of the worst sort. Here, the professor notes that “if we are not at liberty to corporately worship God in ways other than that which he has revealed, we are heading for tyranny and bondage, for then we are the mercy of someone’s personal taste or new discovered insight. But Scripture insists it is to be a matter of the will of God rather than our own will (Col. 2:23). Indeed, for Calvin as well as the Westminster divines, it is an issue of the role of conscience.” After bolstering his argument by reference to the nineteenth century scholar and theologian William Cunningham, Derek Thomas writes: “I recall being publicly scolded in a worship service in England for not participating in the required hand signals. Protestants may exercise a tyranny as fierce as Rome in the name of spirit-filled liberty! Only the regulative principle can maintain true Christian freedom. The regulative principle is not legalism for the simple reason that it is never legalism to obey what God has commanded out of a desire to please him and in response to the grace that he has shown” (84–86).

A further criticism which Dr. Thomas addresses is that offered by John Frame, which is referred to as “I believe in the regulative principle, I just understand it differently.” The heart of Professor Frame’s position is “that ‘the regulative principle for worship is the same as the regulative principle for life’”. Derek Thomas demonstrates that there is a necessary distinction to be made: “Is there an activity that Christians are to perform worshipfully in ‘all of life’ that would be wholly inappropriate in public worship? [Edmund] Clowney cites marital union. It is wholly appropriate within the privacy of the home but wholly inappropriate in a church service!” (86ff).

A fourth criticism has been offered by Steve Schlissel of New York City (88–91). One of Schlissel’s arguments is that “advocates of the regulative principle cannot agree with each other.” However, Dr. Thomas rebuts that argument by contending that a difference of the “form of worship” among churches that all profess allegiance to the regulative principle, is “liberating

82. Derek W. H. Thomas, “The Regulative Principle: Responding to Recent Criticism,” in Ryken, et al., *Give Praise to God*, 74–93.

and exciting. It provides breadth within a basic conformity.” However, in response to Derek Thomas, let it be noted that if a consistent application of the regulative principle implies a cappella exclusive psalmody, then the very “breadth” which he celebrates will represent, in some cases, an imposition on liberty of conscience. The second significant argument by Schlissel is that of synagogue worship: “Put simply, Jesus worshiped in the synagogue and according to its liturgy, but nowhere does the Bible legislate for the existence or use of the synagogue.” In response, Dr. Thomas observes that the synagogue service did not contain “an element of worship that was not warranted by the Old Testament”. He continues: “The fact is that synagogue worship was remarkably predictable, containing a call to worship, a cycle of prayers, the singing of psalms, the recitation of portions of Scripture (the Shema in particular), reading of Scripture, and something that we would now call preaching or exposition, followed by a blessing. It all sounds very similar to a traditional worship service!”

The final objection to the regulative principle is that “consistency will make us all either exclusive psalm singers or Reformed Baptists!” (91f). The author declines to address the baptism issue, and, concentrating only on the musical one, writes: “The case needs, then, to be established and maintained that the regulative principle is an argument based on what is warranted by God in Scripture as a whole, and not merely in the New Testament church. In this instance, as regards the use of musical instruments and choral accompaniment, temple practice provides all the warrant that is needed.”

But what could our brother from Wales be thinking? While it is true that our worship is informed by all of Scripture, this does not mean that there is no differentiation between what theologians have referred to as moral elements (i.e., elements of worship that are universal in all places and times) and ceremonial ones (i.e., those that are bound up with the ceremonial law). While our ascertaining what is meant by the regulative principle is basically inductive in approach, that does not imply that our Scriptural gleanings are a mindless enterprise, unable to distinguish between practices that are perpetually binding and practices which were intended only for the Jewish nation under a Levitical priesthood.

Dr. Thomas concludes his essay by writing that apart from the regulative principle, “we are at the mercy of tyranny and folly” (93).

Donald S. Whitney

A professor at Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Donald S. Whitney wrote in the Boice festschrift on “Private Worship.”⁸³ His clear adherence to the regulative principle is another example of the resurgence of the doctrine, including among Baptists. In conjunction with the particular topic of his essay, he writes that “all the biblical elements of public worship that can be legitimately practiced in isolation from other believers constitute the elements of private worship. And while these elements may take somewhat different forms (for instance, one person might pray aloud in private worship, another silently), these elements are few and simple. This simplicity is not surprising since God has believing children of a wide variety of ages, intellectual capacities, and educational levels. So in the private worship of God, the basic elements are intake of the word of God, prayer, and worshipful song” (298f).

Nick R. Needham

In his chapter, “Worship Through the Ages,” Nick Needham writes:

The distinctively Reformed perspective on worship was pioneered by Zwingli, but it was really Bucer and Calvin who gave it its doctrinal shape.... [Calvin’s] approach to the form of worship in Strasbourg and Geneva was similar to, yet different from, that of Zwingli in Zurich. Calvin too believed that nothing should be done in Christian worship unless the New Testament authorized it (the regulative principle). So he followed Zwingli in rejecting most of the ritual of medieval Catholic worship—images, candles, priestly robes, and so on. However, Calvin and Bucer were rather more positive than Zwingli in seeking a constructive reformation of worship, based not only on the teaching of Scripture, but also on the worship practices of the patristic era. It was not exactly “patristic fundamentalism,” but Reformed worship in the sixteenth century did engage in a profound dialogue with the early church and fostered a genuine reprimatization of patristic forms, albeit always beneath the ultimate critical norm of Scripture (400).

Hughes Oliphant Old

Hughes Oliphant Old, well-known scholar in the area of

83. Donald S. Whitney, “Private Worship,” in Ryken, et al., *Give Praise to God*, 289–316.

worship, contributes for this volume a chapter entitled “Calvin’s Theology of Worship.” He considers Calvin’s views primarily from the perspective of his treatment of the first table of God’s Law.

Calvin understood that “with the coming of Christ the external ceremonies of the law abolished.” However, “as Calvin understands it, ‘the public worship that God once prescribed is still in force’” (416).

Under Professor Old’s consideration of the Second Commandment, he writes: “For Calvin, the worship that is according to Scripture is not conceived of in a literalistic way.” Calvin and the other High Rhenish Reformers acknowledged that there are matters “that are ‘indifferent’ in the public worship of the church.” This principle was especially true with regard to Calvin’s use of “prayer forms”: “These prayer forms were not written out word for word from Scripture, but they were nevertheless according to Scripture” (426f).

According to Dr. Old,

For Calvin, it was important that Christian worship be more than a mere human work. He understood that when our celebrations of worship are performed according to God’s command, in obedience to his command, then they are divine works. When our worship is made alive by his Spirit working in our hearts, then our worship is the work of God’s Spirit. Such worship is truly spiritual worship. For Calvin, spiritual worship is above all worship that is in obedience to God’s revealed will: “And then he makes us conform to his lawful worship, that is, a spiritual worship established by himself.” In his commentary on John, Calvin says that worship in spirit and truth “is a matter of the spirit, because it is nothing other than an inner faith which expresses itself in prayer; it is purity of conscience and the renouncing of ourselves to the end of dedicating ourselves to the obedient service of God (427).

Calvin followed Lactantius⁸⁴ in his opposition to superstitious worship: “superstitious worship is the performing of rites invented by human beings in honor of gods that were invented by human beings. Superstition according to Lactantius is human-made religion.” Accordingly, “The Christian is not to use works of art as an aid to worship because, in the first place, God has

not given this to use as a form of worship. God has not asked us to serve him by making images and then venerating these images. It is not a service because it has not been asked of us” (427).

Boice Festschrift Overview

There is much that is helpful and edifying in this important volume. On the other hand, its weaknesses in understanding show through at numerous points, and therefore it should be used with a measure of caution.

RICK POSTMA

Representing the Free Reformed Churches of North America, is Rick Postma, whose June 2004 article in the denominational magazine, the *Messenger*, affirmed the regulative principle of worship. Entitled “Worship Wars,” the article begins by saying “the Bible is full” of “worship wars”:

The first one involved Cain and Abel, leading to the first murder in the history of the world. Aaron presided over one that involved a golden calf that the people insisted on worshipping in a similar fashion to the pagans around them. The question asked by the Samaritan woman of Jesus (John 4), to judge between the competing Jewish and Samaritan worship claims, represents still another worship war. Today, after skirmishes of varying durations, many churches have traded in a simple, reverent and Bible-centered liturgy—preaching, congregational singing, prayer and offerings of thanksgiving—for a worship format conforming as closely as possible to contemporary culture—talk-show format, preaching to felt needs, drama, entertainment provided in a soft-rock format to passive audiences.

Mr. Postma observes: “While innovations in worship are often made with the best of intentions, church history has shown again and again that there are serious consequences to placing man’s ideas above God’s Word.”⁸⁵

JOSEPH F. “SKIP” RYAN

Well-known PCA minister “Skip” Ryan has recently penned his understanding of worship, in the thin volume, *Worship: Beholding the Beauty of the Lord*.⁸⁶ A perusal of the index reveals that there are three

84. Lactantius (c. 240–c. 320) was an early systematician of Christian theology.

85. Rick Postma, “Worship Wars,” *Messenger* (June 2004). Online at <http://www.frcna.org/Messenger/Archive.asp?Issue=200406>.

86. Joseph “Skip” Ryan, *Worship: Beholding the Beauty of the Lord* (Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway Books, 2005).

references to “football,” but none to the “regulative principle of worship.”

There is a brief discussion of the distinction between “elements” and “circumstances” of worship (48–49), which is more or less accurate. On the other hand, Dr. Ryan’s discussion of the classic passage in John 4 regarding worshipping in spirit and in truth seems to miss the point. He argues that worship in spirit is speaking of worship from the heart; he writes: “To worship God in spirit is to worship in the sincerity and earnestness of our hearts. That is what God is concerned about. He is not concerned about the exterior forms. He is concerned about the reality of genuine worship in our hearts. So to worship God in spirit is to genuinely worship, not to play with it or to play at it or to go through the motions or just to stand up, sit down, lean to the left, lean to the right” (75). With respect to worship in truth, Pastor Ryan does state that “true worship will always be worship that is structured by, oriented around, defined by, and originating from the Scriptures. We don’t worship the Book, but the Book brings us the One whom we worship in truth” (75).

However, the author never fleshes out what is meant by having worship structured by and defined by the Scriptures. Perhaps this is not surprising, given not only his Episcopalian upbringing, but also the Anglican liturgical perspective he has brought to the churches where he has pastored.

Although there are helpful reminders in this book about the necessity of personal piety in worship, such reminders can be found more deeply and more eloquently expressed in numerous other places, including the Puritans. Overall, the book is disappointing. For one thing, it fails to demonstrate how the regulative principle provides the context heart-felt worship that is genuinely pleasing to God. For another, the writing style is more like a stream of consciousness with scattered thoughts, rather than a well-ordered treatise.

DOUGLAS F. KELLY

In a significant book on the Westminster Confession of Faith published originally in 2004, Professor Douglas F. Kelly presents his views on the Puritan regulative principle.⁸⁷

Professor Kelly sees a continuity between the first Reformers (such as Calvin) and the Puritans of the later sixteenth century and seventeenth century (including those who produced the Westminster Standards). That continuity is expressed in terms of the sufficiency of Scripture (65f).

On the other hand, Dr. Kelly suggests that the Puritans went beyond Calvin, and he uses the writings of Hughes Oliphant Old and J. I. Packer (who in turn referred to Horton Davies’ classic *The Worship of the English Puritans*). In his estimation, the phrase, “whatever is not commanded or warranted by Scripture is forbidden,” which encapsulates the Puritan view, “goes beyond John Calvin” (72).

Professor Kelly paints the picture of the environment in which Puritans operated, and he observes that the Puritans “were so concerned with worship because they were so concerned with God. Puritanism budded during a revival movement, an outpouring of the Holy Spirit, which gave them an immediate sense of the nearness, the holiness, the beauty and grace of the Triune God.... Everything less than God was secondary to knowing and serving Him aright. Worship was first; even the most legitimate concerns were second. If worship then was of such supreme significance, what could matter more than to do it in a way that would please God?” (73).

The North Carolinian points out that the regulative principle is set forth in two places in the Westminster Confession, viz., Chapter 21.1 and Chapter 20.2 (regarding Christian liberty and liberty of conscience). However, following William Cunningham, he contends that WCF 1.6 “constitutes an ‘obvious modification’ of the regulative principle. Cunningham saw this modification to be a necessary one, since ‘The principle must be interpreted and explained in the exercise of common sense.’” This “modification” has to do with two issues. The first is that the elements may be determined not only by direct Scripture evidence, but also by logical deduction based upon “good and necessary consequence.” The other is that there are “circumstances concerning the worship of God, and government of the church, common to human actions and societies, which are to be ordered by the light of nature and Christian prudence, according to the general rules of the word, which are always to be observed” (76–77).

Even though there are difficulties associated with discerning the difference between the elemental and the circumstantial, nevertheless, the Puritan regulative principle is Scriptural. However, Dr. Kelly rues the fact that, given the amount of material written on the subject, there is “a lack of careful discussion and a paucity of illustrations to help us distinguish the two. One has

87. Douglas F. Kelly, “The Puritan Regulative Principle and Contemporary Worship,” J. Ligon Duncan, III, General Ed., *The Westminster Confession into the 21st Century 2* (2004; rpt. Fearn, Ross-shire, Scotland: Christian Focus Publications, 2005) 63–98.

the impression that many who assert this distinction, fly from it as quickly as possible.” He believes that John Frame has offered an “intriguing suggestion,” viz., that there are “essentially two different strains of worship in Scripture bearing on worship, and that one of these firmly and plainly indicates the traditional understanding of the Puritans that what is not commanded in worship is forbidden as ‘will-worship’ (Col. 2:22f.). These passages require explicit and specific divine warrant for worship, such as Exodus 25:40, where God commands Moses to construct the tabernacle ‘according to the pattern shown thee on the mount.’” However, Frame also contends that with regard to the “holy convocations,” there is no detailed “Directory of Worship,” thus implying that the appropriate worship in that context is simply the general principles of Scripture applied to various situations (81–82).

However, as we have seen, the danger in John Frame’s position is that it allows for general principles to be expressed in a variety of ways, thus rendering meaningless the regulative principle itself. Although Professor Kelly opposes liturgical dance, drama, and incense, nevertheless, his opposition to such practices is based on personal opinion rather than the law of God. For example, he writes, “it seems to me that the introduction of incense into Reformed congregational worship is another ‘theatrical trifle,’ a turning back to shadows, after the full-bodied reality has come in the one whose ‘rich wounds, yet visible above in beauty glorified’ make all the offerings of our worship acceptable. As I contemplate the eclipse of serious expository preaching and regular administration of the sacraments by ‘theatrical trifles’ of dramatic presentations and incense, I cannot think of a better practical argument for the continuing relevance of the scriptural regulative principle in contemporary worship” (90–91).

But, the regulative principle, although it is eminently practical, does not derive its force from its practicality, but from the kingship of Christ over His church. The “it seems to me” is far from the certainty of a “thus says the Lord.”

This confusion in Dr. Kelly’s presentation is seen in the fact that he is uncertain as to whether the regulative principle addresses the question of religious holy days, and in the way in which he mishandles the issues of the

content of worship song and musical instrumentation. He attacks the position of John Lafayette Girardeau (that of non-instrumentation) as employing “a basically dispensational argument to cut out instruments from New Testament worship.” He writes that Girardeau “says that instruments were connected with temple worship, and, that now since the temple has passed away and been replaced by Christ, instruments, which were an accompaniment of that older order of worship have also passed away. I do not think there is that much clear-cut discontinuity between Old and New Testaments for one matter, and secondly, what do we make of the prominent use of instruments in the heavenly worship in the New Testament book of Revelation? If the church above uses instruments, why is it wrong for the church below to do so?” (94–98). But, could it not be argued that Dr. Kelly, based upon his own definition, has employed a dispensational hermeneutic in rejecting the burning of incense? We see therefore the inconsistency of his adherence to the Puritan regulative principle, to which he professes allegiance.

NICK NEEDHAM

Nick Needham, a British Baptist minister, wrote a lengthy chapter for the book for the same volume just noted. The burden of the chapter was specifically that of the Westminster Assembly’s view of worship, and particularly with respect to the question of the content of worship song and musical instrumentation.⁸⁸

Summary of “Westminster and Worship”

He begins by remarking that the regulative principle of worship is “the Reformed and Westminsterian equivalent of the grammatico-historical principle in the field of biblical hermeneutics: an overarching meta-concept without which nothing else can be comprehended—the key that unlocks Westminster’s liturgical door” (223).

Pastor Needham says that although the “wider definition,” that all of life is worship, can be justified, “the narrower, more specific sense of the term is equally defensible;” and he appeals to Richard Baxter in making the distinction between the narrower and the broader (224). Focusing particularly on the regulative principle, the author says that “by ‘the acceptable way of worshipping the true God,’ the Confession probably has particularly in mind a *system of corporate worship*; and this the light of nature certainly does not reveal.” Indeed, the “*how of worship and the social dimension of worship are left determined by general revelation*” (226).

88. Nick Needham, “Westminster and Worship: Psalms, Hymns? and Musical Instruments?”, in J. Ligon Duncan, ed., *The Westminster Confession into the 21st Century: Essays in Remembrance of the 350th Anniversary of the Westminster Assembly* 2 (2004; rpt. Mentor Print of Christian Focus Publications: Fearn, Ross-Shire, Scotland, 2005) 223–306.

According to Needham, the five “ingredients” normally are these five: prayer; the public reading of Scripture; preaching; the singing of psalms; and the Lord’s supper. “Any church that accepts the meta-concept of the regulative principle, as the Westminster divines understood it, will practise a form of worship habitually marked by these five ingredients, and only these—except on the special occasions that require also the sacrament of baptism” (227f).

The Westminster divines fought on two fronts. First, they opposed Rome’s claim that God authorized “all kinds of ceremonies of worship which were admittedly not found in Scripture.” Secondly, they were in opposition to the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Anglican view “that the Church could *itself* institute forms and rites of worship, as long as these forms and rites were not positively forbidden in Scripture.” Yet today, the Roman-Lutheran-Anglican perspective is “widespread,” “even among congregations within the Reformed tradition”—apparently not due to “any self-conscious theological repudiation of the regulative principle,” but instead “the product of a broadly man-centered attitude or mind-set concerning worship. The question which most evangelicals tend to ask of worship practices is, ‘Do I find this helpful? Is this meaningful to me? Does this make me feel closer to God?’ The question, ‘Is this how God actually wants to be worshipped?’ is rarely raised” (228ff). Nevertheless, that is the way that the Westminster Assembly construed the issue, as is evident in the Shorter Catechism as well as the Larger Catechism (231).

Needham makes quick work of the canard that the Confession of Faith is inconsistent through its use of “circumstances” of worship. “A ‘circumstance’ of worship is not a constituent act of worship;” in point of fact, “there are certain things which attach to all kinds of human actions and societies, whether secular or sacred in function, and without which those actions or societies would either not be possible at all, or not be capable of execution in the most effective way.” He elaborates upon the Westminster Confession Chapter I.6: “With reference to the constituent acts of worship, whatever is not authorized is forbidden; but with reference to the circumstances of worship, whatever is not forbidden is lawful (if it is wise and edifying)” (233f, 236).

He refers to Richard Baxter’s list of circumstances, which includes these matters:

The particular text or topic a preacher should choose for any given sermon; the particular method and style of handling that text or topic; the time of the meeting on the Lord’s Day, and the time of any religious meeting

other than on the Lord’s Day; the place of meeting; the particular sins we should publicly confess, and blessings we should seek or give thanks for; the particular passages of Scripture we should read out; the particular psalms we should sing; the particular translation of Scripture we should use; whether the preacher should use notes; whether the public prayers should be written out; the particular furnishings of a meeting place for worship, e.g. pulpits, tables, cushions; gesture and posture in preaching, public reading, and listening; the clothes we wear when we come to worship; and the particular things we use to assist our natural facilities when engaged in the divinely commanded acts of worship, e.g. “tunes, musical instruments, spectacles, hourglasses” (238).

He applies the notion of circumstance to the present century:

The advance of technology since Baxter’s time has added a number of other circumstances of worship which he did not specify, e.g., electric lighting, central heating, microphones, and overhead projectors. The use of these in the place or activity of worship is not sanctioned by Scripture. But none of these things is an act of worship. We should use them, not with a view to “spicing up” our worship or making it more *avant garde*, but merely to *facilitate* our acts of worship—to remove obstacles which might hinder the free and ready carrying out of those acts of worship which are sanctioned by Scripture. Our aim and intention must always be to regulate the circumstances of our worship by “the light of nature and Christian prudence, according to the general rules of the word, which are always to be observed” (239).

He elucidates the matter this way: “the [regulative] principle *is* rigid and inflexible, and *does* rule out creativity (sanctified or otherwise), as far as the *ingredients* of our worship are concerned; but it equally allows us a measure of Christian liberty in the exact way that we mix or combine those ingredients. Form and freedom are both provided for. No one need fear that adopting the regulative principle will infallibly beget an untouchable, sterile sameness in a church’s pattern of worship” (240).

The chapter lays out the theological rationale for the regulative principle with these three points: God’s sovereignty; the believer’s “desire to please the Beloved” (“Today’s hedonistic creed of ‘Please yourself’ cannot apply in Christian worship.”); and God’s Word as the necessary basis “if worship is to be an act of faith” (240f).

In dealing with explicit Scripture texts, Needham asserts that “[a] more comprehensive statement of the regulative principle could hardly be imagined” than what is found in Deuteronomy 12:28–32. Numbers 15:39–40 is also adduced as an example of the “contrast between divine authority and human imagination” in a way that is “vividly expressed”. The author properly notes that the New International Version “obscures” the thrust of Leviticus 10:1–3 “by translating the phrase ‘which God had not commanded them’ as ‘contrary to God’s command.’” Other Scriptures to which he makes appeal are I Kings 12:26–33 and Jeremiah 19:5 (cf. 7:31; 32:35), which teach that false worship is condemned “not so much because it positively contracted God’s revealed will, but because it was of merely human origin.” New Testament evidence comes from Mark 7:6–7 (or Matthew 15:1–20) and Colossians 2:20–23. Regarding the latter, Needham quotes from Matthew Poole’s classic commentary on the meaning of “will-worship” (241–246).

Needham writes:

The great scriptural truth which lies behind the regulative principle in Christian worship is the Kingship of Christ. The New Testament Church is a theocratic, or (perhaps we should say), a Christocratic community. We are ruled by Christ our King in our doctrine, worship and organization, and have no right to add to, or take from, His royal Word in any of these areas (246).

Needham then goes on to consider the teaching of the Westminster Confession of Faith with regard to music.

We begin with the following important assumption: in the light of the Confession’s full-blooded commitment to the regulative principle, we must take it for granted that *the acts of worship the Confession explicitly authorizes are the only acts for which it finds scriptural justification*. It would be a more than mildly weird state of affairs for a confession of faith to espouse the regulative principle with great force and precision, then to state that what its framers believed to be the biblically authorized acts of worship—and yet for there to be other acts of worship, on which the Confession is completely silent, but which its framers believed to be equally divinely authorized. Such a position would be incoherent

89. Regarding this contention, we must ask that if singing is simply another way of praying, then how does this fit with the Confession’s listing of “the singing of psalms with grace in the heart” as a particular element of worship?

to the point of unreason. The only logical assumption we can make is that what Westminster actually sets down as the acts of worship authorized by God in Scripture are the *only* acts the Westminster divines believed were thus authorized (247f).

However, that clear statement does not mean that Needham adheres to what is known today as “exclusive psalmody”. In his estimation, “Reformed writers in the 17th century were quite capable of using the word ‘psalm’ to denote simply a religious song, whether found in the psalter, another part of the Bible, or composed by uninspired men.” In his view, the fact that the Westminster divines did not specify “David’s psalms” means that “it is therefore wholly possible and legitimate to interpret the unqualified word ‘psalms’ in [Westminster Confession] 21.5 either as David’s psalms, or as religious songs in general” (253).

Needham proceeds to give an overview of various views among theologians and the Reformed churches of France, Germany, the Netherlands, England, and Scotland. (253ff) In his view, the position of Westminster “was not exclusive psalmody. At its narrowest, it was the ‘all the songs of Scripture’ position; at its broadest, it took in newly written songs too” (277).

He subsequently argues that according to the Confession of Faith, “It is lawful to sing any spiritually edifying material (including, e.g., the Apostle’s Creed and extra-scriptural hymns)” (281). He supports his view by contending that the content of worship song is in “the category of circumstance” (284), and also that “singing to God is simply one mode of addressing God; i.e., it is a mode of prayer” (285).⁸⁹

With regard to musical instrumentation, Needham states that

what the Westminster divines actually set down in the Confession as the acts of worship authorized by God in Scripture, were the only acts they believed were thus authorized; and they did not set down the playing of musical instruments as an act of worship authorized by God in Scripture for His New Testament Church. The Confession is deafeningly silent on the issue. So are all the other Westminster documents. Clearly the Westminster divines did not believe in the validity of instrumental worship.

He goes on to note that on May 9, 1644, the English Parliament voted to destroy all ecclesiastical organs (291).

However, Needham also writes that a distinction

can be made between instrumental worship and instrumental accompaniment, and that, as accompaniment, musical instruments might be justified as a matter of circumstance. However, such use would have to be “minimal,” and any congregation that employed musical accompaniment must always ask whether or not the instrument is “necessary” in order “to sing in time and in tune” (299f). He warns of the “insidious” nature of instrumentation, and writes that “if the process of corruption has begun, radical surgery may be necessary to arrest the instrumental gangrene, even to the good, old-fashioned Zwinglian and Calvinist lengths or abolishing the use of the instruments altogether (if not blowing them to pieces with dynamite)” (300).

Flaws in “Westminster and Worship”

In summary,⁹⁰ the author has carefully weighed the seventeenth century sources in order to explain the regulative principle of worship as espoused in chapter 21.1, of the Westminster Confession of Faith. However, it is regrettable that he does not appeal to any of the Westminster divines themselves, especially considering the fact that two of the Scottish commissioners—Samuel Rutherford and George Gillespie—wrote extensive treatments of the subject.⁹¹ It is particularly in the area of “circumstances of worship” that problems begin to emerge in his analysis. He commits the mistake of supposing “human actions and societies” refers both to worship and government, whereas it is clear from the writings of the day that worship was considered an action while government related to societies. Hence a circumstance of worship is that which pertains solely to the carrying out of any action, i.e., the time and place must be ordered so as to enable the action of worship to be performed. Nevertheless, the author extends the idea of circumstances so as to go beyond things essential to the carrying out of an action, and to include also things which may make the action of worship better—an argument which was employed by Puritan antagonists to defend the power of the church to establish what they called insignificant rites.

In his treatment of the singing of psalms much of the author’s paper is concerned with showing that seventeenth century writers used the word “psalms” to refer to compositions other than the Old Testament book of Psalms. On this basis he concludes that the Westminster Confession of Faith, chapter 21.5, does not limit the singing of praises to inspired psalmody. Needham makes one reference to the writing of a Westminster divine, John Lightfoot, but it improperly represents

him as offering a personal interpretation when he was only stating the opinion of others. There is no reference given to the work of the Westminster Assembly in the particular field of preparing a book of psalms for use in congregational worship, nor is there any attempt to draw significant information from the historical records which have come down to us. Also absent is any interaction with those writings of the Westminster divines where they explicitly teach an exclusive psalmody position. Moreover, he was obliged to show how the phrase “singing of psalms” was understood in the seventeenth century since that is the precise wording the Confession uses. Instead he confines his research to the singular use of the word “psalms.” This enables him to avoid answering the question which is problematic to his thesis, namely, why do the writers of the day inevitably refer to the Old Testament book of psalms where they defend “singing of psalms” as a part of Christian worship?

The author attempts to provide a rationale for the use of musical instruments as a circumstance of worship. It is in this section of his paper that he strays farthest from the field. To a man the Puritans were against the use of musical instruments, and considered them a popish invention to be rejected. Nevertheless, he provides what he thinks are plausible reasons for considering musical instruments a mere circumstance and therefore consistent with Puritan thought. If Mr. Needham had more carefully defined “circumstances of worship” when outlining the regulative principle of worship, he could not have defended the use of instruments on the basis that they assist congregational worship; for he would have seen that the Puritans rejected the imposition of even insignificant rites where there was no warrant for such rites from the Word of God.

COVENANT THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

The official seminary of the Presbyterian Church in

90. The authors thank the Rev. Matthew Winzer for the following analysis of Mr. Needham’s work. Given the importance of the subjects treated in Mr. Needham’s paper, and the need for a proper analysis of the historical material, the editors of *The Confessional Presbyterian* hope to provide a lengthy critique by Mr. Winzer in a subsequent issue of the journal (D.V.). For now we trust this synopsis suffices, and we also direct the reader to an appendix to this survey (page 211), regarding how best to settle the intent of the Westminster Assembly at Confession of Faith 21.5, regarding the phrase “singing of psalms.”

91. George Gillespie, *A Dispute Against the English Popish Ceremonies* (1637; Dallas, Tex.: Naphtali Press, 1993) and Samuel Rutherford, *The Divine Right of Church-Government and Excommunication: or A peaceable dispute for the perfection of the holy Scripture in point of ceremonies and church-government; ...* (London: John Field for Christopher Meredith [1646]).

America (PCA), Covenant Theological Seminary, has over the past couple of years conducted conferences on worship. In 2005, the conference was the Sacrifice of Praise Worship Conference; in 2006, the title was Worthy is the Lamb.⁹²

There was much in both conferences that could be considered faithful. On the other hand, there was little to no discussion of the regulative principle of worship as such—a distinct contrast to the way in which Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary considered the subject.

Perhaps emblematic of the approach taken is President Bryan Chapell's 2005 address, "Worship as Gospel Re-Presentation". Dr. Chapell acknowledged that "not everything is up for grabs" with respect to worship; however, contextualization and a concern for missions must influence how we practice worship.

Much of the first half of his presentation was given over to an historical overview of worship across the centuries. In his view, what is most significant is not the differences among various traditions, but their commonalities. These "grand flows" and "unifying features" are manifest throughout church history because they represent Biblical themes, such as that of God appearing, giving instruction, and evoking a covenantal response.

According to Bryan Chapell, worship is "the re-presentation of the gospel in the presence of God and His people for His glory and their good."

He also contends that there is wisdom found in the fact that the New Testament does not contain an explicit account of a church service: this enables us not to be caught up in time-bound orders of service, but to concentrate on "transcendent gospel principles." In his view, "The service should be gospel in form." The order should be determined not by tradition, but by that which "serves presenting the gospel."

This gospel-driven approach applies not only to the order of service, but to the practices of worship: "As long as its gospel purpose is fulfilled, each aspect of the service may be expressed through a variety of worship

components." For example, the "need to confess" (or "corporate confession") can be expressed through pastoral prayer, private prayer of the people, unison prayer, responsive reading of Scripture, a corporate hymn of confession, a musical solo, a choral piece, or sentence prayers by congregants, among other practices. Worship, according to the President of the PCA's official seminary, is "stifled" when it is limited in certain fixed components.

After stating that the lists of elements of worship in the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Westminster Larger Catechism are different, he suggests that this implies that the Westminster divines intended the list(s) to be suggestive rather than exhaustive. He stated that if he were ever called again to a pastorate, he would consider "testimony" as an element. He also suggested that "fellowship" could be expressed in numerous ways, such as passing the peace, shaking hands, and talking; fellowship, he said, could be considered an element within the worship, as an expression of God's goodness among His people.

Towards the end of his speech, Dr. Chapell celebrated "creativity" and "novelty of expression" on behalf of the gospel. He concluded by saying that "history and Scripture reflect much freedom regarding the use of worship components that express the aspects of this liturgy. The precedents of Scripture and history should guide us to maintain the aspects of our liturgy with a form that represents the gospel and re-enforces our mission for the glory of God and the good of His people." We have a "wonderful freedom available to us" and "a dear message entrusted to us."

By way of brief response, we would first of all note that the Confession of Faith and the Larger Catechism, technically, are addressing different issues, and also were created for different purposes, which may be at least part of the reason why the "lists" are different. Neither did the Divines consider their various productions independent of one another, but part of a set of documents called for by a covenant solemnly sworn. Secondly, Bryan Chapell's address clearly indicates a rejection of the regulative principle of worship, which mandates distinct worship practices ("parts" or "elements"), rather than a fluidity of various worship components.⁹³

SEAN MICHAEL LUCAS

One of the up and coming scholars in the Presbyterian Church in America (PCA) is Sean Lucas. In his brief tenure at Covenant Theological Seminary in St. Louis,

92. MP3 recordings from these conferences may be found online at www.covenantseminary.edu.

93. In a Th.M. paper written for Covenant Seminary ("Regulative or Relative? The Regulative Principle in Southern Presbyterianism," 13 April 1994), George Robertson asserts: "The Southerners like the Puritans had a godly philosophy of worship but probably an impractical standard" (19). Besides reaching an erroneous conclusion, this paper is not very tightly argued. Its perspective fits nicely with these later conferences at the St. Louis institution, even though approaching matters from a different angle; at least Pastor Robertson mentioned the regulative principle.

he has already become Vice President for Academics, as well as being an Assistant Professor of Church History.

While some have viewed Covenant Seminary as being at least slightly to the left in the PCA spectrum with respect to worship, Dr. Lucas proves that his views lean in a more conservative direction. After quoting from the Westminster Confession and Larger Catechism, and referring to seventeenth century Puritan Jeremiah Burroughs and his sermons on “gospel worship,” the professor summarizes his perspective this way:

The regulative principle of worship claims that God has instituted “the acceptable way” of worship, that God has limited worship by his own revealed will, and that human beings are not to worship in any way not prescribed in Scripture. The popular way of putting this is that Christians are to worship God only as he has commanded, and whatever God has not commanded for worship in Scripture is forbidden. In recent days, this understanding has been challenged by some who desire to redefine the regulative principle to claim that Scripture norms every activity of life, or who believe that the Westminster Confession goes beyond the principles of other Reformers, becoming legalistic as it establishes the supremacy of Scripture in matters of faith and worship. Still, it is the case that Presbyterians historically have claimed that God’s Word serves to regulate our worship in such a way that our worship is based on what is revealed in Scripture. If we deviate from the scriptural pattern, we worship in a way that is unacceptable to God.

On the other hand, Dr. Lucas is not consistent with regard to the element of the singing of praise:

Music, as represented in the aspects of singing hymns, psalms, and spiritual songs, is one element that is not absolutely necessary to corporate worship in the same way that the prayers or the reading and preaching of the Scriptures are. That is why Presbyterians confess that the means of grace are reading and preaching Scripture, receiving the sacrament, and making prayers; singing psalms and hymns has typically been seen as *a way of praying*, not as a discrete element of worship in itself. Therefore, questions about and arguments over musical expression and style stand in a subservient position to the broader principles of worship that we have been examining here. And that is why I believe that the contention with which I started this chapter is true: gospel-driven, biblical, and Reformed worship transcends

style; it can be expressed in a variety of local churches through a variety of valid expressions.⁹⁴

JOHN PRICE

In *Old Light on New Worship*,⁹⁵ this Reformed Baptist pastor addresses the question of musical instrumentation in public worship. He notes at the beginning of the book that his purpose is not to argue for the regulative principle, but rather to apply it to the instrumentation issue.

In Chapter I, he notes that “it is often assumed, even by those who hold to the regulative principle, that musical instruments somehow fall outside of the realm of God’s authority. While God regulates every other element of His worship, somehow musical instruments are not recognized as coming under His regulation. Musical instruments are believed to be neither commanded nor forbidden, and, therefore, they are considered matters of indifference and liberty” (21).

By way of contrast, he writes: “There is no record in Scripture of a musical instrument ever being used in public worship without an explicit divine command.” His plan was to establish these three theological principles: “(1) The Old Testament worship in all of its outward ceremonies and rituals has been abolished; (2) We must look to Christ and His apostles alone for the worship of the church; and (3) With no command, example, or any indication whatsoever from the Lord Jesus that He desires musical instruments in His church, we have no warrant for their use” (21).

After dealing extensively with the Biblical data regarding instrumentation, and the history of musical instruments, Pastor Price in Chapter IV handles arguments in favor of instrumentation; the first such argument is that of alleging the instrumentation is a “circumstance” of worship.

In rebutting this argument, the minister from Rochester, New York, offers the following. First, that notion of appealing to “the category of ‘circumstances of worship’ contradicts the convictions and the intentions of its authors.” Secondly, that view “violates the limitations of the Word of God concerning such circumstances;” circumstances, Biblically-speaking, are a manifestation of the church’s discretionary power in order to maintain

94. Sean Michael Lucas, *On Being Presbyterian: Our Beliefs, Practices, and Stories* (Phillipsburg, N.J.: P&R Publishing, 2006); the quotations are from pp. 119 and 128.

95. John Price, *Old Light on New Worship: Musical Instruments and the Worship of God, A Theological, Historical and Psychological Study* (Avinger, Tex.: Simpson Publishing, 2005).

decency and order, and no one can argue that “the use of musical instruments falls into this category.” Thirdly, a circumstance “must be something that does not directly affect the commanded elements of worship.... The Lord Jesus has commanded singing with the voice in His church, and for the church to make any additions to this element, such as the use of musical instruments, is to push her authority beyond the boundary given to her.” Fourthly, a circumstance “must be something necessary (or essential) to the performance of the commanded element of worship. In other words, the circumstance must be of such a nature that if it is not carried out the element of worship cannot be performed.” However, this is clearly not the case regarding instruments: “Singing and playing musical instruments are two separate actions that can exist independent of each other. Musical instruments are not necessary or essential to the act of singing and therefore do not fall within the category of ‘circumstances.’” Fifthly, a circumstance “must be limited to those things undetermined by the Word of God.” Given the fact that musical instruments were part of the ceremonial worship of the Old Testament (which has now been abolished in the New Testament through the coming of the Messiah), “musical instruments are under God’s authority;” and apart from further Scriptural evidence, “we have no right to remove them from His authority by calling them ‘circumstances’ so that we may do as we please.” Sixthly, asserting that instruments are circumstantial “violates the limitations of the Confession [of Faith] itself,” since such instruments are not “common to human actions and societies.” Seventhly, many major theologians, who have acknowledged the reality of circumstances, have been opposed to the notion that musical instruments can be justified on the basis on this category (175–186).

In Chapter VII (“Conclusion”), John Price argues that the matter of instrumentation “is nothing less than a matter of sola scriptura.... The principle of sola scriptura demands that once God has made His mind known on any subject in the Scripture, we have no right to think otherwise apart from further evidence from those Scriptures. Once the truth has been established that He has placed musical instruments under His control, without further light from the Scripture we have no right to alter this perspective” (230f).

He pleads for a re-affirmation of the regulative principle. At the same time, it “must be used with Christian prudence, wisdom, and toleration. While we must hold

firmly to it, we must also understand that legitimate differences will exist among churches with respect to its specific application. Men who hold equally to this principle will differ in the arrangement or implementation of the details and legitimate circumstances of worship. When such differences exist, we must avoid the arrogance which believes that those who differ in circumstances are violating the regulative principle” (231).

He continues: “While we should allow for differences in the circumstances of worship, we cannot see how the use of musical instruments is among them. If the Word of God alone is our guide in this matter, we cannot escape the conclusion that musical instruments in Christian worship are a violation of the regulative principle. To bring them into the church is to transgress the authority of Christ in His worship” (231f).

MICHAEL P.V. BARRETT

Michael P.V. Barrett is a President of Geneva Reformed Seminary and Associate Minister at Faith Free Presbyterian Church in Greenville, South Carolina, a congregation of the Free Presbyterian Church of North America (FPCNA). (The FPCNA is the North American affiliate of Ian Paisley’s Free Presbyterian Church of Ireland.) In 2006, he penned *The Beauty of Holiness: A Guide to Biblical Worship*.⁹⁶

As described on the back cover, Dr. Barrett is “convinced that the Bible does establish clear guidelines for both what we are to believe (issues of faith) and what we are to practice (issues of obedience) and that this direction includes matters of worship. If there is any overriding biblical truth that must circumscribe every worship practice, it is that worship is all about God and not about us.” This book is designed to be “a guide to what the Bible says about the object, manner, and the heart of worship. We must never shy away from what the Bible says regardless of how out of sync with culture it seems to be. God’s Word not culture—whether modern or medieval—defines the way of worship.”

While stating that extremes exist in both the regulative principle and the normative principle camps, Dr. Barrett professes his adherence to the teaching of the Westminster Confession of Faith, Chapter 1:6 and Chapter 21:1. With regard to the detailed divine prescription under the Mosaic administration, he writes: “Together the details underscore the important truth that God orders the way of worship, and man cannot and must not alter that way. His instructions to make the Tabernacle so long and no longer, so wide and no wider, with this material and no other warn that He is

96. Michael P.V. Barrett, *The Beauty of Holiness: A Guide to Biblical Worship* (Greenville, S.C. and Belfast, Northern Ireland: Ambassador International, 2006).

concerned and takes notice of every facet and dynamic of worship. It is important not only that we worship the right God but that we worship the right God in the right way. The Tabernacle stood as constant visible witness that worship was God's way or no way. Or to use our theological jargon, the details of the Tabernacle illustrate the regulative principle of worship" (2–3, 128f).

THE ARP DIRECTORY FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP

The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church (ARP) has been engaging in a re-writing of its Directory for Public Worship. A draft version of this Directory has been posted on the official denominational website (www.arsynod.org).⁹⁷

The Preamble of this new proposed Directory states that "the keystone of the 1645 *Directory*, as well as our documents over the past two hundred years, has been an endeavor to operate upon the foundational basis of *Scripture alone* (*Sola Scriptura*) for guiding and shaping our public worship. The Holy Scriptures are the Word of God, revealed to us for our faith and practice and leading us to the glory of the Triune God. Once again, *The Directory of Public Worship* holds the principle of *Scripture alone* as foundational."

Chapter I, "The Call to Worship," properly distinguishes between life in general (which is to be lived for the glory of God), and worship in particular ("It is also necessary that a due proportion of time be set apart for offering to God that worship which He has commanded all people to give. Such worship is to be given individually, in families, and in corporate gatherings of public worship."). However, in Chapter III, "The Nature of Worship," the document states that worship can be conceived broadly (including all of life) or narrowly.

Chapter II, "The Rule of Worship," quotes from the Westminster Confession of Faith ("the acceptable way of worshipping the true God is instituted by himself, and so limited by his own revealed will, that he may not be worshipped according to the imaginations and devices of men, or the suggestions of Satan, under any visible representation, or any other way not prescribed in the Holy Scripture."); and it distinguishes between the "parts (elements) to be included in the worship of God" (which "are either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be derived from Scripture") and the circumstances (which "have not been fixed by a definite rule in the Holy Scriptures, such as the form or order of worship which is to be followed, the time or place for the gathering of God's people, or the music to be used in

singing Psalms, hymns and spiritual songs. In such matters or circumstances, the church must be guided by the light of nature and Christian prudence, according to the general rules of the Word, which are always to be observed.").

This proposed Directory is considerably better than that which was adopted three decades ago. However, even though it is chockfull of Scripture references, it is doubtful that several of the practices of worship which are advocated (such as unison and responsive reading of Scripture; instrumental music; taking up offerings; and recitation of creeds) can be justified by the proffered prooftexts. Furthermore, one of the footnotes, which contends that the listing of elements of worship in the Westminster Confession of Faith was not intended by the Westminster Assembly to be exhaustive, may open the door down the road for any number of other practices of worship.

DANIEL R. HYDE

A minister in the United Reformed Churches of North America (URCNA), Daniel R. Hyde has written a booklet intended to introduce visitors to a worship service in a Reformed congregation. This California pastor does proclaim allegiance to the regulative principle of worship:

Finally, and most importantly, we are not to worship God "in any other way than He has commanded in His Word" (Heidelberg Catechism, Q&A 96). The particular things in the service of God are clearly commanded to us by God Himself, set forth in biblical examples, or deduced by solid principles of interpretation from the inspired Word of God. In this way "we may serve God acceptably with reverence and godly fear" (Heb 12:28). We call this the "Regulative Principle." We see this taught in the Ten Commandments, for example, where the LORD, the one true God, commands his people to worship him alone (first Commandment) and that they are to do this in the way he says (second Commandment).

The Scriptures abound with God sufficiently explaining to his people how he serves us and how he desires and deserves us to serve him. The acceptable elements of the service of the Triune God are elements of his ser-

97. DRAFT: "The Directory Of Public Worship Of The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church Presented to the 202nd General Synod of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church." File Date: June 6, 2006 [Accessed April 9, 2007].

vice to us in the Word and Sacraments and our service to him in Prayer (Acts 2:42 cf. *Heidelberg Catechism*, Q&A 103).⁹⁸

However, Pastor Hyde does not demonstrate how responsive readings of Scripture, taking up offerings, recitation of creeds, or singing songs authorized by the church fit with the regulative principle. Moreover, like many in the Dutch Reformed tradition, the elements are often considered in terms of their particular function and place in a worship service, rather than abstractly. For example, he lists “Prayer of Confession,” “Prayer for Illumination,” “Prayer of Humble Access,” “Eucharistic Prayer,” and “Prayer of Thanksgiving,” with the implication that each of these is a distinct “element” (21f). However, from the Presbyterian perspective, the “element” is that of “prayer,” with the understanding that there might be a wide variety of prayers (invocation, pastoral, consecration of the elements of communion, thanksgiving, etc.) which fit the category of “prayer.” This is a subtle distinction, but one which might help to explain one of the ways in which the Dutch and the British approaches to the regulative principle differ.

DANIEL F. N. RITCHIE

First-time author Daniel F. N. Ritchie is studying at the Queen’s University of Belfast for a degree in History and Politics. A member of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland, he, in *The Regulative Principle of Worship: Explained and Applied*,⁹⁹ defends the worship views and practice of his denomination.

Mr. Ritchie notes that “The Westminster Confession leaves no room open for the Church to invent and enforce the observation of religious ceremonies which are not set down in Scripture. . . . The Westminster Divine’s view of worship was simply the outworking of their doctrine that the Holy Scripture is the infallible and complete rule of faith and practice.” He concludes that “for something to be a regulative principle of worship, according to our Confession, it either must be explicitly commanded in Scripture or by approved historical examples in the Bible (such as synagogue attendance by Christ and the Apostles) or by good and necessary consequence be inferred from many passages of Scripture (such as infant baptism and Sunday Sabbath observance)” (16).

98. Daniel R. Hyde, *What to Expect in Reformed Worship: A Visitor’s Guide* (Eugene, Ore.: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2007) 11.

99. Daniel F. N. Ritchie, *The Regulative Principle of Worship: Explained and Applied* (N.p. [Longwood, Fla.]: Xulon Press, 2007).

In the chapter entitled “The Biblical Basis for the Regulative Principle of Worship,” the author argues first by means of an overview of the Biblical theology of worship; here he appeals to the nature of special revelation and divine sovereignty. Next, he presents the evidence from specific texts—Exodus 20:4–6; Leviticus 10:1–3; 22:31–33; Numbers 15:39; Deuteronomy 4:2; 12:28–32; 1 Samuel 13:8–14; 1 Chronicles 13:9–11; 2 Chronicles 26:16–19; Isaiah 29:13; Jeremiah 7:30–31; Matthew 15:1–2; 15:7–9; 28:18–20; John 4:20–24; Colossians 2:20–23 (19–62).

The next chapter answers objections to the regulative principle. The first objection he handles is the notion that “All of life is worship,” he writes:

If all of life was worship then how could the elders call a congregation to worship? Why would there be one day a week set apart for worship if God is to be worshipped equally everyday? If all of life is worship then unbelievers should be allowed to come to the Lord’s Supper, since it would be no different from eating an ordinary meal! The fact that non-Christians are forbidden from coming to the Lord’s Table (1 Cor. 11:27) shows us that it is a part of something distinct from ordinary life. According to this logic, Baptism would be no different from washing your forehead, preaching from making a speech, reading the Bible would be the same as reading a novel, congregational singing would be indistinct from singing nursery rhymes, and prayer would be no more sacred than chatting to your mate on the telephone. In the light of such nonsensical reasoning, we can only deduce that the worship of God is separate from other aspects of our lives.

The other items handled are “John Frame’s re-definition of the Regulative Principle;” “Jesus accepted Human Traditions;” “Misrepresentation of the Regulative Principle;” and “The Regulative Principle only applies to Public Worship” (63–77).

In the chapter on circumstances of worship, Mr. Ritchie contends that the matter of women wearing head coverings is a cultural rather than a universal consideration. He quotes from John Calvin, the Geneva Bible, Francis Turretin, Samuel Rutherford, and George Gillespie in support of his view; and also argues that “if the Westminster Divines believed that head coverings were a regulative principle of worship their failure to include it in the Westminster Standards was a serious mistake. The only conclusion left to us is that they did not consider the issue of head coverings to be a principle of worship, but instead a mere circumstance” (79–104).

Besides the chapters already noted, Mr. Ritchie deals with the following: “Worship is to be given to God alone;” “Image Worship;” “Biblical Prayer;” “Reading, Preaching and Hearing of the Word;” “Exclusive Psalmody;” “Instrumental Music;” “The Sacraments;” “The Subjects of Baptism;” “The Mode of Baptism;” “The Lord’s Supper;” and “The Christian Sabbath.”

There is much in this book that is commendable, and we would applaud this first effort by a university student. However, despite its length (351 pages total), it does at points lack a certain gravitas. Also, it is curious that he refers to each principle of worship as being “a regulative principle of worship,” rather than using the term (“regulative principle of worship”) to refer to all of the principles of worship as a whole.

DOUGLAS W. COMIN

Douglas W. Comin’s *Worship: From Genesis to Revelation: A Vindication of the Regulative Principle as the Unifying Standard of Corporate Worship in both the Old and New Testaments, Proved by a Survey of the Canonical Scriptures* (Lulu.com: Douglas W. Comin, 2007) is the result of a series of sermons preached while he was pastor of Triangle Reformed Presbyterian Church, the Covenanter congregation in Durham, North Carolina. With over 600 pages, this volume demonstrates, from every book of the Bible, the truth of the regulative principle. Commenting on 2 and 3 John, he writes that the Judaizing heresy “wasn’t simply a matter of their having a different ‘worship style.’ Maintaining the old external forms of worship was a practical denial of the sufficiency of Christ’s accomplished redemption, and thus a denial of the Gospel.” He adds, “It is no different when the Roman Catholic Church seeks to re-create those old external forms, thus leading worshippers to believe that they are pleasing God through their works. This is one of the reasons the Westminster Assembly identified the Pope as ‘that Antichrist’” (586–587). This book will help to move the discussion of the regulative principle beyond a few prooftexts, to all of Scripture.

“REGULATIVE PRINCIPLE” GOING MAINSTREAM?

The moniker “regulative principle of worship” has received increasing use within the conservative Presbyterian and Reformed community since it was used by John Murray in the 1946 OPC report on worship song. It is now common amongst conservative Presbyterians, Reformed folk and Reformed Baptist communities. Certainly, works dealing with Puritan history and

their principle of worship have come out under evangelical and liberal hands and presses since 1946 which describe the principle accurately, but these generally and perhaps understandably did not employ the newer phraseology.¹⁰⁰ An exception is Hughes Oliphant Old who did use the phrase in his 1984 book, but only in a comment buried in the bibliography, placing the origin of the principle with the Anabaptists.¹⁰¹ Happily, more recent publications indicate that the term is getting mainstreamed and may become more commonly employed across a broader spectrum of scholarship.

Evangelicals no doubt are becoming more familiar with the phrase, even if only to dismiss it. The moniker appears in a collection of papers originally presented at the Forty-Sixth Annual Midwest Regional Meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society hosted by Grace Theological Seminary in March 2001, on the topic of “The Worshiping Church: Theology and Expressions of Worship for the Twenty-First Century Christian.”¹⁰² It appears as well in a work published in 2004 on clergy

100. Of course, there are many contemporary liberal writings on worship which seem totally ignorant of the concept or the term. A recent example is a book by David A. Miller, *Contemporary Worship in the Reformed Tradition: Practical Approaches for Congregations* (Pittsburg, Pa.: Vital Faith Resources, 2001). Although the author makes reference to *sola scriptura* as a doctrine that “anchors our worship, not to changing human traditions, but the biblical pattern for worship,” and also writes that the PC(USA)’s Directory for Worship “uses the phrase ‘Reformed worship’ to describe the theology that should regulate worship in Presbyterian churches” (p. 118), it is obvious that he doesn’t have a clue as to what that means. On the other hand, another PC(USA) minister, Robert P. Glick, at least knows enough to attack the principle. In his recent book *With All Thy Mind: Worship That Honors the Way God Made Us* (Herndon, Va.: The Alban Institute, 2006), he chides the traditional Calvinistic approach as being too “left-brained,” and writes that “there is something in Zwingli’s thinking that runs counter to Scripture and even smacks of dualism” (p. 107). Professor Glick’s perspicacity in being aware of the regulative principle may be due to the fact that he is a colleague of R. J. Gore at Erskine Theological Seminary, the official seminary of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church.

101. The following comment surely could have used some further elaboration if only to understand what Old believed was meant by the phrase: “John Oecolampadius, *Antwort auff Balthasar Huobmeiers büchlein wider de Predicanten gespräch zuo Basel von dem Kindertauff*. Basel: Andreas Cratander, 1527. The three works listed here on baptism make clear that the so-called ‘regulative principle’ is not Reformed in origin but rather Anabaptist.” Old, *Worship: Reformed According to Scripture* (1984; 2002) 185.

102. Thomas F. Atchison, “Developing a Practice of Worship that Unites,” in *Authentic Worship: Scripture’s Voice, Applying Its Truth*, ed. Herbert W. Bateman (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Kregel Academic & Professional, 2002) 180–181. The author dismisses the principle as unworkable. “It is doubtful, however, that the regulative principle can sustain the weight of the myriad of worship issues without collapsing into its own subjectivity (of interpretation) or becoming unduly

and politics, in which the PCA it seems cannot escape its connection to the principle. Under the section “Politics of Evangelical Protestant Clergy,” Brent F. Nelson and Beverly A. Gaddy describe the worship of the Presbyterian Church in America:

The past twenty years have seen remarkable church growth that has, in some ways, further exacerbated factional tension. Worship practice in the PCA has become very diverse with the evangelical wing adopting a range of “worship styles” from the radically contemporary, to the “blended” (contemporary and traditional), to the highly liturgical. Traditionalists decry the erosion

legalistic.” This comment is ‘backed up’ with references to Edmund P. Clowney’s “Presbyterian Worship,” in *Worship: Adoration and Action*, and Frame’s, *Worship in Spirit and Truth*.

103. Brent F. Nelson and Beverly A. Gaddy, “Presbyterian Church in America,” in *Pulpit and Politics: Clergy in American Politics at the Advent of the Millennium*, ed. Corwin E. Smidt (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2004) 143.

104. Stephen R. Haynes, *Noah’s Curse: The Biblical Justification of American Slavery* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2002) 265–266.

105. Timothy Ward, *Word and Supplement: Speech Acts, Biblical Texts, and the Sufficiency of Scripture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) 49.

106. “This notion which came to be known as the ‘regulative principle’ of worship, was to be the foundation of much of later Puritan thinking concerning Anglican reform....” Carl R. Trueman, “The Theology of the English Reformers,” *The Cambridge Companion to Reformation Theology: Cambridge Companions to Religion*, ed. David Bagchi and David C. Steinmetz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 170. “Knox enunciated more than once what in later Scottish church history would be known as the ‘regulative principle.’” David F. Wright, “The Scottish Reformation: theology and theologians,” *The Cambridge Companion*, 179.

107. John MacCleod, *Dynasty: The Stuarts: 1560–1807* (New York: Saint Martin’s Press, 2001) 165.

108. “The school [of thought], represented by Puritans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists, concluded that what was not explicitly commanded (what was not “lawful”) was forbidden in the worship of God. Following, therefore, what is termed the regulative principle of worship, their worship service did not in any way reflect the medieval mass.” David A. Weir, *Early New England: A Covenanted Society*, *Emory University Studies in Law and Religion* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2005) 78. Dr. Weir is an elder in the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America.

109. Mrs. Junell Taylor publicly professes her adherence to the regulative principle of worship on her congregation’s web site. Mrs. Taylor writes in a paper (copyright © 2001): “What I believe is the fundamental purpose of the regulative principle is to keep practices out of the church which could possibly displease God. Most of the reformers produced this idea because of the Roman Catholic idolatries, ceremonies, and false practices, which picture the extreme of what man can put together from his own imagination if scriptural warrant is ignored. Compared to the gross practices of the Catholic Church, it may seem a tiny little detail to go off slightly into man’s

of Reformed worship and call for renewed adherence to the “regulative principle” (whatever is not commanded in Scripture is forbidden) while also developing a variety of styles that range from the austere (psalm singing; no instruments), to the traditional Presbyterian (hymns and creeds), to the Baptist (three hymns and a sermon).¹⁰³

The principle in a broader context is unhappily connected to slavery in some works. Commenting on a chapter on Benjamin M. Palmer, “the ‘founding father’ of the Southern Presbyterian church,” Stephen R. Haynes writes in his *Noah’s Curse: The Biblical Justification of American Slavery*: “As Mark Noll has noted, the spirit of biblical interpretation that dominated nineteenth-century America was ‘a hermeneutic compounded of reformed theological instincts and commonsense literalism.’” The author elaborates in a footnote:

Noll notes three principles that were constitutive of the Reformed approach to scripture so prevalent in America before 1860: *scriptura sola* (the Bible as a unique authority), the “regulative principle” (the requirement to do what the Bible commands and not do those things about which the Bible is silent), and the “Third Use of the Law” (the view that the moral teaching of Scripture provided a blueprint for life). Mark A. Noll, “The Bible and Slavery,” in *Religion and the American Civil War*, ed. Randall N. Miller, Harry S. Stout, and Charles Reagan Wilson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 43–73.¹⁰⁴

One also finds the phrase used in the Oxford University Press title, *Word and Supplement: Speech Acts, Biblical Texts, and the Sufficiency of Scripture*, by Timothy Ward.¹⁰⁵ Cambridge has issued *The Cambridge Companion to Reformation Theology*, which contains articles by David F. Wright and Carl R. Trueman who both employ the phrase.¹⁰⁶ St. Martin’s press has issued a work that uses the term,¹⁰⁷ and Eerdmans has published a title in the Emory University Studies in Law and Religion series that makes use of the phrase as well.¹⁰⁸

OTHER WORKS FOR THIS PERIOD

As we race now to bring this survey to an end, we mention briefly the following works: Mrs. Junell Taylor, Senior Warden for Providence Reformed Episcopal Church, Weatherford, Texas, “The Regulative Principle of Worship and Basic Definitions” (2001).¹⁰⁹ Brother

John (nom de plume), “God’s Cure for Liturgical Chaos: The Bible’s Hymnal” (c.2005); and “What is Worship?” (c.2002).¹¹⁰ A blog maintained by Joshua Hicks called “Reformers and Puritans (and a geek)” has featured discussion on the regulative principle.¹¹¹ Rice and Huffstutler’s *Reformed Worship* has some historical notices of Puritanism but shows little understanding of the regulative principle as might be expected.¹¹² A work overlooked in Part One from 1997 is Stan Hall’s “Westminster Directory and Reform of Worship,” which mentions the regulative principle very briefly via a citation from Iain Murray’s 1994 paper on the directory.¹¹³ Sam Waldron and L. Roy Taylor brandish their conceptions of the principle in support of their respective views of church polity against each other and against Episcopalian Peter Toon, and Paige Patterson’s single elder view, in *Who Runs The Church? Four Views of Church Government*.¹¹⁴ PCA Minister Jeff Pennington has a brief 2003 position paper online, “Why I Believe in the Regulative Principle of Worship.”¹¹⁵ The Rev. Anthony Dallison has a four part sermon series, “How Should We Worship God?” online at sermonaudio.com.¹¹⁶ And finally, as Lee Irons’s lecture on “Singing Psalms and Hymns” was mentioned previously in a note on the Growing Reformed Churches conference for 2001, we note this author’s debate with him on that subject that took place in the year 2000.¹¹⁷

OVERVIEW: 2000–2007

In the first half a dozen years or so of the new millennium, the topic of worship has continued to be of tremendous interest and the literature has multiplied at a faster rate than in previous periods, no doubt mainly due to the Internet. Perhaps the most significant published writings that advocate a traditional approach are the academic and historical evaluations offered by D. G. Hart and Robert Godfrey; and the more popularized approach offered by Malcolm Watts and Daniel Ritchie.

Within the conservative Presbyterian world, the “mainstream” position, increasingly, has been either to reject the regulative principle, or to interpret it in a manner that makes it barely recognizable. On the other hand, some scholars have continued to maintain the doctrine; but, for the most part, they are not in the larger (conservative) denominations, or have been marginalized within them.

Of particular significance is the fact that the regulative principle of worship has, as it were, entered the “popular culture” of Christendom (as witnessed by a

variety of web sites which have taken up and have even embraced the doctrine). At the same time, the larger denominations seem, at an “official” level, to be going in an opposite direction. Do these conflicting trends perhaps portend that in the future, assuming a large-scale reformation and re-discovery of Puritanism, the larger “conservative” churches will be left behind?

VIII. OBSERVATIONS

As this lengthy survey comes to an end, several observations may be made.

(1) There was a general rediscovery of Reformed beliefs, starting in the 1930s and 1940s; and out of this renaissance (if we may use that term in this context) of Calvinism, has come a renewed interest in Reformed worship.

(2) The regulative principle of worship is essential to a Reformed or Presbyterian understanding of worship.

(3) The regulative principle includes, of necessity, the notion of “elements” and “circumstances.” Doing away

imagination in worship in only a few doubtful instances. Would this be wrong? I believe Scripture sets forth a resounding ‘yes.’ http://users2.ev1.net/~providencechurch/regulative_principle.htm.

110. The website for enigmatic “Brother John” appears to be gone. Visit these links to view the papers: <http://web.archive.org/web/20050225084551/http://www.geocities.com/reformedpresbyterian/worship.htm> and <http://web.archive.org/web/20021005002530/members.aol.com/Dbix7/canon.html>.

111. <http://www.reformersandpuritans.com/2006/04/02/the-right-way-to-worship-god-1/>.

112. Howard L. Rice and James C. Huffstutler, *Reformed Worship* (Louisville, Ky.: Geneva Press, 2001).

113. Stan Hall, “The Westminster Directory and Reform of Worship,” Calvin Studies. VIII: Presented at The Colloquium on Calvin Studies, held January 26–27, 1996, at Davidson College and the Davidson College Presbyterian Church, Davidson, North Carolina, ed. John H. Leith (n.p., [1997?]). Iain H. Murray, “The Directory for the Public Worship of God” in *To glorify and enjoy God: a commemoration of the 350th anniversary of the Westminster Assembly*, edited by John L. Carson and David W. Hall (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1994).

114. Dr. Peter Toon, Dr. L. Roy Taylor, Dr. Paige Patterson, and Sam E. Waldron, *Who Runs The Church? Four Views of Church Government*, ed. Steven B. Cowan and Stanley N. Gundry (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2004).

115. Jeff Pennington, “Why I Believe in the Regulative Principle of Worship” (2003). http://www.lakeside-church.org/Pos_Papers/pos_regulative_worship.htm.

116. Anthony Dallison, “How Should We Worship God?”. 1. The Principles of Biblical Worship. 2. Worshipping in Spirit. 3. Our Duty of Thanksgiving. 4. Trembling at God’s Word. http://www.sermonaudio.com/source_detail.asp?sourceid=wpcus.

117. “Exclusive Psalmody Debate: Lee Irons and Frank Smith.” Warfield List, March 14th – April 17th, 2000. Privately Compiled and Edited 2005. This is available in the files section of the Warfield list, <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/bbwarfield/files/>.

with the traditional understanding of these, does away with the principle, as historically understood. Furthermore, there is no legitimate place for a third category, such as “expressions,” which may be used as a backdoor method for justifying various worship practices.

(4) Most everyone in the conservative Presbyterian and Reformed world today professes to believe the regulative principle of worship; however, there is not uniformity as to what is meant by the term, which has led to much confusion.

(5) Furthermore, part of the confusion is that all kinds of things are being justified in the name of the principle—things such as liturgical dance—that would have been regarded as bizarre by the Reformers who helped develop the doctrine of the regulative principle of worship.

(6) Regarding the doctrine itself, there are some who deny it (e.g., Steve Schlissel), others who modify it (Jeffrey Meyers, Peter Leithart), others who redefine it or explain it away (John Frame, Vern Poythress, Richard Pratt), and others who effectively neglect it (Timothy Keller, Bryan Chapell); while still others who apply it inconsistently (Joseph Morecraft, Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary).

(7) Historiographically, it is the worship innovators, who have an ax to grind, who tend to drive a wedge between Calvin and the Puritans. In this matter, the tendency is to follow liberal scholarship, which has great antipathy to the Post-Reformation developments of the seventeenth century. Conservative scholarship would say that the Puritans did not repudiate Calvin, but appreciated and built upon his insights and theological foundation.

(8) The regulative principle of worship depends upon holding to systematic theology, not just Biblical theology. This is especially seen in the writings of Steve Schlissel, but it can also be discerned by considering that Westminster Theological Seminary, which has had a heavy emphasis upon “redemptive history” to the detriment of systematics, has been weak, to say the least, on the doctrine.

(9) It is also noteworthy that those who reject the regulative principle tend to be heterodox in other ways (such as with regard to justification). This is not a one-to-one correspondence; plus, some might cite Norman Shepherd as a counter-example. However, even with Professor Shepherd, it is interesting to note that the manner in which he formulated the doctrine—by

not making a significant distinction between the way in which worship is regulated and the way in which life in general is regulated—is not sound.

(10) The worship wars, including those regarding the regulative principle of worship, tend to be fought with respect to music.¹¹⁸ Although the principle concerns matters other than music, the debate over music continues to be among the most emotional, and the area upon which the discussion often focuses.

IX. QUESTIONS

Various questions, perhaps beyond the scope of this present article, suggest themselves.

(1) How does one’s hermeneutics affect one’s view?

(2) How does one’s predisposition to a theological perspective within Reformed theology (doctrinal, cultural, pietist) affect one’s view?

(3) How does love relate to the regulative principle of worship? Should it not be true that those who adhere most strongly to the principle should be known for their piety and their compassion and their hospitality? If that is the case, in what ways can this reality be manifested?

(4) We cannot all be experts at everything; however, in conjunction with the concept of “body life,” why can we not learn from each other in the areas where our brethren are expert? In other words, how can those who do not have a mature understanding of Biblical worship, be encouraged to learn from their brethren who have studied the matter extensively and have come to the correct doctrine?

(5) Reflecting D. G. Hart’s insights regarding American Presbyterian history, in what manner can American Presbyterianism overcome its “dilemma” and embrace fully a principled approach to worship?

(6) In what way(s) will the mutual interaction between American and global Christianity affect the universal church’s view of worship? Or, to make the point a bit differently, as Christianity becomes less “Westernized,” how can we who hold to the traditional understanding of worship assist the rest of the world to mature into the same understanding? And, in that process, are there ways in which we in the West can learn—even with regard to worship—from our brothers and sisters whose theological acumen may not be as developed?

X. CONCLUSION

There has been an increased interest in Puritan worship over the past two decades; and all kinds of discussion

118. John Frame devotes a significant portion of his book, *Worship in Spirit and Truth*, to the questions of exclusive psalmody and musical instrumentation; 123–130. See also R. J. Gore, *Covenantal Worship*, 183–184 n31.

over the internet. At the same time, other (competing) views have come to expression: high church liturgy (sometimes in the form of “Reformed Catholicity”), covenant renewal, New Life approach, contemporary worship, “informed principle of worship,” and “covenantal worship.”

Various “Presbyterian” denominations, even “conservative” and “evangelical” ones, have refused to take the regulative principle of worship seriously; and, far from enforcing this doctrine, tend to drive out (whether formally or otherwise) those who seek to uphold it. Those denominations, we would suggest, will not in the long run experience God’s blessing.

As in the time of the Protestant Reformation, the church today has tremendous opportunities to communicate rapidly. What the printing press was to the sixteenth century, the Internet is at the beginning of the twenty-first century. As information spreads more quickly, the truth regarding the regulative principle of worship will also spread, and, in God’s providence, be maintained.

The church today faces tumultuous times—new ethical issues, times of war, persecution, proselytizing by Roman Catholicism, doctrinal decline, even a Muslim threat. But, the church in the Reformation faced the same kinds of issues. And it was out of that turmoil that there was a reawakened, apostolic, perhaps we could say prophet-like, vision of what it meant to worship God.

For those whose breasts beat in harmony with a millennial hope of a Golden Age for the church, it may not be too whimsical to believe that someday, not only will the fluff which passes for worship be swept aside, but also the worship offered by Christ’s Bride will be self-consciously in accord with her Lord’s commands. But the expectation that the traditional Presbyterian advocacy of regulated worship will eventually triumph, will only be realized when men’s hearts are changed. It will only become a reality when the gospel itself triumphs, in a day when the knowledge of the glory of the Lord covers the earth as the waters cover the sea.

APPENDIX: THE MEANING OF “PSALMS” IN THE CONTEXT OF THE WESTMINSTER STANDARDS.¹¹⁹

To many it is perhaps surprising that so much ink is spent on disputing what the Westminster Assembly meant at Confession of Faith chapter 21.5 by the phrase “singing of psalms.” There is a long history of changing doctrinal standards when some Churches have determined they

have scriptural warrant to expand the corpus of sung praise in the worship of God to include uninspired hymns,¹²⁰ and so if there has been a misunderstanding, it has certainly been a long standing one. On the other hand, there has been perhaps some overstating of the case by the opponents of uninspired hymnody in public worship in portraying the Confession as teaching exclusive psalmody. It most certainly authorizes only the singing of psalms in public worship if the conclusion of this paper stands, but it is going beyond and against the known information to conclude the Divines did so because of an exclusive psalmody principle that developed through the “worship wars” of the succeeding centuries after Westminster. That it is clear that some of the Divines did not hold to exclusive psalmody as we know it, may explain why some have sought to go to sources external to the productions of the Assembly to seek a broadened interpretation of “singing of psalms.”

If one turns to the Oxford English Dictionary, the term “psalm” has a general and a specific use. In general, the term refers to “any sacred song that is or may be sung in religious worship; a hymn: esp. in biblical use.” Specifically the term “psalm” means “any one of the sacred songs or hymns of the ancient Hebrews which together form the book of Psalms; a version or paraphrase of any of these, esp. as sung (or read) in public or private worship.” As already noted it certainly seems to have been the case that churches over the years have understood the term in its specific sense when they changed their doctrinal standards accordingly. However, as they may have been mistaken, asserting a definition is not going to be persuasive.

Recent controversies hopefully demonstrate the pitfalls of going to individual writings of the Westminster Divines or simply contemporary writings, and imposing intent or meaning on their productions. However, there is a reasonable and fairly persuasive approach that clearly identifies what the Divines meant by “psalm” at WCF 21.5 which does not get one tangled up in going to sources external to their work or tripped up in anachronistic claims that they were an Assembly of exclusive psalmodists.

The case can be made that as an assembly the Westminster Divines authorized the singing of only

119. See the review of Nick Needham’s work on page 201 of this issue of *The Confessional Presbyterian*.

120. The Calvinist Baptists (1689) changed their Confession to read: “teaching and admonishing one another in psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs,” the PCUSA (1789) authorized uninspired hymns via their revised Directory for the Public Worship of God, and the ARP (1946) approved the validity of singing evangelical hymns and subsequently added a note to the Confession reflecting that in 1959.

the 150 psalms in public worship for the three kingdoms over which their deliberations were intended to cover. There is nothing in this position that conflicts with Nick Needham's conclusion: "The only logical assumption we can make is that what Westminster actually sets down as the acts of worship authorized by God in Scripture are the *only* acts the Westminster divines believed were thus authorized."¹²¹ The 'worship wars' over the content of worship song had not begun, and the doubtful question of what else might have been included was simply not addressed. That

121. Nick Needham, "Westminster and Worship: Psalms, Hymns? and Musical Instruments?", in J. Ligon Duncan, ed., *The Westminster Confession into the 21st Century: Essays in Remembrance of the 350th Anniversary of the Westminster Assembly* (2004; rpt. Mentor Print of Christian Focus Publications: Fearn, Ross-Shire, Scotland, 2005) 2.247f.

122. Brian Schwertley, *Sola Scriptura And the Regulative Principle of Worship: Appendix B. The Neo-Presbyterian Challenge to Confessional Presbyterian Orthodoxy: A Biblical Analysis of John Frame's Worship in Spirit and in Truth*. This is online at http://www.reformed.com/pub/sola_b.htm. Mr. Schwertley apparently is directing this barb at Stephen Pribble who writes: "The Westminster Confession of Faith, in enumerating the 'parts of the ordinary religious worship of God,' lists 'singing of psalms with grace in the heart' (21:5). It is noteworthy that the term 'psalms' is used in its general sense of 'any sacred song ... sung in religious worship' (Oxford English Dictionary); the Confession does not specify 'singing of Psalms' or 'singing of the Psalms.'" In a footnote he elaborates: "Exclusive Psalmists make a good case that the Westminster divines' own practice was exclusive Psalmody. But even granting this, it remains true that the final wording they adopted was 'singing of psalms' not 'singing of Psalms' or 'singing of the Psalms.' Given their tendency to over-capitalize (e.g., Atheism, Baptism, Godhead, Idolatry, Holy Scripture, King, Mediator, Original Sin, Priest, Prophet, Supreme Judge, Surety, Trinity, Virgin Mary, etc.), it makes their choice of the small letter p in 'psalms' all the more significant. Presbyterians are not bound by the divines' practice but by the wording of the Confession." Stephen Pribble, "The Regulative Principle and Singing in Worship," online at <http://www.all-of-grace.org/pub/pribble/hymnsing.html>. As demonstrated, there is no solid basis for this argument, and the same applies to the missing "the" which usage also occurs in the Directory's section "Of Singing of Psalms."

123. F. N. Daniel Ritchie, *The Regulative Principle of Worship: Explained and Applied* (Longwood, Fla.: Xulon Press, 2007) 175–176.

124. MS draft of a Directory for fasting and thanksgiving and Of Singing of Psalms. Chad Van Dixhoorn does not note the latter as included in the MS, but it follows the directory for thanksgiving at the end of the draft, which is the House of Lord's copy (MP 1 Jan 1644/45). Chad B. Van Dixhoorn, "Chronological Bibliography of the manuscript and published papers of the Westminster Assembly," in "Reforming the Reformation: Theological debate at the Westminster Assembly, 1643–1652," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2004, item 66, 1.370. Dr. Van Dixhoorn notes that the main papers of the House of Lords are housed at the House of Lords Record Office, and the Westminster related documents are in Historical Manuscripts Reports 4–7, filed by date, which is not necessarily the correct date of writing (1.362).

125. See the editions of the Confession of Faith and the Directory

does not mean the Divines were prescient in using the term loosely and generally to "cover" future controversies. No; they were very precise. They simply authorized that upon which they could all agree upon was a biblical practice. This practice was singing the 150 Psalms of David, which can be illustrated by looking solely at the work and official documents of the Westminster Assembly itself.

Psalm vs. psalm

Before proceeding, it may be useful to address the question of whether the usage of a capital or small "p" has any bearing on the intent of the Divines. Brian Schwertley writes regarding the term "psalm" at 21.5, that some

like to point out the fact that the word psalm is not capitalized, as if this proves the word is used in some vague, generic sense. The problem with this argument is the simple fact that the authors [of] the Westminster Standards only capitalized the word Psalms when it was used as a *title* of the whole book.¹²²

Daniel F. N. Ritchie, following Schwertley, argues as follows:

It is clearly evident that when the Westminster Divines referred to the title of the book of Psalms they used capitalisation. However, when they referred to an individual psalm or to a psalter (psalm book) they did not use capitalisation. So the fact that the word 'psalm' is not spelt with a capital in the *Westminster Confession* does not prove that it referred to any other songs outside the book of Psalms.¹²³

In this writer's opinion, making an argument one way or the other is not determinative of anything. The fact of the matter is that editions of the Standards vary in their usage. In the first edition with Scripture proofs, in Confession of Faith 21.5, the term is capitalized, which would undercut those who would use lower case usage to argue for the general sense of "psalm." In the manuscript of the Directory for Worship presented to the House of Lords, it is not clear that there is any distinction in the case where the word "psalm" is used in the section on "Singing of Psalms,"¹²⁴ and in one of the earliest published editions the word is capitalized in every instance, all which obviates the unneeded attempt to answer the first claim.¹²⁵ On top of this, as demonstrated elsewhere, the printers were usually the ones to determine usage as to the accidentals of the text

such as capitalization.¹²⁶ The tendency at the time was also to overuse capitalization, all of which was rather uniformly stripped out for the first time in the E. Robertson edition of 1756.¹²⁷ Thus the controversy over big “P” versus little “p” doesn’t really resolve anything as far as the meaning of the word “psalm” at Confession of Faith 21.5.

“Psalm” in the Context of the Westminster Standards

The Assembly’s meaning of the term psalm has to be understood in the context of the development of their various productions and understanding the guiding principle laid out in the Solemn League and Covenant that the subscribers would “endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church Government, Directory for Worship and Catechising; that we, and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.” The Assembly had an outline for their work.

The Directory for Worship

The first document the Assembly produced was the *Directory for the Publick Worship of God*, which states: “It is the duty of Christians to praise God publicly, by singing of psalms together in the congregation, and also privately in the family. In singing of psalms, the voice is to be tunably and gravely ordered; but the chief care must be to sing with understanding, and with grace in the heart, making melody unto the Lord. That the whole congregation may join herein, every one that can read is to have a psalm book....”

The Directory was completed late in 1644 and approved in January 1645. Those sections dealing with public worship included:

- Of Publick Reading of the Holy Scriptures.
- Of Preaching of the Word.
- Of the Sacrament of Baptism.
- Of the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper.
- Of Publick Solemn Fasting.
- Of the Observation of Days of Publick Thanksgiving.
- Of Singing of Psalms.

The Psalter

Regarding “Of Singing of Psalms,” the idea to publish an approved Psalter for public worship, was first

proposed in late 1643, a year prior to the completion of the Directory.

“The first thing done this morning was, that Sir Benjamin Rudyard brought an order from the House of Commons, wherein they require our advice, whether Mr. Rous’s Psalms may not be sung in churches; and this being debated, it was at last referred to the three Committees, to take every one fifty Psalms.”¹²⁸

In the Directory the concern is expressed that “every one that can read” should have a psalm book, which at that point would have referred to the intended production by the Assembly. One of the guiding principles was that the new paraphrase envisioned be faithful to the original language; another, was that it would contain nothing but the 150 Psalms.

Prior to this time in Scotland, the practice had been exclusive or nearly exclusive psalm singing in public worship. Earlier Psalters did include what were called “conclusions,” and some “other Scripture songs,” and doxologies; but these were various introductions by the printers and were not authorized by the Scottish Kirk itself. The case presented over a century ago by the Scottish antiquary David Hay Fleming, is still sound, that it is very doubtful the other Scripture songs were used in public worship in Scotland.¹²⁹ On the other hand, the “conclusions,” and the Gloria Patria, neither

for Worship in *Westminster Standards: Limited Anniversary Edition*. CD version (Audubon, N.J.: Old Paths Publications, 1997).

126. Chris Coldwell, “Examining the Work of S. W. Carruthers: Justifying a Critical Approach to the Text of the Westminster Standards and Correcting the 18th Century Lineage of the Traditional Text,” *The Confessional Presbyterian* 1 (2005).

127. *The Confession of Faith*, etc. (Edinburgh: E. Robertson, 1756). Prior 18th century editions capitalize “Psalms” at 21.5. This is the case in the important editions by Dunlop (1719) and Lumisden and Robertson (1728; 1736; 1744). The Reformed Presbyterian edition of 1725 (the rival to Dunlop’s collection of Scottish standards) and later reprints retained the capitalization of Psalms as well (*The Confessions of Faith, Catechisms*, etc. [Edinburgh: Lumisden and Robertson, 1725; 1739]; *The Confessions*, etc. [Glasgow: John Bryce, 1764, 1785]).

128. Lightfoot’s Journal, November 22, 1643 cited in *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, A.M.*, ed. David Laing, Esq. (Edinburgh: Printed for Robert Ogle, [1841–1842]) 3:536–537.

129. David Hay Fleming, “The Hymnology of the Reformation,” *Original Secession Magazine* (January–June and September 1884). This was reprinted in *An Anthology of Presbyterian & Reformed Literature* 4 (1991) 223–246. How exactly to understand the fact that the Scottish General Assembly approved a project to render the “other Scripture songs” into meter at the same time they were working to improve the Westminster Assembly’s Psalter, which they would eventually adopt in 1650, is fraught with difficulties, since the original minutes are no longer extant. It clearly was not as serious a project as the Psalter and it may be doubted if the original intention was that it be for public worship, particularly since they had not been used before that time as demonstrated by Hay Fleming. Some

of which had any more official basis apparently than the other songs, probably slowly became customary to sing in worship from the time prelacy grew in Scotland until the 1638 Reformation (Hay Fleming, *Anthology*, 4.237). The singing of the doxology and another custom of the minister bowing in the pulpit were abolished as lacking Scripture warrant, the latter officially, the other left as Gillespie notes “to let desuetude abolish it” (*Anthology*, 4.242).¹³⁰

The “conclusions” were apparently commonly sung by both Scottish Presbyterian and English Independent

have used this fact to argue that the Kirk was open to expanding its corpus of song, but that this particular project failed because of the poor merit of the end result (William Annan, *Letters on Psalmody: A Review of the Leading Arguments for the Exclusive Use of the Book of Psalms* [Philadelphia, Pa.: W.S. & A. Martien, 1859] 134). If it was the desire of the Scottish Kirk to do so, it was still with the understanding the material had to be inspired Scripture. There is no hint in any extant material by the Assembly of Divines that they ever discussed whether the other songs in Scripture were to be sung in worship. This ‘other Scripture song’ project needs to be interpreted first in the context of the Scottish Kirk, before attempting to make it interpretive of the Assembly’s intent. Indeed, it is possible the project failed precisely because it did not square with the vision of uniformity laid out by the Solemn League & Covenant. Andrew Edgar writes in *Old Church Life in Scotland: Lectures on Kirk-session and Presbytery Records*, ([London: Alexander Gardner, 1885] 79): “Possibly Mr. Boyd’s labours were not found very satisfactory, for his Scripture rhymes have not the melody of Milton’s muse; but whether his labours were satisfactory or not, the deference thought due to the English Presbyterians in 1650, and the rise soon after of engrossing troubles in the kingdom, were sufficient to account for the temporary abandonment of the project compilation. After the great bubble of uniformity with England in doctrine, worship, and Church government, had burst, and the Church of Scotland was at the Revolution established anew on her old separate national Presbyterian basis, the attention of the General Assembly was again directed to the subject of Scriptural songs, as a supplement to the metrical version of the Psalms.”

130. The case of the Gloria Patria is interesting. Gillespie cites it in his Notes, and presents Calderwood as defending the singing of it because Ambrose and Hilarius, despite their strict rejection of singing any songs composed by men, did sing the Gloria Patria (*Anthology*, 2.242). Gillespie’s reply was to correct the reading, by noting the canon cited actually imported that the two did not sing it. This would seem to imply that underlying the agreement to let the practice lapse was the fact that it was not inspired, and since bowing in the pulpit was rejected as lacking scriptural warrant, perhaps an additional assumption might be made regarding uninspired hymnody? Baillie, as keenly as he defended the “conclusions,” did so as Scripture paraphrases (*Anthology*, 2.241, 246). And Hay Fleming notes: “In conclusion, it is worthy of remark that Baillie, Burnet, and Edwards, in pleading for the doxology, maintain that it is founded on Scripture. And, further, that Baillie, in his conference with those yeoman who refused to sing it, says, ‘We have it but once almost in one *spiritual song*, for every portion of the *Psalms*, which is right divided is a full *spiritual hymn* to us.’ And this may be taken as an indication of what that ardent champion of the doxology understood by the words Psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs” (*Anthology*, 2.246).

alike. Despite that, Baillie states that they were abandoned because the “Popish and Prelatical party did so much dote” on the practice. However, Hay Fleming, citing Livingstone, suggests that there may have been a more common objection to the “conclusions” among the Scottish populace (*Anthology*, 4.241). Whatever the reason, the result is that it was agreed to drop them in the new Psalter.

The Confession of Faith

The latter part of *The Confession of Faith*, including chapter 21, was completed in December 1646, and it was approved in Scotland on August 27, 1647. Not surprisingly, the parts of worship that they articulate correspond to the sections of the Directory. The ordinary parts of worship are:

“The Reading of Scriptures with godly fear”
 “the sound preaching, and conscionable hearing of the word”
 “singing of psalms with grace in the heart”
 “due administration and worthy receiving of the sacraments instituted by Christ”

And the extraordinary are:

Religious oaths and vows
 Solemn fastings and thanksgivings

This is the disputed passage where some wish to broaden the meaning of the term psalm beyond a reference to strictly the 150 Psalms of David. However, keeping in mind the work of the Assembly as a whole, and in the context of the goal of uniformity of worship as laid out by the Solemn League & Covenant, there is no reason to force another meaning upon the phrase “singing of psalms” in one document as opposed to the other. It is very clear the Directory is speaking of a Psalm book, the Psalter the Divines produced contained only the 150 Psalms, and the parts of worship noted in the Confession match those articulated in the directory. Thus the natural reading and reference in the full context of the Assembly’s work is to the singing of the 150 psalms of David as that which was authorized for the public worship of God in the three kingdoms.

Again, it has to be kept in mind that the work of the Assembly was a package deal outlined by the Solemn League & Covenant, and each production is not some disparate separate production to be interpreted without context. Further to illustrate this contention, the linkage of the Directory to the Psalter of just the 150 Psalms, and

both to the Confession, in conformity to the endeavor for uniformity in religion, is confirmed by the Scottish commissioners to the Westminster Assembly.

Gillespie said the following in his speech at the August 1647 meeting of the Scottish General Assembly:

For the next Head of our Commission, ye know the Directory for Worship is settled long ago by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms. I confess it is not yet observed by all there so as it ought, yet it is observed by many, to the great good of that land. We shall only add to that head, the matter of the Psalms; all grant that there is a necessitie of the change of the old Paraphrase. This new Paraphrase was done by a Gentleman verie able for the purpose, but afterward it was revised by a Committee of the Assembly of Divines, accordingly to the original, and was approved by the whole Assembly (Cited in Baillie, 3.451).

Baillie in his speech before the Assembly on August 6, 1647, remarks:

I was glad to be a carrier of a Confession of Faith; also of a Psalter, which to my knowledge had cost the Assembly some considerable paines, and is like to be one necessary part of the three Kingdoms uniformitie” (Baillie, 3.12).

And finally, in a paper by the Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly to the Grand Committee in London, December 29, 1646, and subsequently presented by Baillie to the Commission of the General Assembly in January 1647, it is written:

Wherfor in pursuance of the ends of the Covenant, in discharge of that trust which is committed to us, as likewise that some of our number who are now to returne into Scotland may be able to give farther accompt to the Parliament of that kingdom, and to the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly at Edinburgh (both being now assembled), we have taken this occasion (without the least presuming to prescribe any wayes or to impose conditions) to renew our most earnest desires to the Honourable Houses of Parliament, and to the reverend Assembly of Divines for their part, that all possible care may be taken, and greater diligence used, to expedite the begun Reformation and Uniformity, to supply and make up those parts that are yet wanting, and to put on and make effectually what is already agreed upon. More particularly we do desire that

some effectually course may be provided by Ordinance of Parliament for the taking of the Solemn League and Covenant, by all persons, as well as in all places of this kingdom, and some considerable penalty or punishment (such as the honourable Houses in their wisdom shall think fitt) may be appointed for such as refuse to take it (much more for such as reproach it or speak against it), and that by authority of both Houses of the Parliament of England, the Covenant, Confession of Faith, Directory of Worship, Forme of Government and Catechisms may be settled in Ireland as well as in England, according to the first article of the Solemn League and Covenant. Wee also desire that the Catechisme (now before the Assembly of Divines) may be perfected so soon as is possible: that the Confession of Faith may be established by authority of Parliament and immediately thereafter sent into Scotland (as the Directory of Worship was), to be agreed unto by that Church and kingdom, it being the cheefeest part of that Uniformity in Religion, which both kingdoms stand bound by Covenant to endeavour: that course may be taken for the better observing the Directory of Worship, which is, in many places of this kingdom, either wholly or in diverse material points neglected. And because the singing of psalmes in Churches is a part of the public worship of God, We desire that the Paraphrase of the Psalmes in meter, as it is now examined, corrected, and approved by the Assembly of Divines here, and by the Commissioners of the Gen. Assembly in Scotland, may be likewise authorized and established by Ordinance of Parliament.”¹³¹

That the fulfillment of the need to provide for the

Continued on Page 303.

131. See *The Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland Holden in Edinburgh in the Years 1646 and 1647. Edited from the Original Manuscript by Alexander F. Mitchell, D.D., LL.D. and James Christie, D.D. with an Introduction by the former* (Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1892) 182–183. See also Baillie, 3.540, where the last portion about the Psalter is cited. It has already been noted that capitalization is not a sound guide to meaning, but interestingly Mitchell as cited above does not capitalize “psalm” in both occurrences, while Laing does so in his transcription given in Baillie’s *Letters and Journal*. Laing, who also edited Knox’s Works and other such material from manuscript, obtained the MS Records for his work in preparing Baillie’s journals for publication, and possessed them for nearly fifty years, until Mitchell arranged to obtain them for his work, which he did shortly after Laing’s death. Both men, working from the manuscript of the Commissions’ Records sought to reproduce the text accurately as for spelling and capitalization, which indicates perhaps that there may be difficulty determining if in this case the “p” is capital or lower case in both instances.

Presbyterians in the South and the Slave: A Study in Benevolence

By C. N. Willborn, Ph.D.

INTRODUCTION

Patriarchalism in the old South has received much attention in scholarship on the antebellum period in U.S. history. There is good reason for this, for “Patriarchal prerogatives were deeply embedded in the domestic law of every state in antebellum America,” writes S. McCurry, “but perhaps nowhere were they so vigorously observed as in South Carolina.” John Boles, a leading historian of Southern culture, insists that slave owners wanted “to be seen as paternalistic.... Thus the owner felt righteous, the slaves projected their anger onto the overseer, and the overseer felt himself to be in an untenable position.”¹ Both McCurry and Boles are representative of historians who paint the paternalism of white slave owners as evidence of their hypocrisy and a matter of pragmatism rather than moral conviction.

There can be little doubt that there were masters who adopted a philosophical paternalism in dealing with those they owned. This is reflected in various

beneficial laws that governed dietary matters amongst slaves. Likewise, there is reason to believe that some, if not many masters, adopted such a philosophy for pragmatic reasons, knowing, for example, that the better a slave is fed, the healthier the slave, the more productive the slave. However, there is an aspect of southern paternalism that ought not to be dismissed summarily. There were masters who had a paternalistic relationship toward and with their slaves, not to ward off state officials, not simply for greater productivity, but out of genuine desire for the improvement of the lives of the slaves. The exercise of a biblical paternalistic care would benefit the slave in both this life and the life to come. A number of Southern Presbyterian ministers preached and practiced the biblical obligations of paternalism and exhorted their hearers to act fatherly and as a good neighbor toward the poor and needy.²

While there can be little doubt that both economics and fear shaped the way Southerners viewed slaves and slavery, there is another aspect of the relationship to be considered: the “peculiar institution” engendered many affectionate relationships between whites and blacks in the antebellum South. Charles Colcock Jones, “Apostle to the Negro Slaves,” provides an example of close relations between master and slave. “The Jones’ relationship with these domestic servants,” writes Erskine Clarke, “was kind and paternal: they were regarded as part of the household and were looked upon with genuine affection.”³ These warm relations induced men such as Methodist Bishop William Capers, Lutheran John Bachman, Episcopal Bishops Gadsden and Elliott, and Presbyterians Thomas Smyth, John B. Adger, and John L. Girardeau, to work arduously for the welfare of the slaves.

The aim of this brief paper is to illustrate the genuine concern a number of our Presbyterian forefathers had for the slaves and freedmen of the nineteenth century

THE AUTHOR: Dr. C. N. Willborn is Associate Professor of Church History at Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary and a minister in the Presbyterian Church in America. He is a contributing editor to *The Confessional Presbyterian*.

1. Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) 85; John B. Boles, *The South Through Time*, 2 vols. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1995) 1:207. Paternalism is “the system, principle, or practice of managing or governing individuals, businesses, nations, etc., in the manner of a father dealing benevolently and often intrusively with his children” (Random House Unabridged Dictionary).

2. Richard C. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964) 133. In this volume Wade makes the common assumption that churches for the slaves were concerned with instructing them in obedience toward masters in particular, and whites in general (82). However, there were masters and ministers who practiced and preached paternalism based upon the Scriptures that benefited the slaves temporally and eternally. More will be said on this in a later section.

3. Erskine Clarke, *Wrestlin’ Jacob: A Portrait of Religion in Antebellum*

Southern United States. It is my hope that prejudices against a certain class of men—in this case, white Presbyterian ministers—can be allayed so that valuable ministry lessons can be learned from our past and applied to our present social and cultural situations. At the heart of this demonstration is an overview of the exemplary ministry of John L. Girardeau of Charleston.

PRELIMINARY EXAMPLES

Students of American Presbyterian history remember the labors of Samuel Davies (1723–1761) and his promotion of religious freedom and toleration within the British colonial context of Virginia. The same students may also recollect Davies' role in founding historic Hanover Presbytery and his fame as a gospel preacher. Of equal interest should also be his efforts among and for the blacks of rural central Virginia. He had a sizeable number of blacks under his charge and spent much time educating and evangelizing them.⁴ His labor of love had lasting effect as testified by one who wrote as late as 1843 that he had "seen persons born in Africa who were baptized by Mr Davies, and by his care had been taught to read; and have seen in their hands, the books given to them by this eminent preacher."⁵ The slaves were the chief objects of Davies' compassion and this compassion was expressed largely by teaching them to read and providing them good reading materials.

Someone may ask, "Were not the masters opposed to such education?" The answer is a simple "no." As Davies expressed it, even masters who had little or no religion or were bigots "freely allowed" their slaves to learn (Pilcher, 111). Almost without exception, masters believed religious education would make slaves good Christians, not dissenters. Davies believed the same and cast himself into this labor of love. Such was his affection and devotion to the sheep of his fold, both white and black.

Farther south and a couple of generations later, the name Charles Colcock Jones, Sr. (1804–1863) appeared in the annals of history. Jones was of a significant family in Liberty County Georgia. He was educated for the gospel ministry at Andover Theological Seminary (1827–1829) and Princeton Theological Seminary (1829–1830). The Georgian served as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Savannah, Georgia (1831–1832), professor of church history and polity at the Presbyterian seminary in Columbia, South Carolina (1835–1838 and 1847–1850; now Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Georgia). He also served his beloved Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Old

School) as general secretary of the Board of Domestic Mission (1850–1853). Jones, however, is most famous for his benevolent ministry to the slaves of lowcountry Georgia—a ministry that earned him the deserved title of "Apostle to the Negro Slaves."⁶

While Presbyterians like Davies, Archibald Alexander, and John Holt Rice, had made gallant efforts to educate, evangelize, and improve the plight of slaves, general conditions had worsened by the time Jones was considering his ministerial calling. The number of slaves who could read was fractional in the United States. Some states, Jones lamented, "forbid all knowledge of letters to the Negroes."⁷ Ministers also had failed in their attention to slaves and religious education.

In response to the general malaise, Jones organized an Association for the Religious Instruction of the Negroes (1836), which was to aid the slaves of Liberty County and beyond. Jones formed chapels and Sabbath schools on plantations throughout the Georgia lowcountry to aid in the instruction of the black children. The reason for the Sabbath schools was three-fold: first, the parents of these children were largely ill-prepared to educate their own children; second, there were "but few of the masters who instruct them at home" (Thompson, 1.439); third, and supremely, the concern for the spiritual well-being of the many children born into slavery.

Georgia and the Carolina Low Country (reprint, Tuscaloosa, Ala.: The University of Alabama Press, 2000) 17, xxv. It should be noted that this paternalism or patriarchalism influenced men to provide gospel instruction for the uneducated and "poor Negroes." This, of course, would be considered by many as the ultimate expression of kindness. Illustrations of this biblical paternalism in the Jones family may be seen in Robert Manson Myers, *The Children of Pride: A True Story of Georgia and the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972); and Erskine Clarke, *Dwelling Place: A Plantation Epic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005). Examples may also be found in family accounts from Benjamin Morgan Palmer, *Broken Home: Lessons in Sorrow* (reprint, Greenville, SC: Reformed Academic Press, 1994).

4. For a helpful (albeit brief) discussion of Davies' ministry to the slaves see George William Pilcher, *Samuel Davies: Apostle of Dissent in Colonial Virginia* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1971) 107–115.

5. "Review of Charles C. Jones, *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States* (n.p., 1842)," *The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review* XV (1843) 26–27. Since the reviewer claims first hand knowledge of the fruit of Davies' ministry, it is likely Archibald Alexander wrote the review.

6. For a useful overview of Jones' life see Clarke, *Wrestlin' Jacob: A Portrait of Religion in Antebellum Georgia and the Carolina Low Country*, 3–81. Also see Eduard N. Loring, "Charles C. Jones, Missionary to Plantation Slaves, 1831–1847" (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1976).

7. Quoted in E. T. Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South*, 3 vols. (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1963–1973) 1:435.

After several years of interacting with masters and slaves, Jones wrote that many in his region were convinced of the need to do more for the slaves than they had done but did not know how.⁸ His goal was to do more for the slaves and to educate and excite the white citizenship to greater concern and care for them. He did this through his exemplary ministry, public meetings, and publications. His publications included a series of tracts on the subject, a two-hundred and seventy-seven page manual entitled *The Religious Instruction of Negroes In the United States* (1842), and *A Catechism of Scripture* (1845), to mention a few.⁹

"Dr. Jones," wrote E. T. Thompson, "spoke plainly to the servants; he also spoke plainly to their masters." Much of his plain talk was adopted and circulated by Southern churches. For example, a committee report solicited by the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia was received and adopted in 1833. In the report, written by Jones, the Church was exhorted to greater love and care for the slaves. "Religion will tell the master," exclaimed Jones, "that his servants are his fellow-creatures and he has a Master in heaven to whom he shall account for his treatment of them.... The master will be led to inquiries of this sort: In what kind of houses do I permit them to live? What clothes do I give them to wear? What food to eat? What privileges to enjoy? In what temper and manner and proportion to their crimes are they punished?" (Thompson, 1.440).

In 1845, leading citizens¹⁰ of Charleston, South Carolina invited Jones to "the Holy City" to headline a

series of meetings on the topic of benevolence toward the slaves of the Carolina lowcountry. The findings and results are discernible from the published report when the committee writes: "But this document [a record of the meetings] possesses an interest independent of its practical details. The concern which it shows to be deeply and extensively felt, for the religious and moral improvement of our colored population—a concern which can arise only from a religious sentiment—is itself a subject of congratulation."¹¹ There was in the South, among civic, political, and ecclesiastical leaders, a "deeply and extensively felt" "religious sentiment" for the slaves and their plight. As they said, this religious sentiment existed "independent of its practical details." In this case at least, their paternalism was religious or gospel motivated and centered.

The positive efforts of concerned Southerners toward slaves spanned denominational and political bounds. Lutherans, Episcopalians, Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians labored on behalf of the slaves and involved their black brothers in the labors of the church. This was true in the rural South, with men like C. C. Jones in Georgia and James Smylie in Mississippi. Likewise, the urban centers of the South were blessed with men of the same conviction. Perhaps no single ministry exemplified that genuine concern for the slaves better than Second Presbyterian Church in Charleston.

In 1837, Thomas Smyth (1808–73)¹² wrote a letter to the congregation of Second Presbyterian Church as they prepared for their annual "corporation" meeting. In the letter the pastor pleaded with the congregation to follow the desires of their pastor and session in providing better conditions for the "coloured people" in public worship. Smyth reminded them that the gallery was oppressively hot in the summer months, and that needed to be remedied. If the gallery windows (which were for light not for ventilation) could not be made to open, then the black membership should be allowed to sit on the main floor!¹³

This exemplifies some of the concerns Smyth had for the blacks—free and slave—of Charleston. This concern and interest was multiplied when his brother-in-law John Bailey Adger returned home in 1846 from a twelve year missionary stint in Armenia. Adger's concern for the slaves led him to remain in his beloved South Carolina where he cast his lot with Smyth to increase and improve the church's attention to the moral and religious needs of the slave population.

Adger became a major voice in Southern Presbyterianism for religious instruction of the Africans and improved conditions for them. In 1847, with approval

8. *Charleston Observer*, April 30, 1842.

9. Charles Colcock Jones, *The Religious Instruction of Negroes. In the United States* (Savannah, GA: Thomas Purse and Co., 1842). This work is available online as *The Religious Instruction of Negroes. In the United States. Electronic Edition. The University of North Carolina, Documenting the American South; A Catechism of Scripture, Doctrine and Practice: For Families And Sabbath Schools, Designed also for the Oral Instruction of Colored Persons*, 3rd ed. (Savannah, GA: Thomas Purse and Co., 1845).

10. The leading citizens formed an impressive committee to execute the meetings. The committee included: Daniel Huger, R. Barnwell Rhett, Robert W. Barnwell, Henry Bailey, Daniel Ravenel, F.R. Shackleford, W. Curtis, Benjamin Gildersleeve, William Capers, and W.H. Barnwell. Other ecclesiastical and civic leaders involved were T. Drayton Grimke, C. G. Memminger, Richard Fuller, and Thomas Smyth.

11. *Proceedings of the Meeting in Charleston, SC May 13–15, 1845 on the Religious Instruction of the Negroes* (Charleston, SC: B. Jenkins, 1845) 6.

12. See Erskine Clarke, "Thomas Smyth: Moderate of the Old South" (Th.D. Thesis, Union Theological Seminary, 1970).

13. Thomas Smyth, *Autobiographical Notes, Letters and Reflections*, ed. Louisa Cheves Stoney (Charleston: Walker, Evans, Cogswell Co., 1914) 159.



In 1847 J. B. Adger began holding meetings for slaves in the Lecture Hall on Society Street in Charleston (above). A church building for blacks was erected in 1850 on Anson Street (left). Both buildings still stand today.

of the Presbytery of Charleston and under the authority of the Second Presbyterian session, he began holding meetings for the slaves in the Lecture Hall on Society Street, which was owned by the church. Adger labored with a singular affection for the black brothers of Charleston. He taught them the Scriptures, catechism, psalms and hymns. The intention of Adger was to provide instruction and worship for the slaves that would raise them out of their ignorance and superstition. Thus, Adger provided an avenue for many to become Christians and many more to become better Christians.

It soon became evident that the Society Street location was insufficient for the work. Adger and Smyth recognized that the work needed a more suitable facility and one that was more obviously that of the blacks. In 1850, after no little opposition from sectors of the community, a handsome church edifice was erected at 91 Anson Street by the membership of Second Presbyterian Church.¹⁴ The building seated several hundred worshippers, with the black members taking the main floor seats.¹⁵ The seating priority was a visible reminder to whites and blacks alike that the Anson Street building was built for and existed for the blacks.

As one might imagine, the endeavor was of some concern to white citizens. “The idea of building a church,” Adger wrote, “where negroes were to assemble

for worship separate from the whites, even though the minister was to be a white man, and the Sunday-school teachers all white gentlemen and ladies, was not only novel, but, to many persons, alarming.”¹⁶ There were those who worried that church buildings of this sort would foster dissent and lead to uprisings against the status quo. Adger would bend to none of this alarmist rhetoric. “They belong to us,” argued Adger. “We also belong to them.... They live with us, eating from the same store-houses, drinking from the same fountains, dwelling in the same enclosures, forming parts of the same families.... See them all around you. In these streets, in all these dwellings; a race distinct from us, yet closely united to us; brought in God’s mysterious providence from a foreign land, and placed under our care, and made members of our households. They fill the humblest places of our state of society; they serve us; they give us their strength, yet they are not more truly ours than we are theirs.”¹⁷ For Adger, his ministry was

14. The Anson Street Chapel is now home to St. John’s Reformed Episcopal Church, the grounds of which are adorned with the wrought-iron handy work of Charleston’s famous artisan Phillip Simmons. James Henley Thornwell preached the dedication sermon in 1850 on *The Rights and Duties of Masters*.

15. The wings of the building accommodated whites in attendance from Second Church and elsewhere, but it is most significant that the blacks were given priority in seating.

16. John B. Adger, *My Life and Times* (Richmond: The Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1899) 164.

17. *Ibid.*, 167. Sadly it is necessary to note that when Adger referred to the blacks as “a race distinct from us,” he is not espousing a polygenesis viewpoint. He with most Southerners held to one race created by God. Adger is simply referring to color and culture as the distinction.

not a social ploy to control the Africans; his labors were motivated by genuine Christian love for the poor and needy in his milieu and there were none more poor and needy than the slaves.

After five years, Adger's arduous labors for the slaves took its toll on his health. He was once again physically spent and began considering an able successor for the work on Anson Street. He found a kindred spirit in his fellow lowcountry friend, John L. Girardeau.¹⁸ Girardeau was of Huguenot descent, a son of a planter, and the product of a small Scottish-styled Presbyterian Church on James Island.¹⁹ Girardeau's love for the slaves had been nurtured on the plantation by his kind mother and he had grown up to possess an exceptional zeal for the spiritual education of and care for the black population of his beloved lowcountry and South.

AN EXPERIMENT IN ZION

In Charleston, Girardeau inherited Adger's Gothic style building on Anson Street. In 1855, under Girardeau's leadership, the mission work was formally organized as a Presbyterian Church with forty-eight black members and a number of white members, including three white elders (the influential Robert Adger being one) to provide spiritual oversight of the church membership.²⁰ By 1858, the numbers were too large for the Anson Street building and the citizens of Charleston raised \$25,000 to build a new building at the corner of Meeting Street and Calhoun Street.²¹ After a few setbacks, the construction was completed and 500 black members and a hundred more white members held the inaugural service in the largest church building in South Carolina—seating approximately 1,500. The black membership chose the name for their new home—Zion Presbyterian Church. By the time of the War Between the States the black membership, mostly slaves, was 600. Girardeau was preaching

to 2500 slaves, free blacks, and whites twice each Sunday. With such large numbers under their charge, Girardeau and the white elders chose spiritually qualified men from among the black numbers to serve as "watchmen" over "classes" of fifty. The "classes" were grouped according to residence in the city, much like the parish system of Scotland. The watchmen met monthly with the elders for reports on the welfare of their little flocks. The watchmen were responsible for instructing their classes and providing financial stipends from the church treasury to those slaves in need. They also provided basic marital advice, as well as, premarital counseling.

Girardeau, his elders, and the watchmen held many classes for the instruction of the slaves in the catechism of the church, the Bible, and Psalms and hymns for singing. They were so successful that some of their opponents were convinced they were violating the state's law (1834) that forbade the teaching of slaves to read. The public wedding services for slaves held at Zion also raised the ire of a few of Charleston's choicest bigots. That the slaves could and would celebrate marriages by strolling down the city's fashion center "in silks, satins and feathers," raised a number of objections through the local newspapers.²² In the face of numerous and varied distractions, the work grew steadily until that fateful day when the sky over Charleston Harbor and Fort Sumter was filled with the fire and smoke of the War.

Girardeau continued his labors unabated until 1862 when he joined the ranks of many ministers as a chaplain in a South Carolina Regiment. Throughout the war, however, he returned to Charleston where he and his fellow elders continued to exercise as much care for their black flock as possible, even receiving new members into the Zion family. The final months of the war found Girardeau imprisoned in the Northern prison of Johnson's Island on Lake Erie.

Though many black Charlestonians were scattered across the Southern landscape at the close of the war, there were some remnants from the old Zion Church remaining in Charleston. Additionally, in September 1865, significant numbers of white Charlestonians began to return to the city. They had left the city to escape the ravages of war and found refuge in rural locations throughout the coastal plains, midlands, and hill country of the Palmetto State. Girardeau's family, for example, had fled their Bull Street home late in the military campaign and found safety in rural Darlington County, near Timmonsville. Late in the summer of 1865, however, the downtrodden and displaced white Carolinians were returning to their homes, and they found their churches closed.

18. See C. N. Willborn, "John L. Girardeau (1825–1898): Preacher to Slaves and Theologian of Causes" (Ph.D. diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 2003) and Douglas Kelly, *Preachers with Power: Four Stalwarts of the South* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1992).

19. James Island Presbyterian Church was founded in 1706 by the Church of Scotland minister Archibald Stobo. One of several churches started by Stobo, it maintained ties with the Scottish Church rather than the nascent American Presbyterian Church for some time.

20. There was a considerable disparity between membership and attendance numbers in Adger's formational years of slave ministry.

21. The property is presently home to a Holiday Inn. Visitors to the Holiday Inn will find a city map from 1871 which identifies Zion Presbyterian Church on its prominent location. Zion was razed in 1968 to make way for "urban progress."

22. *Charleston Mercury*, October 25, 1859.

According to a longtime friend of Girardeau, it was about this time that “[Girardeau] began to receive overtures from the Presbyterian young [black] men in Charleston” to return to his pulpit. His sense of duty and love for “the holy city” hastened his return. As Girardeau disembarked the train in the Charleston depot the “colored members of the church” greeted their pastor with “superabounding enthusiasm.”²³ While this does not agree with the banal image often portrayed of the Africans’ lackluster enthusiasm for white Southerners, it is no doubt true. Girardeau found a considerable number of black Carolinians anxiously awaiting his return to the pulpit.

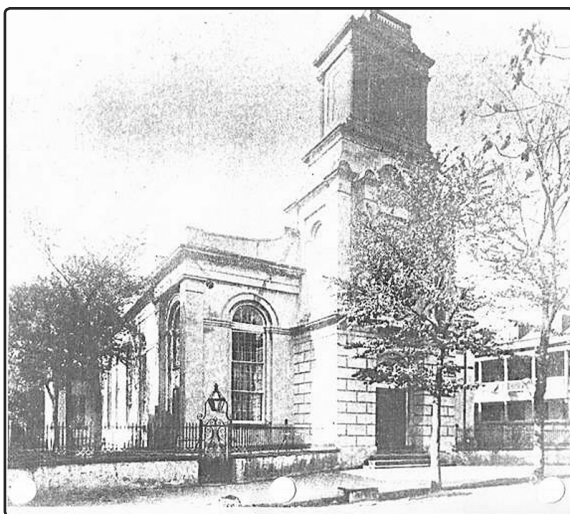
They were awaiting his return for indeed they had summoned him in a letter dated July 27, 1865. This was shortly after his grueling return from war and imprisonment. The letter speaks of their concern for Girardeau’s well-being and their desire for his return to them. It reveals a love for the man and his family that few textbooks recognize as having existed between whites and blacks, masters and slaves.

Rev’d Sir & pastor

We the undersign members of Zion Presbyterian Church embrace this opportunity, as one among the many good ones we have engaged in the past and in doing so you have our best wishishs for you health & that of you loveing family hopeing all are engaging that blessing of good health and realizing that fulfillment of god words those that put their truss in him shall never want.

This love for Girardeau is further expressed in their longing for him to return to them and resume his pastoral labors in their midst. “The past relations,” wrote the Zion members, “we have engaged together for many years as pastor and people are still in its bud in our every heart therefore we would well come you still as our pastor.”²⁴

From the time Girardeau returned to Charleston until he was able to reoccupy the Zion pulpit, fifteen months had elapsed.²⁵ Finally, “on Sabbath, December 23rd, 1866, the Rev. John L. Girardeau re-commenced services in the building.” Girardeau’s text for the occasion was “For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and ourselves your servant for Jesus’ sake,” (2 Corinthians 4:5). While no manuscript exists of this sermon there are a few points that appear obvious. First, he preached Christ. There can be little doubt that Girardeau reminded his listeners that he had always been faithful in preaching Jesus to them. He was



Zion Presbyterian Church (White), Glebe Street (top) and Zion Presbyterian Church (Colored), Calhoun Street (bottom).

no moralizer or politician in the pulpit. Indeed, he may have reminded his black brothers that his catechism²⁶ was replete with the gospel, without mention of master-

23. D. W. McLaurin, “The Confederate Chaplain,” in *The Life Work of John L. Girardeau, D.D., LL.D.*, ed. George A. Blackburn (Columbia, S.C.: State Co., 1916) 123; Thomas H. Law, D.D., “Pastorate After the War,” 135.

24. Paul Trescoat, et al to The Reverend J. L. Girardeau, July 27, 1865, Microfilm #160, SCL. The letter from the Zion leaders has been quoted verbatim without alteration in order to preserve the authenticity and sense of its historical context.

25. When Girardeau returned to Charleston he found his home on Bull Street and Zion Church occupied by Federal troops. It took over 12 months for Girardeau, Adger and others to convince the Federal Government that the claims of the Presbyterian Church USA (Northern Church) was in error when it claimed ownership of the Zion property.

26. John L. Girardeau, *A Catechism For The Oral Instruction of Coloured Persons* (Charleston: Evans and Cogswell, 1860). Girardeau’s catechism was one of several prepared and published by Southern ministers for their black and white parishioners.

slave relations. Second, in preaching Christ, Girardeau was also sending a message to the Northern detractors that their harassment over the past fifteen months or so was unjust. That Jonathan Gibbs²⁷ (the Northern missionary) would choose the property of Zion Presbyterian Church to occupy was a clear indication that he, and by association, the Committee that sent him, did not believe the South had been adequately preaching the gospel to the African-Americans. Girardeau's first sermon in the Zion pulpit issued a resounding "Not true!" to such an implication. Third, it would not be far-fetched to assume that Girardeau reminded his hearers that, while they were no longer slaves, he would continue to be their slave for Christ's sake. He was not free to do otherwise.

Girardeau wasted no time rebuilding the walls of Zion. First, a meeting was held to determine the total black membership that wished to continue as Freedmen in the Zion Presbyterian Church. Much to Girardeau's disappointment, only one hundred sixteen indicated their desire to remain in Zion. This reflected

27. Gibbs briefly attended Princeton Seminary before being ordained by the Presbytery of New York. After a short ministry in New York he served as pastor of First African Presbyterian Church in his native Philadelphia before traveling to the South to labor amongst the freedmen. He later entered politics in Florida.

28. John L. Girardeau, "Prefatory Notes," Thomas Smyth Papers, SCHS, 2.

29. With Zion confiscated by the Federals in 1865, Girardeau was invited to the Glebe Street Presbyterian Church to hold services for all Charleston Presbyterians. In 1866 the memberships of Zion and Glebe Street merged. Upon recovery of the Calhoun Street property late in 1866, Girardeau began holding services at Zion Glebe Street and Zion Calhoun Street. After 1875 and organic separation of the white and black churches, the churches lost their formal relationship—Zion Presbyterian Church (White), Glebe Street and Zion Presbyterian Church (Colored), Calhoun Street. Black citizens of Charleston today refer to the two churches as Big Zion (Calhoun Street) and Little Zion (Glebe Street).

30. *Minutes of Session of Zion Presbyterian Church, Glebe Street, October 3, 1867; April 1868; April 1869*, The Presbyterian Historical Society Philadelphia (PHS); From the *Minutes of Session of Zion Presbyterian Church, Glebe Street, March 6, 1870*, PHS, we learn that the infrastructure included a Committee on Sick, Gentlemen's Missionary Committee, Ladies' Missionary Committee, Visiting Committee, and a Ladies' Sewing Club.

31. *Minutes of Session of Zion Presbyterian Church, July 27, 1869*, PHS. The three hundred forty-five members dismissed to form the separate church, are listed by name in the said minutes. A good one third of the total were male with another large portion of the membership being youth and children.

32. The organization of Zion Presbyterian Church (Colored) reveals that Girardeau was forced to work in a socially and politically forged "make-shift" manner. Even though the two bodies were "separated" they were still governed as one church and considered by members as parts of a single whole.

the influence of Reconstruction and the less than enthusiastic attitudes of many Southerners toward their black brothers.

Nevertheless, Girardeau proceeded with the one hundred sixteen faithful, and on March 25, 1867, the session nominated seven men to serve as "Superintendents" over the new congregation. The election of Superintendents, rather than elders as Girardeau desired, was in accordance with the resolution of the 1866 General Assembly. The men were all members of Zion before the war and some had served as Watchmen or Leaders of the Classes. "In 1867," wrote Girardeau, "a fresh start in the teeth of many difficulties was made with 116 members of the 500."²⁸

Later in the year, with Joseph B. Mack at his side, Girardeau began rebuilding the infrastructure of old Zion. The 1867 records indicate a total membership—Zion Church, Calhoun Street and Glebe Street—of four hundred forty.²⁹ This included the one hundred sixteen freedmen. By March of 1868, the church had added sixty members. Fifty-one of the new additions came through profession of faith in Christ. There were nineteen infants baptized and seventeen adults. By March 1869 total communicants numbered five hundred sixty-one in Zion. Sabbath schools were once again instituted with two hundred enrolled. This number swelled to 750 scholars by 1875. While other conditions were still chaotic throughout the city, the South, and the Southern Presbyterian Church, there were some hopeful signs as evidenced by Zion.³⁰

In 1869, the General Assembly, following Girardeau's lead, made it possible for freedmen to be ordained as elders. Just as Girardeau had quickly moved to install superintendents in the newly restored work in 1867, he wasted little time in organizing the black membership into a "branch congregation" of Zion, complete with ordained elders. On Tuesday, July 27, 1869, the Session of Zion Presbyterian Church dismissed three hundred forty-five members to form the Zion Presbyterian Church (Colored), Calhoun Street. From this we learn that in two years the black membership of Zion under the beloved white pastor had grown from one hundred sixteen to three hundred forty-five.³¹ Thus, in 1869 the black membership constituted more than one-half the total membership of Girardeau's flock. This example offers some evidence that the integration of whites and the newly freed blacks into one church could have worked if it had been zealously pursued along the lines Girardeau recommended.³²

Upon the recommendation of Girardeau and the

Continued on Page 302.

Seminary Education

By Dr. Joseph A. Pipa, Jr.

Does the church need seminaries to train men for the ministry? This topic is important because while many take for granted the role of a seminary in training ministers, some suggest that the future of traditional, campus-based schools is up for grabs. So is a resident seminary the best way to train men for the ministry? The argument against resident seminary training is somewhat compelling. Results are not very impressive. In the past, the Presbyterian minister was normally one of the best educated men in town, but today we have arguably the worse trained generation of Presbyterian ministers in the history of American Presbyterianism. Just attend the typical Presbytery meeting or listen to the average preacher to see what I mean. Is it time to change strategies?

And what about expense? Is it worth the cost to maintain a campus when a student can study on-line? Moreover, what about the problem of doctrinal deviation? Do not seminaries eventually contribute to the decline of biblical denominations? Do they not eventually go bad and become a detrimental influence on churches?

The issue of how the church trains men for the ministry is of the utmost importance. I remain convinced that a confessionally grounded resident seminary is still the best system for the training of gospel ministers. I am involved in theological education at the seminary level because I believe that to a large degree the future of the Reformed seminary is the future of the Reformed church. But if we are to see blessings from God, there are certain things that we need to be doing.

I do not have space in this article to discuss the necessity of a well-trained ministry. The Bible clearly establishes the importance of ministerial training. For some examples, look at 1 Timothy 4:11–16 and 2 Timothy 2:1, 2, 15.¹

In order to understand where we are today in training

men for the ministry, we need to begin with the biblical and historical background for ministerial training. Why do we use seminaries? Is there a biblical basis for doing so? How did the whole idea of seminaries develop?

Let's begin to answer our questions with an overview of the history of the training of ministers. When did this training begin? Apparently theological training schools were begun under Samuel with those who were called the "sons of the prophets." We find the first mention of the group or the company of the prophets in 1 Samuel 10:5, 10 (see also 1 Samuel 19:19, 20; 1 Kings 20:35; 2 Kings 2:3, 5, 15; 4:1, 38; 5:22; 6:1). The prophetic office developed in Israel under the tutelage of Samuel. Men studied in these schools as they prepared to serve as prophets. The fact that most prophets came from these schools is seen further in Amos' response to the rebuke by Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, for prophesying at Bethel. Amos responded, "I am not a prophet, nor am I the son of a prophet; for I am a herdsman and a

THE AUTHOR: The Rev. Dr. Joseph A. Pipa, Jr. is President of Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Greenville, South Carolina. Among other writings, Dr. Pipa has edited and published with David W. Hall, *Did God Create in Six Days?* (Taylors, S.C.: Southern Presbyterian Press; Oak Ridge, Tenn.: The Covenant Foundation, 1999; Repr. Tolle Lege Press, 2005); with J. Andrew Wortman, *Reformed Spirituality: Communing with Our Glorious God* (Taylors, SC.: Southern Presbyterian Press, 2003); and with C. N. Willborn, *Confessing Our Hope: Essays in Honor of Morton Howison Smith on his Eightieth Birthday* (Taylors, S.C.: Southern Presbyterian Press, 2004). Dr. Pipa has also written *The Root & Branch: A Penetrating Look into the Person and Work of Jesus Christ* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Great Commission Publications, 1989), and a study guide to the Westminster Confession, *The Westminster Confession of Faith: Study Book, A Study Guide for Churches* (Great Britain: Christian Focus, 2005). His Ph.D thesis was "William Perkins and the Development of Puritan Preaching" (Westminster Theological Seminary, 1985).

1. See R.L. Dabney, *Discussions* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1982) 2.651ff. and William Cunningham, *An Introduction to Theological Studies* (Greenville, S.C.: A Press, 1994).

grower of sycamore figs” (Amos 7:14).² Amos was saying that he was not a regular prophet nor had he been trained at the school of the prophets. The fact that he would emphasize his lack of formal training suggests that he was the exception and not the rule. God called Amos in an extraordinary way, but normally the prophets came out of the schools.

The prophetic schools continued through the period of the divided kingdom. These schools of prophets would have been similar to our theological schools. The men probably would have studied the law of God, since the primary role of the prophetic office was to teach the law and interpret it in the context of the covenant and theocratic life of their day. So they would have been trained in the Scriptures and the interpretation of the Scriptures. Their training would have included history and historical writing, since they were the historians of the Old Covenant church (2 Chron. 12:15; 20:34 cf. 19:2). The training probably included musical and poetical training, as they made use of musical instruments and songs in their ministry. They also employed elaborate literary structure, suggesting poetical training.

Now it is instructive to remember that when a prophet preached or wrote he enjoyed the special inspiration of the Holy Spirit. The prophets wrote many books of the Old Testament under inspiration: in addition to the books bearing their names, they wrote the history books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles. The fact of inspiration raises an important question. Since they had the Holy Spirit, why did they need to go to school? The answer is that God used prepared men; men who studied for their task. We conclude, therefore, that the “school of the prophets” was basically an Old Covenant seminary.

Notice as well that within the “schools of the prophets” mentoring and discipleship played a very important role in the development of these men. God, in fact, used mentoring relationships throughout biblical history to train men for ministry; think of Moses and Joshua; or Elijah and Elisha. The concept of mentoring shows why those studying in the school of the prophets are called the “sons of the prophets.” The prophets-in-training were in a father-son relationship with their teachers. In the New Testament there is a continued emphasis on training. Christ chose the twelve that they might be with him (Mark 3:14). Although this encompassed the qualification of being eye witness of the ministry of Jesus Christ, it embraced instruction as well. The concept of discipleship is seen in Philip’s question, “Rabbi

... where are you staying?” They were seeking a discipleship relationship.

Paul, a product of Gamaliel’s school of theology, “educated under (at the feet of) Gamaliel, strictly according to the law of our fathers” (Acts 22:6), would have been well grounded in Old Testament as well as rabbinical studies. Nevertheless, he spent three years in the desert in further preparation being taught directly by Christ (Galatians 1:17, 18). Paul made it the pattern of his ministry to teach his young assistants and commanded Timothy to do the same (2 Timothy 2:1, 2).

Such relationships are essential to spiritual and ministerial formation and should be practiced in the church: pastors with elders, elders with other men in the church, women with other women in the church, parents with their children. One of our commitments at Greenville Seminary is to cap the enrollment of the student body at one hundred so that we will never lose the mentoring relationship. We recognize that we cannot accomplish our goals only in the classroom. Mentoring relationships must be developed and sustained.

Early on the post-apostolic church manifested a commitment to ministerial training. The most famous early school was in Alexandria where Clement of Alexandria began the Catechetical School. Initially the purpose of the school was to train new converts. Eventually the school began to train men for the ministry, and the Catechetical School of Alexandria became a theological center. Unfortunately, it was a theological center with a deviant foundation that led to theological problems because of its allegorical approach to the Scriptures and compromise with Greek philosophy. That school, to a great degree, shaped the direction of the church in the Middle Ages. Again we are reminded of the importance of theological education, and of the danger the seminary can be to the church. We must not forget that much of the error that arises in a denomination comes from the place where she gets her ministers. All of our seminaries and educational institutions need to be accountable to the church, otherwise they will eventually subvert the church. We will return to this problem later.

In the Middle Ages, the educational level of the parish priests was abysmal, but the monasteries kept learning alive. The monks, for the most part, were better educated than the priests. The monastic school tradition developed in Jerome’s Monastery School in Palestine and Cassiodorus’ Monastery School in Italy. Eventually, other schools developed around some of the great Cathedrals. In the twelfth century the monastic schools and the cathedral schools coalesced into Universities. The European universities gave rise to the development

2. All Scripture quotations are taken from the NASV.

of scholasticism and laid the foundation for the revival of learning called the Renaissance.

The Protestant reformers seized the institution of the University as an effective instrument to train men for the ministry. Almost to a man the reformers were university trained men and they recognized the usefulness of the university in propagating The Reformation.

During the Reformation a group of Protestant universities developed, following the pattern of the University of Wittenberg. Initially, Wittenberg was the most significant powerhouse of the Reformation as men came from all over Europe to study with Luther and Melancthon. In Geneva, one of Calvin's life-long goals was to establish the Academy. Finally in 1559, five years before he died, he was able to see the Academy established. Its primary purpose was to train men for the ministry.

Reformation and post-Reformation ministerial training emphasized the need to study the Scripture in the languages of Scripture, Greek and Hebrew. The commitment to study the Bible in the original languages is illustrated in Zwingli's preaching method in Zurich. When he began his ministry in Zurich he entered the pulpit with his Hebrew and Greek Bible and began to expound the Scriptures. Sadly, today many ministers and seminaries disparage the possibility of a man finishing seminary with a good working knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. Consequently, with respect to Greek and Hebrew, we have an illiterate ministry. Yet, it was the knowledge of Greek and Hebrew that, in great part, the Spirit used to give birth to the Reformation.

Let me give a very simple illustration. When Jerome translated the Latin Vulgate, he translated the word "metanoëo," which means "repentance," with a Latin idiom that meant "do penance." And thus for centuries the church based its doctrine of penance on this faulty translation. It was only as men began to read the New Testament in Greek did they properly understand the biblical concept was repentance and not penance. We are almost as bad off today when faulty English translations go unchallenged and Bible study notes are full of error.

Moreover, the *Westminster Confession of Faith* insists that "in all controversies of religion, the Church is finally to appeal unto them [original languages of the Bible]" (WCF 1.8). The Reformation understood this and so they instructed men then in the languages as well as in Biblical and Systematic Theology.

The Reformation also brought a shift in the instruction of Homiletics (the study of preaching). Up to the time of the Reformation, Homiletics had been taught

as a subset of classical rhetoric and Aristotelian logic. This approach destroyed preaching. With the Reformation, men began to understand the importance of preaching and that it should be taught distinct from rhetoric and logic (this is not to say that these subjects are unimportant). The Reformers insisted that Homiletics be taught as a separate subject, according to its Biblically defined purposes and scriptural principles. On the Continent, Hyperius wrote a Homiletics textbook that revolutionized preaching. While in England, William Perkins wrote *The Art of Prophecy* to train English preachers how to preach.

As one studies history, one realizes that there is nothing new under the sun. Today we find ourselves with the pre-Reformation problem of teaching preaching as a subset not of rhetoric, but of communication theory. Today in some seminaries communication theory has usurped the role of classical homiletics. Though rhetoric and communication theory are helpful, we need to teach homiletics as a distinct discipline.

For the most part, the training of ministers was carried on through the universities through the eighteenth century. The Puritans made effective use of Cambridge and Oxford to train young ministers, but they also used the concept of mentoring. Prospective ministers went to live with seasoned pastors to develop their pastoral skills.

When the Puritans came to New England, they brought their commitment to theological education. John Harvard gave the funds to establish Harvard so that the colony would have a well trained ministry. Fifty-two percent of the seventeenth-century Harvard graduates became ministers. When Harvard began to slip, Yale was formed; when Yale began to slip, Princeton developed. In fact, all but one of the Ivy League schools started as Christian schools. All the major denominations, Congregational, Anglican, and Presbyterian, were committed to the concept of an educated ministry. American Presbyterianism continued this tradition in the nineteenth-century.

Having laid the biblical and historical foundation for the use of schools in ministerial training, I want to focus on the particular method that developed in America.³ As I mentioned we inherited the university system of training men for the ministry, but other systems had

3. For further study in the development of seminary education in America see James W. Fraser, *Schooling the Preachers: The Development of Protestant Theological Education in the United States 1740-1875* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, Inc., 1988) and Glenn T. Miller, *Piety and Intellect: the Aims and Purposes of Antebellum Theological Education* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, © 1990).

developed as well. In England the non-conformists developed divinity halls to train ministers, while in Scotland the parsonage system, in which a young man would attach himself to a mature minister to study and prepare, was utilized.

In America, in addition to the University system, some began to implement the parsonage system for ministerial education. A young man would attach himself to a pastor to read divinity (In the same way a man would attach himself to a medical doctor to read medicine or to a lawyer to read law). Often there would be a set curriculum and the candidate would read and discuss with his mentor. He also would be engaged in the practical aspects of ministry.

However, the parsonage system was very inefficient for a geographically large country that was experiencing rapid growth. A more efficient system was needed to produce a sufficient number of trained ministers to keep pace with the growth of our country. So out of the parsonage system the academy developed. In the academy (the most famous being the Log College)⁴ a group of students would live with and study under a minister. But the need remained to train a larger number of men; so in the late eighteenth-century, the forerunner of seminaries developed. Three schools began: the Dutch Reformed developed one in New York; a group of Associated Presbyterians developed one in Geneva, Pennsylvania; and the Associate Reformed Church developed one in New York. Although the idea was good, these schools labored under a number of impediments: each had only one faculty member, a small library, and little financial endowment.

Thus a growing number of people saw the need for a well-endowed school that had more than one faculty member and a good library. And so in 1808, the Congregationalists in New England developed Andover Theological Seminary in Connecticut. Before they started, they had amassed a large library and endowment and they began with three full-time faculty members. This school was the first seminary in the United States. Three years later, in 1811, the Presbyterians started Princeton Theological Seminary.⁵ And in 1812, the Reformed Church in America started New Brunswick Theological Seminary. The purpose behind the founding of Princeton is instructive:

Inasmuch as the obtaining of salvation through Jesus Christ our Lord, to the glory of the eternal God, is the chief object which claims the attention of man; and considering, that in the attainment of this object the dispensation of the Gospel is principally instrumental; it is manifestly of the highest importance, that the best means be used to ensure the faithful preaching of the Gospel, and the pure administration of all its ordinances. With this view, therefore, institutions for the education of youth intended for the holy ministry, have been established in all Christian countries, and have been found, by long experience, most eminently conducive to the prosperity of the church. Hence the founders of the Presbyterian church in the United States of America did, from its very origin, exert themselves with peculiar zeal to establish and endow colleges, academies, and schools, for the education of youth for the Gospel ministry. So rapid, however, has been the extension of this Church, and so disproportionate, of late, has been the number of ministers educated, to the call which has been made for ministerial service, that some additional and vigorous efforts to increase the supply are loudly and affectingly demanded. Circumstances also do imperiously dictate, not only that the labourers in the vineyard of the Lord should be multiplied, but that they should be more thoroughly furnished than they have ordinarily been for the arduous work to which they must be called. Influenced by the views and considerations now recited, the General Assembly, after mature deliberation, have resolved in reliance on the patronage and blessing of the Great Head of the Church, to establish a new Institution, consecrated solely to the education of men for the Gospel ministry, and to be denominated, – the theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Calhoun, 415).

Remarkably, in a five year span three seminaries sprung up in the Northeast and by the 1860's sixty seminaries had been started in America. These schools laid the foundation for the Protestant seminary education in America, which system continues to be the predominant way men prepare for the ministry.

Princeton was the power house for the training of men for the Presbyterian ministry and the nursery for the modern missionary movement. She stood in the breach for a hundred years as a staunch defender of historic Calvinism. Alongside her Presbyterians developed a number of regional seminaries: among which were Union in Richmond, VA, Columbia in Columbia, SC, and Austin, in Austin, TX. As Princeton became

4. Archibald Alexander, *The Log College* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1968).

5. For an excellent study on Princeton see David B. Calhoun, *Princeton Seminary*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1994).

increasingly latitudinarian, J. Gresham Machen left and began Westminster Seminary. Westminster basically was formed on the plan of old Princeton. Westminster has been an influential propagator of Princeton Theology responsible for the development of many other Reformed institutions; directly, Westminster Seminary in California, or indirectly Covenant Seminary, Reformed Theological Seminary, and Greenville Seminary. When Dr. Morton Smith started Reformed Seminary and later Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, he used the plan of old Princeton. In a sense Greenville Seminary is a grandchild of old Princeton.

Moreover, the exciting thing today is that we are able to combine the best of seminary tradition with mentoring. Not only do faculty members mentor students, but also most reformed seminaries require students to do field work under pastor/mentors.

Also, with the advent of distance education, we see the possibility of the rise of parsonage and presbytery-centered training. Men may now do part of their seminary education under the tutelage of a local church or presbytery, taking courses by audio and video discs and on the Internet. At Greenville Seminary we are attempting to work with both local sessions and presbyteries to train men for the ministry. We are using a blend of taped and digitally recorded courses, live courses mediated by computer, local teaching, and men attending classes on campus for a minimum of twenty-four semester hours.

With respect to distance education, we need to keep two cautions in mind. First, private, non-social learning is not the best way to train men for the ministry. The classroom environment remains important in the development of well-balanced ministers. Second, we need to use the Internet with great caution. I trust we have learned our lessons from the television that the medium does shape the message. Hence, we need to be cautious in our use of the Internet. Resident based training, however, is still the most effective way to train men for the Gospel ministry.

What about the results? Is the approach of our fathers sufficient for the age in which we live? To answer these questions, we must first answer the question of what we want to accomplish. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America answered the question of goals in its plan of union:

It is to form men for the Gospel ministry, who shall truly believe, and cordially love, and therefore endeavor to propagate and defend, in its genuineness, simplicity, and fullness, that system of religious belief

and practice which is set forth in the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, and Plan of Government and Discipline of the Presbyterian Church; and thus to perpetuate and extend the influence of true evangelical piety, and Gospel order.

It is to provide for the Church an adequate supply and succession of able and faithful ministers of the New Testament; *workmen that need not to be ashamed*, being qualified *rightly to divide the word of truth*.

It is to unite, in those who shall sustain the ministerial office, religion and literature; that piety of the heart which is the fruit only of the renewing and sanctifying grace of God, with solid learning; believing that religion without learning or learning without religion, in the ministers of the gospel, must ultimately prove injurious to the church.

It is to afford more advantages than have hitherto been usually possessed by the ministers of religion in our Church, to cultivate both piety and literature in their preparatory course; by placing it in circumstances favourable to its growth, and by cherishing and regulating its ardour; literature, by affording favourable opportunities for its attainment, and by making its possession indispensable.

It is to provide for the Church, men who shall be able to defend her faith against infidels, and her doctrines against heretics.

It is to furnish our congregations with enlightened, humble, zealous, laborious pastors, who shall truly watch for the good of souls, and consider it as their highest honour and happiness to win them to the Saviour, and to build up their several charges in holiness and peace.

It is to promote harmony and unity of sentiment among the ministers of our Church, by educating a large body of them under the same teachers, and in the same course of study.

It is to lay the foundation of early and lasting friendships, productive of confidence and mutual assistance in after life among the ministers of religion; which experience shows to be conducive not only to personal happiness, but to the perfecting of inquiries, researches, and publications advantageous to religion.

It is to preserve the unity of our Church, by educating her ministers in an enlightened attachment, not only to the same doctrines, but to the same plan of government.

It is to bring to the service of the Church genius and talent, when united with piety, however poor or obscure may be their possessor, by furnishing, as far as possible, the means of education and support, without expense to the student.

It is, finally, to endeavour to raise up a succession of men, at once *qualified for* and thoroughly *devoted* to the work of the Gospel ministry; who, with various endowments suiting them to different stations in the Church of Christ, may all possess a portion of the spirit of the primitive propagators of the Gospel, prepared to make every sacrifice, to endure every hardship, and to render every service which the promotion of the pure and undefiled religion may require (Calhoun, 416, 417).

Surely these goals are as pertinent today as when they were penned. The problem with results lies in abandoning the goals. In the last few decades some Reformed institutions have abandoned this classical approach because they were convinced that it was defective in the production of balanced pastors. So they have multiplied courses in Practical Theology and management principles at the expense of systematic theology, historical theology, and Greek and Hebrew. I think the jury is in and the results—that men experience the same pastoral problems as before, while often failing presbytery exams—have not served the church well. What Schools have failed to understand is that historically it was godliness and not a profusion of management courses that made men better pastors. When Reformed seminaries pursued Princeton's academic goals while neglecting her commitment to piety and experimental religion, they failed to equip men to be godly pastors.

The answer is not in jettisoning a strong academic emphasis, but in keeping the balance of piety expressed in Princeton's plan. Princeton based its curriculum on this plan:

Section 1. Every student, at the close of his course, must have made the following attainments, viz. He must be well skilled in the original languages of the Holy Scriptures. He must be able to explain the principal difficulties which arise in the perusal of the Scriptures, either from erroneous translations, apparent inconsistencies, real obscurities, or objections arising

from history, reason, or argument. He must be versed in Jewish and Christian antiquities, which serve to explain and illustrate Scripture. He must have an acquaintance with ancient geography, and with oriental customs, which throw light on the sacred records. – Thus he will have laid the foundation for becoming a sound biblical critic.

He must have read and digested the principal arguments and writings relative to what has been called the deistical controversy. – Thus will he be qualified to become a defender of the Christian faith.

He must be able to support the doctrines of the Confession of Faith and Catechisms, by a ready, pertinent, and abundant quotation of Scripture texts for that purpose. He must have studied carefully and correctly Natural Theology, Didactic, Polemic, and Casuistic Divinity. He must have a considerable acquaintance with General History and Chronology, and a particular acquaintance with the history of the Christian Church. – Thus he will be preparing to become an able and sound divine and casuist.

He must have read a considerable number of the best practical writers on the subject of religion. He must have learned to compose with correctness and readiness in his own language, and to deliver what he has composed to others in a natural and acceptable manner. He must be well acquainted with the several parts, and the proper structure of popular lectures and sermons. He must have composed at least two lectures and four popular sermons, that shall have been approved by the professors. [The student also was required to give a fifteen minute address once a month.]

He must have carefully studied the duties of the pastoral care. – Thus he will be prepared to become a useful preacher, and a faithful pastor.

He must have studied attentively the form of Church Government authorized by the Scriptures, and the administration of it as it has taken place in Protestant Churches. – Thus he will be qualified to exercise discipline, and to take part in the government of the Church in all its judicatories.

Section 2. The period of continuance in the Theological Seminary shall, in no case be less than three years, previously to an examination for a certificate of approbations (Calhoun, 423, 424).

Although today we would address issues like Post modernism, the New Perspective on Paul, Federal Vision, and Islam, and not the “deistical controversy,” we recognize that the sentiments behind the curriculum are sound. Moreover, in our day men need more training in preaching. In the nineteenth century, a liberally educated man was expected to be an accomplished speaker when he arrived at seminary.

Another question is the expense. Although distance education will benefit some students financially, the seminary still must assemble a faculty to produce the courses and then to interact with the student. A competent faculty needs to be paid a competent salary. Moreover, as the Church learned in the nineteenth century, a school needs a good library, and if resident education is preferable, an adequate campus. These things cost money. But schools need to make the decision whether they will raise these funds by high tuition costs or by trusting God to provide through churches and individuals. At Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary we have opted for low tuition (about three-fourths to one third less than most other seminaries).

Furthermore, Churches that see the need for well-trained ministers need to make a two-fold commitment. First, to support corporately and to encourage support by individuals of seminaries that are consistent with the church’s doctrinal standards. Secondly, to support financially the men they send to resident seminaries. If we commit to these two things, men will be able to study at a resident seminary and by God’s grace enter the ranks of well qualified and godly pastors.

The final issue to address is the seminary and doctrinal decline. Hardly a day passes that I do not think about the fact that no Christian institution of learning has ever remained faithful to God, few even as long as Princeton. This fact is sobering. A number of reasons may be offered, but the two most important are professors’ seeking academic acclaim and the failure to teach courses from an experimental point of view—with love for God—so that one twists the subject matter into theological abstractions and speculations. We must worship as we study, teach, and learn.

One of the necessary precautions is confessional integrity. We need to commit to Princeton’s goal of men who “truly believe, and cordially love, and therefore endeavour to propagate and defend, in its genuineness, simplicity, and fullness, that system of religious belief and practice which is set forth in the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, ...” (Calhoun, 416). Under the curriculum summary the Princeton plan added, “He must be able to support the doctrines of the Confession of

Faith and Catechisms, by a ready, pertinent, and abundant quotation of Scripture texts for that purpose” (Calhoun, 424).

Of course in order to meet this goal one must have a confessionally unified faculty. Princeton maintained this stance with a thorough going subscription to the Westminster Standards:

“In the presence of God and of the directors of this Seminary, I do solemnly, and *ex animo* adopt, receive, and subscribe the Confession of Faith and Catechisms of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, as the confession of my faith; or, as a summary and just exhibition of that system of doctrine and religious belief which is contained in holy Scripture, and therein revealed by God to man for his salvation: ... And I do solemnly promise and engage, not to inculcate, teach, or insinuate any thing which shall appear to me to contradict or contravene, either directly or impliedly, any thing taught in the said Confession of Faith, Catechisms, or Form of Church Government, while I shall continue a professor in this Seminary” (Calhoun, 421).

Only such a thorough going commitment will keep a seminary confessionally orthodox. Interestingly, Princeton’s theological decline might be traced to its accommodation to claims of science, compromising on the Confession’s position on creation. When seminaries allow professors to hold to unconfessional views on creation, Sabbath, worship, justification, sanctification, and paedocommunion, confessional truth is in jeopardy.

Recognizing the importance of doctrinal integrity, Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary states:

Doctrinal Integrity. The debate between the Old and New School Presbyterians of the past century centered on the question of all Church officers’ subscription to the Westminster Standards. In 1729, the Presbyterian Church adopted the Westminster Standards in all of its doctrinal teachings. In the beginning of the 19th century, an attempt was made to integrate New England Congregationalism with Presbyterianism. The congregational elements that entered the Presbyterian Church were not based upon full subscription to the Westminster Standards. The result was the development by New School Presbyterianism of the idea of loose or system subscription, thus opening the door for all kinds of exceptions to the Standards.

GPTS holds to the historic position of American Presbyterianism, namely, to strict or full subscription to the

Westminster Standards. All faculty and board members are required to hold to full subscription, and we seek to inculcate this position in our students by requiring them to memorize the entire Shorter Catechism or the Heidelberg Catechism. It is our conviction that the modern Church must preserve orthodoxy by returning to full subscription, and that ministers and elders must uphold their ordination vows of full subscription. It is with this in mind that GPTS teaches the Biblical faith as set forth in the Westminster Standards.

In light of this commitment, each member of the Board of Trustees and each man who teaches annually subscribes to the following statement:

To guarantee that Greenville Seminary will maintain its theological position, each member of the Board of Trustees, Faculty, and Teaching Staff is required initially and annually to subscribe to the following Statement of Belief and Covenant:

‘Believing that there is but one, the living and true God, and that there are three persons in the Godhead, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and that these three are one God, the same in substance, equal in power and glory, and with solemn awareness of the accountability to Him in all that we feel, think, say, and do, the undersigned engages in and subscribes to this declaration:

1. All Scripture is self-attesting, and being Truth, requires the human mind whole-heartedly to subject itself in all its activities to the authority of Scripture complete as the Word of God, standing written in the 66 books of the Holy Bible, all therein being verbally inspired by Almighty God, and therefore without error in the original autographs.

2. Reformed Theology as set forth in the Westminster Confession of Faith & the Larger and Shorter Catechisms as adopted by the Presbyterian Church in America and the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, is the system of doctrine taught in Scripture, and therefore is to be learned, taught, and proclaimed for the edification

and government of Christian people, for the propagation of the faith and for the evangelization of the world by the power of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

3. And I do solemnly promise and engage not to inculcate, sanction, teach or insinuate anything which shall appear to me to contradict or contravene, either directly or implicitly, any element in that system of doctrine.

4. Now, therefore, the undersigned, in the presence of God, states and signifies that he consents, agrees, and binds himself to all of the foregoing without any reservation whatsoever, and that he further obligates himself immediately to notify in writing the Board of Trustees should a change of any kind take place in his belief and feeling not in accord with this Statement. Amen.’

Furthermore, each Trustee and faculty is required to read through the Standards annually.⁶

How does this commitment work itself out in instruction? I answer this question by noting what we do at Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary. First, the Westminster Standards (along with the Three Forms of Unity) are the boundaries of our teaching. Since we believe the Standards are a faithful exposition of the Scriptures, we stay within the boundaries. We would allow minor scruples for example with respect to exclusive Psalmody or the closing doxology of the Lord’s Prayer, but no one may take exception to any doctrine of the Standards. In this regard, we find the council of Samuel Miller helpful:

Let the candidate for admission unfold to the Presbytery before which he presents himself, all his doubts and scruples, with perfect frankness; opening his whole heart, as if on oath; and neither softening nor concealing anything. Let him cause them distinctly to understand, that if he subscribe the Confession of Faith, he must be understood to do it in consistency with the exceptions and explanations which he specifies. If the Presbytery, after this fair understanding, should be of the opinion, that the excepted points were of little or no importance, and interfered with no article of faith, and should be willing to receive his subscription in the usual way, he may proceed.⁷

Second, the cornerstone of our curriculum is Dr. Smith’s course “Introduction to Reformed Theology.” This course is “a survey of the system of Christian thought using the Westminster Confession Faith and

Continued on Page 302.

6. I have prepared a reading guide to the Standards to facilitate an annual perusal. This guide is available upon request.

7. Samuel Miller, *Doctrinal Integrity: On the Utility and Importance of Creeds and Confessions and Adherence to Our Doctrinal Standards* (Dallas, Tex.: Presbyterian Heritage Publications, 1984) 61, 52 (emphasis mine). I believe this distinction harmonizes Hodge’s position in 1839 and that expressed in 1858. See Knight in *The Practice of Confessional Subscription* (Boston: University Press of America, Inc., 1995) 133–134.

The Rev. Dr. Alexander M'Leod

An Annotated Bibliography

With Extracts from his Diaries

By Wayne Sparkman

Annotated Bibliography for
Alexander McLeod [1774–1883]

Archival Resources—

McLeod Family Papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware. A finding aid is online at <http://www.lib.udel.edu/ud/spec/findaids/mcleod.htm>.

Biographical works concerning Dr. McLeod—

Rowan, Stephen N., *Tribute to the Memory of Alexander McLeod, D.D., a discourse delivered in the Presbyterian Church, Canal Street, New-York, on the evening of the 10th of March, 1833* (New-York: Peter Hill, 1833) 37, [1] pp.; portrait; 22 cm.

Wylie, Samuel Brown, D.D., *Memoir of Alexander McLeod, D.D., New York* (New York: Charles Scribner, 145 Nassau Street, 1855) 535pp.; 23 cm.; Chapter XXI [pp. 503–535] and general editing by John Niel McLeod.

Bibliography—

1802

Negro Slavery Unjustifiable: A Discourse (New York: T. & J. Swords, 1802) 42pp.; 24 cm. Other title: *The Practice of Holding Men in Perpetual Slavery Condemned*.

Reprints:

1. (Glasgow: Printed by Stephen Young, 1804) 40pp.; 21 cm.
2. (Glasgow: Printed by Andrew Young, 1831) 43pp.; 17 cm.
3. (Paisley: Alex. Gardner, 1846, 3d edition) vii, 32pp.; 22 cm.
4. (New York: A. McLeod, 1860, 10th edition) 46p.
5. Online at <http://www.pcahistory.org/findingaids/mcleod/negroslavery.pdf>

1803

Messiah, Governor of the Nations of the Earth: A Discourse (New York: Printed by T. & J. Swords, 1803) 47pp.

Reprints:

1. (Glasgow: Printed by Stephen Young, 1804) 48pp.; 21 cm.

2. (Edinburgh: W.P. Kennedy, 1843) 30, [1] pp.; 22 cm. [Note: “with a sketch of the author’s life”]

1807

The Ecclesiastical Catechism, being a series of questions, relative to the Christian Church, Stated and Answered, with Scripture Proofs (New-York: Printed by Hopkins & Seymour, 1806) vi, 129pp.; 17 cm.

Reprints:

1. (Danville [Vt.]: Printed by Ebenezer Eaton, 1807) v, 112pp.;
2. (Paisley: Stephen Young, 1821) viii, 9–143, [1] pp.; 2d British edition.
3. (New York: G.F. Bunce, 1831, 7th edition, from the 3d British edition).
4. (Aberdeen: Gray, 1834).
5. (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1841) vi, 88pp.; 14 cm. [“with copious notes and additional illustrative material”].
6. (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1843) vi, 88pp.; 15 cm. [“with copious notes and additional illustrative material”].

1808

The Constitution, Character, and Duties of the Gospel Ministry: A Sermon, preached at the ordination of the Rev. Gilbert McMaster, in the First Presbyterian Church, Duanesburgh (New-York: Printed by J. Seymour, 1808) 72pp.; 21 cm. [Note: “Published at the request of the hearers”].

1810

Introduction to *The Duty and Doctrine of Baptism, in thirteen sermons*, by Thomas Bradbury (New York: Published by William Barlas, 1810) 310pp.; 18 cm. Introduction by Alexander M'Leod and Notes by John B. Romeyn.

1811

Wylie, Samuel Brown and Alexander M'Leod, *An Address to the*

THE AUTHOR: Wayne Sparkman, M.A.R., M.Div., is Director of the PCA Historical Center, St. Louis, Missouri, and a contributing editor to *The Confessional Presbyterian* journal.

Members of the Reformed Presbyterian Church; recommending Exertions for Raising a Fund for the Support of the Theological Seminary (New York: Published by S. Whiting & Co., Theological and Classical Booksellers, 96 Broadway. Paul & Thomas, Printers, 1811) 10, [2] pp.

Reprinted in *The Constitution of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Presbyterian Church; with an Address to the Members of the Reformed Presbyterian Church...* (New-York: S. Whiting & Co., 1811) 12pp.; 23cm.

1813

The Larger Catechism, with the Proofs from the Scripture, revised by Alexander McLeod (New-York: Stereotyped and printed by J. Watts & Co., for Whiting & Watson, theological and classical booksellers, June 1813) 142pp.

1814

Lectures upon the Principal Prophecies of the Revelation (New York: Whiting & Watson, 1814) xii, 480pp.; 23 cm.

Excerpts reprinted as *The Character, History, Death, and Resurrection of "The Two Witnesses"* (Edinburgh: W.P. Kennedy, 1843, 3d edition) 24pp.; 21 cm. and again, (Edinburgh: W.P. Kennedy, 1843, fourth edition) 24pp.; 21 cm.

1815

A Scriptural View of the Character, Causes and Ends of the Present War (New-York: Eastburn, Kirk and Co., 1815) 224pp.; 22 cm. [Note: Regarding the War of 1812, presented in five sermons.] Reprinted, (New York: Published by Eastburn, Kirk and Co., Whiting and Watson, and Smith and Forman; Paul & Thomas, printers, 1815, 2d edition) viii, 235pp.; 21 cm.

1816

The Life and Power of True Godliness, described in a series of discourses (New-York: James Eastburn and Co., and William Gilley; A. Paul, Printer, 1816) 424pp.; 23 cm.

Reprints

1. [Second edition, details presently lacking].
2. [Third edition, details presently lacking].
3. (New York: Robert Carter, 1845, fourth edition), with an introductory essay by J.N. McLeod.
4. (New York: Robert Carter, 1847, fifth edition). Contents include: 1. The distinguishing characters of evangelical religion; 2. The nature and origin of the Christian life; 3. The several degrees of personal religion; 4. The spirit of adoption; 5. The means of growth in grace; 6. Assurance of a saving interest in Christ; 7. The evidences of true religion in man; 8. The duty of those who have not assurance; 9. The consolations of true religion; 10. The stability and perfection of true religion in man.

1822–1823

Sermons begun 6 Jan'y 1822 (New York: The author, 1822-1823) 229pp.; 16 cm. One copy located at the Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, PA.

1827

Address to the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America, on their submitting to their consideration the Plan of Corresponding with the General Assembly (New-York: Published by G. and C. Carvill, 1827) 48pp.; 23 cm.

Reprinted, (Paisley: Printed and published by Stephen Young, 1828) 44pp.; 23 cm.

1831–1833

Editor and contributor to *The American Christian Expositor: designed to promote the influence of sound principles and social order* (New York: H.C. Sleight, 1831-1833), Monthly periodical, 22 cm.

Undated

Letters to James Renwick Willson (Beaver Falls, PA: typescript prepared by Elizabeth F. Carson, 1987) 117 leaves; 29cm. One copy preserved at the Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, PA.

Other Writings.

Dr. McLeod also wrote the Historical section of the *Testimony of the Reformed Presbyterian Church*, the Book of Discipline, Form of Covenant, and other public documents; Six Essays on the Atonement; and as well contributed largely to *The Christian's Magazine*, *The Evangelical Guardian*, *The Evangelical Witness*, *The American Christian Expositor*, and other periodicals.

See also:

Ware, Henry [1794-1843], *Two Letters to the Rev. Alexander McLeod, D.D., pastor of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, containing remarks upon the texts from which he preached on the evenings of April 30, and May 7* (New York: Printed by C.S. Van Winkle, 1820) and reprinted as *Two Letters on the Genuineness of the verse, 1 John v. 7, and on the Scriptural argument for Unitarianism, addressed to the Rev. Alexander McLeod, D.D. of New York*. (Boston: Published by J.W. Burditt, no. 94, Court Street, 1823, 3d edition) 36pp.; 18 cm.

Extracts from the Diaries of Alexander McLeod [1774-1883]

Sadly, the Rev. Alexander McLeod is largely forgotten today. He was remarkable for having led the Reformed Presbyterian Church to take a clear stand against the practice of slavery, in 1800, and should be better remembered by the Church today. As the pastor of a prominent New York church, he was also a close friend of Samuel Miller, Archibald Alexander and Ashbel Green, was a noted author and an able preacher.

Thus it was a real joy to discover last year that his papers, along with those of his son John Niel McLeod had been preserved. The collection consists primarily of diaries kept by both men during the years of their ministry, and these materials were donated in 1972 to the University of Delaware for preservation. Most archives typically will not let researchers handle materials that have not been arranged and described (i.e., “processed”) and the processing of the McLeod collection only occurred late in 2005. So when I was asked to join in the celebration of the 325th anniversary of Fairfield Presbyterian Church in Fairton, NJ last October, that occasion proved a providential time to also take an hour’s drive across the border into Delaware to examine the McLeod papers in person, accompanied by Dr. David Calhoun and the Rev. Michael Schulke, pastor of Fairfield PCA. The following are a few excerpts from his diaries, to give some flavor of what the collection contains. The earliest of these diaries begins in 1798 when Alexander McLeod was candidating for the ministry.¹

FROM THE 1798 DIARY OF ALEXANDER MCLEOD:²

Thursday August 23 [1798]

After the morning exercise was finished, I read & took notes of 6 pages of Turretin & then went to Mr. Pross’s to hear Mr. McIlhenny examine the congregation & give a charge to the intended communicant to prepare for that solemn worship.

This continued until 5 o’clock in the afternoon. After my return I read 50 pages in Callender’s *Sketches*. His usual accuracy of statement & perspicuity & neatness of ability is here manifest. His theory for the assistance of the poor appears somewhat visionary. It is rather impracticable, & perhaps it is more natural to have no positive support provided for that class of people by Law. It is undoubtedly a duty & good policy

to defend them from oppression. After this I as usual closed the day.

Friday August 24th [1798]

Morning exercises being finished I read the remaining 40 pages of Callender’s *Sketches*. He finishes more luminous and determinate than he began. Without justifying France he fastens a stigma upon the Federal Administration of America,.... [Page 10] I read 30 pages more of Turretine, and 20 in Burke’s letter to a member of the British Parliament. This great & eccentric orator, who in the morning of his life, was the redoubted champion of public liberty but in the evening of his day became its venal & determined foe, burns with his own lustre to the very socket. His vehemence, his perspicuity, his pathetic eloquence glows on every page. The beauty of his style, the ardour of his soul makes us overlook the venality of his design. The magnitude of the subject, the truth of his premises & the danger with which he threatens the country almost forces to assent to the unjust conclusions which he draws. He advises to a powerful vigorous exertion against the regicide republic as the only possible means of salvation to Britain.

The day was concluded as usual.

Saturday, 25th August.

After Breakfast I walked to Schenectady 15 miles. There spent some agreeable moments in the entertaining and instructing conversation of Messrs. Linn and Ellinge. Drank tea with Mr. Beatty and walked along with him to Princeton 9 miles.

After ending the day as it was begun by a personal but private devotion, retired to bed.

Sabbath Day, August 26th

After the morning services, walked to Princeton Church, where Mr. ___[?_]___ introduced his lecture by a remark upon the important consequences of seemingly trivial causes in the providential disposal of events, a short paraphrase upon 105 Ps. 24-37. He then lectured upon Cant. 2 – It being the preparation before the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper & in the afternoon preached a sermon from Mat. 22.4. *All things are ready come unto the marriage.*

1. Some extracts from McLeod’s diaries appear in Samuel Brown Wylie’s *Memoir of Alexander McLeod, D.D.*, New York (New York: Charles Scribner, 145 Nassau Street, 1855).

2. The McLeod diaries are part of the McLeod Family Papers. McLeod Family Papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware.

DIARY OF ALEXANDER MCLEOD, 1825

THE LAW & THE GOSPEL

TUESDAY 4TH, JANUARY 1825.

Gal. 3:12. "The Law is not of faith."



Every man who watches the progress of society has observed that principles change rapidly & imperceptibly. The Apostolical Churches furnished examples. Here Paul the friend of orthodoxy distinguishes the Gospel from what prepared for it. 1.6-8. No salvation by the Law, verse 10. Faith justifies & they who are of faith are they who embrace the Gospel. Verses 8, 9. The words of my text signify that the Law is different from the Gospel. This, my subject.

I. Some *Truisms* which deceive the Legalist.

1. The *Old* is not the *New Testament*.
2. *Mosaic ritual* is not the *present mode of worship*.
3. The *Commandments* are not the *Covenant of Grace*.

II. The Law & Gospel are distinguished radically.

1. As they respect man the subject. A moral agent—ruined sinners.
2. God the Author. Necessary emanation—voluntary Grace.
3. Their form; Law *imperative*; Gospel *indicative*;
4. Their connection with the proposed blessings.

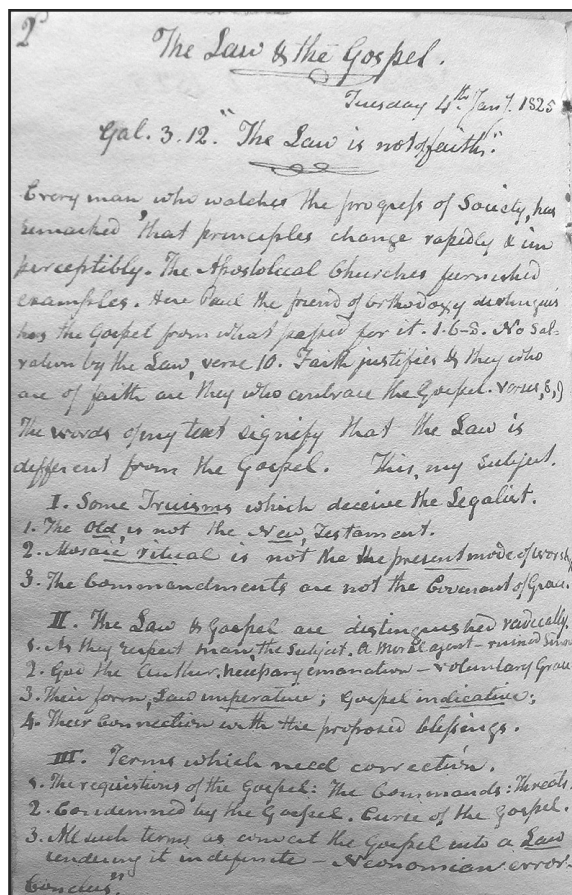
III. Terms which need correction.

1. The requisitions of the Gospel: The Commands: Threats.
 2. Condemned by the Gospel. Curse of the Gospel.
 3. All such terms as convert the Gospel into a *Law* rendering it indefinite—Neonomian error.
- Conclusion.

On Property, by Alexander McLeod [excerpted from his diary for 1825]

Exod. 20.15. Thou shalt not steal.

Property is necessary to the maintenance of man; and as every man has a distinct personality, he must appropriate to his own nourishment and dress some-



Pictured above is a photograph of the page from Alexander McLeod's 1825 Diary containing the sermon outline as transcribed to the left. The diary is part of the McLeod Family Papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware. Used with Permission.

thing that cannot possibly be enjoyed in the same manner by any other person in the universe. Whatever communion we may have with others either in friendship or in law; and howsoever we may devise our enjoyments from the same table or store, there is a separation made at last; and every individual takes an exclusive right to that which he eats and drinks & wears for himself. A sense of property is an ultimate fact in the constitution of human nature. It soon appears in the emotions of infancy; occasions many of the contentions of our children; & causes wars among the rulers of the nations as well as innumerable other litigations in society. Property is essential to life; to procure it & enjoy it, an unalienable right; to defend it, a common duty; and to regulate both the acquisition & and the preservation of it is the design of the eighth commandment. ■

REVIEWS & RESPONSES

REVIEW: A Response to the Coppes-Gallant Exchange Regarding Paedocommunion (*The Confessional Presbyterian*, 2.193–205). By Dr. Cornelis P. Venema, President and Professor of Doctrinal Studies at Mid-America Reformed Seminary.

In a recent issue of *The Confessional Presbyterian* (vol. 2, 2006), Dr. Leonard J. Coppes offered a lengthy review of Mr. Tim Gallant's book, *Feed My Lambs: Why the Lord's Table Should Be Restored to Covenant Children*. In the same issue, the editor granted Gallant opportunity to reply to Coppes' review. After Dr. Coppes informed the editor that he was not able to provide a rejoinder to Gallant's reply, I was asked to "enter the fray," so to speak, and continue the discussion by responding to both Coppes' and Gallant's comments. Though there is a danger in entering a conversation mid-stream, I have accepted the editor's invitation to offer some additional comments on the discussion thus far. Let it be noted that I do so as an advocate of the historic Reformed position that covenant children should be admitted to the Lord's Table only after they have publicly professed their faith, thereby attesting the kind of faith that is able to remember, proclaim, and discern the Lord's body as they participate in the sacrament.

1. SOME INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS

Before addressing directly the most important aspects of the exchange between Coppes and Gallant, I would like to begin with some introductory observations regarding how the subject of paedocommunion should be addressed.

First, as Reformed believers, our answer to the question whether covenant children should be admitted to the Lord's Table must ultimately be based upon the teaching of the Scriptures. Though the historical practice of the church, and in particular the summary of Scriptural teaching set forth in the confessional symbols of the Reformed churches, are important considerations in determining our answer to this question, they are not the final norm for the church's faith and practice. The reformational principle of *sola Scriptura* requires that we be prepared to address this question in a fresh way, and upon the basis of a renewed study of the Scriptures. Both Coppes and Gallant properly concur in acknowledging this principle in their respective contributions to the discussion.

Second, though the confessions of the Reformed churches are subordinate to Scripture, and not the ultimate norm for the

church's faith and practice, Coppes correctly argues that their summary of Scriptural teaching militates against the paedocommunion position. Coppes cites in support of this claim the Westminster Larger Catechism, Q. & A.s 171, 173, 174 & 177. In addition to these confessional references, he might have also appealed to the WCF Chap. 29.7; the Heidelberg Catechism, Q. & A. 81; and the Belgic Confession, Art. 35.¹ Though Gallant maintains that an advocate of paedocommunion could as justifiably appeal to the confessions in support of his position (fn 1, p. 199), this claim does not comport with the language of the confessions or the historical practice of the Reformed churches, which represents an application of their teaching. Furthermore, it is not only the explicit statements of the confessions regarding those who may properly be admitted to the Lord's Table that is apropos to the debate about paedocommunion. It should also be observed that the sacramental theology of the Reformed confessions includes a clear insistence that the use of the sacraments requires that they be received in the way of an active faith response, which is worked in their recipients principally by the Spirit through the Word. The sacraments never confer the grace of Christ to their recipients apart from the Spirit's authoring faith in the hearts and minds of believers through the Word. Coppes' criticism of Gallant's presumption that all covenant children are fully united to Christ through baptism (and therefore ought to be received at the Lord's Table) properly reflects this understanding of what is required for the proper reception of the sacraments, baptism as well as the Lord's Supper.

Third, the way a question is posed often compels a particular answer. Gallant, like other advocates of paedocommunion, wants to call his position a "covenant communion" view, and the historic position a "credo-communion" view. In my judgment, the language of "covenant communion" tends to bias the discussion by its implicit suggestion that the historic Reformed view is "non-covenantal." According to Gallant, the membership of children in the covenant of grace is a sufficient warrant for their reception at the Lord's Table. Failure to admit the children of the covenant to the Lord's Table represents a kind of sinful partition of the body of Christ, which includes children as well as adults (p. 205). Gallant's insistence at this point seems to me an example of "begging the question." It

RESPONSES critical of articles and reviews may be submitted for consideration for publication by sending drafts to the editorial address. Please contact the editor beforehand to obtain submission requirements and preferences. When possible, the subject of a negative or possibly controversial review will be contacted beforehand for any appropriate response for publication along with the review, and the reviewer will be given an opportunity for a response. If required, responses and replies may continue in subsequent issues.

1. "It should be noted that the Scripture proofs cited by the confessions include: John 6:35, 40, 47, 48, 50, 51, 53, 54; 1 Cor. 11:20, 34; 10:19–22.

assumes what must be proven, namely, that the covenant of grace in its New Testament administration does not stipulate that recipients of the Lord's Supper meet certain pre-requisites to their participation. The debate regarding paedocommunion concerns the nature of the administration of the new covenant and its ordinances. If that administration requires that members of the covenant community participate in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the way of an active, believing reception of the sacramental elements, then that would properly be described as a "covenant communion" position. As a matter of fact, theologians of the Reformed church have always been "covenant theologians" and advocates of a "covenant communion" view. They have simply understood the requirements of the covenant differently than contemporary advocates of paedocommunion.

Fourth, a related observation is that Gallant misrepresents the historic Reformed view of the relation between baptism and the Lord's Supper. Toward the end of his response to Coppes, he characterizes this view as follows: "The Lord's Supper is therefore not a 'special attainment;' it is not the final rung for the really and truly sanctified, a final plateau on some pagan ziggurat to heaven; it is the table of Christ for the body of Christ" (p. 205). It must be admitted that Gallant's description has a kind of rhetorical appeal. However, what he describes (ostensibly as the Reformed view of things) is mythical. I know of no responsible defender of the historic Reformed position who would grant this description. A better description would be to say that the baptism of covenant children, which signifies and seals the gospel promise in Christ and calls for a believing response, is preparatory to the reception of such children at the Table of the Lord. The church's catechesis or nurture of such children aims to prepare them for their expected reception at the Lord's Table. Such children, who are taught the rudiments of the Christian religion (the Apostle's Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments), are expected to come in due season, having attested the kind of faith required to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The historic practice of the Reformed churches never viewed such nurture or catechesis as "setting the bar so high" as only to admit the privileged few, who are sufficiently sanctified and therefore permitted to come to the Table. The path from the baptismal font to the communion table is a straight path, not a high bridge. And in the interim period between baptism and admission to the Table, the children of the covenant are nourished with the richest of spiritual food in Christ, the preaching and teaching of the Word of the gospel. They even participate to a degree in the sacramental meal, as they sit together with the covenant community and witness the celebration of the sacrament, which reminds them of the privilege that will soon follow upon their profession of faith.

Fifth, though Coppes does not respond in his review to the

subtitle of Gallant's book ("Why Covenant Children Should Be Restored to Covenant Children"), it should be observed that this represents another instance of "question-begging" on Gallant's part. An examination of the historical practice of the Christian churches in admitting or not admitting all covenant children to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is beyond the scope of my comments here. However, the historical evidence that paedocommunion was the earliest, and universal, practice of the Christian church, is at best uncertain. Unlike the strong evidence for paedobaptism as the earliest practice of the church, the evidence for paedocommunion warrants only the inference that it was a practice introduced into some sectors of the church by the middle of the third century. However, there is earlier and third-century evidence that indicates that paedocommunion may have been an innovation when it was first introduced. Though the practice of paedocommunion was widespread in the western church until the twelfth century, it was never uncontested and it was eventually discontinued for a variety of reasons. Moreover, an evaluation of this practice also needs to remember that it was often based upon a dubious view of the efficacy of the sacraments (particularly baptism) in granting regeneration and new life in Christ by their simple administration (*ex opere operato*).

And sixth, Gallant properly notes that, in Coppes' review of his book, his important exegetical arguments from 1 Corinthians 10 and 11 are not directly or adequately addressed. These arguments are the linchpin of Gallant's case, since they treat the most comprehensive and relevant New Testament passages that bear upon the question of the proper recipients of the Lord's Supper. An adequate review of Gallant's case for paedocommunion requires an examination of his exegesis of these passages. Therefore, in my treatment of the exegetical arguments for and against paedocommunion, I will give special attention to Gallant's handling of these passages.

2. THE PRINCIPAL EXEGETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

None of my observations thus far goes to the heart of the debate between Coppes and Gallant. The heart of the debate centers upon exegetical considerations of two kinds. The first of these addresses the subject of the Old Testament precedents for the participation of children in various covenant meals, especially the Passover feast. The second of these addresses the subject of the New Testament's teaching regarding participation in the Lord's Supper, especially in passages like 1 Corinthians 10:16–17 and 11:17–34. In order to evaluate adequately the exchange between Coppes and Gallant, these considerations must now be addressed.

Gallant's argument from the Old Testament for paedocommunion appeals primarily to two kinds of evidence, the second of which is the most important. First, he appeals to the inclusion of the children of believers within the covenant

community and their participation in a number of the observances of the older covenant. And second, he appeals to the participation of children in the celebration of the Feast of the Passover, which is regarded as the most important Old Testament type of the New Testament sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Since the teaching of the New Testament is the ultimate norm for the faith and practice of the new covenant community, the church, I will briefly comment on this portion of Gallant's argument for paedocommunion, particularly his appeal to the participation of children in the Passover meal. My primary focus will be reserved for his appeal to the New Testament, particularly the passages in 1 Corinthians.

Throughout his book and in his response to Coppes' review, Gallant insists that the Old Testament Passover constitutes a clear precedent for the inclusion of children in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, which is its new covenant fulfillment. This insistence may not go unchallenged, however, since the Old Testament evidence is not nearly as unambiguous as Gallant claims. A balanced evaluation of the Old Testament evidence yields, in my judgment, the following conclusions:

1. Any consideration of the precedent of the Old Testament Passover must keep in mind the important distinction between the first and subsequent celebrations of the Passover. Whereas the first Passover in Egypt was clearly a household celebration, the stipulations for later celebrations of the Passover require that it and the other two pilgrim feasts (Feast of Tabernacles, Feast of Weeks) be kept only by the male members of the covenant community (Deut. 16:16; Ex. 23:17; 34:23). Though the stipulation that only circumcised men of the covenant community keep the Passover at the centralized sanctuary in Jerusalem does not expressly exclude the participation of women and young children, it does represent a significant change in the way the Passover was to be celebrated. These Deuteronomic provisions for the annual celebration of the pilgrim Passover do not require, nor do they seem to anticipate, the participation of the women and younger children of the covenant community. They certainly militate against the idea that covenant membership by itself entails participation in the Passover meal.

2. Gallant's claim that all the children of the Israelite households ate the Passover meal is a possible construction of the Old Testament evidence, but it is not as likely as he claims. Even Gallant is compelled to acknowledge that unweaned infants could not eat some of the elements of the Passover meal (for example, the meat). While acknowledging this restriction upon the participation of unweaned infants, Gallant and other proponents of paedocommunion appeal to the language of Exodus 12:4, "according to what each can eat you shall make your count for the lamb," to argue that the only requirement for eating the Passover was the capacity to consume the meal (p. 61, *Feed My Lambs*). Since a similar phrase is used in

Exodus 16:16,18,21, to refer to the manna that the children also ate, this language is taken to imply the participation of all members of the household, the only exception being the infant children. But as the English Standard Version of this phrase suggests, this passage does not mean simply what our expression, "so many mouths to feed," means. Rather than referring to the number of persons in the household, the language of this text refers to how much each member of the household was capable of eating. Whether infants and very young children were able to eat all the elements of the Passover meal remains, so far as the meaning of this phrase is concerned, undetermined. These elements of the Passover meal included roast lamb, unleavened bread (a kind of dry biscuit), and bitter herbs (Ex. 12:8ff.; Num. 9:11). While newly weaned infants and younger children might possibly be able to eat the unleavened bread, it is implausible that they could digest the roast lamb and particularly the bitter herbs.

3. In connection with the question whether infants and very young children were able to consume the elements of the Passover meal, it should also be noted that subsequent Passovers included an additional element, namely, the cup of blessing. This cup of blessing added wine to the elements that typically belonged to the traditional Passover meal. Even though it is not clear how this element came to have a prominent role in the celebration of the Passover—it is not stipulated in the Old Testament legislation regarding this rite—its addition to the elements of the Passover meal adds a further obstacle to the claim of paedocommunionists that all the children of the household shared fully in the Passover meal. Since wine is an intoxicant and not suited to consumption by infants and very young children, it hardly seems to be an element of the Passover meal that they would be permitted to consume.

4. The Passover feast included, as one of its prescribed features, a kind of "catechetical" exercise. At a certain point in the Passover rite, the children of the household were to ask, "What do you mean by this service?" (Ex. 12:27). In reply to this question, the head of household was to declare, "It is the sacrifice of the Lord's Passover, for he passed over the houses of the people of Israel in Egypt, when he struck the Egyptians but spared our houses." The presence of this catechetical exercise in the context of the Passover rite does not by itself argue conclusively for or against the participation of infants and younger children. Thus, advocates of paedocommunion will observe that an intelligent participation in this feature of the Passover celebration is not a pre-requisite for keeping the feast. All of the children of the household could share the Passover meal, even if only the older children could express this question and fully understand their father's answer. However, when this feature of the Passover rite is interpreted in the light of the common practice within Judaism (see point 5

below), it does suggest that the children of the household participated in a different manner, depending upon their maturity and age. The spiritual significance and benefit of the Passover feast embraced all of the children of Israel, men and women, mature and immature, old and young. No one was excluded from an enjoyment of the covenant privileges that the Passover signified and commemorated. Nevertheless, in order for all members to benefit from the Passover rite, it was not necessary or obligatory that all directly participated in every aspect of the Passover celebration. Just as the women and younger children were not required to keep the Passover in Jerusalem, though they benefited from its spiritual significance, so the younger children might not have participated in some features of the Passover celebration without being denied their proper place in the covenant community. The

2. Evaluating the significance of the Old Testament Passover as a precedent for the inclusion of children in the New Testament Lord's Supper, also requires a consideration of the differences between these two covenant rites. In his evaluation of Gallant's book, Coppes correctly argues against overdrawing the similarities between them, since the Lord's Supper is a fulfillment of all the covenant meals of the older administration. The following differences are of special importance. First, when Christ consecrated the cup as a token of his blood shed upon the cross, he declared "this is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins" (Matt. 26:28; par. Mark 14:24; Luke 22:20). This language is derived from Exodus 24:1–11, which provides an account of the covenant fellowship meal that was eaten by Moses, Nadab, Abihu and the seventy elders of Israel on the top of Mount Sinai. Rather than connecting the meaning of the elements of the Lord's Supper with the celebration of the Passover meal, Christ connects it directly with the covenant renewal ceremony of Exodus 24, a ceremony that was itself reminiscent of the way the Lord had confirmed His covenant with Abraham (cf. Gen. 15:7ff.). Unlike the Passover meal, which was originally a household observance in Israel, the meal that constitutes the most important Old Testament antecedent for the Lord's Supper was shared only by Moses and the twenty-four elders of Israel. Second, whereas the Passover was an old covenant observance that commemorated the event of the Exodus from Egypt, the Lord's Supper is a new covenant observance that commemorates Christ's sacrificial death, which is the fulfillment of all the types and ceremonies of the law, especially the sin and guilt offerings of the old covenant. It is certainly true that the Lord's Supper fulfills the Passover. Christ is, as Paul says in 1 Corinthians 5:7, "our Passover lamb." However, in the New Testament's understanding of Christ's sacrificial death, it is not the Passover but the sacrifices that typify atonement for the guilt of sin that are most pertinent. Third, the Old Testament Passover was an *annual* observance, which required the participation of the male members of the covenant community (and, in traditional practice, only those males who were "sons of the commandment"). Fourth, the observance of the Passover was to take place in a *particular place* where the Lord had placed His name. The Lord's Supper, however, was instituted by Christ to be celebrated wherever His people gather as a fulfillment of the old covenant temple. And fifth, though the New Testament does not explicitly command the women of the new covenant community to participate, their participation is an evident implication of the New Testament's teaching of their participation in Christ through faith (cf. Acts 2:42; Gal. 3:28). There are, accordingly, a number of striking differences between the manner of the administration of the Passover and of the Lord's Supper.

fact that some members of the covenant community did not partake of all elements of the Passover meal, or share in every feature of the ritual, would not compromise their place in the covenant community.

5. The historic practice of Judaism does not support Gallant's claim that all members of Israelite households ordinarily participated in the Passover Feast. The history of Jewish practice teaches us that the inclusion of women and younger children in the Passover feast was not the characteristic pattern in the Old Testament economy. The practice of Israel during the Old Testament era was largely shaped by the provisions in the law for keeping the pilgrim Passover annually in Jerusalem, not the household Passover in Egypt. Only circumcised males were required to keep the Passover Feast, and preparations for the Feast included fasting and the ceremonial cleansing (cf. Num. 9:6; John 18:28) of the pilgrim celebrants. In the traditions of Judaism, an "age of discretion" was stipulated for those who kept the Passover. Whether that age was twenty, as in the period prior to the first century A.D., or thirteen, as in the period that coincides with the New Testament's writing, it was not the practice of Judaism prior to the destruction of the second Temple to encourage the participation of younger children who were not yet "sons of the commandment" or obliged to keep all of the laws of the covenant. While it appears that the participation of women and children began to be encouraged after the destruction of the temple and a return to a household celebration of the Passover, this was not the typical practice of Israel during the Old Testament era.

I do not intend with these comments to settle the question of the participation of children in the Old Testament Passover. I only intend to illustrate that there is no unambiguous evidence that the Old Testament Passover constitutes a sufficient precedent for the participation of all covenant children in the New Testament sacrament of the Lord's Supper.²

2.2 THE NEW TESTAMENT'S TEACHING

Though Gallant appeals to the Old Testament Passover as a precedent for the practice of paedocommunion, he properly rests his case upon the most relevant evidence, which derives from the New Testament. The heart of his case, which I want now to consider directly, is based upon his interpretation of the apostle Paul's teaching in 1 Corinthians 10 & 11.

1 CORINTHIANS 10:16–17

In his response to Coppes, Gallant notes that 1 Corinthians 10:16–17 is "my most frequently cited passage" (p. 204), though Coppes does not refer to it at all in his review of his book. The importance of this passage in the context of Paul's argument(s) in 1 Corinthians cannot be overstated. For in this passage, the apostle establishes the all-important principle that "the

Lord's Supper is the table of the body." As Paul says, "The cup of blessing that we bless, is it not a participation in the blood of Christ? The bread that we break, is it not a participation in the body of Christ? Because there is one bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread." The theme of the unity of Christ's body and the full participation of all members of the covenant community in him, runs like a thread throughout 1 Corinthians. The Lord's Supper, as this passage clearly shows, is a beautiful expression of the oneness of the body of Christ and the fellowship that all of its members enjoy together in union with him. This constitutes the background to Paul's sobering rebuke to the Corinthians in 1 Corinthians 11, where the apostle points out how their divisiveness in the way they celebrated the Lord's Supper was a sin against Christ's body, the church. For this reason, the judgment of the Lord had fallen upon some of them, just as the Lord's judgment fell upon the disobedient Israelites in the days of Moses (1 Cor. 10: 6–10).

According to Gallant, the foundational principle that is operative throughout Paul's treatment of the Lord's Supper in 1 Corinthians 10 & 11 is this theme of the oneness of the community of faith, and the full participation of all its members in Christ. Already in 1 Corinthians 7:14, Paul has noted that the children of believers are "holy." Furthermore, at the outset of 1 Corinthians 10, Paul describes how believers of the old covenant were "all baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea," "ate the same spiritual food, and drank the same spiritual drink," and "drank from the spiritual Rock that followed them, and the Rock was Christ" (vv. 2–4). This description not only provides an Old Testament precedent for all members of the covenant community, including the children, having a part in Christ, but it also constitutes the setting for Paul's emphasis upon the "fellowship" or "koinonia" that all members of the church have in Christ. The implications of this for the question of paedocommunion is clear, according to Gallant: any participation in Christ by means of the Lord's Supper that inappropriately divides the congregation into segments (rich and poor, adults and children), and excludes some from full participation in the body of Christ, falls under the apostle's admonition of the Corinthians. The practice of excluding covenant children from participation in the Lord's Supper strikes at the heart of what the sacrament means.

I do not believe that Gallant's interpretation of the implications of Paul's emphasis in 1 Corinthians 10:16–17 upon the Lord's Supper as the Table of the body, the church, can be sustained without considering the particular teaching of 1 Corinthians 11. If 1 Corinthians 11 teaches what the Reformed churches historically have understood it to teach, then Gallant's appeal to 1 Corinthians 10:16–17 will prove to be premature and unwarranted. By this observation, I do not mean to ignore the particulars of Gallant's handling of this

passage. I only mean to insist that the *most decisive* passage for determining whether all covenant children should be admitted to the Lord's Table is 1 Corinthians 11:17–34.

However, there are two further observations that should be made in response to Gallant's appeal to the principle set forth in 1 Corinthians 10:16–17, namely, that the Lord's Supper is the table of the body. First, membership and participation in the covenant community may be genuine, even though not all the privileges of such membership are enjoyed immediately and in the same way by all members. It is noteworthy that the participation in Christ of which the apostle Paul speaks at the outset of 1 Corinthians 10, was inclusive of non-circumcised persons (and even animals!) who accompanied the children of Israel during their wilderness wanderings. The meals that were eaten during this period of history did not require circumcision, and were not governed by the Deuteronomic stipulations that applied to the annual Passover meal (something Coppes properly emphasizes). To appeal to these Old Testament observances as precedents for the new covenant meal, the Lord's Supper, seems faulty for several reasons, not the least of which is that it proves too much. And second, to reiterate a point made earlier in my introductory observations, Gallant's representation of the historic Reformed practice is needlessly prejudicial at this point. Representing the historic Reformed practice as though it "cut off" the children of believers from participation in Christ and the covenant community may have rhetorical punch, but it is a "straw man." Historic Reformed practice acknowledges that the children of believing parents are members of the covenant community and of Christ. This practice also acknowledges that they should come to the Lord's Supper in order to enjoy the nourishment in Christ that this sacramental feast provides. However, it also insists that the way believers come to the Table is stipulated in Paul's instructions in 1 Corinthians 11: 17–34. And so to that passage we must now turn.

1 CORINTHIANS 11:17–34

Undoubtedly, 1 Corinthians 11:17–34 is the most important and decisive passage in the Scriptures in terms of addressing the question of the proper recipients of the Lord's Supper. In this passage, we have the most extensive New Testament treatment of the sacrament, and one that spells out in precise language what is required of those who, as members of the body of Christ, eat the body and drink the blood of Christ. Since this is not the place to present a complete exegesis of the passage, my treatment of it will simply address several features of Gallant's exegesis that I find unpersuasive.

1. Though Gallant properly emphasizes the particular occasion for Paul's instructions in this passage, he tends to use this occasion in a way that diminishes the precise instructions that the apostle gives for a proper celebration

and reception of the sacrament. Because Paul is admonishing the Corinthian believers for an abusive practice that wrongly divided between different segments of the Lord's body, Gallant argues (as do other advocates of paedocommunion) that the one over-riding imperative that must govern any celebration of the Lord's Supper is: make no distinctions between members of the covenant community (whether between rich and poor, or between adults and children), lest the meaning of the sacrament as a Table of unity be undermined. I have no quarrel, of course, with a proper emphasis upon the occasion for Paul's teaching in this passage. Context is always of special importance to the interpretation of any Scriptural passage. What I object to in this case is the use of context to override the clear particulars of a passage.

In the historic Reformed interpretation of this passage, it has often been noted that Paul moves from a description of the problem in Corinth (vv. 17–22), which is followed by a repetition of Christ's words of institution (vv. 23–26), to a series of imperatives regarding a proper participation in the sacrament (vv. 27–32). Though the apostle begins with a specific occasion in the life of the Corinthian church, he moves to a series of *general* instructions that apply to *all members* of the covenant community. In these instructions, the apostle repeatedly uses "generic" language ("anyone," "whoever") and speaks in third person singular verb forms. Calvin's comments on this movement are still on target: "Some restrict it [i.e. the application of the passage] to the Corinthians, and the abuse that had crept in among them, but I am of the opinion that Paul here, according to his usual manner, passed on from the particular case to a general statement, or from one instance to an entire class." This means that we must pay special attention to the general instructions for a proper participation in the Lord's Supper, which the apostle Paul presents in the context of describing the erroneous practice of the Corinthian church.

2. In his handling of the words of institution that Paul quotes in this passage, Gallant argues that we should translate the language, "do this in remembrance of me" (vv. 24–25) as "do this unto my remembrance." In Gallant's view, the remembrance in question is not a subjective act on the part of the believer who receives the sacrament, but an objective act on the part of God (and the believing community) in which the sacrament's observance is itself the memorial. In this connection, Gallant appeals to the language of Leviticus 24:7 and the general Old Testament theme of "remembrance/memorial." I do not find this interpretation convincing, though it is certainly useful to Gallant's case. If Gallant's interpretation is correct, it is not permissible to appeal to the language of receiving the sacrament "in active remembrance" of Christ to exclude immature and non-professing members of the covenant community. The grammatical question here is whether "of me" in the original language of the text is an "objective"

("remembrance of me") or "subjective" ("my remembrance") genitive. It is instructive that English translations of the text usually take it to be an "objective" genitive. Within the setting of Christ's words of institution, and the imperative addressed to the recipient of the sacrament ("do this ..."), this seems to be the likeliest translation. To quote the common words employed in the administration of the sacrament, recipients of the sacrament are summoned to "take, eat/drink, remember and believe" In the historic understanding of the Reformed churches, a public profession of faith on the part of a covenant child is the ordinary means whereby the presence of that kind of faith is confirmed.

3. The most significant features of this passage, however, are found in verses 27–29. In these verses, the apostle Paul sets forth general stipulations for a "worthy" participation in the Lord's Supper. For our purposes, the stipulations that are most significant are: one, that the covenant member "examine himself" prior to eating the bread and drinking the cup (v. 28); and two, that the covenant member "discern the body" when he eats and drinks (v. 29). A few comments on each of these stipulations will have to suffice.

In his treatment of the requirement regarding self-examination, Gallant attempts to restrict its application to what he calls a "preventative measure" in the case where repentance from the kind of sin that was present in Corinth is needed (p. 203). This command, he maintains, was given "in reaction to a crisis" and is not "part of the original institution" of the Lord's Supper. The implication of these observations seems to be that such self-examination is not necessarily required of every one who receives the sacrament. The problem with Gallant's argument at this point is that he fails to deal adequately with the way Paul moves from the specific occasion for his teaching to a general, apodictic command to "everyone" who partakes of the sacrament. Paul does not say, "to whom it applies, let him examine himself" Rather, he says, "whoever eats ... let him examine himself."

Gallant also maintains that, even were the call to self-examination required of all who participate in the sacrament, the verb Paul uses, on "its strongest reading," is "not itself some sort of entrance exam; it is a means for calling oneself to repentance" (p. 203). Though I am not sure I understand Gallant's point here, I am confident that he has not done justice to the idea of "self-examination" present in this passage. The verb Paul uses, which is also used in several other passages in his epistles (see Rom. 1:28; 2:18; 12:2; 14:22; 1 Cor. 3:13; 11:28; 16:3; 2 Cor. 8:8, 22; 13:5; Gal. 6:4; Eph. 5:10; Phil. 1:10; 1 Thess. 2:3; 1 Tim. 3:10), seems to have the general meaning of "to test something to determine its genuineness." The closest possible parallel to this passage is 2 Corinthians 13:5, where the apostle summons all believers to "examine yourselves, to see whether you are in the faith." Though Gallant wants to

“freight” the term with the excess baggage of an introspective, protracted process of spiritual inventory-taking, the normal understanding of the term in the Reformed tradition is that it requires a responsible testing on the part of the believer to see whether his faith is genuine. This requires no more nor less than looking for the three components of true, Christian faith that are treated, for example, in the Heidelberg Catechism: an acknowledgement of sin and its consequences; a heartfelt trust in Christ and his saving work; and a genuine desire to live gratefully in obedience to the Lord.

The second stipulation in these verses—that the recipient of the sacrament participate in a way that includes “discerning” the body of Christ—also requires comment. Gallant, like other advocates of paedocommunion, would like this discernment to be understood in a broad ecclesiological manner. In the context of the problem in Corinth, the “discerning” of the body amounts to a simple recognition of the identity of the covenant community. Since covenant children are members of the body of Christ, this discernment, contrary to traditional Reformed practice, requires their inclusion at the Lord’s Table, not their exclusion. In my judgment, this interpretation fails to do justice to the verb Paul uses, which requires a proper “recognition” or “understanding” of the body of Christ that was offered as a sacrifice for sin. Though this recognition or understanding has obvious ecclesiological implications, namely, that all who participate sacramentally in Christ are members of the one body, the church, it primarily focuses upon a right understanding of the body of the Lord represented in the sacramental elements of bread and wine. This discernment will be reflected in a pattern of conduct within the body of Christ that is consonant with the meaning of Christ’s body and blood that were given as an atoning sacrifice for the sins of his people. Again, this does not require the kind of construction that Gallant wants to place upon it, namely, that believers have an extraordinary level of sanctification and intellectual apprehension of the meaning of Christ’s body. But it does require of every participant in the sacrament that he come to the Table and partake in the way of an active faith, which is capable of remembering, proclaiming, and discerning the body of Christ. The historic practice of the Reformed churches, which requires the attestation of such faith by way of a public profession, amounts to an application of this instruction to the life of the church.

For these reasons, I remain convinced that a proper reading of 1 Corinthians 11:17–34 provides sufficient warrant for the historic view and practice of the Reformed churches. The children of believing parents must be instructed and nurtured in the Christian faith in order to prepare them to profess publicly the kind of faith that is required in order to receive the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. Such a public profession amounts to a confirmation that their participation in Christ

by means of the sacrament will be an eating and drinking “with the mouth of faith.”

ADDITIONAL NEW TESTAMENT EVIDENCE

At the risk of extending a response that is already too long, I would also note that there are at least two additional pieces of New Testament evidence that Gallant tends to minimize in making his case for paedocommunion. These pieces of evidence constitute “corroboratory evidence” for stipulating that believers be admitted to the Table of Lord only after having publicly attested the kind of faith requisite to a remembrance and proclamation of Christ’s death.

1. The first piece of evidence is the language used by our Lord in the institution of the Lord’s Supper. In the Gospel accounts of the institution of the Lord’s Supper, the Lord instructs those who celebrate the Lord’s Supper to take or receive the sacramental elements, and to do so “in remembrance” of him (Matt. 26:26–29; Mark 14:22–25; Luke 22:14–23). Participation in the Lord’s Supper occurs in response to a command, “do this,” and calls accordingly for a *responsible engagement* on the part of those who take and eat the bread, and take and drink the wine. The act of taking or receiving the sacramental signs and tokens of Christ’s body and blood is to be performed as a means of *remembering* and *believing* that Christ’s death was an atoning sacrifice for the sins of his people. In this respect, the communicant’s reception of Christ through the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper is different from the way the sacrament of baptism is received. Though the language is not altogether satisfactory, the Lord’s Supper requires the active participation of its recipient in a way that is not required of the recipient of baptism, who in a manner of speaking is the *passive* recipient of the sacramental sign and seal of the gospel promise.³ The language of the words of institution requires that the church’s practice conform to the principle that those who participate in the sacrament do so in responsible obedience to the Lord’s command to “do this in remembrance of him.”

2. One of the most important passages in the New Testament for addressing the issue of paedocommunion is John 6. Since this passage contains a long discourse by our Lord on the manner in which believers partake of his body and blood, it has significant implications for how this participation is effected sacramentally. This holds true whether or not

3. This language does not deny that the recipient of baptism, whether an adult or a child of believing parents, must respond to the gospel promise, which is signified and sealed to them in baptism, with an active faith. However, in the case of infants and children of believing parents, such faith is not a pre-requisite to the reception of the sacrament. The ground for the baptism of any member of the covenant is the gospel promise in Christ, which God makes to *believers and their children even before they are old enough to understand or respond properly.*

the discourse refers to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as many in Christian tradition have maintained. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper is a divinely-appointed means whereby its recipients enjoy a true participation in Christ's body and blood. The description of the nature of *any such participation*, which is given to us in this discourse, is, therefore, of particular significance for the question how Christ is received in the sacrament.⁴

The implication of this passage (see esp. vv. 35, 40, 47–8, 50–51, 53–54) is expressed well in the language of the Belgic Confession, which declares that “the manner of our partaking [of Christ by means of the Lord's Supper] is not by the mouth, but by the Spirit through faith” (Article 35). Without specifically citing John 6 as a proof text, the Belgic Confession echoes the teaching of Jesus' discourse, when it insists that “we ... receive by faith (which is the hand and mouth of our soul) the true body and blood of Christ our only Savior in our souls, for the support of our spiritual life.” The point of these affirmations in the Belgic Confession is to emphasize that those who commune with and partake of Christ by means of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper do so in the way of faith. There is no communion with Christ apart from a believing appropriation of the gospel Word that declares him to be the Word become flesh for us and for our salvation. Unless the Father grant a believing response to the gospel in the hearts and minds of believers, they will not be able to come to Christ to eat his body and drink his blood. The necessary pre-requisite to a full participation in Christ is this divinely-worked response of faith. Now, if this holds true for the believer's general participation in Christ, it holds true for the believer's particular, sacramental participation in him and his saving work.

Admittedly, John 6 does not speak directly to the question of paedocommunion. I am not even convinced that it refers directly to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. But the general teaching of John 6 regarding how believers participate in

Christ's body and blood has a clear and compelling implication for *any mode of communion* with Christ, whether by means of the gospel Word or the sacrament that accompanies the Word. The church's requirement that those who are admitted to the Table of the Lord confirm in a public manner that they are genuine believers is a legitimate application of the teaching of this passage. Without becoming sidetracked with questions about the precise age at which such faith may best be publicly attested, I believe that the teaching of John 6 lends important support to the historic insistence of the churches that communicants first profess their faith before they be admitted to the Lord's Table.

CONCLUSION

There are additional elements in the Coppes-Gallant exchange that might also be addressed. However, I have already exceeded the boundaries of a short commentary on their previous contributions to *The Confessional Presbyterian*, and so will have to draw my comments to a close rather abruptly. Though Gallant has admirably and thoroughly presented the case for paedocommunion, I remain convinced, for the reasons mentioned, that the historic view of the Reformed churches is a “covenant communion” view. But it is a covenant communion view that endeavors to apply the principles of New Testament teaching to the way the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is administered. Those principles demand that covenant children be prepared for their participation in Christ by means of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Such preparation aims to nurture the kind of faith that is required for the privilege of eating the body and drinking the blood of Christ in the sacrament.

RESPONSE: A Reply to Dr Cornelis Venema on Paedocommunion. By Tim Gallant.

I would like to thank Dr Venema for taking interest in this conversation, and the editor for inviting further response. Given the limited space available, I trust the reader will forgive my brevity in places; hopefully, my points will be nonetheless clear. I believe that my book, *Feed My Lambs*, answers most of the issues Venema raises, and many more. Additional material is freely available from paedocommunion.com.

1. RESPONSE TO VENEMA'S INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS
First, Venema takes me to task for calling my position “covenant communion” and his “credocommunion.” He says that this “tends to bias the discussion by its implicit suggestion that the historic Reformed view is ‘non-covenantal.’” I observe: 1) “Covenant communion” reflects my *rationale* regarding why believers' children ought to be included in the sacrament, which is *covenant membership*. That is why *paedocommunion*,

4. Gallant does address this passage in *Feed My Lambs* ([Grand Prairie, Alberta, Canada: Pactum Reformanda Publishing, 2002] 38–40). Though he believes the passage is speaking rather directly of the Lord's Supper, he does not comment on the way the Lord emphasizes that eating his body and drinking his blood requires a divinely-authored faith on the part of the believer who partakes of Christ. Gallant rejects the Eastern Orthodox Church's appeal to this passage to prove a doctrine of sacramental efficacy and necessity (no participation in the Eucharist, no participation in Christ), but his interpretation of the passage implies precisely the Eastern Orthodox view. Throughout his study, Gallant seems to teach that covenant children who are not yet admitted to the Lord's Table are spiritually malnourished and deprived of a true, full participation in Christ. In my judgment, this kind of representation of the historic Reformed view betrays a kind of sacramentalism that is foreign to the Reformed tradition, however high a view it may have of the efficacy and proper use of the sacraments.

while also a convenient shorthand, is rather vague—I do not believe in communing the child *because* he is a child; nor do I believe that *all* children are to commune, but only covenant children. 2) If “covenant communion” is biased in my direction, “credocommunion” is biased at least as far in the other direction. For my understanding of Scripture is that covenant children are regarded as believers,¹ and therefore, I am just as much a credocommunionist as Venema. The matter between us ultimately boils down to whether children must become as adults in order to enter into the sacrament, or whether such a position belies Jesus’ insistence that conversion runs the other way around (Matt. 18:3).

Second, when I say that the Lord’s Supper is not some sort of “special attainment” or a “plateau on some pagan ziggurat to heaven,” Venema objects that this “misrepresents the historic Reformed view of the relation between baptism and the Lord’s Supper.” I respond: 1) It must be remembered that this rhetoric was in response to Coppes, who repeatedly has argued for a multi-tiered view of church membership, and has repeatedly stated that the sacrament is only for those in a high state of sanctification.² I am more than willing to grant that Coppes’s view is an anomaly at odds with the best of the Reformed tradition. 2) While Venema asserts that that “[t]he path from the baptismal font to the communion table is a straight path” rather than “a high bridge,” it must be asked whether the Reformed, *in practice*, frequently implement the Supper in a manner liable to the criticism I have lodged against Coppes. If the path from font to table were so clear and straight, surely the Reformed churches (particularly in the continental tradition) would not have such a dominant pattern of late profession of faith (late teens and beyond). With respect to much Reformed practice, perhaps my rhetoric is not so exaggerated. 3) I have engaged in *analysis*. If paedocommunion is biblical, then the self-understanding of Venema and others in the tradition is beside the point. Peter did not see himself as failing to “walk straightly with the truth of the gospel” – and yet, that was Paul’s apostolic verdict (Gal. 2:14).³ The surest way to demonstrate that my rhetoric is misplaced is to show that I am wrong.

Third, Venema claims that the subtitle of my book (“Why the Lord’s Supper Should Be *Restored* to Covenant Children”) is “question-begging.” This is absurd, given that *an entire chapter* of *Feed My Lambs* is dedicated to the historical case. If Venema disagrees with my take on the evidence, he should offer a credible alternative, rather than write as if no case has been made, and then raise unsubstantiated and vague claims regarding the evidence. For instance, he claims without documentation that there is “third-century evidence that indicates that paedocommunion may have been an innovation when it was first introduced” and also claims – again, without documentation – that “it was never uncontested.”⁴ (In any case, my argument does not rest on universal practice.)

Venema further obfuscates the issue by adding that “an evaluation of this practice also needs to remember that it was often based upon a dubious view of the efficacy of the sacraments (particularly baptism) in granting regeneration and new life in Christ by their simple administration (*ex opere operato*).” Venema fails to note that this line of argument would tell at least equally against infant baptism. Neither does he explain what the Fathers meant by “regeneration” (and how it might differ from the baptismal references to Titus 3:5 in Q/A 71–73 of the *Heidelberg Catechism*). Granted, he does not want to use up valuable space, but “catch” terms such as *ex opere operato* in the context of generalizations permit him to create fear without being specific enough to be refuted.

The Reformers had good reason to reject then-current views of Rome regarding the sacraments. (Most of their objections had nothing to do with the notion that Rome credited too much efficacy to the sacraments.) We cannot engage the developmental history of *ex opera operato* here. But to answer the only point that Venema addresses: it is not true that the sacraments lack efficacy apart from a *conscious, active* response of faith. We agree, after all, on *negative* efficacy: an *unbelieving* response issues in judgment. Moreover, according to the *Belgic Confession*, infant baptism is efficacious, *not only* at the time of administration, but *also* throughout life.⁵ The *Heidelberg* asserts that infants are ingrafted into the Church in baptism (Q/A 74), with nary a hint that this ingrafting only really “takes” much later, when the child has cognitive ability.

The notion that Christ blesses only when a human mind acquires a certain amount of facility and learning is untrue;

1. If this were not so, Jesus could never have said that “of such is the kingdom of heaven” (Mt 19:14). If the kingdom of heaven centers upon faith, in terms of the “human side” of things, then we can only say that covenant children are believers, or they could not possibly be presented in this paradigmatic fashion.

2. See e.g. *Daddy, May I Take Communion*, p. 19: self-examination “requires mature sanctification;” p. 93: children must “become their own covenantal head” [*sic*] before they can commune; p. 124: “Under Jesus, only federal heads can approach the table and ‘take Christ’ to themselves;” p. 144: worthy partaking means “having met all of God’s requirements relating to sanctification;” p. 149: unlike Passover, the Lord’s Supper requires “deep sanctification” etc. On Coppes’s assumption that the NT carries forward the OT’s levels of graded holiness, see e.g. *Daddy*, pp. 253ff.

3. Note well that the issue in context was table fellowship (Gal. 2:11) and had to do with the full covenant membership rights of all the baptized (3:27).

4. The reader should perhaps be aware that this is the same man who in a seminary classroom claimed that Augustine did not believe in paedocommunion. I refer the reader to the direct quotations from Augustine on pp. 118–120 of *Feed My Lambs* to determine whether Venema is close to being a reasonable judge of the history.

5. Article 34: “Neither does this baptism avail us only at the time when the water is poured upon us and received by us, but also through the whole course of our life.”

Christ took little ones in His arms and *blessed* them. That blessing *happened*, no matter how little they may have cognitively understood. *The Reformed objection to ex opere operato does not consist of a claim that baptism has no efficacy until the child is old enough to respond in an active cognitive way*, and certainly the *Bible* allows us no room for such a response. The claim that paedocommunion was practiced on the basis of an *ex opere operato* viewpoint is a red herring.

2. PRINCIPAL EXEGETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2.1 OLD TESTAMENT PRECEDENTS

In this section, Venema deals primarily with my appeal to Passover as an antecedent to the Lord's Supper.

2.1.1. 5. Venema insists that one "must keep in mind the important distinction between the first and subsequent celebrations of the Passover." The former was a household celebration, while the latter were observed at the central worship center (ultimately Jerusalem). As I noted in my book, however, "Historical differences there undoubtedly were, but Ex. 12:25 makes it clear that it is *this rite* (i.e. the one presently instituted) which will be observed in the land of promise" (*Feed My Lambs*, 60–61, n63).

Venema writes that Deuteronomy's "provisions for the annual celebration... do not require, nor do they seem to anticipate, the participation of the women and younger children of the covenant community. They certainly militate against the idea that covenant membership by itself entails participation in the Passover meal."

Two points: 1) Without argument, Venema takes an unsubstantiated step up the ladder (not only was Passover not *required* for women and children; it supposedly was not *anticipated*). 2) He equivocates by stating my position in the way he does: "covenant membership by itself entails participation." (In this narrow context, what is meant by "by itself" and "entails"?)

But even a casual reading of my book shows that I have dealt with the Passover evidence more fully than one would suppose from Venema's sweeping comments (all of chapter 2—pp. 44–71—is devoted to Passover). I am aware that neither women nor children were *required* to attend Passover – or any other sacrificially-based rite of the law, for that matter, because

6. His goal, after all, is not merely to demonstrate that (small) children aren't *required* to come to the table, but that they are not *permitted* to do so. On the matter of rights and requirements, see esp. *Feed My Lambs*, 49–51.

7. E.g. the matter of males becoming "sons of the commandment."

8. *Feed My Lambs*, 56. The reference is to *Sukkah* 42b in the Gemara.

9. I only mentioned it in a footnote, while noting *via* cross-reference and Jewish interpretation that Venema's alternative translation is inherently less likely (see p. 64, footnote 66).

these were tied to the central Jerusalem location, and God was practical enough to take the logistics (and the weakness of His people) into account. Certainly, God did not envision that *all* women and children would participate regularly; in that sense, covenant membership did not "entail" sacramental participation automatically.

But that is not the point at issue. The only application suitable to Venema's purpose must not only show that children were not *required* to celebrate Passover; it must show that they were not *permitted* to do so.⁶ Moreover, although women and children weren't *required* to participate, contrary to Venema's denial, the law does indicate an *anticipation* that they *will* do so (Deuteronomy 12:6–7, 11–12), even if that participation is not universal and consistent (I cite this on page 63 of *Feed My Lambs*).

This same flaw (ignoring the difference between *not required* and *not permitted*) runs through much of Venema's argumentation regarding Passover, so I won't break things down section by section. But by way of example, note that the supposed Jewish precedents to which he appeals⁷ (which in any case are largely unprovable, in terms of relevant chronology) refer again to *requirement*, not *permission*. As I showed in *Feed My Lambs*, the rabbis said that children were to be admitted if they could eat so much as an olive-sized piece of lamb.⁸

2.1.2–3. Regarding Venema's further suggestion that children's participation in the original Passover meal "is not as likely" as I have claimed, it is to be noted that none of Venema's attempts to weaken my case accomplish much. For instance, I scarcely rested any weight on Exodus 12:4 to begin with.⁹ It is not clear why Venema thinks that newly weaned infants (or, for that matter, those who were still nursing but nonetheless eating solid food) couldn't digest roast lamb. I won't pretend to know exactly how ancient Israel dealt with the bitter herbs; but we *do* know that children celebrated Passover, and this matter has to do with a relatively minor aspect of the logistical *how*, not *whether*.

Somewhat more humorous is Venema's argument from the supposed Passover "element" of the cup of blessing. Not only is this not an element mandated by the law; not only is this a much later addition; not only is there no evidence of a certain required amount to drink – beyond all this, one must observe that on-duty priests and Levites (and Nazirites, period) were barred from consuming wine (Lev. 10:8–11; Num. 6:2–4). But nobody suggests that priests and Nazirites did not celebrate the Passover.

2.1.4. Venema repeats the tired line that the original Passover prescribed a sort of catechetical exercise. This too I have shown to be false (*Feed My Lambs*, 44–46); the question envisioned in Exodus 12:26–27 was not at all prescribed, much less a prerequisite for participation. Like the parallel situations

where God foresaw that various Israelite institutions would raise questions in the minds of covenant children, He told Israel how to respond wisely (see Joshua 4:6–7; Deut. 6:20–21). The question is foreseen precisely because the children in view were already partaking; the term for “children” in 12:26 is the same that appears in 12:24: “you shall observe this event as an ordinance for you and your children forever” (NASB).

2.1:note 2. In a footnote, Venema follows Coppes in drawing out differences between Passover and the Lord’s Supper. Many of these are simple redemptive-historical differences (obviously, the Supper involves Christ’s blood, not a literal lamb etc) and are clear enough to all. But nobody thinks that the Lord’s Supper *is* Passover, any more than anyone thinks baptism *is* circumcision.

Venema also appeals to the echo of Exodus 24:8 found in Matthew 26:28 and parallels; from that he draws attention to the fact that this “most important antecedent... was shared only by Moses and the twenty-four elders of Israel.” I dealt with this both in the book and my earlier response to Coppes: the part of Exodus 24 which Jesus cites is not the account of the meal with the elders on Sinai (Ex 24:9–11), but *the sprinkling of blood upon the whole congregation* (24:8). The point in view has to do with Christ cleansing *all* His people, not the representative meal that came later. (Of course, the representative character of the Exodus 24 meal itself points to something more inclusive. This is the nature of representation.) The allusion to Exodus 24 supports the whole-body position I propound, not Venema’s position (See *Feed My Lambs*, 87–88; cf. *Confessional Presbyterian* 2.201–202).

2.2 NEW TESTAMENT TEACHING

2.2.1. Venema begins his discussion with 1 Corinthians 10, but his response to my position consists of two paragraphs. The first of these virtually asserts that 1 Corinthians 11 trumps the passage in view. The second does little more than argue in a circle; Venema claims that “membership and participation in the covenant community may be genuine, even though not all the privileges of such membership are enjoyed immediately and in the same way by all members.” Venema then adds,

It is noteworthy that the participation in Christ of which the apostle Paul speaks at the outset of 1 Corinthians 10, was inclusive of non-circumcised persons (and even animals!) who accompanied the children of Israel during their wilderness wanderings.... To appeal to these Old Testament observances as precedents for the new covenant meal, the Lord’s Supper, seems faulty for several reasons, not the least of which is that it proves too much.

Venema’s argument is unclear. The first sentence above suggests that *not all members participate*, at least not in the

same way; he follows that immediately by observing that Paul’s case study involves *unexpected participants*, and then concludes that the examples in 1 Corinthians 10 are misguided as precedents for the Lord’s Supper.

First, let us note that it is not *I* who created the link between the new covenant sacraments and the events referred to in the opening verses of 1 Corinthians 10; it is *Paul*. It is *Paul* who uses baptismal and Eucharistic language to refer to the Red Sea crossing and the manna, and then in short order begins to talk about the new covenant sacraments directly. It is *Paul* who places us within the same covenantal and sacramental matrix (not least by using *tupos* language in vv. 6, 11)¹⁰ with Israel in the wilderness. So let’s not say that the link is “faulty.”

Second, let’s observe something biblical-theologically. There was *no* circumcision in the wilderness, which is why the generation that entered the land was circumcised *en masse* (Joshua 5:1–12). And it is not coincidental that it was precisely on that occasion that 1) the manna ceased; and 2) Israel again observed Passover. It is thus clear that the apostle rightly interprets the Red Sea passage and the provision of manna as an outside-the-land substitute for circumcision and Passover. This is particularly fitting for the purpose of addressing a largely Gentile church, since it thus involves a virtually “Gentilic” situation for Israel herself.¹¹

Third, let us be clear with this: If 1 Corinthians 10:17 says that we are all one body *because* we partake of the one bread, it is mere hand-waving to claim that the Lord’s Supper could be a privilege not to be enjoyed by all members. That is in flat contradiction to the text, and Venema’s case is weakened even more by Paul’s sacramental parallelism two chapters later, when he uses “all” terminology with reference to the two sacraments (1 Cor. 12:12–13; see my development in *Feed My Lambs*, 36–37).

2.2.2. Venema is emphatic that 1 Corinthians 11:17–34 is the be-all and end-all; it is “the *most decisive* passage for determining whether all covenant children should be admitted to the Lord’s Table.” It is “undoubtedly... the most important and decisive passage in the Scriptures in terms of addressing the question of the proper recipients of the Lord’s Supper.”

Venema’s emphatic “undoubtedly” notwithstanding, doubt *should* be raised: 1 Corinthians 10:17 identifies clearly to whom the table belongs (the body); 1 Corinthians 11 does *not* in fact deal with “the proper recipients of the Lord’s Supper.”

10. The terminology here is much stronger than many of the translations have it, with renderings such as “examples.” *Tupos* refers to a mold or matrix, and its use here indicates that Paul believes a binding pattern has been established which determines the shape of covenant life for us.

11. Whatever we may wish to say regarding the animals, it is to be noted that they were included with Israel in Exodus 10.9 as dedicated to Yahweh for sacrificial purposes.

Venema does not say directly what granting precedence to 1 Corinthians 11 will mean for him hermeneutically, but he shows us in practice. It amounts to this: Because this is the “decisive” passage, Venema will interpret it independently of the matrix established in the preceding chapter. The passage becomes not only “decisive,” but *virtually independent*. His position can’t work otherwise.

As we’ve already seen, before this passage begins, Paul has already outlined the shape of covenantal realities in connection with the sacraments. As Israel of old, those who have been baptized (10:2) and participated in sacramental food and drink (10:3–4) will fall under *judgment* if they disqualify themselves (9:27; the terminology is *adokimos* – closely related to *dokimazo*, the word in 11:28 usually translated along the lines of “examine”). Thus note well: as early as 1 Corinthians 10:4, we already have the themes of “self-examination” and judgment. By 10:17, the participation together of the body in Christ is established. And all of this within an overarching view that Israel’s experience is paradigmatic for ours.

That is why, given space constraints, I’m disinclined to go verse by verse through 1 Corinthians 11:17–34 with Venema.¹² I disagree with his reading at numerous points,¹³ but that is a side issue. Even if I grant virtually every *exegetical* detail that Venema can defend, *he cannot prove his application*. The reason is simple: *Paul has grounded the whole within the existing covenantal pattern*, established in Israel’s history. The old covenant relationship between God and His people involved matters of judgment, disqualification, and so on. As I argued in *Feed My Lambs*, there is biblical precedent for the ideas of “self-examination” we find in 1 Corinthians 11, such as Isaiah 1:10ff.¹⁴

As important as it is, 1 Corinthians 11 is not a free-standing text. It grows out of the conceptual context Paul has provided in 9:24–10:22, and behind that, the whole old covenant substructure and history which provide the matrix for (covenantal and sacramental) new covenant realities. And what that implies is that if the old covenant invited children to the sacramental table (as it clearly did),¹⁵ then an application of 1 Corinthians 11 that reverses that pattern is utterly illicit.

12. I have already provided verse by verse discussion in the book.

13. E.g. his dismissal of the biblical antecedents for the *remembrance* terminology of 11:24–25 and his simple assumption that “discerning the body” has to do with the body of Christ in the sacrament rather than with the church body.

14. See esp. pp. 92–93; cf. 149–150. Note e.g. Isa. 66:2–4; Amos 5:21–24; Mal. 1:10. Even Venema’s questionable notion that 1 Cor 11:27 refers to discerning the body of Christ in the sacrament is not without precedent, in terms of old covenant norms; after all, Paul says in 10:18 that those who eat the sacrifices are participants in the altar.

15. See again esp. *Feed My Lambs*, 49–50, 60–64. Relevant texts include Exod. 10:9; Deut. 12:6–7, 11–12; 16:16, etc.

16. Or the whole string of texts connecting belief with baptism: Mark 16:16; Acts 8:12–13; 18:8; 19:4.

Venema and other credocommunionists are *hermeneutically* Anabaptist on this point. It is not at all clear why we should give 1 Corinthians 11 independent, detached authority on communion, and not Acts 2:38 (“repent and be baptized”)¹⁶ with regard to baptism. The Reformed have defended infant baptism primarily by detailing a covenantal consistency in Scripture, whereby Christian baptism takes up circumcision and the various washings of the old covenant. And yet, in 1 Corinthians 11, we have a passage in close proximity to an earlier passage (9:24–10:22) which clearly declares that the structure of new covenant life (explicitly in connection with the sacraments) is governed by an established matrix. And yet Venema appears to believe that we should interpret and apply 1 Corinthians 11 in isolation from—indeed, in contradiction to—that pattern.

No. With all due respect to the history of Reformed exegesis on 1 Corinthians 11, this is not a responsible approach to the text.

2.2.3. Venema concludes the main section of his piece with “additional New Testament evidence.” Here, he manages to create a long paragraph out of the simple “Do this” of the institution of the Lord’s Supper. I cannot discuss all of Venema’s unsupported claims here. Suffice to say that, by the nature of the case, covenantal meals have always involved *doing*. Indeed, they also involved *remembrance*, as I showed in *Feed My Lambs* (E.g. 83–87). Moreover, I have also dealt extensively with Venema’s active/passive distinction—a real distinction which has nonetheless been overblown, and has always been an aspect of the covenant (See esp. *Feed My Lambs*, 137–138). There is no reason to suppose the active/passive distinction implies any more now than it did with regard to circumcision and the old covenant meals which admitted children.

Venema also appeals to John 6. He suggests that whether or not it refers to the sacrament, it does tell us “the nature of *any such participation*” in Christ’s body and blood, and is therefore significant. He adds,

There is no communion with Christ apart from a believing appropriation of the gospel Word that declares him to be the Word become flesh for us and for our salvation.... The necessary prerequisite to a full participation in Christ is this divinely-worked response of faith. Now, if this holds true for the believer’s general participation in Christ, it holds true for the believer’s particular, sacramental participation in him and his saving work.... [T]he general teaching of John 6 regarding how believers participate in Christ’s body and blood has a clear and compelling implication for *any mode of communion* with Christ.

I too address John 6 in *Feed My Lambs* (38–40), and point out that if we deny the sacrament to children, “we thereby belie their participation in the benefits of Christ’s life and

death" (p. 40). Here it is Venema who has "proved too much." If John 6 governs *any mode of communion* with Christ, and it requires an active faith that can be confirmed in a "public manner," then covenant children are not united to Christ at all until they are able to make public profession of faith. This is not the historic Reformed position.

John 6 supports paedocommunion, precisely because of the genuine tie between reality and sign that Calvin himself insisted upon when writing about baptism: If infants "are participants in the thing signified, why shall they be debarred from the sign?" And again: "infants receive forgiveness of sins; therefore, they must not be deprived of the sign."¹⁷ Either we take the view that covenant children are to be counted among the believers, and therefore have access to Christ, such that they eat and drink of Him, or we must abandon the Reformed confession and say they have no part in Him.

CONCLUSION.

Like Leonard Coppes before him, Dr Venema repeatedly raises objections as if they had not already been anticipated and dealt with in *Feed My Lambs*. It is one thing to engage my argument and then to disagree; it is another to ignore it. This exchange confirms what I learned when first researching the subject: the credocommunion case does not have a hermeneutically-responsible answer to paedocommunion.

A Further Reply to Tim Gallant on Paedocommunion, by Dr. Cornelis P. Venema.

I would like to thank the editor, Mr. Chris Coldwell, for granting me the opportunity to write a further reply to Tim Gallant on the subject of paedocommunion. These kinds of exchanges could go on indefinitely, but I will restrict my remarks to the most significant features of Gallant's reply to my earlier response.

REGARDING MY INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS

As I read Gallant's response to my introductory observations, it appears that he takes exception to three of my points.

First, Gallant is not pleased that I am unwilling to concede the language of "covenant communion" to those who, like himself, advocate the admission of all covenant children to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Since he uses this language to call attention to the "rationale" for the admission of children to the Table, Gallant believes that it is the most appropriate term for his view. He also adds that his view is as much a "credocommunionist" view as mine, since he regards covenant children as "believers."

Though I do not much care to quibble about terms, I remain persuaded that those who hold the historic Reformed view on the question of paedocommunion ought not to

concede the language of "covenant communion." Advocates of paedocommunion believe their position is most consistent with the implications of the doctrine of the covenant. Indeed, the entire Reformed tradition from Calvin onward, though it thought itself covenantal in doctrine, has failed to reckon with the consequences of a consistent covenant view. Elements of "baptistic" thinking allegedly continue to infect Reformed practice at this point. My point regarding the language of "covenant communion" is that this claim needs to be challenged directly. The historic Reformed view regarding the administration of the Lord's Supper is a covenantal communion view. It has merely argued that the biblical terms for the administration of the covenant stipulate requirements for admission to the Table that militate against the paedocommunion position.

I am not sure how to respond to Gallant's unqualified assertion that the children of believers are themselves "believers" and that his is therefore as much a "credocommunion" view as mine. If he means to say that the children of believing parents are covenant members, or that they should be regarded as members of Christ who are to be nurtured in the Word of the covenant in preparation for their admission to the Table, I have no quarrel with him. But it is still proper to distinguish between believers and their children (as the apostle Peter does in Acts 2:39, when he says the "promise is to you *and to your children*"; cf. 1 Cor. 7:14). It is also necessary to insist that the children of believers attest their faith by responding appropriately to the gospel promise. Gallant boldly asserts that all the children of believing parents are "believers." But it is not clear what this assertion means? How does the church confirm the presence and authenticity of their faith? What belongs to the kind of "faith" that is an appropriate response to the covenant Word, which was signified and sealed to them in their baptism? Is there a kind of "infant faith" that differs from the kind of faith that is normatively defined in the Reformed confessions (see, e.g., Heidelberg Catechism, Lord's Day 7)? If Gallant affirms that all covenant children are believers, what objection remains to the church's insistence that this faith be attested by means of a public profession of faith?

Second, in my comments on Gallant's response to Coppes, I took exception to his caricature of the Reformed view, when he compared its insistence upon a profession of faith prior to admission to the Lord's Supper to a "special attainment" or a "plateau on some pagan ziggurat to heaven." I am happy to note that Gallant concedes that this comparison may not fairly represent the best of the Reformed tradition and practice regarding admission to the Lord's Table. I am surprised, however, that, after having made this concession, he then proceeds

17. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, IV.16.5; IV.16.22, respectively.

to characterize the practice of most (especially Continental) Reformed churches in similar terms. The gist of my introductory observation at this juncture was that the case for paedocommunion is not advanced by misrepresenting the historic position of the Reformed churches. To reiterate the point of my introductory observation: the historic Reformed view does not place any arbitrary or unbiblical wall between the baptismal font and the communion Table. It simply requires those who are admitted to the Table to come in the way of a believing response to the gospel Word concerning Jesus Christ. Catechetical instruction in the Reformed churches aims to prepare the baptized children of believing parents to make a profession of faith in Christ that is able to remember, proclaim, and discern the body of Christ in the sacrament.

Third, Gallant is especially displeased with my suggestion that the subtitle of his book ("Why the Lord's Supper Should Be Restored to Covenant Children") is "question-begging." Because he has dedicated a chapter of his book to the historical case for paedocommunion, Gallant thinks it is "absurd" for me to offer this suggestion. Whether my observation about Gallant's title is "absurd," as he claims, depends upon whether the claim embedded in his title deserves to be as confidently asserted as he thinks. Admittedly, part of my objection to the book's subtitle is a simple matter of preference. I don't particularly like titles that pronounce in an almost-pontifical fashion that a book's argument is beyond dispute. Something like that seems to be the case with Gallant's subtitle. Another part of my objection here is that Reformed Christians never want to imply that their faith and practice is simply a matter of adherence to tradition, however hallowed or venerable. But my primary objection is that Gallant's subtitle (and the chapter dedicated to the historical evidence) *overstates* and *exceeds* the reach of the historical evidence that we presently possess.

As I noted in my earlier response to Gallant, this is not the place to canvass the historical evidence regarding the practice of paedocommunion. I have actually done this in a series of articles published in *The Outlook*.¹ When this series is completed, I hope to submit it for publication in the form of a book on the question of paedocommunion. From my

study of the historical evidence, I have come to the following conclusions:

1. The testimony to the practice of paedocommunion in the antiquity of the church does not compare to that for the practice of paedobaptism. The evidence for paedocommunion warrants only the inference that it was a practice introduced into some sectors of the church by the middle of the third century. However, there is earlier third-century evidence that indicates that paedocommunion may have been an innovation when it was first introduced.

2. By the time of Augustine and thereafter, the practice of paedocommunion became increasingly widespread in the Eastern and Western branches of the church. The practice of paedocommunion in the Eastern church, which continues to the present, was established during this period. The practice of paedocommunion in the Western church became the prevalent one until the twelfth century. However, even in this period the practice of paedocommunion was never as universal in the West as it was in the East.²

3. Any evaluation of the widespread practice of paedocommunion in the church during the period prior to the high Middle Ages and the Reformation must take note of the diverse reasons offered to encourage or to discourage this practice. An assessment of the practice of paedocommunion may not ignore, for example, the close connection between a growing sacramentalism, which viewed baptism as a means of granting new birth to its recipients, and the admission of children to the Lord's Table. Those who would appeal to the practice of paedocommunion in this period have to reckon with the dubious sacramental views that encouraged the admission of children to the Table.

4. The reasons for the decline of the practice of paedocommunion in the Western church are complex. Advocates of paedocommunion often cite the emergence of the doctrine of transubstantiation and the growing fear of desecrating the consecrated elements if paedocommunion continued to be practiced. They also appeal to the practice of withholding the cup from the faithful, a practice that allegedly made the participation of infants in the sacrament by means of intinction difficult, if not impossible. Though these factors may have played a role in the decline of paedocommunion, there are other factors that tend to be overlooked, for example, the long-standing conviction of the church Fathers, Augustine included, that insisted upon a believing and informed reception of the sacrament of communion. The development of the sacrament of confirmation and its association with the admission of believers to the sacrament has its roots in the earliest teaching and practice of the church.

As these conclusions indicate, I am convinced that the evidence for the practice of paedocommunion in the early church is mixed, and that it is not nearly as strong as that

1. Ed. *The Outlook* is a monthly magazine published by Reformed Fellowship Inc. <http://www.reformedfellowship.net/>.

2. I hesitate to reply to Gallant's footnote regarding what I am alleged to have said in the classroom at Mid-America Reformed Seminary regarding Augustine's view. What I may or may not have said in a classroom at Mid-America is irrelevant to the present discussion. I do know, however, that Augustine's view is less clear than Gallant claims, and that there are features of his thinking about the sacraments that militate against paedocommunion (and likely played a role in the Western church's later consensus view against the practice). The reader may wish to consult Matthew Winzer's article in this issue of *The Confessional Presbyterian*. Winzer makes a similar point regarding Augustine's view.

for the practice of paedobaptism. I also remain persuaded, despite Gallant's complaint that it is a "red herring," that the theological arguments for the practice of paedocommunion in the third and subsequent centuries are *directly relevant* to our evaluation of the historical evidence. As one of my introductory observations noted, Reformed believers do not finally determine their faith and practice by an appeal to historical tradition. Such tradition must be biblically evaluated. The tradition of paedocommunion in the church, such as it is, must be evaluated precisely in terms of the sacramental theology that under-girded it. By the standard of biblical teaching and the Reformed view of the sacraments, that theology is often unbiblical and rife with a kind of *ex opere operato* conception of sacramental efficacy.

THE MOST IMPORTANT EXEGETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In his response to my comments on the most important exegetical considerations that are relevant to the question of paedocommunion, Gallant focuses upon my handling of the Old Testament Passover as a precedent, as well as my interpretation of 1 Corinthians 10 and 11.

THE OLD TESTAMENT PASSOVER

In my comments regarding the Old Testament Passover, I am primarily interested in showing why it does not constitute a legitimate precedent for admitting children to the new covenant sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Since Gallant, like many paedocommunionists, adduces the Old Testament practice as an important leg in the argument for paedocommunion, I only wish to observe that the evidence does not warrant the weight many paedocommunionists rest upon it.

First, the stipulations in the Deuteronomic legislation, as Gallant acknowledges, do not require that all members of the covenant community participate in the annual Passover Feast in Jerusalem. Women and children are not required to keep the Passover as it was celebrated throughout the Old Testament economy. Gallant mistakenly thinks my point here is that "not required" means "not permitted," as if I were arguing that the Deuteronomic legislation expressly proscribed the participation of women and children in the Passover. But this is not the point I wish to make by way of this observation about who was required to keep the Passover feast. My point is a modest one: if the Lord genuinely embraced such women and children within the covenant, but did not require their participation in the Passover meal, then non-participation in the Passover meal has no adverse implications for their covenant status. In Gallant's book, however, it is often implied or expressly stated that non-participation in the Passover meal or its New Testament counterpart, the Lord's Supper, is tantamount to a form of "ex-communication" so far as one's covenantal participation in Christ is concerned.

Second, my observations about the likelihood of all members of the households of Israel participating in the Passover meal remain valid, despite Gallant's impatience with them. I do not claim that children took no part in the Passover meal. What I claim is that it is unlikely that *all* the children participated fully, or in all the elements, of the meal. What evidence do we have that all the children of the covenant (with the possible exception of unweaned infants) ate the roast lamb, the bitter herbs, and engaged in the prerequisite preparations for keeping the annual feast? Gallant simply assumes that they did so, largely on the basis of what he thinks occurred at the first celebration of the Passover in Egypt. Perhaps he is right. Perhaps he is not. My argument only claims that it is unlikely that they did so. Though I am fully aware that the cup was not one of the stipulated features of the Passover legislation, the traditional inclusion of the cup, and the drinking of wine, only adds to the unlikelihood that all children took part in all elements of the Passover meal. There is evidence from Jewish tradition that supports this conclusion.

And third, historical studies of traditional Jewish practice within the period of the Old Testament economy also show that young children did not participate in the annual Passover feast. Though I suppose it is possible to argue that such traditional practice represents a failure to abide by the stipulations of the covenant, it still remains true that there is no real precedent in Jewish practice for the insistence that all covenant children participated in the Passover meal.³

The point of these observations regarding the Old Testament Passover is rather limited. I mention them because they belie the oft-repeated and overly-confident assertion of advocates of paedocommunion that the Passover constitutes an important precedent for admitting children to the Table of the Lord.

1 CORINTHIANS 10

In his response to my comments, Gallant reiterates his conviction that 1 Corinthians establishes a kind of interpretive "matrix" for our reading of 1 Corinthians 11:17–34. If I understand him correctly, Gallant seems to believe that this passage virtually proves that all covenant children ought to be admitted to the Table of the Lord. The argument seems to be something like this: because the children of Israel participated in Christ during their Exodus from Egypt and wilderness wanderings, and because the Lord's Supper is a participation in Christ for the new covenant people of God, all members of the

3. My summary of the history of traditional Jewish practice is based upon the following sources: Roger T. Beckwith, "The Age of Admission to the Lord's Table," *Westminster Theological Journal* 38/2, 136–51; idem, "The Age of Admission to Communion," *The Churchman* 85 (Spring, 1971) 13–31; and J. B. Segal, *The Hebrew Passover from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70* (London: O.U.P., 1963).

new covenant community (including the children of believers) must be admitted to the Table of the Lord. Furthermore, since this is clear from 1 Corinthians 10, it is impossible that Paul could have intended any restrictions upon participation by non-professing members of the covenant community, when he addresses the subject of the Lord's Supper in chapter 11. As I see it, the argument here has three significant problems.

First, the argument assumes what needs to be proved, namely, that the children of the covenant community have no participation in Christ, unless they participate in Him by means of the sacrament. But I see no reason to concede that this is the case. The women and children of the old covenant who did not participate in the "sacrament" of the Passover were not thereby excluded from a genuine participation in Christ or the covenant. Why then must we conclude that the children of believing parents who do not yet participate in Christ through the sacrament of the Lord's Supper have, on that account alone, been denied their place in Christ or His body?

Second, Gallant's argument treats the sacrament as though it were "constitutive" of the oneness of the body of Christ. This is apparently the way he understands the language of 1 Cor. 10:17 ("Because there is one bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread"). On this understanding, any failure to eat the body or drink the blood of Christ in the sacrament would be tantamount to being excommunicated from the body of Christ. If this is Gallant's view, it is rather far removed from a Reformed understanding of what the sacrament does in relation to the gospel Word. In my reading of this language, Paul is simply calling attention to the implications of the sacramental sign of the "one bread": this bread confirms the oneness and fellowship of the church with Christ, and excludes any participation in eating foods that were offered in worship to idols.

And third, it is not permissible to draw prematurely conclusions from 1 Corinthians 10 that prevent a careful, responsible reading of 1 Corinthians 11:17–34 on the question of how the Lord's Supper is to be celebrated. Though Gallant calls my approach here a kind of "AnaBaptist" [sic] hermeneutic, I would argue that it preserves an important principle of all exegesis: the text is the ultimate determiner of its own meaning within the boundaries of the "analogy of faith." My interpretation of 1 Corinthians 11 is squarely within the mainstream of a long-standing tradition of Reformed exegesis. Though it may

not convince Gallant, it hardly deserves to be characterized as unreformed. If I may be permitted an *ad hominem*, I would prefer to keep company with John Calvin and the best exegetes of the Reformed tradition rather than with Gallant and some contemporary advocates of paedocommunion.

1 CORINTHIANS 11

Though I nowhere suggest that 1 Corinthians 11 is the "be all and end-all," as Gallant chooses to represent my view, I do believe it constitutes an insuperable obstacle to the paedocommunion case. In this passage, the apostle Paul sets forth two requirements for the worthy reception of the sacrament: first, the participant must "examine himself" prior to eating the bread and drinking the cup (v. 28); and second, the participant must "discern the body" when he eats and drinks (v. 29).

The verb Paul uses to describe the first requirement for a proper reception of the sacrament has the general meaning of "to test something to determine its genuineness."⁴ Though Paul gives no specific information regarding what such a testing or examining of oneself means, the verb he uses is found in a number of New Testament passages, including other Pauline epistles (see Rom. 1:28; 2:18; 12:2; 14:22; 1 Cor. 3:13; 16:3; 2 Cor. 8:8, 22; 13:5; Gal. 6:4; Eph. 5:10; Phil. 1:10; 1 Thess. 2:3; 1 Tim. 3:10). The closest parallel to this passage is 2 Corinthians 13:5, where the apostle summons all believers to "examine yourselves, to see whether you are in the faith. Test yourselves. Or do you not realize this about yourselves, that Jesus Christ is in you?—unless indeed you fail to meet the test!" Another parallel passage, which also uses this verb with a reflexive pronoun, Galatians 6:4, speaks of the need for each believer to "test his own work." These passages teach that the believer is obligated to examine his faith and conduct to determine whether it corresponds to what is expected of a person who belongs to Christ. In 1 Cor. 11:28 Paul requires this of all who would partake in a worthy manner of the Lord's Supper.

The second stipulation in these verses is that the recipient of the sacrament "discern the body." Gallant takes "body" in this verse to refer primarily to the church. However, in the immediate context of verse 29, Paul refers on two occasions to the body of Christ, first in reference to the institution of the Lord's Supper (v. 24), and then in reference to the sacramental eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ (v. 27). Both of these references to the "body" are references to the body "of Christ," which is signified and communicated by means of the sacramental elements of bread and wine. I understand this language, therefore, to require a believing discernment of the body of Christ that was given as a sacrifice on behalf of his people. Because the sacrament is a means of remembering and proclaiming Christ's sacrificial death until he comes, those who receive Christ in the sacrament must do so in the way of an active recognition of his body.⁵ Gallant's

4. See William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 4th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957) 201. Hereafter BAG.

5. See BAG, 184. The Greek term Paul uses in this verse occurs nineteen times in the New Testament, including seven times in the Pauline epistles (see Rom. 4:20; 14:23; 1 Cor. 4:7; 6:5; 11:9; 11:31; 14:29).

view that this discernment refers only to an ecclesiological identification of those who belong to the covenant community does not do justice to the immediate context of this verse or to the meaning of the verb Paul uses.

TWO CLOSING OBSERVATIONS

I would like to conclude my remarks on Gallant's response with two closing observations.

The first observation relates to Gallant's method of argument, both in his book and in his responses to Coppes and myself. Gallant presents arguments and draws exegetical conclusions that may be possible. There is a difference, however, between a possible argument and one that is incontrovertible or incorrigibly true. Exegetical, historical, and theological arguments are not always as compelling or obvious as we would like them to be. One of the characteristics of Gallant's method of argument is that he seems rather overconfident about the strength of many of his arguments. Even when he draws conclusions at variance with those of venerable Reformed exegetes, he is rather too eager to declare his view the only responsible one, while branding the historic view "Anabaptist" or "not responsible." When reading Gallant's book, I am reminded of the adage, "a chain is only as strong as its weakest link." Stringing together a series of possible, but yet unlikely, arguments does not amount to a strong, cumulative case.

The second observation has to do with what I judge to be the *one over-riding premise* that governs Gallant's handling of the evidence: all covenant children are believers who enjoy a full and saving communion with Christ, and therefore to insist that they confirm their faith-response to the covenant promise before coming to the Table of the Lord is tantamount to an act of "excommunication" that cuts them off from participation in Christ. This premise, which is the real engine driving the advocacy of paedocommunion on the part of Gallant and others, is evident in his closing comments on John 6. Whereas I appealed to John 6 to illustrate the necessity of faith to any participation in Christ, Gallant insists that this represents a denial of the meaning of baptism and fails to "count" all covenant members, including children, "among the believers."⁶ The assumption here seems to be that all covenant members who are recipients of the covenant promise in baptism enjoy the fullness of saving communion with Christ until they fall away or apostatize through unbelief. This assumption, which Gallant holds in common with contemporary advocates of what is known as the "Federal Vision," does not conform to the teaching of Scripture or the summary of Scriptural teaching in the Reformed confessions. ■

A REVIEW: Peter Enns' Incarnational Doctrine of Scripture: Reformed or Not? Peter Enns, *Inspiration and Incarnation* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2005). Paperback, 208 pages. \$17.99. Reviewed by Stuart R. Jones, Instructor in Polity, Ministerial Training Institute of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, Pastor of First OPC, Baltimore, Md.

A recent book by Peter Enns, Professor of Old Testament at Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, has occasioned a number of reviews. Generally favorable reviews have appeared in *Modern Reformation* (Longman, November/December 2005), the *Denver Journal* (Volume 8, 2005, online); less committal reviews in *JETS* (Eschelbach, December 2005) and *Review of Biblical Literature* (Green, 2006, available online); and more critical reviews in *JETS* (Beale, September 2006; cf. forthcoming in *Themelios*); *Reformation 21* (online, April and May 2006, Helm and Carson) and *New Horizons* (Ferry, October 2005). With so many reviews, what more can be said? For readers of *The Confessional Presbyterian*, it may be of interest to ask how all of this relates to a Reformed versus Evangelical view of Scripture. Enns is interested in bringing evangelicals up to speed on recent scholarship and the environment out of which Scripture arose. The human environment of ancient suzerainty treaties, for example, has provided forms which we readily recognize in the Old Testament. By itself, this is not particularly controversial. Do Reformed adherents, knowledgeable as they are of Meredith Kline's contributions to Old Testament exegesis, have a dog in this fight and if so, which dog? The following excerpt from the *Nicotine Theological Journal*—not to be confused with any fundamentalist or evangelical publication—illuminates one area of concern:

Westminster Theological Seminary faculty used to see its task as one of studying and explaining the "whole counsel of God." Most of its professors still do. But can a theological seminary fulfill its mission if it lets the equivocation of the university seminary room govern debates among a theological faculty? Pete Enns may have unintentionally forced a school, once known for its rigor, orthodoxy and willingness to defend the Reformed faith, to decide whether it wants to maintain this reputation.¹

The above comment raises the problem of ignoring systematic theology and the provisionalism one finds expressed by Enns with regard to the doctrine of Scripture. Ironically,

6. This sentence probably should have the adverb "ordinarily," since I am aware of the important qualification noted in the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, Chapter 10.3. ■

1. Editorial by D. Hart, "Westminster Enns," *Nicotine Theological Journal* 10/2 (April 2006) 3.

Enns appropriates the dogmatic category of incarnation about which the early church was anything but provisional in her conclusions.

The following review, rather than traversing old ground, will provide an overview of certain problematic aspects of Enns' general work, not merely his most recent book. Enns would argue that his book is meant to help Evangelicals rather than set forth a rigorous doctrine of Scripture. He wants to get a conversation going. It appears that he wants evangelicals simply to become Reformed. The masterful article by Richard Gaffin which was used to refute Rogers and McKim is cited in a footnote.² Enns maintains (in his response to Beale) that

The position laid out here by Bavinck represents my own deep Reformed commitment as to the nature of Scripture, my pre-suppositional epistemological starting point for how I work out the implications of the relationship between the divine and human elements of Scripture, and the very principle upon which my book is based. (*JETS*, June 2006, 324)

Though this sounds like Van Til and Bavinck, there is a disconnect. It is not just philosophically naïve evangelicals who have a problem with Enns' book and work.³ One gets the impression that Enns has cherry picked his citations and reformed sources. Since two can play that game, we will offer our own comparisons here. First Enns:

I am suggesting, therefore, that we can be of tremendous help to lay readers by being very intentional in articulating definitions of inerrancy that account positively for the diverse phenomena of Scripture rather than giving the impression, however unintentional, that contrary or non-compliant data

should be marginalized in view of preconceived notions of how Scripture ought to behave (*JETS*, 322).

Note also his statement regarding "extrabiblical archeological and textual evidences" in *Inspiration and Incarnation*:

Though they are not determinative, they are wholly relevant to how we understand today what the Bible is. To state the opposite, I reject the notion that a modern doctrine of Scripture can be articulated in blissful isolation from the evidence we have. (*I&I*, 48)

Now note Bavinck:

The so-called phenomena of Scripture cannot undo this self-testimony of Scripture and may not be summoned against it as a party in the discussion. For those who make their doctrine of scripture dependant on historical research into its origination and structure have already begun to reject Scripture's self-testimony and therefore no longer believe that Scripture.⁴

Though Enns and Bavinck, taken in context, are not in direct contradiction here, there is a different orientation towards the phenomena of Scripture. We add here the extended testimony of E.J. Young:

It will be said that we are paying attention to the teaching of Scripture at the expense of its phenomena or characteristics. "You listen only to the doctrine which Scripture teaches about itself," so the charge runs, "but you pay no heed to the facts or the phenomena of Scripture. If you would begin your study with the phenomena of the Bible you would obtain a very different picture from that which you receive when you pay attention only to what the Bible says about itself." This charge is often raised in our day against those who are concerned to defend the full and complete authority of Scripture. It is, of course, not a recent charge. It was made even in the days of Benjamin B. Warfield, and he regarded it necessary even in his day to refute it.

At first glance, it might appear that there is some justification for the position that the teaching of the Bible and its phenomena are to be placed upon a par each with the other, and that the phenomena of Scripture should be just as regulative of an acceptable doctrine of Scripture as the express teaching thereof. A little reflection, however, should make clear how untenable and unjustified such a position really is.

On the airplane I fall into conversation with the man in the seat next to me. He introduces himself as a Mr. Smith from New York, and tells me that he is on his way to San Francisco.

2. Cited from "Old Amsterdam and Inerrancy?" *WTJ* 44 (1982) 250-89 and 45 (1983) 219-72 in *JETS* 49/2 (June 2006) 325. In 1979, Rogers and McKim sought to appropriate Kuyper and Bavinck as sympathetic figures for a less rigorous view of Scriptural inerrancy (sometimes associated with Old Princeton). Gaffin's articles supplied clarifying context to Kuyper and Bavinck in works that were not then available in English (Kuyper's "Dogmatic Lectures" is still less accessible, though Bavinck's relevant work has now been translated).

3. Richard Pratt's address on the Westminster Confession's doctrine of Scripture to a recent PCA General Assembly (available for download online), while not mentioning Enns by name, contains a thinly veiled critique of his approach, particularly as he references the phrase "true myth" which Enns reportedly uses in classroom lectures. Dr. Richard Pratt, "Westminster's Approach To The Scriptures In Light Of Recent Evangelical Approaches," a lecture delivered at the *Westminster Confession for Today Conference*, June 19-20, 2006. See 2006 PCA General Assembly Recordings, <http://www.pcaga.com/shop.asp?action=details&inventoryID=46060&catId=8020>.

4. Herman Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics* (ET; Bold and Vriend; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003) 1:424.

Why should I not accept his testimony to himself? Normally, we assume that a person is telling the truth unless there be convincing reason to the contrary. But, for the sake of the argument, I am unwilling to accept Mr. Smith's testimony. For one thing he speaks with a Southern accent; again I notice that the last initial on his briefcase is not S, but B, and finally I happen to note that he holds an airline ticket between New York and Chicago, not between New York and San Francisco. I have been studying the "phenomena" of Mr. Smith and from them conclude that he is not from New York, nor is he on his way to San Francisco, nor for that matter is his name Smith. Prudence, however, dictates that I keep my findings to myself. But I am quite convinced that a study of the "phenomena" has given me the truth about Mr. Smith or whatever his name is, and I am sure that I have been far more scientific and scholarly in my procedure than a poor extreme fundamentalist who naively accepts Mr. Smith's words at face value. A study of the phenomena has contradicted the testimony of Mr. Smith. His statements about himself are not to be trusted. The "phenomena" have disproved them. It is a comfortable feeling to be so up to date.

As our flight progresses, however, Mr. Smith speaks further. I learn that he has only lived in New York for three years, but that he was born in Georgia. He shows me pictures of his birthplace and tells me that he has recently visited it. There was, it seems, a family reunion, and there is Mr. Smith in the midst of it. There are photographs of himself, and these bear his name. The mystery is beginning to clear. As we talk I learn that he is meeting a friend in Chicago and that the two of them plan to make a leisurely business trip from Chicago to San Francisco. Furthermore, I learn that the briefcase belongs not to Mr. Smith but to the friend, and that Mr. Smith is carrying it to Chicago to give to his friend. Thus, my study of the "phenomena," interesting and "objective" as it was, led to wholly wrong conclusions. And the reason why it led to such wrong conclusions was that I did not know enough to judge the "phenomena" correctly. By my study of the "phenomena" I had concluded that Mr. Smith was not telling the truth, and this was an utterly unjustified procedure by my study of the "phenomena" I did Mr. Smith a grave injustice. It may be well to note that certain assumptions underlie the position that man by a study of the phenomena of Scripture is capable of passing judgment upon these phenomena and so upon Scripture itself. And the fundamental assumption, often uncritically adopted, is that the mind of man, without the assistance of divine revelation, can make pronouncements as to whether certain parts of the Bible are from God or not. Even the study of textual questions can only be ultimately fruitful if it be based upon theistic presuppositions. And a philosophy of error can only have meaning if it be grounded

upon the truth. Man of himself does not know enough assert that there are errors in Scripture. If we assume that we may set ourselves up as judges of the Bible, what we are in reality doing is declaring ourselves wiser than God. Scripture speaks of itself as "God-breathed;" we assert that we know enough to belie its claim.

And this brings us to the heart of the matter. The idea that a study of the phenomena of Scripture as opposed to mere acceptance of the teaching of Scripture can bring us to a true view of the Bible leads inevitably to the conclusion that the teaching of the Bible concerning itself is in error and must be corrected. It produces the conclusion that the Bible is at bottom wrong about itself, and that we must revise its teaching on this point. This can hardly be regarded as a satisfactory conclusion, for if Scripture is fundamentally mistaken about itself, how do we know that it is correct in anything else that it teaches? The Bible asserts that it is "God-breathed," but we have checked up on it and we find that that characterization will not apply. The Bible has deceived us in telling us about itself, and our study of the phenomena has compelled us to modify the teaching which the Bible gives us as to its own nature. Such is the sad conclusion to which one must inevitably come if he engages in a study of the "phenomena" of the Bible instead of willingly accepting the Bible's claims concerning itself.

There is of course a proper method of examining the "phenomena" of Scripture and that is to study them in the light of Scripture's doctrine of itself. If we do this we shall see that the so-called phenomena, when properly interpreted, simply support the doctrine of Scripture about itself.⁵

In fairness, Young is addressing direct attacks on inerrancy and Enns is not quite in this group. But has Enns redefined error to allow for mistakes in the doctrine of inerrancy? We will look at this further in connection with Enns' approach to 1 Corinthians 10:4.

Another way of expressing the problem with Enns' approach is there is little or no serious consideration of the antithesis concept so basic to Reformed thought.⁶ He speaks in terms of "trajectories" and "conversations." According to him, liberals and conservatives make the same error (*I&I*,

5. E.J. Young, "Scripture God-Breathed and Profitable," *Grace Journal* 7/3 (Fall 1966) 4-5. Young adds that there is a place for studying the phenomena but again, the orientation and emphasis differs from Enns.

6. The fact that he can recommend both Warfield and Smyth (NB "honesty and spiritual sensitivity" on the same page of his book (*I&I*, p. 22) ignores Warfield's serious critique of Smyth (cf. *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, 5 [1894], 169-179) and suggests a lack of coherence or cherry picking of his materials.

p. 21). One wonders how Machen and company ever chose to fight along side with “fundamentalists” rather than liberals with such intellectual and moral equivalence and so much property at stake. I overstate here for effect, but the point remains. Where is the Reformed antithesis? It is blurred. Extrabiblical “evidence” is, rather than being read through the lens of Scripture, allowed to furnish its own lens for reading Scripture and ascertaining a proper doctrine thereof. Enns may quarrel with such a characterization but a case study on how he views 1 Corinthians 10:4 will highlight our point. The text reads (NKJV, italics added): “...and all drank the same spiritual drink. For they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ.”

About ten years prior to his recent book, Dr. Enns wrote two journal articles which tell us something specific about how he views the function of extrabiblical material in approaching Scripture. Stated in simple terms, the exegetical environment or surrounding culture in which the Bible was produced, seems to compel certain formulations even when these formulations would be rejected today as not true.

With regard to the Protestant canon, this is illustrated by Paul’s unquestioning belief in a Jewish legend about a moveable water source that accompanied Israel in the wilderness. In his article in *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 6 (1996) he states (italics added here for comparative purposes):

Why, after all, in the midst of a dire warning from Israel’s history, would Paul incorporate an exegetical tradition of a mobile rock? The answer, it seems to me, is that Paul did *not actually incorporate* the tradition. To suggest such a thing is *to imply that Paul’s allusion to this tradition was conscious*, which should *not be assumed*. To put it another way, Paul’s incidental comment in 1 Cor 10:4 suggests that he was an inheritor of an “interpreted Bible.” He is *not himself interpreting* the rock of the Old Testament, *nor is he consciously adducing* an existing exegetical tradition; rather, he is simply talking about the biblical story in the *only way he knows how*, in accordance with the way he

(and apparently his audience as well) had received it. In other words, the exegetical tradition of the “moveable well” actually represents the way in which Paul *understood* the provision of water in the wilderness narratives of the Old Testament. Therefore, to ask why or how a holy apostle could have “employed” such a tradition raises unnecessary obstacles and even obscures the issue. *Paul’s understanding* of the miraculous provision of water in the desert is a *product of the exegetical environment* in which he, as a learned Jew, lived and was taught (Phil 3:4–6; Acts 23:6; esp. Act 22:3). (BBR, p. 32).

Enns else where asks “What is the process that would have led to the existence of such an apparently fanciful and biblically unsupported notion.” (p. 28) Though the context for the question needs to be appreciated, the question recognizes that a legend or fable of dubious historical value is in view. Another way of saying this is that we know better than Paul—perhaps because we live in a different exegetical environment. It is not that Paul lacked an Old Testament text and was forced to rely only on traditions about the OT. His environment shaped his understanding and that uncritical acceptance of his culturally bound understanding has found its way into the Protestant canon.

This is an idiosyncratic interpretation. One strains to find any commentators of the last two centuries that believe there was actually a moveable rock in the OT, but there is no shortage of commentators of various stripes who, while seeing allusion to a Jewish legend in 1 Corinthians 10:4, regard Paul’s reference as passing or illustrative rather than endorsing the idea, consciously or otherwise.⁷ Enns’ own footnotes indicate some who reject such a notion including Herman Kuitert whose lack of orthodoxy was a concern to an older generation of Westminster faculty members. We could add the ICC, F.F. Bruce, and E. E. Ellis to those who do not regard Paul’s allusion as endorsement of the legend. In E.E. Ellis’ 1957 *JBL* article,⁸ Driver is cited to the effect that acceptance of such a fable was “totally out of harmony” with Paul’s mind.

Enns takes a similar approach when writing an article for a Romaniist journal that touches on a book in the Romaniist Canon (Wisdom 10:20–21). He states (italics supplied for comparative purposes):

It seems that for Ps-Solomon, his retelling of Scripture includes these traditions to the extent that the *incorporation* of these traditions are merely a matter of reflex. In fact, even to speak of “*incorporation*” may be inaccurate in that it implies a *degree of consciousness exegetical activity*. It seems that Ps-Solomon is *not actually conscious* that his biblical exposition includes these extra-biblical traditions. Rather, he is merely *retelling Scripture in the only way that might be expected of him*.

7. R.T. France, while somewhat open on the question, does not go as far as Enns. Cf. “Inerrancy and New Testament Exegesis,” *Themelios* 1/1 (1975), p. 14 (available online): “Clearly Paul was familiar at least with the idea of a mobile rock/well, even if not with the bizarre details of the later midrash, and found in this ever-present source of supply and help an apt illustration of Christ. Whether he regarded the tradition as historical fact is debatable, but he cited it not for its historical value, but for its spiritual significance: *pneumatikēs* here probably indicates that he interpreted the tradition typologically. To try to confine Paul’s thought to the traditional material from which he drew his illustration would be to do violence to his expressed intention in making the allusion. It is referred to not for itself, but for its illustrative value; the focus of his thought is Christ.”

8. E.E. Ellis, “A Note on 1 Corinthians 10:4,” *JBL*, 76/1 (March 1957) 53–56.

For him and his contemporaries, certain traditions about the Bible had simply become associated with the Bible itself. So that the biblical text and the interpretation of that text went hand in hand.⁹

If Enns adopts a curious view on how text in a Romanist canonical book is produced while writing in a Romanist journal, little harm to the Protestant doctrine results. It seems cavalier for a Reformed Seminary professor required to subscribe to the Westminster Standards to call an apocryphal book “Scripture,” but we will consider his target audience for the moment as an excuse for this liberty. What is interesting is the parallel between his statement in *Biblica* and his statement regarding Paul in *BBR*. It is evidence that an idiosyncratic theory shapes his approach to the biblical data rather than a theory properly constructed out of biblical data. Paul’s product in 1 Corinthians 10:4 is a product of the exegetical environment as much as material in an uninspired book. If pressed, Enns might argue that Scripture does not teach a moveable well—because there is an Old Testament record that we can interpret properly. Yet 1 Corinthians 10:4 is Scripture. This does not seem to bother Enns. That’s just the way the Bible behaves as far as he is concerned and so we should accept it. But it is not how the Bible behaves—it is an idiosyncratic spin on texts based accommodation needs as he sees them. Paul condemns Jewish myths (cf. Titus 1:14), but Enns would have him unconsciously propagating one in Scripture. Enns’ view of the phenomena of Scripture trumps its own self-testimony at this point. The same accommodationist impulse leads him to see polytheism as a view that goes pretty much unchallenged (the antithesis problem again) in the early history of the OT; this despite Deuteronomy 32 and other places that refute his idiosyncratic accommodationist views (cf. Beale’s refutation in *JETS*).

Enns’ theory apparently implies that the modern interpreter may have a better grasp on the historical reality or details of an OT text than Paul. Why Paul could not distance himself from Jewish fables and simply read the OT texts like we do is a curious thing. It is all justified as part of the humanity of Scripture. If to err is human, then we may gain an insight into what sort of incarnational analogy with which Enns is operating.¹⁰ But Enns avoids using the word “error;” though, having fables in the Bible that are not detectable as such is acceptable. But where in Bavinck or Van Til do we find such an idea? This entails a new theory of inerrancy which—leaving aside the disclaimer of notarial accuracy in Bavinck—regards undetectable fables as fine (i.e. undetectable to inspired writers). Enns may not like the word “fable” but it fits as well as tradition or legend (cf. Driver). This is not Bavinck’s view, it has no support in the Westminster Standards, and it is not Reformed by any usual Westminster understanding of that

word. A doctrine of inerrancy that allows for an inspired author to make both an exegetical and historical error is either dishonest or nonsense.

The fact that we cannot explain all the Bible “problems” is something that great Reformed scholars once accepted. Occasionally when confronted by an issue, Dr. Enns will say, he does not know; but not often enough. But in 1 Corinthians 10:4, Enns goes out of his way to create a problem; then he in effect tells us, “no problem.”¹¹ It is a flexible definition of inspiration or inerrancy that he thinks avoids the modern mindset and its preoccupation with facts but somehow does not really mean much. The Van Tilian sound of Enns’ protestations must not be allowed to disguise the irrationalism resulting from an autonomous accommodationist theory using extrabiblical data to distort the biblical data. A view of humanness—even in its servant form—that allows for error and control by unredeemed culture is an autonomous construct. It is not worthy of the legacy of Dr. Van Til.

Since his articles ten years ago, Dr. Enns appears not to have substantially changed his views. In his inaugural address at Westminster Seminary,¹² he used the word “depend” to interpret Vos’s view of how Paul derived his two age construct from the surrounding exegetical culture of Second Temple

9. P. Enns, “A Retelling of the Song at the Sea in Wis 10:20–21,” *Biblica* 76 (1995) 23.

10. Various views of how helpful the incarnational analogy is, are addressed in Paul Wells’ work, *James Barr and the Bible* (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1980)—especially chapter one. Enns seems to use the analogy as an all purpose excuse for his own speculative views of how the exegetical culture influences the production of Scripture. That our human and creaturely condition calls for revelation adapted to our capacities is a valid concern but one that does not justify any and all speculations made in the name of an incarnational analogy.

11. It is beyond the scope of this review to interpret the text at length. We would note that Paul’s governing argument is to emphasize the continuity (cf. the words “all” and “same” in vs 1–4) of the OT wilderness experience with the Corinthian sacramental experience. This enables Paul to issue a sober warning against presumption. The continuity ultimately focuses on the sameness of Christ’s presence as the Rock and in the life of the Corinthians. The word “following” in verse 4 may indeed point out an allusion to a Jewish legend, but the incidental nature of such an allusion is no solid basis for Enns’ conclusions. Another incidental allusion in 1 Corinthians that interpreters recognize must not be pressed to make extended theological points concerns baptism for the dead in 1 Corinthians 15:29. Enns reads the incidental nature of Paul’s allusion as tacit endorsement of the larger legend in Paul’s mind. The systematic and canonical bent of Paul’s mind seems not to temper such speculation in Enns.

12. P. Enns, “The Bible in Context: the Continuing Vitality of Reformed Biblical Scholarship” (Inaugural Lecture, March 2006) cf. <http://www.wts.edu/alumni/conted.html>. The title is reminiscent of lectures given in 1994 and produced in a volume entitled, “The Vitality of Reformed Theology” (eds. Batteau, Maris and Velig; Kampen: Kok).

Judaism.¹³ That communication depends on adopting the language of one's culture is one thing. But Enns always seems to be saying a bit more and that bit more is aimed at placing more emphasis on extrabiblical material. That there is a system of doctrine set forth in Scripture setting boundaries to our exegetical enterprise is something that we hear little or nothing of in his teaching. Has the *analogia fidei* of Westminster Confession, chapter one become too theologically constraining for biblical studies today? The *Nicotine Theological Journal* posed a choice for Westminster Seminary. Hopefully the biblical studies faculty will not find itself exalting in the words of James Sanders who on the recent 125th anniversary of the Society of Biblical Literature sniffed:

As the modernist-fundamentalist controversies of the latter part of the nineteenth century subsided, the SBL attracted increasing numbers of those who subscribed to critical study of Scripture no matter how they spent their weekends. By the end of the Scopes Trial in Dayton, Tennessee, in 1925, most seminaries of most denominations included critical study of the Bible in their curricula, including the Presbyterian denomination that had in 1893 condemned a Union scholar as a heretic for teaching the Bible by the historical-critical method instead of through the prism of the Westminster Confession.¹⁴ ■

Review: D. G. Hart, *John Williamson Nevin: High-Church Calvinist*. Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2005. 256 pages. ISBN 0-87552-662-4 \$22.99 (cloth). By Alan Strange, Associate Professor of Church History, Theological Librarian, and Registrar for Mid-America Reformed Seminary.

D. G. Hart, with his recent work on John W. Nevin, has made a significant contribution to the new series *American Reformed*

Biographies, published by P&R Publishing. Nevin, though previously neglected by historians and theologians, has received more attention in recent decades. One might account for a revival of interest in Nevin, on the one hand, from those who are interested in Nevin as an ecumenist in a pre-ecumenical era, and, on the other hand, from those who have discovered valuable insights in Nevin's views on the Eucharist and the church. Nevin remains obscure to many, however, and is certainly not as well known as his nineteenth-century contemporaries like Charles Grandison Finney, Horace Bushnell, or even Charles Hodge. We are thus indebted to Dr. Hart in his work for demonstrating the importance of "Nevin in context" as well as seeking to assist us in recovering a "usable Nevin." Nevin was important then and now, and we will attempt here to take some measure of his theological stature.

Hart's thesis about Nevin and his abiding significance can perhaps best be gathered by some of Hart's closing comments. Hart concludes his work, reflecting on "Nevin's Singular Contribution," and discovers it in this: "Christianity's primary influence needs to be evaluated not by the church's ability to influence society but by its performance of sacred rites and recitation of holy words through which the body of Christ grows" (238). In other words, Nevin grasped that "the church is primarily an agency of grace through word and sacrament," having "a unique work to perform with instruments unlike those of any other human organization or institution" (237). Nevin longed for the recovery of the centrality of the church in a nineteenth-century American culture that was increasingly egalitarian and individualistic, imbued with an ethos of "Jesus, my Bible, and me."

While many confessional Reformed and Presbyterian churchmen today would promote a high view of the church and the means of grace, and thus applaud Nevin's savaging of American anti-ecclesial sentiments, those same committed churchmen might find themselves differing considerably from Nevin as to how such an undertaking might be carried out. The devil, as they say, is in the details, and we must examine Nevin's proposed remedies carefully. It is my aim in this review to consider how we can appreciate, and appropriate, Nevin's call for a recovery of high churchmanship without falling into Nevin's errors. We do indeed need to recover a historic Reformed and Presbyterian biblical high churchmanship that embraces Nevin's strengths while identifying and rejecting his weaknesses.

As we seek to evaluate what we might learn from Nevin, both positively and negatively, a survey of some of Hart's biographical treatment of him might prove useful. Nevin was born in rural Franklin County, Pennsylvania in 1803 (36). Being born on the centenary of the birth of Jonathan Edwards, whatever historical notice Nevin might otherwise have received on commemorations of the important events

13. Cf. G. Vos, *The Pauline Eschatology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961) 27–28, n. 36. Vos speaks of a piece of Jewish theology being "incorporated." Vos does not say this was done unconsciously. Further, Paul is said to have had Jesus "as a predecessor in this." I leave it to the listeners of Enns' address to determine if the word "depend" as he uses it to argue for his use of historical studies and an historic apologetic is appropriate or illuminating. N.B. Since this review was first drafted, an edited version of Enns' address has appeared in the *WTJ* 68/2 (Fall 2006). On page 213, the newly edited formulation qualifies the expression in his oral address with the words "to a certain degree": "[Vos]... concludes that Paul's eschatology is to a certain degree dependant upon this earlier theological development [i.e. backdrop of Second Temple Judaism]." This qualification is an improvement, though the earlier formulation fits with Enns' expressed views in his treatment of 1 Corinthians 10:4; cf. treatment of Wisdom 10:20–21.

14. Review in *Review of Biblical Literature* (SBL) of John Collins, *Encounters With Biblical Theology* by James Sanders at <http://www.bookreviews.org/bookdetail.asp?TitleId=4968>. ■

of that year, has always, and probably always will be, eclipsed by remembrances of the more celebrated Edwards (13). This has resulted in an ironic overshadowing of Nevin, the revival critic, by Edwards, the great revival supporter and champion of the First Great Awakening.

Nevin was classically educated by his father and others and catechized in the Presbyterian Church (39–40). He always looked back to these early years of his catechism training as the time when his religious life was formed and argued that the normal Christian life was one shaped by such Christian nurture. This is not to say that he, as have some, uncritically appropriated Horace Bushnell's view of the importance of nurture over against the need for conversion to change one's nature. Rather, Nevin was more decidedly ecclesio-centric and supernaturally-focused than was Bushnell, who tended to downplay the supernatural and, in emphasizing nurture over nature, intended to pit training and teaching against the emphasis on one's need for a change of nature in regeneration (190–92). Let there be no confusion here: Nevin believed in the supernaturalism of Edwards, wrought, however, not routinely through dramatic crisis-conversions, but through the ordinary means of grace, as administered on a regular basis in the church. Nevin was an ardent supernaturalist, believing that God ordinarily worked through the appointed means of grace.

Nevin went to Union College in Schenectady, New York, from which he was graduated as a Bachelor of Arts in 1821. Afterwards, he studied at Princeton Theological Seminary in New Jersey, from which he was graduated with his divinity degree in 1826. In both of these institutions, Nevin encountered too little of a catechetical approach to piety and too much of a revivalist model, as he saw it at any rate (41–50). During his college years, he encountered the Second Great Awakening in the person of Asahel Nettleton. Nettleton was a moderate Calvinist of the pre-Finney stage of the Second Great Awakening and came to Union College to conduct services in which he called the students to come to Christ. Nevin had not yet publicly professed his faith and thus appeared as particularly fair game for the visiting revivalist, as Hart put it, "ripe for the picking" (44). Nevin responded to the urgings of the preacher and professed Christ. Nevin never questioned the sincerity of Nettleton, though he came to question his own experience in the situation and to regard this whole approach as misguided. Nevin came to view the "revival/conversion experience" suspiciously, complaining that in the eyes of his "spiritual advisers" at the time of his responding to Nettleton's ministry, he was at that point "converted and brought into the church—as if I had been altogether out of it before" (47).

Nevin resented what he perceived as the machinations of Nettleton and other Awakening preachers and seemed not to have been comfortable with the strenuous, almost violent,

piety of the revivalists, preferring the still small voice heard in the administration of the Eucharist and in catechizing. Hart notes throughout the work (see 45–47, 171–173, e.g.) that Nevin, who had various digestive and other problems, was the sort of person who for many years seemed to think that he was dying. Perhaps Nevin's physical, mental, and emotional condition shaped his religious predilections (nervous, preferring a low-key to a more energetic liturgical approach) and his slightly dyspeptic disposition may have played a significant role in his anti-Awakening mentality. Though Nevin thought for years that his death was imminent, there were periods of his life, in fact, in which he performed arduous manual labor, and lived, ultimately, for eighty-three years. Apparently, Nevin was not in as bad a physical state as he often assumed himself to be in. One can well imagine that Nevin's dislike for a revivalistic model and embrace of a high churchmanship was influenced by his delicate health, Nevin preferring what he perceived to be a less harried spirituality. And given his longevity, ultimately, one might wonder whether Nevin's maladies were not more psychosomatic than purely physical and ponder how this mental and emotional state affected his outlook on and approach to spirituality and all the questions associated with it.

Interestingly, after being graduated from Princeton in 1826, Nevin served for two years as an instructor in Bible and oriental languages in that same institution (50–52). The occasion of this temporary appointment was Charles Hodge's going to Europe for study. This is remarkable for two reasons: firstly, Hodge studied in Germany and was not influenced by German critical thinking in any marked way, and Nevin did not study in Germany, but was deeply influenced by German thinking. Secondly, Hodge and Nevin later become theological opponents, with the Princetonian critiquing Nevin on a host of theological matters, including Nevin's doctrine of the Incarnation and the Church, the Eucharist, the influence of German philosophy on Nevin, etc. Hodge could have learned a more Calvinistic view of the Eucharist from Nevin and a generally higher view of the institutional church, but Nevin was, to Hodge's mind, too wrong on too many things for Hodge or the wider church to benefit (127–37).

When Hodge returned from his European studies, Nevin took a teaching position at Western Theological Seminary where he taught for more than a decade (54–60). Western, being as it was part of the Presbyterianism in the Pittsburgh area, was conservative Old School. Certainly Nevin resonated more with the Old School than the New, given the higher churchmanship of the former, but he was also not afraid to take contrary positions, both questioning the rectitude of the 1837 Old School/New School split and maintaining an abolitionist position in an Old School that was either anti-abolitionist or did not want to touch the issue at all. Nevin

thus showed himself to be a man of conscience, unafraid to stake out contrary positions for fear of disapproval. Nevin was not a “go-along to get-along” sort.

Nevin did not remain, as Hart puts it, in “Presbyterian Provincialism,” for the rest of his career, leaving not only Western Seminary for a German Reformed seminary but also leaving the Presbyterian Church for the German Reformed Church (61–84). Hart notes that though Nevin was “one of the most creative theologians of the nineteenth century” (226), he labored in comparative obscurity. Had he gone to Princeton from Western perhaps it would have been different. He may have been better known, interacting with and influencing a wider circle of churchmen. On the other hand, he may have been less widely known: having the theological convictions that he did, had he held and written about such at Princeton, he probably would have had a short career there, perhaps forced to leave the ministry or to retire in frustration to an obscure parish.

Nevin left Western and Presbyterianism, then, in 1840, to teach in Mercersburg Seminary in the German Reformed Church. Nevin had already come under the influence of some German theologians and historians, particularly Johann August Neander and Isaac Dorner, and so the transition from Presbyterian to German Reformed did not seem such a stretch. In fact, Nevin welcomed the change in some ways, longing for a more European and less Americanized Reformed faith. He assumed that he might discover a more historically Reformed and less anti-ecclesial spirit in a church with ties so strong to the old world. The German Reformed Church, however, as Nevin learned to his disappointment, had imbibed American individualism and revivalism too and such an embrace on the part of that church would dog Nevin even in the courts of the church, where some alleged that Nevin’s distinctives imperiled the gospel, tending toward Romanism.

Nevin would not back down from his attack on American revivalistic practices, even though charged over the course of years by some within his own denomination with cultivating an overfed ecclesiology and a malnourished soteriology (85–109). Shortly before being joined by Philip Schaff in 1844, with whom he would establish what came to be known as the Mercersburg theology, Nevin published his first important work critical of the so-called “New Measures” of the Second Great Awakening, *The Anxious Bench* (1843). The Second Great Awakening had begun, like the First, as Calvinistic, at least moderately so. Timothy Dwight, Asahel Nettleton, and others had preached a modified form of Jonathan Edwards’s message. Charles Grandison Finney was another matter, however. Whereas Edwards had stressed inability, Finney hated the doctrine of human inability. Finney declared that man had full ability to come to Christ and employed certain “new measures” to ensure converts. These new measures included

“exerting direct and often public pressure on individuals, sometimes by name, press[ing] for an immediate decision about conversion. Other innovations included sustained prayer, women praying in mixed groups, encouragement of lay participation, and the mourner’s bench” (*Dictionary of Presbyterian and Reformed Tradition in America*, 174).

The mourner’s bench, or, as Nevin called it in his critique of it, the anxious bench, was a special pew near the pulpit where those “under conviction,” i.e., seriously considering conversion, might sit. Nevin objected to such a display, lamenting that the revival tent had so come to shape the worship of the church. Given that the atmosphere in the worship services in churches thus influenced was more circus-like than reverent, Nevin longed for a recovery of the worship practices of the magisterial Reformers. While his *Anxious Bench* was a withering critique of what was wrong with revivalism, his positive program for rectifying the wrongs of the church was set forth in his 1846 work, *The Mystical Presence: A Vindication of the Reformed or Calvinistic Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*. It is in this work that Nevin showed what had been lost, only to be replaced by the new measures (111–138). A robust view and practice of the Lord’s Supper, particularly as held and bequeathed by John Calvin, was the true birthright of the Reformed churches, sadly squandered for a mess of revivalistic pottage. Nevin argued in this most crucial of his works that a recovery of Calvin’s Eucharistic theology was indispensable in restoring true Reformed Christianity.

Nevin’s observations that the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper had fallen onto hard times in the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches served as a stinging, and accurate, indictment of those churches. Many nineteenth-century Scottish and American Presbyterians, for instance, openly took issue with Calvin’s view of the Supper, regarding it as irrational, incomprehensible, etc. William Cunningham, Robert Lewis Dabney, and Charles Hodge, for instance, all took exception to Calvin’s mystical view of the Supper to some degree. Nevin averred that much that passed for Reformed was Zwinglian and not Calvinistic in terms of Eucharistic theology. That few affirmed the real presence as did Calvin and believed in the importance of the sacrament as did that Reformer can scarcely be denied. Nevin was convinced that what was needed for the health of the church was a vigorous commitment to catechizing the youth coupled with a regular and robust administration of the sacrament of holy communion. This, for Nevin, instead of new measures, was the ecclesiastical need of the hour for the American church.

Though Nevin contributed a number of articles to journals and was involved in matters like producing, and defending, a revised liturgy for his church, in later years, he never wrote thereafter on the new measures and Calvin’s Eucharistic theology as significantly as he did in these two works from

the 1840s (169–223). As noted above, he suffered bouts with poor health. Additionally, Hart notes time and again how heavy his duties were as a family man, seminary professor, minister, college president, churchman, etc. The rest of his life, once he entered academia, was spent there, in the church, and on behalf of his family. Nevin, in his lifetime, seemed to do the work of several men. Perhaps because of these many duties, as well as his personal disposition, there is a kind of resignation, if not to say sadness, that hangs over his life. He was so frustrated with the Reformed churches, including his own, that he seriously contemplated in the 1850s leaving and joining the Roman Catholic Church. Nevin's conception of the church was in development during his career and he experienced such profound frustration with the American reformed church that Rome appeared as an attractive alternative (139–168).

What drew him to Rome was his understanding of the centrality of the church. Nevin saw the church as the mediator of salvation, a divine institution that as a corporate body was a kind of continuation of the Incarnation. In fact, Nevin saw a close connection between God incarnate in and as Christ, the Eucharist which so formed God's people as partakers of Him and thus as Christ's body, and that body, the church, as the divine mediator of salvation in the world. Such a view of the church is, obviously, quite different from what Nevin came to call the Puritan concept of the church. It was this Puritan notion of the church that stressed preaching, conversion, personal piety, etc. that Nevin saw reigning in America and that constituted for him a clear departure from historic Christianity, certainly from the Christianity of the ancient and medieval church. Nevin's question in the 1850s, then, was not whether many of the Presbyterian and Reformed churches had departed from this ancient pattern—it was obvious to him that they had—but whether even the Reformers of the sixteenth century had rightly conceived the church. If the Reformers themselves had abandoned historic Christianity, then the Reformation was not justified and Nevin saw that he would have no warrant to continue as a Protestant.

Nevin's view of the Incarnation (145–148) might sound closer to the Eastern than to the Roman church at points, prompting theologically sensitive readers to wonder if he, with his view of the church's participation in the Incarnation, approached something like theosis (or deification) at points. Hodge and other critics raised some points along these lines, noting Nevin's apparently greater interest in the Incarnation than the atonement (which points in the direction of Orthodoxy) and his greater focus on the sacraments than preaching (which also points in a Roman direction). It is probably not the case, however, that Nevin was influenced here so much by Eastern Orthodox thinking as by German Idealism. To be sure, accompanying this vigorous churchmanship, and perhaps a

concomitant of the German idealism, was an argument about the Christ of Scriptures being self-authenticating, requiring no evidentialist demonstration, a point that later Protestants would pick up and appreciate over against the Scottish Common Sense realism of the Princetonians. This point ties in with our assertion that Nevin's view of the Incarnation and of the church as divine institution has a distinctly German Idealistic ring about it, specifically a Hegelian tone to it.

Though neither Nevin nor his teachers studied under Hegel, as did Schaff's professors, Nevin encountered Hegelian thought through various German influences, as noted above, and particularly through Friedrich Rauch, a colleague at Mercersburg who died only a year after Nevin's arrival there. What, briefly, was Hegel's project? Even as Plato sought to account for universals and particulars by placing the stasis of Parmenides in the world of the form and the flux of Heraclitus in the world of matter—with Aristotle bringing form down into matter—so Kant sought to account for the rationalism of Descartes and the empiricism of Hume by his distinction between the noumenal and phenomenal realms, with Hegel bringing the noumenal down into the phenomenal, unfolded in the development of the dialectic. In other words, Hegel sought to make immanent the absolute: Nevin's position on the Incarnation and the church, for all its resemblance to Eastern orthodoxy, was more German than Byzantine, Nevin seeing the church as a kind of immanentization of the absolute. Granted, as Holifield noted in his excellent, insightful analysis of the Mercersburg Theology, "the Hegelian God was an impersonal principle except insofar as it reached self-consciousness through human consciousness. Nevin's God was personal" (*Theology in America*, 476). Though it was evidently not Hart's intention to give concentrated attention to what role Hegelian thought may have played in the basic structure of Nevin's theology, it is a task that perhaps should be undertaken from a confessional Reformed perspective if we are fully to assess the value of Nevin for the church in our day.

That Nevin had the view of the Incarnation and the church that he did, with all the attendant problems that Hodge and others then and now have pointed out, does raise questions as to how positively we in the Reformed and Presbyterian churches should assess him. Hart's assessment of him seems to be cautiously positive. If one restricts what Nevin was vying for as, negatively, opposing revivalism and, positively, promoting a higher view of the institutional church and of the Lord's Supper particularly, then many in our churches would welcome such an emphasis. It seems, however, that he was arguing for considerably more than that. That he would even consider leaving the Reformed church for the Roman Catholic Church in the mid-nineteenth century is remarkably telling. The Roman Catholic Church of Nevin's day was not the ecumenically friendly Roman church of today (even

if we only grant a difference of tone in the post-Vatican II church), but the undiluted Tridentine church of, arguably, the most ardently conservative pope of the modern era, Pius IX. This was a Roman church that unqualifiedly believed, as John Henry Newman well knew when he went over to Rome, that the Protestant doctrine of justification was anathema and that outside the Roman church there was no salvation. That Nevin would seriously consider entering such an institution credits Hodge's contention that Nevin at least significantly downplayed justification, imputation, and other theological concerns associated with those key Protestant doctrines as expressed in the Reformed confessional documents. Nevin's serious consideration of the Roman church calls into question his essential understanding of and sympathy for a vigorous, uncompromising Protestantism.

Is Nevin and the Mercersburg theology a pattern for us today? It seems that Nevin and Schaff wanted comprehension more than anything, a uniting of the best elements of the Roman and Protestant churches (149–63; 194). Some today seem to call for the same thing, even in our confessionally Reformed churches. This is not in any measure, it should be noted, Hart's position. But others hold such a view. Is this, however, a right way to view the Christian landscape, with Rome, Constantinople, Geneva, Wittenburg, Canterbury, etc., each seen as bringing something to the table for the common good? An amalgam of them all that we agree to call Christianity? While we may appreciate that other traditions may have insights worth appropriating, we must reject the notion that what we ought to be about is some sort of Christian pastiche in which the church is a mixing of all the aforementioned faith traditions. The Reformed tradition is the Catholic faith. Other expressions of Christianity may be more or less pure in this regard, but we do not regard the Reformed faith as needing supplementation by Rome or any of the other faith traditions. This was the conviction of our Reformed forebears, and, if it is not ours, whatever we may be, we are not Reformed.

With all his emphasis on recovering the sacrament of holy communion and restoring it to its rightful Calvinist place, Nevin did not properly emphasize the centrality of preaching, as did the Reformers (236). As important as the sacraments were for the Reformers and the Reformed churches, they viewed nothing as more important for the Reformed faith than the preaching of the Word. Perhaps Nevin felt that there was enough stress already placed on preaching, if not too much, and that his era needed to hear more about the Supper than preaching. But to emphasize the sacraments without also properly highlighting the divine activity involved in preaching is deadly. One might contend, in fact, that the American church had let slip a proper view not only of the sacraments but also of preaching as well. There was a downgrade of office and preaching that was occurring before and after the U.S.

Civil War, and Nevin does not seem nearly as interested in addressing the downgrade of preaching that was occurring in his own time as he does the marginalizing of the Lord's Supper that had already occurred.

Sometimes, this lower view of preaching reflects the curious conviction that conversion is unnecessary for those baptized and thus already in the church. One hopes that Nevin's animus against Asahel Nettleton's preaching, for instance, as he came later to reflect on it, stemmed from some perception on Nevin's part that Nettleton was misguided or wrong-headed in some way, not simply that Nettleton preached the necessity of conversion. This must be said, because any notion that there is anyone who does not need to be converted is simply unbiblical. The Bible plainly teaches that without conversion we will not attain heaven. We may not experience a crisis conversion and we should especially not look for such in our catechized children. Conversion itself, however, is nothing other than turning to God in faith and repentance from our idols. Those who never thus turn, and continue turning, in fact, are at best nominal Christians and not those whom the Scriptures recognize as true heirs of eternal life.

There are also questions about Nevin's theology: does he rightly affirm predestination, the decrees of God, and the implications of such for ecclesiology in the invisible/visible distinction; does he tend towards a defective view of the Incarnation and the church; does he appreciate the importance of Christ's active and passive obedience; does he minimize the role of the Holy Spirit in making efficacious the means of grace; and does he realize the significance of imputation, and, in fact, of all that is associated with the Reformed doctrine of justification? As long as questions along these lines remain, questions which Hodge and others raised about Nevin and to which Hart gives no unambiguous answer in this work, Nevin's work, arguably, remains of dubious value to us. Nevin may help us to recover some things that we need to recover from Calvin and others. But we do not need Nevin if his project in any measure serves to obfuscate the gospel (188–90). The Reformers clarified matters for us and we need to continue that glorious work of ever sharpening our theological expressions and formulations, not dulling them to a kind of least common denominator approach to the faith, an approach that is inconsistent with what the Reformed approach has always been.

Dr. Hart has elsewhere (in his *Recovering Mother Kirk: The Case for Liturgy in the Reformed Tradition* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003]) called for an approach to the Reformed faith that does not involve so much a doctrinal, experimental, or a worldview Calvinism as one that involves what he styles a Reformed liturgicalism. Hart's call for a recovery of liturgical Calvinism is much appreciated and gravely needed. We do indeed need such a liturgical recovery, but one that engages the

whole person—that is, a liturgical recovery that does this as richly as doctrinal Calvinism engages the mind, experimental Calvinism engages the affections, and worldview Calvinism engages the life. Otherwise, such a liturgical recovery is likely to devolve into the mere formalism that often characterized orthodoxy when it was challenged by pietism centuries ago. There was a reason for the revivals of the eighteenth and nineteenth century: the Protestant churches had become moribund in various ways and in different places, needing reviving, even as we, in our own ways, continue to need revival in our day. We need, however, a lively liturgical recovery that does not overshoot the mark, neither adopting an ecclesiology that swallows up soteriology, nor embracing a soteriology that eclipses ecclesiology. We need ecclesiology and soteriology (as well as each of the other loci) strenuously maintained.

We need, in other words, the recovery of a liturgical Calvinism in which doctrinal, worldview, and experimental Calvinism take their place in a properly balanced way, expressed through a rich, dignified, and warmly engaging liturgy. We need to recapture something that even the Princeton tradition did not fully appreciate. Hodge could have learned something from Nevin, we should admit, which he apparently failed to learn: a vigorous view of the Lord's Supper, rightly cast along the line of Calvin's teaching, accompanying the primary means of grace, the preaching of the Word. Whatever mistakes Nevin made in seeking to repatriate Calvin's Eucharistic doctrine could have been rectified rather than rejected out of hand. But Nevin clearly hurt his own case by, *inter alia*, downplaying preaching, muddying even his doctrine of the Lord's Supper with his view on the Incarnation and the church, and regarding the Roman church as positively as he did.

It would be even better, in my estimation, if we would recover the Princeton tradition and a vigorous liturgicalism. At his best, one may see something of this notion in Nevin. But in other moments one hears him calling for an approach to the church and its life that is at variance with the genius of the Protestant Reformation. What we need is a vigorous preaching of the whole counsel of God, the sacraments faithfully observed, discipline faithfully practiced, prayer regularly offered and God's people responding in faith and love. Whether the life and work of Nevin is best suited to encourage us in that direction remains doubtful.

What is not in doubt is the value of Hart's book, which ought to be read by all interested in the questions raised therein. Some in our day who have discovered Nevin have appropriated him more modestly, calling particularly for a greater appreciation of the Lord's Supper. Others have more widely embraced his project and are calling for a large-scale adoption of the Mercersburg theology. While the former arguably have a point, the latter are problematic. This is why all who are theologically interested should read Hart, and

others on Nevin, as well as Nevin himself: so that we may all better assess the relative worth of the particular positions being forwarded these days about John Williamson Nevin, an American theologian worthy of both appreciation and criticism. ■

REVIEW: Robert L. Reymond, *The God-Centered Preacher: Developing a Pulpit Ministry Approved by God* (Ross-shire, Scotland, U.K.: Christian Focus Publications, 2003). 352 pages. Paperback. £12.99. Reviewed by Dr. W. Gary Crampton, Th.D.

Dr. Robert L. Reymond is Professor of Systematic Theology at Knox Theological Seminary in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. He holds B. A., M. A., and Ph. D. degrees from Bob Jones University and has done doctoral and post-doctoral studies in other seminaries and universities. Professor Reymond is an ordained teaching elder in the Presbyterian Church in America, and has lectured in various countries in Europe and the East. Prior to teaching at Knox Theological Seminary, he taught for over twenty years at Covenant Theological Seminary in St. Louis, Missouri. He has authored numerous articles in theological journals and various reference works, and has written over a dozen books. His *A New Systematic Theology of the Christian Faith*, in this reviewer's opinion, is the best one volume systematic theology in the English language available today.¹ To say the least, Dr. Reymond is a well-educated, highly trained, and skilled theologian.

The volume under review, *The God-Centered Preacher*, is divided into two parts. Part One consists of eight lectures given by the author in both this country and abroad. Part Two, on the other hand, consists of ten sermons which are offered to illustrate the types of sermons that Dr. Reymond thinks "Protestant and Reformed pastors should be preaching from their pulpits, namely, sermons that are biblically grounded, rational, God-centered, theologically accurate, and that focus on some specific condition of the Fall and provide a Christological solution" (9–10). As Part Two is "For Purposes of Illustration" (195) of the points made in Part One, this review will focus on and analyze Part One only.

In Chapter One the author studies "The Need for a Scripturally-Grounded Pulpit" (13–30). Throughout its history the Christian church has asserted, as taught in Chapter 1 of the *Westminster Confession of Faith* ("Of the Holy Scripture"), that God has revealed Himself to mankind, not only in general revelation, but also in special revelation. Special revelation is now found only in the sixty-six books of the Old and New

1. See W. Gary Crampton, a review of *A New Systematic Theology of the Christian Faith*, *The Trinity Review* (February 1999).

Testaments, and the canon of Scripture is closed, i.e., there is no additional special revelation, “those former ways of God’s revealing His will unto His people being now ceased.” Further, the church has claimed that the Bible is the (“immediately”) inspired, infallible, inerrant Word of God, and that it is “the *only* rule for faith and life.” The church avers that “the whole counsel of God, concerning all things necessary for His own glory, man’s salvation, faith, and life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture: unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit, or traditions of men.” Finally, God has preserved His Word through the centuries of time “by His singular care and providence,” so that it is the final authority “in all controversies of religion,” due to the fact that “none other than the Holy Spirit speaks in the Scripture.” That which is taught by the Westminster theologians on this subject is the same as taught in the Bible itself. “The Holy Scripture itself,” says Dr. Reymond, “is replete with this claim” (13–14).

Of course, there have always been those who have disavowed this high view of Scripture. Here the author considers two objections to the view espoused by the Westminster Assembly. The first objection is that of the Neo-orthodox theologians which contends that “Religious truth will always be existential truth,” i.e., it is subjective “truth for me, the human existent.” Neo-orthodoxy denies that the Bible is objective, propositional revelation. Language, it is alleged, is inadequate to convey truth; at best language serves as a “pointer” to the “existential truth encounter” that lies behind the actual words of the text, wherein the recipient of the words subjectively “experiences” this existential truth. The truth God speaks to men in biblical revelation is not historical truth; rather it is the truth outside of history, “primal” history. The Bible is full of mistakes, contradictions, and logical paradoxes. Truth must be encountered experientially in a “non-verbal direct theophany” (16–17).

This, however is not the view taught by the Bible itself. The Bible claims to speak to us in propositional statements. Propositions are logical, understandable combinations of words which objectively teach something. They are the meaning of indicative sentences. Propositions are either true or false. What makes a proposition true is that God thinks it to be true. There is no such thing as truth apart from propositions; truth is a characteristic, an attribute, of propositions alone. God thinks propositionally, and He gives us His truth in propositions. The truth of the Word of God is not somehow “above” the words, or only in the mind of the interpreter; neither are the words secretly symbolic, merely pointing to some higher truth.

Rather, the truth of God’s Word lies in the logical meaning of the words themselves. We come to a knowledge of the truth via our understanding of the propositions. God is not irrational and neither is His Word. There are no contradictions or logical paradoxes in Scripture. The same is true when it comes to the events of history and their meaning. The Bible does not merely tell us about certain events which occurred in history and leave the “subjective” meaning of the events to the reader to figure out on his own. God tells us in His Word the events and the meaning of the events as well.²

The second objection to the concept of propositional revelation from God to man contends that human language is not capable of expressing literal truth. Wilbur Marshall Urban, for instance, wrote: “Strictly speaking, there is no such thing as literal truth in any absolute sense, for there is no such thing as absolute correspondence between expression and that which is expressed.” All truth is symbolic. Human language is incapable of expressing itself non-symbolically (23). This theory is based on the premise that human language has evolved to its present state from the original grunts of earliest man; all language is sensory in origin.

This theory of language, of course, is self-defeating in that one only need only ask Urban (and other proponents of the theory) if his (or their) theory is “literally true.” If the answer is negative, then one need not accept it at all. If, on the other hand, the answer is positive, i.e., that it is literally true, then his theory is false, for it shows that there is such a thing as “literally true” language. If, however, he should respond that is not literally true, but “symbolically true,” then one only need ask “symbolically true of what?” And whatever Urban might say in response, according to his own theory, could only be symbolically true of something else *ad infinitum*, which infinite regress would render his theory unjustifiable.

Scripture does tell us that God has created man in His own image (Genesis 1:26–27), with the ability to have fellowship with his Creator. Further, the Bible avers that it is God who, as the source of and originator of language, “has made man’s mouth” (Exodus 4:11) in order that he could communicate with God in “literal” truth. Language as given by God is capable of communicating absolute and literal truth from God to man. Scripture confirms that the divine-human dialogue is not only possible, but it actually takes place (from as early as Genesis 1–3). And God assures us in His Word that He has supernaturally “inspired” the entirety of His revelation to us (2 Timothy 3:16) by means of “holy men of God [who] spoke as they were moved along by the Holy Spirit” (2 Peter 1:20–21).

Ultimately, says the author, any theory of language that denies that literal truth can be propositionally revealed to mankind is an attack on Jesus Christ Himself. For He, in the days of His flesh, spoke to the multitudes in the known

2. See W. Gary Crampton, *The Scripturalism of Gordon H. Clark* (The Trinity Foundation, 1999) 49–50.

language of the day, claiming that He was imparting literal, eternal truth. The Christian minister must take this divinely given revelation and teach it to others. For “it is only as he teaches and preaches truth originating from God Himself that he can speak with authority and demand that his audience give heed to what he says” (30).

Chapter Two has to do with “The Need for a Rational Pulpit” (31–53). Since we are to understand that the Bible is the inspired, infallible, and inerrant Word of God, then it is from the inscripturated Word of God that the gospel minister must derive his theology. “Theology” by definition means “rational discourse about God.” Hence, a biblically based pulpit is going to be one in which the preacher teaches “rational” theology to his auditors. Irrationalism has no place in Christianity. Yet, in our day there are large doses of irrational thinking entering into Christian circles, fostered, not only by Neo-orthodoxy, but also by (alleged) evangelicals. There is a present day distain heaped upon the effort to systematize the teaching of the Word of God. In this chapter the author analyses “two commonly-held and oft-expressed opinions which reflect this drift”: First, the question regarding the nature of the relationship between God’s knowledge and the knowledge of man, as derived from Scripture. And second, the role which logical paradox (which is distinguished from rhetorical paradox) is to be granted in our formulation of the teachings of Scripture (31–32).

First is the false teaching that “God’s knowledge and man’s knowledge never coincide at any single point.” Or, addressed another way, the question may be asked: “are the content of God’s knowledge and the content of man’s knowledge that is derived from Scripture ever the same?” Sadly, there are theologians in the evangelical camp who would answer this latter question in the negative. They assert that the relationship between these “two contents” is an analogical relationship rather than a univocal relationship. These terms have to do with the precise meaning of a predicate when applied to a separate subject. If the predicate applied to the subject is “univocal” in meaning, then the subject would understand the meaning of the predicate in an identical sense. The opposite of a univocal understanding would be an “equivocal” understanding, which would indicate that the meaning was understood in a “completely different and unrelated sense.” In between univocism and equivocism is “analogy.” When a predicate is employed analogically to the subject there is neither a completely similar (univocism) nor a completely dissimilar (equivocism) meaning, but one that is partly the same and partly not the same. The question then is: Are the content of God’s knowledge and the content of man’s knowledge that is gained from God’s Word univocal, equivocal, or analogical? (32–33).

Thomas Aquinas, as opposed to Augustine, averred that nothing can properly be predicated of God and man in a

univocal sense. To say that God is good and man is good does not in any sense mean that they are good in the same way. God’s goodness far surpasses man’s goodness. Of course, said Thomas, neither must we say that we intend an equivocal meaning when we speak of both God and man being good, for this would assert that man is not able to know anything about God. Such a meaning would lead to total ambiguity and epistemological skepticism. Thomas took the Aristotelian *via media* (middle way) and opted for an analogical predication. Here the problem arises, because in any analogical relationship between the subject and predicate there must be a univocal element implicit in it. Otherwise we would have mere equivocism. When we speak of God as good and man as good, although there is a vast difference between these two “goods,” there must be a univocal point that draws attention to the idea of good or we would have no analogy at all. In the author’s words: “What I am urging here is that the success of any analogy turns on the strength of the univocal element in it.” If we take Thomas’ viewpoint of analogy without the element of univocism, as Gordon Clark has properly said, the analogical relationship between God and man would not be analogical at all, but rather equivocal. Moreover, if Clark is correct (and he is), then Thomas’ natural theology (which is grounded in his understanding of the *analogia entis* [the analogy of being]), is necessarily defective, for he applied two entirely different meanings to the word “existence”—one for God and one for sensory data in the world in which man lives. Therefore, his argument from the “existence” of sensory data to the “existence” of God always commits the error of equivocating, in that he was using the single word “existence” with two different meanings in the same argument (34–35).

The error fostered by Thomas Aquinas regarding our analogical knowledge of God has found its way into the Reformed camp of Christianity. Cornelius Van Til has insisted that man’s knowledge must always be analogical to God’s knowledge, so that there is never a univocal point at which man’s knowledge meets God’s knowledge. “What this means for Van Til,” says Dr. Reymond, “is the express rejection of any and all qualitative coincidence between the content of God’s mind and the content of man’s mind.” This means that for Van Til “man qualitatively knows nothing as God knows a thing.” To quote Cornelius Van Til: “All human predication is analogical reinterpretation of God’s pre-interpretation. Thus the incomprehensibility of God must be taught with respect to any revelational proposition.” Man’s knowledge is “at no point identical with the divine mind.” And “we dare not maintain that [God’s] knowledge and our knowledge coincide at any single point” (36–37).

The issue here is not over the knowledge of God being “quantitatively” greater than man’s knowledge. All parties recognize this to be the case. The issue has to do with the

“qualitative” knowledge of God. Is the content of man’s knowledge qualitatively different than God’s knowledge? Van Til said “yes” it is; Drs. Reymond and Clark, and Reformed theology in general, say “no” it is not. But even here a distinction must be made. God knows all things “by eternal intuition whereas men learn what they know...discursively.” Too, God’s knowledge is certainly qualitatively higher than man’s in that God qualitatively knows all things without flaw, whereas man does not. The real issue here is over the fact that Van Til insisted that there is no “univocal” point at which man’s knowledge meets God’s knowledge. This view, if followed consistently, will lead to absolute skepticism. Gordon Clark wrote:

If God knows all truths and knows the correct meaning of every proposition, and if no proposition means to man what it means to God, so that God’s knowledge and man’s knowledge do not coincide at any single point, it follows by rigorous necessity that man can have no truth at all.

And again, said Clark:

If God and man know, there must with the differences be at least one point of similarity; for if there is no point of similarity it would be inappropriate to use the one term *knowledge* in both cases.... If God has the truth and if man has only an analogy [of the truth] [this “analogy” containing no univocal element], it follows that he (man) does not have the truth.

The reason here being that an analogy of the truth is not the truth. Preachers of the Word must hold to the fact that there is a “univocal” point where man’s knowledge coincides with God’s knowledge, for the Bible clearly teaches, as Francis Schaeffer has said, that man may indeed have “true though not exhaustive knowledge” (38–40).

Second is the false teaching that “Christian truth will often, if not always, be paradoxical in appearance” (44). The author begins this section with the statement that every Christian should believe that: 1) God is rational, i.e., that He thinks and speaks according to the “laws of logic” that are founded in the Scriptures—the law of identity (A is A), the law of non-contradiction (A is not non-A), and the law of the excluded middle (A is either A or non-A); 2) that God’s knowledge is self-consistent; and 3) that He cannot lie. These things being so, we must insist that the revelation He has given us in His Word must be rational, self-consistent, and true. This means that there can be no contradictions in Scripture.

However, again sadly, there are some theologians in the evangelical camp who aver that the Bible contains logical paradoxes, as distinguished from rhetorical paradoxes (which are literary devices utilized to challenge the reason of persons, to invigorate their thoughts, causing them to delve more deeply

into a particular subject; see Matthew 10:39; John 11:25–26). It is commonly stated that the logical paradoxes found in the Bible, while not contradictory (i.e., they are only “apparent” contradictions), can never be reconciled before the bar of human reason. The first thing that needs to be said is that the recognition of a paradox in the Bible (or anywhere else for that matter) is a totally subjective enterprise. What appears to be a paradox to one person may not be at all paradoxical to another. Nevertheless, doctrines such as the Trinity, the one person of Christ (one person with two natures, one divine and one human), the sovereignty of God and the responsibility of man, unconditional election and the free offer of the gospel, etc., are often considered to be logically paradoxical. J. I. Packer and Cornelius Van Till are two theologians who hold to this view of logical paradox. Packer, who prefers the term “antinomy” to “paradox, maintains that a biblical antinomy is “insoluble.” “What should one do ... with an antinomy? Accept it for what it is, and learn to live with it. Refuse to regard the apparent contradiction as real.” Van Til averred that because man’s knowledge is only analogical to God’s knowledge, “all the truths of the Christian religion have of necessity the appearance of being contradictory.” We “do not fear to accept that which has the appearance of being contradictory ... we do not expect to have a logically deducible relationship between one doctrine and another. We expect to have only an analogical system” (46–47).

As the author points out, “one must conclude, if such is the case, that it condemns at the outset as futile even the attempt at *systematic* (orderly) theology ... since it is impossible to reduce to a system irreconcilable paradoxes which steadfastly resist all attempts at harmonious systematician.” This alone reveals the problematic issue raised by such a faulty doctrine as espoused by men such as Packer and Van Til. But there is more. First, when one states that there are paradoxes in the Scriptures that cannot be reconciled before the bar of human reason it implies a claim to omniscience (which is an attribute of God alone), or that he has universally polled every person who has ever lived, is living now, and who ever will live (which is an impossibility), and has hereby ascertained that these alleged paradoxes cannot be reconciled before the bar of human reason. If only one person was or is able to reconcile these so-called paradoxes, it would render the claim of irreconcilability vacuous (47–48).

Second, if these paradoxes are irreconcilable before the bar of human reason, how does one know that they are merely apparent contradictions and not real contradictions? If they are not reconcilable to man, an apparent contradiction and a real contradiction would appear the same; they would both appear to be contradictions, and we could never be sure whether or not they were real or apparent. Third, says the author, “the *coup de grace* to the entire notion that irreconcilable (only

‘apparent,’ of course) contradictions exist in Scripture,” is that “once one asserts that truth may legitimately assume the form of an irreconcilable contradiction, he has given up all possibility of ever detecting a real falsehood.” Why?; because every time a proposition is rejected as false because it somehow contradicts the teaching of the Word of God, or because it is in some way irrational, the person rejecting the proposition needs only to contend that his proposition merely appears to be contradictory or irrational, and that his proposition is just one more of those paradoxes that are only apparently contradictory while not actually so. This means, of course, “both the end of Christianity’s uniqueness as the revealed religion of God since it is then liable to—nay, more than this, it *must* be open to—the assimilation of any and every truth claim of whatever kind, and the death of all rational faith.” This being so, it is simply not enough to claim that we must believe both sides of the apparent contradiction because they are both taught in the Word of God, because we would be claiming to believe an irrational faith, which is itself irrational. The Bible itself claims that it cannot contradict itself. “God is not the author of confusion, but of peace” (1 Corinthians 14:33. His Word is not both “Yes and No,” but in Christ it is “Yes ... to the glory of God” (2 Corinthians 1:19–20; Reymond, 48–49).

Dr. Reymond concludes this chapter by asserting that he is not calling on the church to exercise some sort of “Cartesian rationalism which presupposes the autonomy of human reason and freedom from divine revelation.” Rather, he states: “I am here calling for a Christian rationalism which forthrightly affirms that the divine revelation which it gladly owns and makes the bedrock of all its intellectual efforts is internally self-consistent, that is non-contradictory. And I urge the preacher and the ministerial candidate ... to strive for nothing less than the same consistency in both their theological formulations and their preaching deduced from that revelation” (52–53).

Chapter Three concerns itself with “The Need for a God-Centered Pulpit” (55–98). Every preacher will have either a “God-centered” or a “man-centered” theology. To be faithful to the Word of God, however, the man of God must stand strongly against the latter view. A faithful minister of the Word will recognize, as the *Westminster Shorter Catechism* (Q. 1) teaches, that man’s chief end is to glorify God and to enjoy Him forever. But he must realize as well that it is also God’s chief end to glorify Himself and to enjoy Himself forever. The Bible is sated with Scriptures that teach this (see Isaiah 43:7, 21; Jeremiah 13:11; Psalm 106:7–8, Ephesians 1:6, 12, 14; *passim*). A God-centered pulpit will preach this truth showing that God’s seeking to glorify Himself is central to His eternal plan, and that God is absolutely sovereign in His dealings in His creation; He brooks no competition. As taught

in chapter 3 of the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, “God [as the eternal first cause] from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy counsel of His own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass.” Yet He did so in a manner that the liberty of “second causes” is not “taken away, but rather established.” Moreover, “by the decree of God, for the manifestation of His own glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death.” Further, not only has God decreed the eternal destiny of all mankind (as well as the angels), either in heaven or in hell, but for His own glory He has “foreordained the means thereunto,” such as the cross work of Christ; the effectual calling of fallen elect creatures who are in an ethical state of total depravity, unable to do anything that pleases God; the Spirit’s regenerating work by which faith and repentance are brought about in the elect; and justification and sanctification. God is the absolute and sovereign first cause of all things that ever occur, but He decrees that His eternal plan will be carried out by means of second causes, such as men’s free choices (55–57).

There are theologians (such as Clark Pinnock), who deny the absolute sovereignty of God. According to Pinnock, Reformed theology makes God the author of sin; it relegates man to little more than a puppet; it denies man’s free will; etc. It is asserted that if man is to be held responsible, he must be free. It is also alleged that subsequent to the Fall man was not, as taught in the Reformed faith, in an ethical state of total depravity. He is capable of doing some ethical good, such as choose God. Those persons who perish do so because they have rejected God’s plan for them, and for no other reason at all. God did not so decree their perishing.

As Dr. Reymond shows, “Pinnock’s solution is both unbiblical and irrelevant.” The author marshals a catena of biblical passages which clearly reveal that, in the words of Calvin, “God’s will is, and rightly ought to be, the cause of all things” that ever have been, are, or ever will be. Dr. Reymond goes on to show that Pinnock’s views are not biblically based at all. Further, it is not so that if God is absolutely sovereign that man cannot be held accountable. Responsibility has to with obligation to a lawgiver, and because God is the Lawgiver who has declared that man is to give an accounting of his doings and dealings to God, man is thereby held responsible. Then too, Reformed theology does not deny that men make free choices. To the contrary, the Reformed faith asserts that man is a free moral agent, who freely chooses whatever he desires to choose; he possesses a liberty of spontaneity, and no violence is ever done to this freedom by God. What Reformed theology does deny is that man has a liberty of indifference. That is, man is not free to choose apart from God’s sovereign decrees, from his own intellect, his own limitations, habits, and so forth. Ultimately we must take our stand and maintain

that because God is holy (and cannot sin), and because He is absolutely sovereign and His will is the first cause of all things, God cannot and does not sin, nor is He the author of sin; only second causes sin.

Chapter Four is on “The Need for a Theologically Articulate Pulpit” (99–114). In his Pastoral Epistles (1 and 2 Timothy and Titus) the apostle Paul stresses the need for a theologically articulate ministry in the church of Jesus Christ. A man who occupies the pulpit in a biblically based church must be one who is well-qualified and able to exhort in sound doctrine, as well as to refute those who oppose the teachings of Scripture. Among other things, this requires the minister of the Word of God to be well prepared in his theological training. This being so, we must stress, in the words of B. B. Warfield, that “the systematic study of divine truth ... is the most indispensable preparation for the pulpit. Only as the several truths to be presented are known in their relations can they be proclaimed in their right proportions and so taught as to produce their right effects on the soul’s life and growth” (101).

Dr. Reymond gives “three illustrations from Christology” to make the point “that there is an urgent need in our time for a generation of preachers who have acquired a systematic grasp of divine truth.” The first illustration has to do with the implicit subordinationism of Christ’s essential deity found in the Nicene Creed (A. D. 325). The Nicene fathers averred that “He [Christ] is very God of [ek, ‘out of’] very God.” What is not understood by so many today is that this statement was meant to indicate that the Son, the second person of the Godhead, derived His deity (not merely His person) from the Father. John Calvin was one of the first to challenge this claim. The Geneva Reformer agreed that there is a subordinationism in the “economic” Trinity (which is not a subordination of essence, but of function or role), but within the ontological Trinity, Christ (as well as the Father and the Holy Spirit) is *autotheos* (God Himself). As the author states, great care needs be taken here whenever the church recites the Nicene Creed to guard against the use of the phrase “He is very God of very God,” because “to use a phrase in [one’s] description of Christ which detracts from His full deity and propagates by implication serious theological error” is a sinful thing (101–104).

The second illustration is in the misuse of the Pauline statement in Philippians 2:7 that Christ “emptied Himself.” Many pastors, says the author, err at this point when they endorse (either intentionally or unintentionally) the kenotic heresy—which heresy maintains that at the time of the incarnation, the Son of God He emptied or divested Himself of one or more of His divine attributes. To adopt such a view is tantamount to asserting that from the time of His incarnation God the Son is less than fully divine. If the eternal Son of God has given up any of His divine attributes then He is

no longer God, which is impossible because an eternal God (by definition) cannot ever cease being God. Rather we must assert, says Dr. Reymond, that “the uniform New Testament representation of the outcome of His incarnation is that God the Son, without ceasing to be what He is as God, took into union with Himself what He was not, making our human nature His very own” (106).

The third illustration, that “the finite can contain the infinite,” follows on the heels of the second one. Just as it is foolish to assume that from the time of the incarnation of Christ that His divine nature can be “emptied” in any way, it is just as foolish to affirm, as does the Lutheran church, that by virtue of the union of the divine and human natures of Christ, the human nature acquires divine attributes. The finite cannot contain the infinite. Reformed pastors seldom would fall into such error. But there is a tendency for some in the Reformed camp to adopt a similar error, and that is the belief that although Christ, as touching His human nature, did not possess the divine attribute of omniscience during “the days of His flesh” (Mark 13:32), nevertheless, after His resurrection and ascension the human nature is omniscient. This is a false view. As Warfield wrote, Christ’s “human nature is ever finite,” the wisdom He has as a man “is not and can never be the infinite wisdom of God.” Reformed theology “has no reserves ... in confessing the limitations of the knowledge of Christ as man, and no fear of overstating the perfection and completeness of His humanity.” Again, great care needs to be exercised in how preachers set forth the truth of biblical Christianity in all of its fullness. A “theologically articulate pulpit” will make all attempts to avoid such errors (109–110).

Chapter Five studies “The Need for a Godly Pulpit” (115–125). In 1 Timothy 4:7, the apostle Paul tells Timothy that he, as a gospel minister, must “exercise himself to godliness.” Dr. Reymond tells us that in essence Paul is commanding Timothy: “Since you would instruct others in godliness, do not neglect but rather continually devote yourself to the systematic cultivation and earnest exercise of your own spiritual life.” A man of God is to be a “man possessed by God.” All of God’s people, of course, should be dead earnest about exercising themselves in godliness, to the point where they are God-intoxicated people. But it is especially true of the minister of the Word of God that he be a man of integrity. As the author explains: “For without that inner life which is produced only by much time spent in consideration of and meditation upon the Word of God in purposeful self-examination, and before the presence of the Lord in earnest prayer, we who hold ordination to the Christian ministry will never obtain that blessed ministry which the Puritan writers described as ‘powerful,’ ‘painful,’ that is, laborious, and ‘useful’—that high ministry to which one must eagerly aspire if the call of Almighty God to the teaching ministry has truly been written large upon his heart” (115–117).

Dr. Reymond goes on in the rest of this chapter to tell us why this must be the case for a faithful man of God. First, “only a flourishing spiritual life and a genuine walk in godliness with God will fortify the ordained teaching minister in times of discouragement” (117). Second, “only a flourishing spiritual life and walk with God will protect him from the perils of success in the ministry” (120). And third, “the cultivation of personal godliness—‘training oneself to be godly’—is crucial to all true ministry because only a flourishing spiritual life and walk with God will lend the needed power and effectiveness to one’s labor in the gospel” (122).

Says the author: “God honors that ministry that blazes with the passion and fire of a Spirit-filled heart, and He pours out His power upon that ministry.” In the words of Robert Murray McChesney, “The greatest need my flock will ever have is to see their pastor walking before them in holiness.” Since the chief end of man, as the *Westminster Shorter Catechism* (Q. 1) tells us, is to “glorify God and enjoy Him forever,” then “our greatest passion in life should be to learn to know God better than we know anyone or anything else in this world and to enjoy God more than we enjoy anyone or anything else in this world, for only in such devotion will our lives publicly display as they should the glory of God and thus give as they should all glory to Him” (123–125).

Chapter Six deals with “The Need for a Protestant Pulpit” (127–158). The author begins by (correctly) claiming that the Judaizers in the first century were the forerunners of the Roman Catholic Church. The Roman Church, as did the Judaizers, confesses that Jesus Christ is the divine Son of God, in whose name is salvation. Rome, as did its first century counterpart, believes that this same Jesus, after His death, burial, and resurrection, ascended into heaven where He now sits at the right hand of the Father (as King of kings and Lord of lords), and that one day He will return to judge the world. But the Roman Catholic Church, as with the Judaizers, also contends that faith in the perfect obedience and finished cross work of Jesus Christ in behalf of lost sinners is insufficient for their justification before God. In addition to faith (which is necessary), the sinner must also perform good works which are meritorious in completing the work of faith, which works contribute to final justification. Dr. Reymond cites numerous, documented Roman Catholic teachings to confirm these statements.

Where Holy Scripture and classical Protestantism have asserted their *solas* (“alone”) in the area of soteriology (*sola gratia, sola fide, sola Scriptura, solus Christus, soli Deo Gloria*), Rome has placed its *et* (“and”). First, states the author, there is “Rome’s ‘And’ in the accomplishment of the atonement” (130). Whereas the Bible and classical Protestantism aver that Christ’s saving cross work was a “once for all” atoning work which accomplished salvation for His elect people (Romans 6:

10; Hebrews 7:27; 9:12, 25–28; 10:10–14), the Roman Catholic Church adds its “and.” According to Rome, the Roman Catholic priest (who serves as a priest in the Aaronic [*sic*] order) must continue to sacrifice Christ for sins committed after water baptism in the “unbloody sacrifice” of the Mass.

Then there is “Rome’s ‘And’ in the Application of Redemption” (137). Whereas the Bible and classical Protestantism teach that Christ, by His Word and Spirit, applies the benefits of His completed, redemptive work to the elect, Rome adds the “meritorious” work of Mary the Mother of Jesus. She cooperates in her Son’s redemptive work; she continually intercedes for believers and for the entire world; and she reigns as “Queen of the Universe.” Here, says the author, “Roman Catholicism has become the most populace cult in Christendom—the Marian cult” (139).

Next there is “Rome’s ‘And’ in Ecclesiology” (140). Whereas Scripture and classical Protestantism teach that the Christian’s relationship to the church of Christ is determined by his saving faith relationship with Christ, Rome teaches the opposite. In Roman Catholic theology, faith in Christ and faith in the church are really one act of faith, because Christ and His church are one (the church is literally the “body of Christ,” and Christ is its “Head”). Scripture teaches that one is to place “implicit faith” in Christ and His Word alone. Rome disagrees. A Roman Catholic must place “implicit faith” in the Roman Church when he joins the church, because that is one and the same thing with placing implicit faith in Christ. According to this false theology, the church’s Magisterium cannot err in its teachings because there is a sense in which the church is the continuing “whole Christ” as it is guided by the Holy Spirit. The Bible teaches no such thing. Jesus Christ is the only “single subject of salvific activities,” says the author, and the gospel “is always Theocentric and Christocentric and never ecclesiocentric.” Scripture never represents faith in Christ as the gift of the church, but as the gift of God alone (140–143).

Finally there is “Rome’s ‘And’ in Eschatology” (143). Whereas the Word of God and classical Protestantism maintain that one’s final state (eschatology) is determined by his relationship with Jesus Christ by faith alone, the Roman Catholic Church demurs. Rome claims that final justification is obtained by faith in Christ, plus meritorious works, along with the “And” of indulgences. According to Romanism, the great majority of Christians (the minority here is the “saints”) are imperfectly justified in this life and they must go to the suffering fires of purgatory after death where they “undergo purification.” Rome’s required indulgences will help to reduce the time spent in purgatory. These indulgences are said to be expiatory with regard to sins, and they may be given by persons still here on earth to aid those suffering in purgatory. Allegedly, the pope has the authority to mete out these indulgences, as he holds the “keys” of Christ as Christ’s vicar

on earth. The keys given to the pope allow him access to the “treasury of supererogatory merits,” which consist not only of Christ’s redemptive cross work, but also the prayers and good works of Mary, as well as the prayers and (supererogatory) good works of the “saints”—those men and women whose works went beyond that which is required. Such teaching, of course, is soul-damning heresy.

The Roman teaching is based on the apocryphal book 2 Maccabees at 12:46 (which in distinction from the Protestant church, Rome avers to be inspired), and a false understanding of 1 Corinthians 3:15; 1 Peter 1:7; and Jude 22–23. The Protestant church has correctly rejected the erroneous doctrines of indulgences and purgatory, claiming that Christ’s work alone merits complete salvation for His elect people. As Dr. Reymond declares, “to suggest that a finite sinful creature could by his suffering for a finite number of years expiate the infinite disvalue of his sin against the true and holy God is a pernicious error of massive proportions.” As stated in the words of Laird Harris, this is just “another one of those foreign growths that has fastened itself like a malignant tumor upon the theology of the Roman Catholic Church.” Too, as Dr. Reymond continues, “it is a doctrinal promulgation devised in the interest of sustaining the Roman Catholic priesthood and the entire indulgence system of the church which, I [Reymond] would suggest, is its chief source of income” (144–145).

The reader of this chapter, states the author, might bristle at the remarks made about the soul-damning teaching of Rome. After all, it may be claimed that Roman Catholics believe in and confess their faith in some of the great creeds of the church: the Apostles’ Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, the Definition of Chalcedon, and the Athanasian Creed, which is true. But as Dr. Reymond goes on to say, “I would contend that one can believe from his heart that every statement” of these creeds “is true and still be lost, if in order to be saved he is trusting to any degree in his own character, and/or if he believes that he must contribute at least some good works toward his salvation, and/or if he is trusting in Christ plus anyone or anything else.” It is entirely possible for a person to believe in these creeds, but “also believe at the same time that if one would go to heaven when one dies one must still put some kind of ‘and’ or a ‘plus’ of his own good works after Christ’s perfect work of obedience.” In conclusion the author assures us, with the zeal of a true evangelist, that “upon the doctrinal distinctives of classic Protestantism—its great *solas*—hang the destinies of immortal souls” (154–155, 158).

Chapter Seven has to do with “The Need for an Evangelical Pulpit” (159–176). Dr. Reymond opens this chapter by lamenting the fact that there is a “new vocation within the ranks of the ministry [which] has appeared in our time.” Those who pursue this calling are the “church futurists.” Their job is

to forecast what pastors and church leaders must do if their churches are to survive the onslaught of the post-modern era. The author, of course, does not take the “church futurists” seriously; neither should we, his readers. Nevertheless we must ask ourselves what we are to do in our own generation, and the answer (as with all things) comes from the teaching of the Word of God. First we must recognize that the problems the church faces are primarily from within. The church of Christ has all too frequently opted for a truncated gospel and a refusal to preach the whole counsel of God. The apostle Paul tells us in his second letter to Timothy that in the last days (i.e., the days that began with the first advent of Christ and will terminate at His second advent) there will be such times as we face. Persons who refuse to endure sound doctrine will “heap up for themselves teachers” who will turn their auditors away from the truth to fables and false doctrine. What then is the church to do? Paul’s words to Timothy in the first century are the same for us today: “Preach the Word; be prepared in season and out of season; correct, rebuke, and encourage—with great patience and careful instruction.... Keep your head in all situations, endure hardship, do the work of an evangelist, discharge all the duties of your ministry.” The faithful gospel minister is not to shrink back from proclaiming the whole counsel of God (159–161).

Dr. Reymond clarifies what Paul’s commands to Timothy (and all gospel ministers) involve, but his major focus is on the charge to “do the work of an evangelist.” He explains that to do the work of an evangelist is not simply telling people how they are to be saved, though it will include that. Rather, it is to announce or herald the “good news” that Jesus Christ, the crucified and resurrected Savior, has ascended to the right hand of God the Father, where He sits enthroned as the King of kings and Lord of lords, reigning over the universe in fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy. The gospel is a “royal announcement—the King’s proclamation of the appearing of a great Victor and of an equally great victory over sin and death.” In a nutshell, “to evangelize” means to proclaim faithfully “the whole truth about Jesus Christ both as Savior and Lord” (169–173).

Finally, Chapter Eight is on “The Need for a Reformed Pulpit” (177–192). The author’s concern in this chapter is boldly set forth in the very first paragraph: “In this address I want you to consider with me a notion that prevails virtually everywhere today, the notion that Christianity, as a way of life, makes no real life-transforming demands on its adherents—that to be a Christian in name only is sufficient as far as commitment is concerned—and what should be done about it.” According to Dr. Reymond, what is often seen in the church of Christ is a “doctrinal nominalism”: a “who cares about doctrine” mentality. Biblical doctrine is given lip service, and little more. We also see an “ethical nominalism”—a lack of concern for matters of

Christian piety to the point where much of the church has become “worldly and carnal.” The problem is also seen in the “ecclesial nominalism” which is rampant among alleged Christian groups, wherein “allegiance to the church as the family of God and the communion of the saints is rare and undernourished.” Far too many persons in the church are “nominal Christians”; they are Christians in name only, and mere spectators as far as commitment to Christ and the teaching of His Word is concerned. In a word, says Dr. Reymond, “the modern church is in desperate need of revival and reformation” (177–178).

In the remainder of this chapter the author addresses two areas: “Reformed church growth” and “Reformed worship.” First, if there is going to be genuine church growth, it must be done according to the Reformed, Calvinistic theology taught in the Westminster Standards. Genuine Christianity is Calvinistic, and the large majority of great missionaries and evangelists have been Calvinists. If the church is going to be successful in its evangelistic task, it must preach the distinctives of the Reformed faith. Much of today’s gospel is a gospel without cost, without repentance, without commitment, etc. This is a false gospel, a gospel which is often accompanied with “borrowed techniques from the advertising industry to grow themselves” (181), and it cannot be successful in promoting the truth. Any attempt to bring about church growth that is not preaching the true gospel is bound to fail. God’s ordained way of bringing about church growth is by means of the preaching of the true gospel of Christ. We must return to God’s way.

Second, the church needs to return to the Reformation’s view of worship known as the “regulative principle.” This is the view of worship taught in the Westminster Standards and other Reformed creeds and confessions. It is defined in the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (21:1) as follows: “The acceptable way of worshipping the true God is instituted by Himself, and so limited by His own revealed will, that He may not be worshipped according to the imaginations and devices of men, or the suggestions of Satan, under any visible representation, or any other way not prescribed in the holy Scripture.”

The author concludes this chapter (and Part One) with the following very telling and significant words: “How important is it, then, to plant and to grow Reformed churches? I believe it is absolutely and vitally important. There is no greater work in which one could be involved. So let’s not hide our Reformed light, graciously given to us in Holy Scripture, under a bushel. Let’s give everything we are and have in demolishing the stronghold of nominal Christianity by the establishment of Reformed witnesses to God’s truth that will endure for all generations. No less than the survival of biblical Christianity is at stake” (192).

In the opinion of the present reviewer, Dr. Reymond’s book is a must read for all pastors and teachers of the Word of God. It is an extraordinarily well written and much needed book. ■

REVIEW: *Justification Report of the Committee to Study the Doctrine of Justification* (Willow Grove, Pa.: Orthodox Presbyterian Church, 2007) paperback, 176 pages. \$7.50. Reviewed by Rev Dr Rowland S. Ward, minister of Knox Presbyterian Church of Eastern Australia, Melbourne.

The Report on Justification received and commended for study by the 2006 General Assembly of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church is a document of some 70,000 words prepared after two years consideration. A rather thorough piece of work on a current subject it is appropriate that it has recently been published in a neat paperback format of 176 pages with minor emendations. There is no index. Six men served on the Committee: David M. VanDrunen (Chair), L. Anthony Curto, Sidney D. Dyer, John V. Fesko (Secretary), Richard B. Gaffin, Jr., and Alan D. Strange (Vice-Chair). The mandate was “to critique the teachings of the ‘New Perspective on Paul’ (NPP), ‘Federal Vision’ (FV) and other like teaching concerning the doctrine of justification and other related doctrines, as they are related to the Word of God and our subordinate standards, with a view to giving a clear statement to the presbyteries, sessions and seminaries....”

About 33% of the Report is a general introduction providing an outline of biblical and confessional teaching. A second brief section reminds us of the ecumenical dimension of recent discussions between Rome with Lutherans and some evangelicals on justification. A third section of about 23% looks at the issues related to justification raised by the NPP. The next section (about 33%) considers the Federal Vision (FV). A section summarising sections 2–4 follows with recommendations concluding the Report. The recommendations are that presbyteries include detail coverage of justification and related doctrines in examination of candidates. Fourteen topics are noted which reminds one of the way doctrines are inter-related. The church is to be pro-active in maintaining the purity of the gospel over against NPP and FV errors, and the Report is to be distributed and receive further study within the Church.

In reviewing the Report and considering some of the responses of those whose views are criticised, one finds oneself in not the easiest of situations. There are so many aspects and motivations that it is hard to know where to start, so this review will be nearer a statement of the issues than a critical analysis. The report itself claims (p. 125) that “one’s conception of the covenant is crucial for the doctrine of justification.” While Ralph Allan Smith—allied with the FV position—mistakes this as a claim that the doctrine of justification depends upon a Covenant of Works/Covenant of Grace form of the doctrine of the covenant, something for example that Lutherans do not explicitly propound, the Report is surely correct. How we formulate the doctrine of the covenant will impact

our doctrine of justification. But we may go further and say that how we understand God will affect our understanding of covenant. So perhaps we should start with the doctrine of God as the more basic category.

THE TRINITY

As regards the Trinity, the Report (p. 125) criticises Ralph Allan Smith's doctrine of God in which he affirms that the holy, undivided fellowship of the three persons of the Trinity entails covenant. While one should avoid any suggestion that the persons of the Trinity are related to one another simply by a covenanted commitment, for this would imperil their unity and lead to tritheism, it is not evident to me that Smith does this, and I think the Report takes up Smith the wrong way. Scripture stresses creation is the work of the Triune God. How do the persons relate in this? The Father creates through the Son and in the Spirit. Or, to use Smith's words, "the creation was the gift from the Father to the Son through the Spirit so that He can present it back to the Father. This is covenantal fellowship in love."¹

It is this loving, self-giving holy God who freely determines to create. For NPP and FV advocates Adam cannot be less than a son loved by his Father. And surely that is absolutely right both from explicit texts (such as Luke 3:38) and the implications of Scripture's doctrine of redemption. I think we need to very clearly abandon notions that Adam was created a servant who would attain sonship as a result of his obedience.

Abraham Kuyper spoke of the original relationship as that of a servant who serves for wages,² others that of a servant not a son, with sonship in view when the probation is completed.³ Charles Hodge affirmed that Adam had to merit eternal life,⁴ and that Luke 17:10 proves man can claim a reward for obedience (Hodge, 3.244). This kind of teaching may not be unconfessional, since the WCF is a consensus document which lays out broad contours of covenant theology rather than finalised dogma at every point,⁵ but it does not develop from those basic contours in helpful ways. In this matter the work of men like the Southern Presbyterians J.L.Girardeau and R.A.Webb and the Scot, T. J. Crawford, is on more biblical lines, as was that of Witsius in the 1670s and Herman Bavinck a century ago.

1. A Response to the OPC Committee on the Doctrine of Justification, http://www.berith.org/#new_essays [accessed 2 April 2007].

2. Abraham Kuyper, *E Voto Dordraceno* (Amsterdam, 1895) 2.389.

3. J. H. Thornwell, *Collected Writings* 1.264ff; Robert L. Dabney *Systematic Theology*, 1878 ed., 300ff.

4. Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 2.364.

5. Richard Muller puts it this way: "...the brief definition found in the Westminster Standards represents not a strict finalization of a dogma rigidly propounded, but a historical marker in an ongoing development. The formulators of the doctrine allowed for a significant flexibility in terms and definitions..." R.A. Muller & R.S. Ward, *Scripture and Worship* (Phillipsburg: P & R, 2007) 70.

In considering the nature of the relationship between God and creation we should confess that creation is made to respond appropriately to its Maker according to the norms God has established. The Report (128) clearly affirms the filial: "Man was created in law", and adds: "This is the way God made Adam: he made Adam as his son wanting to please his father. There has never been any tension between the legal and the relational in this respect..." These statements are surely correct and, so far as the consistency of the filial and the legal is concerned, is the general position of the 17th century.

Still, I would have liked to see a greater emphasis on the filial in the Report. Indeed, Adam as God's son was to receive an inheritance from his Father—eternal, unlosable life in God's favour and fellowship, in the way of obedience. This is a significant plank in the contention for the existence of a covenant of works with Adam. J.B. Torrance famously contrasted 'covenant' and 'contract' in a 1970 *Scottish Journal of Theology* article. And of course as we use the term today 'contract' does not imply friendship/love between parties and usually involves a mutually exploitative arrangement. But biblical covenants are not lawless; thus a marriage covenant is based on love but involves obligations as well. The same is true of God's covenant with Adam, and the Report gives the needed attention to the obedience required of Adam which is neglected or denied by NPP and FV.

NPP and FV advocates do not contrast works (before the fall) and grace (after the fall), but think in terms of one covenant of grace requiring faith/faithfulness before and after the fall. This confuses things that differ. Advocates of the traditional covenant of works do not claim Adam could have rendered acceptable obedience without trust/faith in God. Of course such was essential before the fall. But the faith/trust in God necessary after the fall is centred on the Redeemer promised, typified and now come, Yahweh our Righteousness (Jer 23:6).

Shepherd's position, and similar viewpoints are unstable (cf. Report, 20). If perfect obedience was not required of Adam why should it be required of Christ? To the extent that we minimise or downplay the obedience required of Adam, to that extent we seem to minimise the obedience required of Christ and thus weaken our grasp of his mediatorial work. Again, if eschatological life was not in prospect as the inheritance promised to Adam, God's son, how is it that this blessing is obtained by Christ? If it was because of his perfect obedience then why cannot we affirm that perfect obedience was required of Adam? If it was not because of Christ's perfect obedience, how do we account for it?

WRIGHT'S NEW PERSPECTIVE ON PAUL

The main features of the NPP are well known, particularly as formulated by N.T. Wright. There are some things we can agree with right away.

(1) Judaism was/is not a merit based religion in the teaching of the OT. God set his love on Israel according to his gracious election and not according to what Israel deserved. The law was given to a redeemed people.⁶ Jews did not doubt they were God's people. The chief issue in their eyes was remaining in his covenant with him—staying saved, if you will.

(2) We readily acknowledge the great significance of the inclusion of the Gentiles in the people of God without the necessity of observing Jewish distinctives. The true Israel is not replaced but expanded by the inclusion of believing Gentiles. This was indeed the mystery hidden in earlier times (Eph 3:6).

(3) We need to recover an emphasis on the significance of the resurrection of Jesus for Christian faith and life and not treat it as a mere appendage to the atoning death of Jesus.

(4) We should not underestimate the excessive individualism in much of evangelicalism today which discounts the importance of the church as the people of God and fosters an inner-personal religious experience neglecting the call to loving communal service here and now.

But on certain key issues Wright's NPP formulation must be rejected.

(1) Although the OT faith of Israel was not merit based but rooted in the electing grace of God, the practical reality of law-keeping for salvation can easily be present, as we know in our personal experience and also from the NT. Roman Catholicism is not a religion of merit either, and emphasises the necessity of God's grace, yet in effect human merit was very much to the fore in Luther's day as it is in our own. Neither Paul nor Luther were combating those who held to a crass version of salvation exclusively by works. We need to be careful of caricatures, yet the NT is first hand evidence of attitudes, and much was clearly in the category of self-righteousness.

(2) The NT shows that Judaism was heavily influenced by the idea that law keeping was necessary to secure God's intervention for the nation's restoration. In this light, Paul's quite opposite emphasis—that God has acted already in Jesus Christ so that the life of real obedience flows from the crucified and exalted Jesus—is naturally set in the sharpest contrast to law keeping as the means of salvation.⁷

(3) While understanding NT Judaism correctly is important, discussing justification in the context of vindication before the world rather than before the bar of God's justice—which is the overall context of Scripture—is fundamentally flawed. Paul's views are formed by Scripture and in fact there are no references to rabbinical sources from the Second Temple period in his writing. Thus Paul's teaching of the pervasive depravity of humanity is not typical of NT Judaism or of Judaism today either. Further, neither the later Augustine nor Luther nor the other magisterial Reformers regarded Romans 7 as the struggle of a person with an introspective conscience seeking justification, but as expressive of the conflict in the already justified.⁸

(4) Ordinarily, 'righteousness' is what one ought to do, and is set over against sin, which is what one ought not to do. The one who does righteousness is righteous (1 John 3:7). The good spelled out in the law is what Jews and non-Jews alike must do and all will be judged accordingly (Rom 1:18–3:20). Understanding righteousness as covenant faithfulness just does not fit in many contexts.

(5) There is also a righteousness which is extraordinary. It is 'from God' (Rom 3:21; 1 Cor 1:30; Phil 3:9), it is a 'gift' (Rom 5:17) and enables God 'to be just and yet the justifier of whoever believes in Jesus' (Rom 3:25–26) since it is through the obedience of Christ that sinners are made righteous (Rom 5:19). Wright may say, as he does say, 'Righteousness is not an object, a substance or a gas that can be passed around the courtroom.'⁹ Yet there we have it in Scripture as God's gift grounded on Christ's obedience, and all the cries of 'legal fiction' cannot remove it. Consequently, the reality of imputation of Christ's righteousness to the believer, however absurd it may seem, is not an unbiblical category although there may be different ways of stating it, some more adequate than others.

(6) In Scripture justify/justification is mostly law court language, a declaration one is righteous and thus it is the opposite of condemnation (Prov 17:15; Rom 5:16; 8:34). In salvation contexts it is not a declaration of righteousness at the end of a process of moral renovation, but it is the declaration of righteousness before the bar of God's justice here and now. It is a once-for-all-time declaration of a right standing with God so that peace with God is enjoyed now (Rom 5:1), and the wrath of God will not be experienced in the future (Rom 5:9).

(7) If we speak, as we may, of a future justification, then it is only the public recognition of what is granted in God's grace in this life now when we come to faith in Jesus Christ. Wright's view appears to be that Christ's death and resurrection sets his people free from the guilt and power of sin, and the work of the Spirit enables them to conform to God's law so that in the end a favourable verdict is secured and they are vindicated in the Judgement. While Wright rejects the merit of the believer's life, since his good deeds are wrought through the Spirit, yet

6. Cf. the answer to Shorter Catechism 44: 'What does the preface to the ten commandments teach us?'

7. This point is well made by a former supporter of the NPP in Francis Watson, "Not the New Perspective"—an unpublished paper delivered at the British New Testament Conference, Manchester, September 2001. <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/divinity/articles/watsonart.htm> [accessed 5 Jan 2004].

8. One might note the essentially similar positions on justification in Augustine, Luther, Calvin and Wesley outlined in Stephen Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004) 3–87.

9. N.T. Wright, *What St Paul Really Said* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1997) 98.

it is hard to escape the view that in the last analysis the focus is on our own covenant keeping.¹⁰

IMPUTATION

On the imputation of Christ's righteousness the Report is somewhat of a consensus as all such reports must be. The long-standing distinction between the obedience of Christ's life (the so called *active* righteousness) and the obedience of his death (the so called *passive* righteousness) is affirmed, as might well be expected in the OPC given Machen's famous words on his deathbed.¹¹ Richard Gaffin, following closely on Calvin, emphasises that the union and communion the believer has with Christ is manifested in many benefits, as the Larger Catechism puts it. These are not links in a chain accessed one after the other, but complementary—distinct from each other yet inseparable, since Christ cannot be divided and those united to him share in all his benefits.¹² To the same effect is Calvin's comment concerning union with Christ: 'We do not', he says, 'contemplate him outside ourselves from afar in order that his righteousness may be imputed to us but because we put on Christ and are engrafted into his body—in short because he deigns to make us one with him. For this reason we glory that we have fellowship of righteousness with him.'¹³

We may locate this imputed righteousness in the obedient law-keeping of Jesus Christ's life. This is the traditional form. It enables us to say that justification is not simply God treating us "just as if I'd" never sinned but also "just as if I'd" fully obeyed, which, in Jesus, is true. We may speak of this as an alien righteousness, wrought outside of us by Christ, so long as we also remember that this alien righteousness is

ours along with all other saving benefits by virtue of union with Christ (Gaffin, 178).

Theologically we are on the mark in the traditional view. One may agree with William Cunningham, the great Scottish theologian, that the distinction between the passive and active righteousness of Christ 'is not of any great practical importance, and need not be much pressed or insisted on, if men heartily and intelligently ascribe their forgiveness and acceptance wholly to what Christ has done and suffered in their stead.'¹⁴

Still, biblically we might be better locating Christ's righteousness in the vindication he received in his resurrection, which of course is not far from the thought of some FV proponents. The crediting of righteousness is intimately linked with the resurrection of Jesus from the dead in Romans 4:24, and so we immediately go on to read that 'he was handed over to death because of our offences and raised to life for our justification' (Rom 4:25). If Adam brought condemnation for all through his one act of disobedience, Jesus, by his one act of righteousness/obedience—his obedience to the command to die which summed up the whole course of his life—has gained justifying life (Rom 5:18–19). Rejected of men, but accepted by the Father, he is now the Righteous One. 'God made him who had no sin to be sin for us, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God' (2 Cor 5:21).

There are other issues dealt with in the Report, including the FV tendency to regard baptism as actually effecting union with Christ, and the failure to maintain the distinction between the church as visible and the church as invisible. One may say of these that in some respects they represent reaction against a virtually baptistic attitude that has impacted American Presbyterianism for more than a century.¹⁵

CONCLUSION

In summary, the Report is quite comprehensive and the summary will help the less theologically literate grasp the issues. It is also a consensual report and should not be criticised for a measure of diversity of statement which reflects legitimate variation within the limits of the confession. It could be a little more constructive in its discussion, although one can understand the difficulty of debate with some Presbyterian ministers who clearly reject the covenant theology of the Confession. Certainly the report is a bit defensive in its endorsement of the active/passive distinction in its treatment of imputation, even using the intention of the OPC as interpreting the Confession on this matter despite its consensus statement (145). But in the crucial issues it is right on the money. It is my hope that the current debate will have positive results in a more clear and careful nuancing of our covenant theology, of the vital subject of union with Christ, and on that justification which is by Christ meritoriously, by faith instrumentally and by works evidentially. ■

10. Notice the comment of Herman Ridderbos: 'Every attempt to make certain reductions from the absolutely unanalytical character of this justification of the ungodly, whether understanding justification as an anticipatory pronouncement on the ground of the subsequent ethical transformation of the ungodly, or by looking on the judicial aspect of the work of God in justification in unity with the ethical aspect of the work of God in sanctification, indwelling, etc., must be rejected as a violation or obscuring of the specific significance of Paul's pronouncement.' *Paul: An Outline of his Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975) 174–175.

11. "I'm so thankful for the active obedience of Christ. No hope without it." Ned B. Stonehouse, *J. Gresham Machen, a biographical memoir*, 3rd (Westminster Theological Seminary, 1978) 508.

12. So Richard B. Gaffin, Jr. 'Biblical Theology and the Westminster Standards' in *WTJ* 65 (2003) 173ff.; also Robert Letham, *The Work of Christ* (Downers Grove 1993) 177ff.

13. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* [trans F.L. Battles] (Philadelphia: Westminster 1960) 3.11.10.

14. W. Cunningham, *The Reformers and the Theology of the Reformation* (1862, reprinted London: Banner of Truth, 1967) 404.

15. See my review of L.B. Schenck, *The Presbyterian Doctrine of Children in the Covenant* (Phillipsburg: P & R, 2003) in *The Confessional Presbyterian* 2 (2006) 181–184.

PSALLO

Psalm 51

In the translation and metrical setting of Psalm 51 you have before you, we have endeavored to render the Hebrew clearly, with an eye to preserving the metrical nature of the Psalm. We have added a small repeat in some of the phrasing to facilitate an English meter, and much of the translation will be familiar, seeing that many of our English translations are quite true to the Hebrew. We have translated the Hebrew word חֶסֶד *chesed*, often translated as “mercy” or “lovingkindness” as “Covenant-Faithfulness” seeing that it describes that everlasting fidelity the Lord has toward all those with whom He has entered into covenant through His Son. The word translated as mercy is the Hebrew word רַחֲמִים *rachamim*, which is a plural, by which is understood the plenteousness of God’s forgiving mercy.

This is a penitential Psalm, which is reflected in the name of the tune. As we learn in the “Psalm Title” or introduction, (verse 1 in the Hebrew Psalter) this is a Psalm of David, and the occasion, his confession and repentance before the Lord upon his sin with Bathsheba, the murder of Uriah, and those other sins and circumstances surrounding this occasion. As has been noted by many commentators, the Psalms encompass much, if not all, godly emotion and devotion in their inspired lyrics.¹ Such recognition has prompted the Church, and I believe rightly, to class certain Psalms according to this usage. For instance, we have called Psalm 51 a Penitential Psalm. The same might also be said of Psalms 38, 102, 130, 143. In these Psalms we learn from the inspired authors squarely, fully, to face and embrace our sins, rather than to ignore them, and as well we learn what true repentance “looks like” as we behold inspired penitence. There are Psalms which teach us how to pour out our soul before our merciful and faithful Lord in times of great affliction. Such Psalms included here would be Psalms 3, 4, 55, 102, and many others, where we learn to distinguish casting our care upon Christ from murmuring and unholy complaint. There are, as we have discussed in a previous installment, imprecatory Psalms, in which we learn to ask the Lord to defend us, and save us from His and our enemies by thoroughly defeating them in their counsels, and by preserving us until such deliverance is accomplished. Such would include Psalms 35, 58, 59, 83, 109, etc. There are Psalms of thanksgiving and adoration, where we learn to express our gratitude to the Lord

for His great benefits, forgetting none of them. Such would include Psalms 8, 19, 19, 65, 67, and of course, the crescendo of praise and adoration in Psalms 146, 147, 148, 149, and 150. There are what have been styled the Royal Psalms, in which our Lord Jesus Christ, in the Spirit of Prophecy, is seen as the King of Kings, enthroned, as Sovereign Lord and Judge over all creation, and in which we learn to praise Him as such. We might include Psalms 2, 18, 20, 45, 72, 101, 110 among others in this division. Related to the former category, there are those Psalms that have been called Enthronement Psalms, in which the Lord is seen in the greatness of majestic rule, in which He is seen as it were in His coronation ceremony, ascending His throne, ruling the nations, defeating the counsel of his enemies, and exalting His people. We would include here Psalms 47, 93, 96-99. In these latter categories of Psalms we learn how to exalt the Lord Jesus Christ as King of Nations, the sovereign ruler in the affairs of men.

There are more. We could speak of the Psalms of lamentation, where we learn how to express to the Lord our disappointments and grief. There are the Zion-Psalms, where we learn of the special care and love the Lord has for His Church of all ages, and how we are to be mindful of and thankful for such great care. There are songs of corporate praise, private praise, corporate affliction, private affliction, in which we learn to worship the Lord in all kinds of circumstances—in the corporate worship of the saints, and in the private and secret places of our individual communion with the Lord. Truly the Psalms furnish for the Church of all ages those inspired words in which she might express her joys, and her disappointments. In the singing of these inspired songs she will show forth her favored position as the Church of the Living God, in that she has learned these great Gospel-truths, and understood to the best of the ability her human frame allows the greatness, majesty, sovereignty, holiness, righteousness, and eternity of her Great Lord, who has graciously revealed Himself to her, and brought her into the circle of His confidence (Psalm 25:14; 91:1). Truly, the Psalms breathe of a rarified and inspired air that no human composition can approach, and yet in these very Psalms we have the entire compass of our humanity there inscribed. Let us therefore take up these Psalms and sing with grace in our hearts. In triumph and defeat, when we abound and when we are abased, whether full of praise or penitent, beholding the majesty, sovereignty, holiness of our Great Father, His Son, and His Spirit, let us offer the sacrifice of our lips, making mention of His Name.

TODD L. RUDDELL ■

THE AUTHOR: The Rev. Todd L. Ruddell is pastor of Christ Covenant Reformed Presbyterian Church (RPCGA) in Wylie, Texas.

1. See “The True Psalmody,” Ministers of the Reformed and United Presbyterian Churches of Philadelphia (1859) as published by Naphthali Press, *An Anthology of Presbyterian & Reformed Literature* volume 4 (Dallas, Tex.: Naphthali Press, 1991) 255–257.

Psalm 51:1-19

To the chief Muscian, A Psalm of David, when Nathan the prophet came unto him, after he had gone in to Bathsheba

Penitential

Todd L. Ruddell

¹Have mer - cy on me have mer - cy O God, ac - cord - ing to,
⁴For a - gainst Thee, Thee on - ly have I sinned 'gainst Thee I've sinned,
⁷O purge Thou me, with hys - sop I shall be clean, O wash me Lord,
¹²O Lord the glad - ness of Thy sal - va - tion re - store to me,
¹⁶For Thou dost not de - sire sac - ri - fice, else would I give,

- thine e - ter - nal cov' - nant faith - ful - ness
 and done this e - vil, in Thy sight
 I shall be whit - er whit - er than the snow.
 sus - tain me with a spir - it wil - ling and free
 nei - ther de - light - est in burnt of - fer - ing

And in ac - cord - ance with thy mer - cy great, thy mer - cy great
 That right - eous Thou might - est be when Thou speakst, when Thou dost speak
⁸O Lord make me to hear glad - ness and joy, let me re - joice
¹³Then shall I teach trans - gres - sors all thy ways, yea all thy ways,
¹⁷God's sac - ri - fic - es are a bro - ken spir - it, and bro - ken heart,

- whol - ly blot out mine in - iq - ui - ties.
 and in - no - cent in what thou dost judge.
 let the bones which thou, didst thou break re - joice.
 and so shall sin - ners be, turn - ed un - to thee
 O God - and con - trite, Thou dost not de - spise

The musical score is written for voice and piano. It consists of four systems of music. Each system has a vocal staff (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment staff (bass clef). The key signature is one sharp (F#), indicating D major or B minor. The time signature is common time (C).

System 1:

Vocal: 2 O through - ly purge thou me from mine in - iq - ui - ty
 5 For be - hold I was brought forth in in - iq - ui - ty
 9 Hide Thou Thy face from my sins blot out mine in - iq - ui - ties.
 14 De - liv - er me, God of my sal - va - tion from blood - guil - ti - ness
 18 May thy good pleas - ure to Zi - on bring forth pros - per - i - ty

Piano: Accompaniment consisting of chords and moving lines in the left hand.

System 2:

Vocal: And from all my trans gres - sion Lord cleanse Thou me!
 And in guilt - i - ness did my moth - er con - ceive me.
 10 O God cre - ate a clean heart, re - new a right spir - it in me.
 And so my tongue shall show forth all thy right - eous - ness.
 Build Thou up Je - ru - s'lem's walls cause her safe to be.

Piano: Continues the accompaniment pattern.

System 3:

Vocal: 3 For I do take knowl - edge of my trans - gres - sions and Lord my sin,
 6 Lo Thou de - sir - edst truth in hid - den parts, and in my depths,
 11 O Cast thou me not a - way from Thy face, and do not take,
 15 O Lord my lips o - pen Thou and my mouth, O Lord my mouth,
 19 Then right - eous sac - ri - fic - es shalt Thou ac - cept, and of - frings whole,

Piano: Continues the accompaniment pattern.

System 4:

Vocal: - is ev - er be - fore me.
 Thy wis - dom wilt Thou mak - est known to me.
 thine Ho - ly Spir - it a - way from me.
 shall de - - clare a - broad thy glo - ri - ous praise.
 of bul - locks shall they, on thine al - tar lay.

Piano: Continues the accompaniment pattern.

IN TRANSLATION

John Brown of Wamphray *Singing of Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs in the Public Worship of God*

FROM DE CAUSA DEI CONTRA ANTISABBATARIOS

John Brown of Wamphray, an exiled minister of the Church of Scotland, was the most important Scottish theologian of the period known as the Killing Times (1660–1688). He was one of the strongest defenders of the Covenanter cause.¹ Among many books he wrote while residing in Holland, Brown's *magnum opus* is his *De Causa Dei contra Antisabbatarios* (2 volumes 4to, Rotterdam, 1674, 1676).² The experts past and present are in agreement in their assessment of the man and this work. "In addition to establishing the continuing obligation of the Sabbath, it discusses a wide variety of questions concerning the law of God..." (Lachman).

JOHN BROWN OF WAMPHRAY (c.1610–1679). The extract presented here is translated from Joanne Broun, *De Causa Dei Contra AntiSabbatarios Tractatus* (Rotterdam: Apud Henricum Goddaem, Bibliopolam. Anno [1674]). The selection translated appears in volume 2, pages 954–966. TRANSLATED BY N. E. Barry Hofstetter, Th.M.

1. See more about the life of Brown of Wamphray in Mr. Backenstro's article in this issue, 118–119.

2. D. C. Lachman, "Brown, John (of Wamphray)," *Dictionary of Scottish Church History & Theology*, ed. Nigel M. De S. Cameron, David F. Wright, David C. Lachman, and Donald E. Meek (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1993) 98.

3. John MacPherson, *The Doctrine of the Church in Scottish Theology* (Edinburgh: MacNiven & Wallace, 1903) 49.

4. James Walker, *The Theology and Theologians of Scotland, 1560–1750* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1872.; Second Edition, edited by N.L. Walker and W.G. Blaikie, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1888; repr. Edinburgh: Knox Press, 1982).

5. Robert Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution* (Glasgow: Blackie, Fullarton, & Co., [1828]) 304.

6. "Brown of Wamphray, published, in Rotterdam, an exhaustive Latin work against the Anti-Sabbatarians, in two volumes, which were respectively issued in 1674 and 1676. In the second volume, page 959, Paul's three words are restricted to the Book of Psalms, and several very cogent reasons are given for doing so." David Hay Fleming, "The Hymnology of the Reformation," *Original Secession Magazine* (January–June and September 1884); repr. in *An Anthology of Presbyterian & Reformed Literature 4* (Dallas, Tex.: Naphtali Press, 1991) 223–246.

7. Brown uses the Greek word ἐθελοθησκιας.

MacPherson writes that Brown's "most elaborate work is *De Causa Dei Contra Anti-Sabbatarios*, a huge work which would fill at least five goodly octavo volumes, full of interesting and important matter, especially regarding fundamental questions about the sanctions of law and the law of God."³ Walker calls it "great in length, great in learning, great in patient sifting of the subject, and in meeting of assertions and marshalling of arguments."⁴ Wodrow styles Brown as "a man of very great learning, warm zeal, and remarkable piety."⁵

The translation presented here is a section from this great work on the subject of Psalm singing. While perhaps nothing is surprising from what one would expect to find,⁶ it is fitting to have the comments readily available of one of the leading Covenanter figures on a subject that has come to be so identified with Covenanter worship practice. The text translated begins with the portion ending the previous section where Brown is addressing imposed forms of prayer and "free" prayer, and articulates what we today call the regulative principle of worship. In the subsequent portion, Brown deals with the subject of singing of praise in public worship, proving first that singing of praise is an element of public worship under the New Testament, before moving on to deal with what he believes should be the content of such praise. Due to the length, the translation will be presented in two parts, with the balance to appear in the 2008 issue (D.V.).

CHRIS COLDWELL

Singing of Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs in the Public Worship of God

Nor should this be omitted, since this practice was not enjoined by the Lord. Nevertheless, it is strictly urged, and sedulously observed by them, and holds a certain type of will worship⁷ at the very least, an observance rooted in the will that is not divinely ordained. God does not wish to be worshipped according to the precepts of men, Matt 15. He hates and abominates every act of worship which he did not institute. It cannot be denied, that these formulations are prohibited in the worship of God, and that they are not prescribed by God, either as a category, or individually. Assuredly they do not pertain to the circumstances of worship, but constitute a part of the worship itself. How, therefore, are they able to usurp it as though so commanded? Or how is it possible for anything added or enjoined by men as part of the worship of God when in fact it has not been instituted by God? It is fitting for us to remember the judgments inflicted against the sons of Aaron (Lev 10), against Uzziah (2 Sam 6), against the Bethlehmites (1 Sam 6), and against those who change anything in their worship of God.

God today is a jealous⁸ God and does not wish to permit anyone to alter worship of him with impunity. It is well known why we object to the Popes, when we dispute against their abuses in divine worship, and condemn them on account of their additions. Here, however, the change of manner which has been ordained by God is obvious, namely that the addition destroys. Moreover, when God permits, so that we worship in a natural manner in prayers, it is the case that we express the thoughts of our soul in our own words appropriate to them,⁹ and so utilize the ability freely conceded to us by nature. Not only does God permit this without ordaining a formula, but the Spirit has become our help and has promised the required resources. He makes it more than sufficiently clear that he wills us to address him without prescribed formulas using natural speech. Since therefore the matter so stands, to whom is it permitted to change this manner, to take away our liberty, to add or enjoin anything to the divine order, so that anyone, once the natural manner of addressing God is rejected, is bound to the words ordered and formulated by men? And who with good conscience is able to approve this corruption in divine worship, to embrace the addition, and to confirm it in his own practice? But enough of this.

In the fourth place, there is another public exercise that must be treated, and that is the hymn, doxology or the act of thanksgiving that is modulated through sound, or the singing of psalms, hymns or spiritual songs. There are those that deny that this is a legitimate exercise of divine worship permitted in the NT, and desire that that all vocal worship now be eliminated, and require only spiritual singing in the heart. We indeed acknowledge this as necessary, but we also claim that vocal singing is also required. Indeed, this type of singing, either to a tune or a kind of rhythmic chanting is not denied in the OT. They object, however, that the external worship which nature and art furnished in the NT God now entirely repudiates since it was not perfected in Spirit and in truth. Truly they do not consider that God had once for all repudiated all worship which was not offered in Spirit and in truth. Indeed, God instituted in the OT certain external rites in worship which have now been abolished, but it does not appear that all external worship has been abolished, nor does it follow. It is not possible for God to be worshipped in Spirit and truth when worship is exhibited to him which cannot be performed without art and nature, such as reading, listening, the preaching of the word, the administration of the sacraments, and so forth.¹⁰ Without the arts and the help of nature it cannot be done.¹¹

But that this action which arose under the NT is part of divine worship is evident. (1) From the example of Christ, who, after the Supper instituted by him, sang a hymn with his disciples. To the same extent that we ought to imitate him in the other actions instituted in that Supper, so also in this.

They object: It is indeed apparent that they praised God, but not that they used singing or a modulated voice, for ὑμνέω signifies praise or celebrate. *Response:* In the opinion of some, it means “lament,” as Novarinus witnesses with regard to the passage.¹² However, it does not follow from this that Christ and the apostles lamented. Furthermore, the word in general may signify “praise” or “give thanks.” Properly and commonly, however, it signifies “to sing or speak¹³ a hymn” and so it can be rendered in every passage in the NT where it appears (cf. Mark 14:26, Acts. 16:25, Heb 4:12¹⁴ and here). So it is rendered by most authorities, including Beza, Piscator, and Pagnus “when they had sung a hymn.” Mauldus, “when they had sung praise to God.” Noyarinus, “when they had spoken praises.” The interpreter of Euthymius, “when they had spoken praises.” “Hymns are,” Augustine says, “praises to God with song. If there is praise, but not of God, then it is not a hymn. A hymn must have three elements then: praise, to God, and singing.

(2) Furthermore, that vocal singing took place in the NT is clear from the example of Paul and Silas (Acts 16:25), “who in the middle of the night were praying and singing hymns.”¹⁵ Thus also from the instruction of Paul when he wrote both to the Ephesians and the Colossians: Eph 5:19 “Speaking mutually to one another in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord.” Col 3:16, “Let the word of God dwell among you richly with all wisdom, by teaching and admonishing yourselves mutually with psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, with thanksgiving singing in your heart to the Lord.” Yet he does not mean to excite anyone, because expressly the apostle does not enjoin anyone to sing, but that they speak to one another, teach and admonish one another. For when he bids them to teach and admonish one another he also bids them to speak to one another. When he bids them to speak to one another in Psalms, etc., he commands something else, that they teach and encourage one another in Psalms, etc., as Paul had done based on the law (Acts 28:23). This abundantly makes clear

8. *Zelotypus*, transliterated from the Greek ζήλοτυπος, meaning “jealous.”

9. Sc. “the thoughts of our soul.”

10. [Ed. Cf. Westminster Confession of Faith 21.5.]

11. This argument sounds rather convoluted to modern ears, but Brown simply means that without human skills (*artes*, arts) and abilities (*natura*, nature) even true worship cannot take place.

12. *in loco* is slightly ambiguous: it could also be referring to the passage in Novarinus where this is discussed, but this makes little difference to the overall meaning of our text at this point.

13. *dicere hymnum* or *laudes* (praises) implies singing or rhythmic recitation.

14. This is a misprint in the original, Heb 2:12 is intended.

15. These scriptures are translated directly from the Latin as presented in our text.

that whenever they employ this particular mode, meaning “singing and making melody,” αἰδοντες καὶ ψάλλοντες, these words denote vocal and audible singing. No one may make this exception, that Paul here prescribes nothing concerning this exercise in public assemblies or for the churches. Since it is in the Epistles, he prescribes it for the use of the churches, and it has a particular concern for them. If in private assemblies the apostle enjoins the use of psalms, hymns and spiritual songs, in order that some edify others by singing, who shall persuade us that this exercise should not promote edification in the public assemblies of the church? If it promotes it or is able to promote it, why should we not think that the apostle enjoins it here?

(3) That in the time of the apostles, in the public assembly of the church, it was the custom to sing hymns to God is evident from 1 Cor 14:15–16, 26. There the apostle especially urges that the one who makes melody and sings does so with intelligence and edification.

(4) James chapter 5:16 confirms this as a NT practice. Is anyone of good spirit? Let him make melody.

(5) There are those who confirm this practice from the prophets of the OT and in other predictions and mandates, which look toward us. Consider Isa 52:8, Ps 100:1; 95:1–2.

Nor can this argument be advanced, that it is possible for God to be praised using musical instruments. For these instruments pertain especially to that economy, something which cannot be said concerning vocal singing. Those who oppose this exercise claim that external singing was a type of the internal singing of the heart. But by what testimony do the Scriptures confirm this? Christ, as we have seen, sung a hymn with the disciples in the administration of the Lord’s Supper. They would not have done this if it had been any kind of type. Indeed, nature teaches that God must be praised by our voice, and James instructs us to sing psalms, whenever we are of good cheer. We do not believe that the apostle wished to prescribe an improper use of the type in any way nor is it possible to supply any rationale to call praising God with our tongue a type, any more than we could so describe prayer.

(6) Surely in Scripture the tongue, modulating hymns and praises to God, is called our glory—Psalm 16:9, 108:2, 57:8? Surely this is agreed that God must be praised by our tongue, since it is no less our glory now to exult than it was the glory

of the saints of old? No less are we bound to celebrate praises to God by our glory now. Surely God is said to inhabit the praises of Israel, יְהוָה בְּתוֹכָם, Psalm 22:4.

(7) The most famous Voetius proves this from the nature of singing in his *Ecclesiastical City*, part 1, book 2, tract 2, chapter 2, p. 521.¹⁶

Which is nothing else [he says] other than human speech pronounced with some modulation, for the παθήματα of our soul, or the signifying, moving, bending, composing and leading of our affections, the impressing of the proposed matter more deeply. As common experience teaches, and those authors who prescribe the use of music, it is the modulate word that is most useful in moving and helping intelligence, memory, and affections.

See also Deut 31:19.

(8) The Gentiles themselves, instructed only by the light of nature, had their own songs for praising their fictitious and false gods. Nature demands that we celebrate our true God, to whom alone we ought to render acceptable worship, with altogether modulated speech. The tongue is the primary instrument with which we praise others, and, as we stated above, it is called “our glory.” Therefore, by that special instrument of praise, we are bound to praise our God.

(9) By whatever argument our adversaries contend against this exercise, by that same argument they could contend against other external obligations, but in fact they do not deny them as moral necessities. Moreover, when they claim either that nothing is apparent in the Psalms either in vocal singing (which they take as a spiritual gift), or that it is impossible to use carnal or pagan men as examples, or that it cannot be performed by nature or art, surely they can, by this same argument, prove that we should not use human voice in the reading and hearing of Scripture, or in expressing our prayers? Even the carnal or pagan man is able to read, hear, and speak words according to the power of speech. Nothing is apparent in these external acts which would deny the use of nature and art as an example. However, let none say that these are not moral requirements to which we are obligated under the N.T.

(10) Experience agrees that this exercise properly done is advantageous to promoting edification. The author of *Questions and Responses to the Orthodox* discusses this in his “response to question 107,” citing Voetius as above, p. 522.¹⁷

Wherefore [he says], it is not the use of songs through instruments of this type and others agreeable to the unwise that is received, but simple singing remains among them. Moreover, this excites the soul with a

16. [Ed. Gisbertus Voetius (Gijsbert Voet), *Politica Ecclesiastica*, volume 1 (Amsterdam: 1663).]

17. [Ed. *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos* “has come down to us as a pseudonymous work, probably dating from the 4th century, perhaps from the hand of Diodorus of Tarsus (died c.391) or of Theodoret.” “The Epistle of Davenant (Epistola Davenantii) Bishop of Salisbury to Samuel Ward, Master of Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge,” translated by S. Joel Garver. Footnote 29. <http://www.joelgarver.com/writ/hist/davenant.htm> (accessed June 6, 2007).].

certain pleasure, to ignite the desire in order to celebrate. It lays to rest the affections and lusts of the flesh, the evil thoughts of one's enemies, removing them as they arise by suggestion. It produces the generous and brave contenders in piety through constancy in adverse affairs. For all those sad and mournful happenstances which occur in life it affords medicine.

See also Num 21:17; Prov 20:12; Ps 145:7 and 89:1, 47; Eph 5:19; James 5:13.

(11) From the Psalm itself, which was established for the honor and celebration of the Sabbath, we learn this to be the most agreeable exercise of the Sabbath day. Ps 92:1, 4: "It is good to celebrate Jehovah, and to sing psalms to your name, Excellent One. I shall sing about the deeds of your hands." As long as the Sabbath endures, so this exercise ought to endure. In the NT we have the Sabbath, that is the Lord's Day, our Christian Sabbath, as we proved above. See also Ps 95:1-3.

(12) This is confirmed by the practice of the ancient Apostolic church afterward. About the practice of the Christians, Pliny the Second witnesses "it is their custom to assemble on a stated day before dawn, and to sing a song among themselves to Christ as though he were a god." Origin, Book 8, *Contra Celsum*, "We sing hymns only to the God of the universe and to God the Word, his only begotten." Tertullian, in his *Apologia*, c. 39, witnesses "In public assemblies psalms and hymns are sung." In c. 9 of *De Anima*, amid "The Rites of the Lord" he surveys "The Singing of the Psalms." Gregory Nazianzenus, in *Orationes* 48, instructs "to sing hymns in place of tympanis, psalmody in place of shameful and disgraceful songs," surely in public celebrations. Epiphanius, at the end of Panarius, when he seeks the order and faithfulness of the church, says "Matin hymns are done regularly in the holy church itself, and Matin sermons." Others abundantly testify in the same fashion. From all of these it is clear that the custom of the Eastern church, from the time of the apostles, was to sing to God in their public gatherings. Some have observed, rather than the church creating it, that the use of singing psalms created the church. The Western church accepted this somewhat later, but they did accept it, as may be shown by many references. See Voetius above, p. 523.

The question is advanced concerning the substance of these sacred songs. There are those who assert that we ought not to bind ourselves exclusively to the Psalms of David in our public assemblies, and also to other hymns in Scripture, since they wish these to have been taught to be celebrated according to the Mosaic system,¹⁸ adapted from the teaching of the OT., but also assert that we ought to use hymns composed by private members of the church as the Spirit dictates, members furnished with that gift of the spirit.¹⁹ However, this opinion ought not to be stipulated:

(1) Since this opinion rests only on one support, it is not sufficiently firm, consider 1 Cor 14:26. "But by the reading of the chapter cited," (says Voetius, above, p. 527), "they ought to have learned that the Apostle is speaking concerning the gifts of prophecy, tongues, etc., given to some extraordinarily in the church. Their use and exercise had to be controlled for the edification of the church. Hence, it is a poor conclusion to apply the argument in whatever way you wish to those who fill the church today. If these things are in doubt for household worship, extemporaneous vs. the premeditated use of the Psalms, whether tunes should be used in singing, how much less with regard to the church are extemporaneous songs appropriate, in order to obey 1 Thess 5:21, 'test all things,' and 1 Jn 4:1, 'test the spirits?'" It is clear that the early church, and especially the church at Corinth, had various extraordinary gifts. It is now broadly agreed, however, that these gifts have now ceased. Therefore, from this, the fact that there were those who were gifted, under the leading of the Spirit, in forming a certain type of spiritual song and happened to be in the congregation of the faithful does not mean that they only had to sing Psalm or hymns which were composed by private individuals so endowed with the extraordinary gift. Even less does it mean that the Psalms of private individuals should be preferred to the Psalms and hymns dictated infallibly by the Holy Spirit. Indeed, it is probable from v. 15 that while some were accustomed to sing in an unknown tongue, that the practice nevertheless is not now to be approved.

(2) Moreover, if it has become our moral duty under the Gospel to sing hymns or Psalms, as has now been proven, then either we ought to sing Psalms dictated by the Spirit of God as recorded in the Scriptures, or it is necessary for the church of one accord to compose and prepare its own Psalms. But this does not follow. The actual reasoning is this: if it is not fitting to sing Psalms other than those composed by members of the church, it would be necessary to do so in many churches, so that the Psalms and hymns would be composed and written beforehand. In singing Psalms, it is not possible for the church to agree as one unless the material were prepared beforehand, since all the various musical elements, including tune, rhythm and meter, would have to be sufficiently learned by all ahead of time. It would therefore be necessary that they be in one church, those who are versed in that art. Otherwise, there will be no resources available for preparation of the singing.

(3) If it is necessary that the substance of the sacred songs be composed in this way, it is quite likely that Christ the Forerunner would have wanted to institute such a gift so that

Continued on Page 303.

18. Latin, *cultus*, meaning in this context "system of worship."

19. This second use of *spiritus* is not capitalized in the original.

ANTIQUARY

T. & J. Swords.

Part Two. The 1799 Associate Reformed Standards and Samuel Miller's *Brief Retrospect*.

As previously detailed, at the end of the 18th century, New York, along with the rest of the fledgling United States, wanted for a "cultivated social group to occupy the responsible positions in government, to form the taste in letters and the other arts, to fill the ranks of the professions and to carry into higher spheres the education of the youth."¹ This lack was keenly felt and this period saw much activity directed toward a remedy. Americans would gather formally and informally to 'improve themselves,' to read, discuss and debate; they formed libraries and societies; and they sought to improve the institutions of learning. T. & J. Swords participated in this general current of activity and came to be one of the most prominent New York publishers of the Federal Period. They served the publishing needs of scientists and physicians such as Samuel Latham Mitchill, Elihu Hubbard Smith and Edward Miller in the founding of the nation's first medical journal; of budding novelists and dramatists such as Charles Brockden Brown, Smith and William Dunlap; as well as of learned Presbyterian ministers like Samuel Miller—all of whom were members of

or adherents to that famous discussion and writing society, the New York Friendly Club. The Swords' store served as a rendezvous point for these men and others of their professions, and it is easy to imagine that they viewed them, in the words of Dr. Smith, as "our printers."

The Swords, it was noted, were dedicated Episcopalians, and their firm served informally as the publishing house of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York and functioned as a general meeting place for "all the Episcopal clergy, resident or visiting New York..."² John Pintard was a prominent merchant in the city, Clerk to the Corporation of New York, City Inspector from 1805 to 1809, an Episcopalian, and a friend of the Swords. He mentions them in letters to his daughter a number of times, often referring to the Swords' place as "our Episcopal Headquarters."³

However, despite this fact, at least for the first 20 years from their founding in 1786, this relationship did not prevent them from publishing the occasional title from the prominent Reformed and Presbyterian ministers in the city. These publications were listed in Appendix J of part one of this article. Two deserve some further notice for their size and importance, namely the 1799 edition of the ARP Standards, and Miller's *Brief Retrospect*. They no doubt allowed the Swords to display both their talent and, in one instance, their interest along with the other literati of the day in increasing the literary stature of the United States of America.

The 1799 ARP Standards

Given the amount of work the Swords performed for the ARP and Dr. John Mitchell Mason, it is perhaps not surprising, that the most significant of their Presbyterian oriented productions was the first edition of the *Standards of the Associate Reformed Church*,⁴ which is the *editio princeps* of all the subsequent editions.⁵ Prior to 1799, the Swords had published minute extracts of the Associate synod for 1797 and 1798, as well as *A Draught of an Overture for the Government, Worship, & Discipline* in 1796. In 1798 the Swords also published Dr. Mason's first work, *Letters on Frequent Communion*. Presumably Mason would have been involved in the production of the ARP standards, though at this writing the author has found no documentation for this.

The production is probably one of, if not the most impressively printed of all the American editions of the Confession and Catechisms. It is true, it does not have the scripture proofs in the more pleasing double column format, a form that became prominent in the 18th century Scottish editions beginning with Dunlop's of 1719;⁶ nevertheless, it is a fine piece of work. Warfield calls it a "large and handsomely printed volume." Each part has a separate title page dated 1799, but the work is continuously paginated. Most of the distinct sections have a different decorative tailpiece at the end.

1. Robert Courtney Hall, *A Scientist in the Early Republic, Samuel Latham Mitchill 1764–1831* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934) [6]–7.

2. Charles E. Butler, "T & J Swords, Publishers," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 58 (1954) 90–91.

3. "I stopped in at the Swords Booksellers the Episcopal headquarters to hear the result of the Oratorio." "As I was returning home yesterday at 12, I stopped at the Swords' our Epis' head quarters" *Letters from John Pintard to his Daughter* (New York: Printed for the New York Historical Society, 1940–41) 2.334; 4.87. Pintard mentions the Swords Bookstore frequently, where he would often go to try to find a publication, get a book bound, or submit an article for *The Churchman*, the 'Episcopal paper' (1.223, 310, 351–352; 2.334, 4.58–59, 85, 128).

4. *The Constitution and Standards of the Associate-Reformed Church in North America* (New York: T & J Swords, 1799). Evans 35119.

5. B. B. Warfield, "Notes Toward A Bibliography of the Westminster Confession: II. America," *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, xiii (1902) 116–117. "The present is the *editio princeps* of the Associate Reformed series. It is a large and handsomely printed volume."

6. See Chris Coldwell, "Examining the Work of S. W. Carruthers," *The Confessional Presbyterian*, volume 1 (2005) 52.

All paper produced for printing was still hand-made at this time. The Swords used both “wove” paper, first used in America in 1795, as well as paper made by the earlier process which leaves the easily recognizable “chain lines” most identify with handmade paper. The paper used in the printing of the ARP Standards has chain lines running north and south at 1 1/8 inch intervals. There is no discernable water mark in the author’s copy.⁷ The Swords may have purchased from New York papermakers, but a wove paper used in the Swords printing of Samuel Miller’s 1798 fast sermon has the water mark “B 1795.”⁸ While this writer’s eyes are untrained to judge watermarks, the “B” in this mark appears to be similar to a “B” watermark for a paper sample found in Newport, Delaware.⁹

Examples of the ARP Standards, which one would expect to be of great interest to those interested in that denomination’s history, can be purchased at fairly reasonable rates, depending upon condition and other factors.¹⁰ Warfield’s description is as follows:¹¹

... 8vo, pp. 614, 6¾ x 3½ inches (block of type); proof-texts at large; on back of p. 613 (unnumbered p. 614) is printed a list of *errata*. The volume contains the Act of the Synod of GreenCastle, May 31, 1799, with reference to the Standards of the Church; the Confession of Faith (pp. 9–174); the Larger and Shorter Catechisms; the Government, Discipline, Directories for Public and Private worship; together with Appendices, giving Forms of Ecclesiastical Papers, Rules of Procedure in Judicatories, Solemnization of Marriage, Burial of the Dead; and also the Sum of Saving Knowledge and the Practical Use thereof. There is a separate title to the Confession:

The Synod of the Associate Reformed Church was formally organized out of the Presbyteries of the Associate and of the Reformed Churches, October 31, 1782. This Synod declared the Doctrinal Standards of the new Church to be the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, but added: “This declaration, however, does not extend to the following sections of the Confession of Faith, which define the power of civil government in relation to religion: chap. xx, sec. 4; chap. xxiii, sec. 3; chap. xxxi, sec. 2. These sections are reserved for a candid discussion on some future occasion as God shall be pleased to direct” (See Scouller, *History of the United Presbyterian Church of North America*, chap. v: in *The American Church History Series*, vol. xi. p. 185 [Christian Literature Company, New York: 1894].) This candid discussion continued sixteen years, the Synod living meanwhile under this “Declaratory Act.” At the Synod’s meeting at GreenCastle, Pa., May, 1799, the sections excepted

to were modified, and a modification made in Q. 109 of the Larger Catechism; and these documents thus modified were set forth as the doctrinal Standards of the Church: or in the statement of the Synod itself, it “judicially ratified the Westminster Confession of Faith, and Catechisms, Larger and Shorter, with a modification of the doctrine concerning the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion,” together with “the Overture for the Government and Discipline of the Church, and the Directory for Worship, Public and Private,” and declared them to be “The Constitution and Standards of the Associate Reformed Church,” etc. (Preface to the present edition; Scouller, as cited, p. 192). The alteration made in Q. 109 of the Larger Catechism consisted merely in substituting the word “authorizing” for “tolerating.” Those in the Confession of Faith were more extensive and remodel the sections involved. Some slight changes were introduced also into the *Sum of Saving Knowledge*, as published at the end of this volume: this document was not treated, however, as a part of the Standards of the Church.

The present is the *editio princeps* of the Associate Reformed series. It is a large and handsomely printed volume. There are copies of it in the libraries of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Philadelphia, and of the Rev. Dr. E. R. Craven, of Philadelphia.

The Presbyterian Historical Society still lists a copy in their holdings,¹² but it is uncertain at this writing what became of the library of PCUSA minister Elijah Richardson Craven (1824–1904), who died just a few years after the date of

7. Correspondence, Clark Evans, Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress, to Chris Coldwell, December 5, 2006. Mr. Evans examined the Library’s examples of both the ARP Standards and Miller’s *Brief Retrospect*, and he did not find watermarks in either.

8. Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 1995) 119. Woven paper was first used in books in 1795; English papers for this period from 1795 to 1800 are usually marked simply with a “1794.”

9. Thomas L. Gravell, George Miller, and Elizabeth Walsh, *American Watermarks 1690–1835* (New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 2002) 22. Gravell only notes where the paper was used, so it could have been made in Delaware, New York, or possibly somewhere else.

10. The author purchased a copy with the front board detached in August 2002 for \$125.00.

11. The titles given by Warfield for the Standards and for the title page for the Confession are not entirely accurate as to the faces and the use of capital and lower case, so these have not been included (at the ellipses). Rather than noting the omissions and mistakes, new renderings are included in a fuller collation of the volume below.

12. *The Constitution and Standards of the Associate-Reformed*

Warfield's article. By one account, there are nearly 40 libraries worldwide that own at least one example of this work.¹³

Warfield's titling is not very exact. The title page lettering is mostly all capitals of varying point sizes. Also, Warfield was primarily concerned with the Confession of Faith. A more detailed collation of the volume is as follows:

Endsheet

Blank

[1], Half-Title Page: THE | CONSTITUTION | AND | STANDARDS | OF THE | ASSOCIATE-REFORMED CHURCH | IN | NORTH-AMERICA. The verso is blank.

[3], Title-Page, THE | CONSTITUTION | AND | STANDARDS | OF THE | ASSOCIATE-REFORMED CHURCH | IN | NORTH-AMERICA. | ===== | NEW YORK: | Printed by T. & J. SWORDS, No. 99 Pearl-street. | ♦ | 1799. The verso (page [4]) is blank.

[5]–6, ===== | Associate-Reformed Synod at GREENCASTLE, | May 31, 1799. There is a small tailpiece at the bottom of page 6.

[7], General Contents. | ♦ | The Confession of Faith. | The Larger Catechism. | The Shorter Catechism. | The Government of the Church. | The Discipline of the Church. | Directory for Public Worship. | Directory for Private Worship. | Appendix I. Forms of Ecclesiastical Papers. | II. Rules of Procedure in Judicatories. | III. Solemnization of Marriage.

Church in North-America. New York: Printed by T. & J. Swords, 1799. AMER. BX 8999 .A7 A2 1799

13. *The Constitution and Standards of the Associate-Reformed Church in North-America.* New-York: Printed by T. & J. Swords, 1799. OCLC # 2583281. 1. Allegheny College; 2. American University; 3. Arkansas State; 4. British Library; 5. Calvin College and Theological Seminary; 6. Cornell University; 7. Duke University Library; 8. Fordham University; 9. General Theological Seminary; 10. Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary; 11. Graduate Theological Union Library; 12. Lancaster Theological Seminary; 13. Library of Congress; 14. Lutheran Theological Seminary; 15. Michigan State University; 16. Muskingum College Library; 17. National Library of Scotland; 18. New York Public Library; 19. New York State Library; 20. Newbury Library; 21. Oberlin College Library; 22. Princeton Theological Seminary (2 copies); 23. Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary; 24. Rutgers University; 25. Southern Methodist University; 26. Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary; 27. Texas Tech University; 28. Union PSCE; 29. University of Iowa; 30. University of Massachusetts Amherst; 31. University of Missouri, Columbia; 32. University of Virginia; 33. Virginia Tech; 34. Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam; 35. Wesleyan University; 36. Western Theological Seminary; 37. Westminster Theological Seminary (2 copies); 38. Wisconsin Historical Society; 39. Yale University.

| IV. Burial of the Dead. | *The SUM of Saving Knowledge.* | *The PRACTICAL USE of Saving Knowledge.*

[8], *Associate-Reformed Synod at Greencastle*, | May 31, 1799. This only regards the Confession of Faith.

[9], Title Page, THE | CONFESSION OF FAITH, | AGREED UPON BY THE | ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER, | WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF | COMMISSIONERS | FROM THE | CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, | AS RECEIVED BY THE | ASSOCIATE-REFORMED CHURCH | IN | NORTH AMERICA. | WITH THE | PROOFS FROM THE SCRIPTURE. | ===== | NEW YORK: | Printed by T. & J. SWORDS, No. 99 Pearl-street. | ♦ | 1799.

[10], CONTENTS. | ♦ | This is the traditional listing of the 33 chapters of the Confession of Faith, except the word "the" is missing from the title of chapter 18, "Of the Assurance of Grace and Salvation," and from chapter 26, "Of the Communion of Saints." This is repeated at the chapter headings.

[11]–174, ===== | THE | CONFESSION OF FAITH. | ===== A large tailpiece occurs on page 174.

[175] Title Page, THE | LARGER CATECHISM, | AGREED UPON BY THE | ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER, | WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF | COMMISSIONERS | FROM THE | CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, | AS RECEIVED BY THE | ASSOCIATE-REFORMED CHURCH | IN | NORTH-AMERICA. | WITH THE | PROOFS FROM THE SCRIPTURE. | ===== | NEW-YORK: | Printed by T. & J. SWORDS, No. 99 Pearl-street. | ♦ | 1799.

[176]–418, ===== | THE | LARGER CATECHISM. | ===== A large tailpiece occurs on page 418.

[419], Title Page, THE | SHORTER CATECHISM, | AGREED UPON BY THE | ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER, | WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF | COMMISSIONERS | FROM THE | CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, | AS RECEIVED BY THE | ASSOCIATE-REFORMED CHURCH | IN | NORTH-AMERICA. | WITH THE | PROOFS FROM THE SCRIPTURE. | ===== | NEW-YORK: | Printed by T. & J. SWORDS, No. 99 Pearl-street. | ♦ | 1799.

[421]–469, ===== | THE | SHORTER CATECHISM. | ===== One of the larger tailpieces occurs at the bottom of page 469. For some reason the ARP dropped the Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer and the Creed, as well as the Assembly's note regarding the Catechisms and their qualifications regarding the Creed. These appear at the end of the

Shorter Catechism in the original text and in the traditional Scottish editions.

[471] Title Page, THE | GOVERNMENT, | DISCIPLINE, | WORSHIP, | OF THE | ASSOCIATE-REFORMED CHURCH | IN | NORTH-AMERICA. | ===== | NEW-YORK: | Printed by T. & J. SWORDS, No. 99 Pearl-street. | ♦ | 1799.

[472] ASSOCIATE-REFORMED SYNOD AT GREENCASTLE, | May 31, 1799. | ACT, | *Approving an Overture concerning the Government, Discipline, and Worship of the Church.*

[473]–509, | ===== | THE | GOVERNMENT, &c. | ===== | BOOK I. | *Of the Government of the Church.*

(510)–533, BOOK II. | *Of Discipline.* A small tailpiece occurs on page 533.

(534)–571, BOOK III. | *Of Worship.* A large tailpiece of what look to be a collection of crossed farming tools with a hat in the center occurs on page 571 at the end of CHAP. VII, DIRECTORY for SECRET and PRIVATE WORSHIP. Page 572 is blank.

[573]–581, ===== | APPENDIX I. | ===== This appendix contains various forms numbered No. I through No. XXII.

[582]–583, ===== | APPENDIX II. | ===== | *Of Proceedings in Judicatories, and the Behaviour of Members.* A small tailpiece is placed at the end of page 583.

[584]–585, ===== | APPENDIX III. | ===== | *Of the Solemnization of Marriage.*

[586], ===== | APPENDIX IV. | ===== | *Concerning Burial of the Dead.* A large tailpiece occurs at the bottom of the page.

[587], THE | S U M | OF | SAVING KNOWLEDGE; | OR | A BRIEF SUM | OF | CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE, | CONTAINED IN THE | HOLY SCRIPTURES, | And held forth in the foregoing | CONFESSION OF FAITH AND CATECHISMS, | TOGETHER WITH THE | PRACTICAL USE THEREOF. | ♦ | JOHN vi. 37. All that the Father hath given me, shall come unto me: | and him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out. | ===== | NEW-YORK: | Printed by T. & J. SWORDS, No. 99 Pearl-street. | 1799.

[588], ADVERTISEMENT. | THE *Sum of Saving Knowledge, and the Practical Use of Saving Knowledge,* are subjoined by order of Synod, not as a part of the public standards of the

church, but as a comprehensive summary of divine truth which GOD hath blessed, which is savoury to his people; and which numbers of them wish to have bound up in the same volume with the Confession and Catechisms it is designed to epitomize. At the same time the Synod judged it necessary to model some expressions in such a manner as to avoid the improper distinction between the covenant of redemption, and the covenant of grace, which, in reality, are not two, but one and the same blessed covenant, viewed under different aspects; and to conform the phraseology to the doctrine of the Confession and Catechisms.* One or two explanatory notes have also been added. | * Con. Chap. vii. Larg. Cat. Q. 31. Short. Cat. Q. 20. While a full comparison of the text with the original was not undertaken, it appears at the least that every occurrence of the phrase “covenant of redemption” was changed to “covenant of grace.” The notes all occur in the Practical Use, and are as follows: 1. Under the second warrant, doctrine eight, the word Preventeth is defined: “Preventeth,’ i. e. is before-hand with us.” 2. Under the third warrant to believe, point 2, the phrase “he must consider that this is a command of the gospel,” has the note: “i.e. A command founded on the dispensation of grace revealed in the gospel, and which could not be enjoined by the law as a covenant of works, which knows nothing of a Mediator; otherwise all commands do, in their own nature, belong to the law.” 3. Under the fourth warrant to believe, point 3, the term “infitment” is defined in a note: “A term borrowed from the Scots law, signifying the solemnity of the delivery of an heritable subject to the proprietor.” The Sum was dropped from the ARP Standards in the 1874 Synod of the South edition and in all subsequent editions.

[589]–612, ===== | THE | SUM OF SAVING KNOWLEDGE, &c. | ===== There is a small tailpiece on page 612.

[613], CONTENTS | OF THE | SUM OF SAVING KNOWLEDGE. | ♦ At the bottom of page 613 is placed THE END.

[614], ERRATA. | Page 449, note x, for “1 Pet. ii. 15.” Read 1 Pet. ii. 17. | 453, last line, for “haughtiness” read *naughtiness*. | 541, line 12, in a part of the copies printed off, “fruitfulness” is inserted instead of *fruitfulness*.

[615], T. & J. SWORDS | Have constantly for sale, at their Book-store and Printing-office, | No. 99 Pearl-street, | A Collection of | B O O K S, | IN | DIVINITY, LAW, PHYSIC, HISTORY, VOYAGES, | TRAVELS, &c. &c. | *With a general Assortment of* | S T A T I O N A R Y. | They execute every kind of | Printing | At the shortest notice. Page 616 is blank.

Endsheet.

Miller's *Brief Retrospect*

As noted in part one, the Presbyterian author most frequently published by the Swords was Dr. Samuel Miller. In addition to six sermons and discourses, the firm published his largest and most critically acclaimed work, *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* (1803), in two large volumes totaling 1,054 pages.¹⁴ This work gained the author much praise and no doubt maintained the firm's reputation for publishing high quality scholarly books. As for Miller, "the work certainly had the effect of adding to his reputation in the literary world. Among its more immediate fruits, were his reception from Union College, on the 4th, and the University of Pennsylvania on the 6th of May, 1804, of the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and his unanimous election on the 29th of June follow-

14. *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*... (New York: T. & J. Swords, 1803 [1804]). Shaw & Shoemaker 4654.

15. Samuel Miller (1816–1883), *Life of Samuel Miller, D.D. LL.D.* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, and Haffelfinger, 1869) 1.178.

16. According to inscriptions in both volumes, the nicer of the two examples was purchased by an A. F. Russel in 1806 from Alexander & Phillips Bookstore in Carlisle, PA. Russel subsequently gave the volumes to the Union Society; presumably, the Union Literary Society of Washington College, as the volumes are *ex libris* with labels from Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, PA.

17. [Paul Johnston,] "T. & J. Swords, Early New York Printers," *The Book Collector's Packet* 1 (1932) 16.

18. For instance, it lacks the multiple tail pieces used throughout that book, having only a simple double rule at the main chapter breaks. In the whole work there are but two illustrations, both of the Quadrant (1.472, 476).

19. A copy of the sermon on suicide signed from "the author" has been offered at just under \$240.00 by Zupal Books of Cleveland, Ohio, and this writer has seen another unsigned example priced at \$250.00. An example of the Washington sermon in good condition at this writing is being offered at \$275.00 (though the author's copy was purchased on Ebay for less than half that amount). One might find a good set of the *Brief Retrospect* for less than these prices. Of the author's two sets, the nicer was purchased in March 1998 for \$169.00, and the other for less than \$40.00 in June 2005. The 2001 reprint by Thoemmes Press has listed for resale for about \$50.00. Some book-sellers have placed much higher prices on original sets, as well as on the Thoemmes Press edition.

20. Other works that attempt to analyze Miller's *Brief Retrospect* are: Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1943); Andrew Hook, "Samuel Miller's *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* and its Scottish Context," *From Goosecreek To Ganderclough: Studies in Scottish-American Literary and Cultural History* (East Linton, Scotland, 1999); May, *The Enlightenment in America*; Gilbert Chinard, "Progress and Perfectionism in Samuel Miller's Intellectual History," in George Boas et al (eds.), *Studies in Intellectual History* (Baltimore, 1953); Harold S. Jantz, "The Samuel Miller Papers at Princeton," *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, IV (1943) 68–75.

21. *The Cambridge History of American Literature Vol. 1: 1590–1820*, ed. Sacvan Bercovitch (Cambridge University Press, 1997) 565–566.

ing, upon the motion of Dr. Adam Clarke, the commentator, as a corresponding member of the Philological Society of Manchester, England."¹⁵ Regarding the honorary degree, Dr. Sprague remarked that at that time "it was uncommon, if not unprecedented for a person so young to receive that honour ..." (1.179).

The author owns two examples of *Brief Retrospect*.¹⁶ As one would expect from Johnston's remarks cited in part one regarding the Swords' presswork, the volumes do indeed appear to be very nicely executed.

The general belief is that Early American printing, if distinguished by anything at all, is to be discredited with slovenly press work, miserable paper, and bad types.... A few years ago we became interested in the printing of T. & J. Swords, printers and publishers, whose books were attractively done.... But T. & J. Swords, though they depended to a great extent upon religious, college, and state, printing for their bread and butter, were far from inactive in the production of such literary and poetical works as the budding Town had to offer. And it is in these literary works that they have produced their most attractive books.¹⁷

The examples in both cases have aged certainly, and have some weak and split boards, but overall and certainly internally, they have weathered the two centuries very well. It does not appear to be as elaborate a work as the 1799 ARP Standards, but is a fine production nevertheless.¹⁸ While a resurgence of interest and appreciation for Miller's works has increased the price one might expect to pay for some of these original publications by T. & J. Swords, an original edition of *Brief Retrospect* is still relatively inexpensive to obtain.¹⁹

The *Cambridge History of American Literature* states that Miller's work "is an invaluable resource for study of the early Republic.... The book reviewed both the pros and cons of the technological and cultural developments of the age."²⁰ While the second volume "offered a detailed appraisal of trends in world and American literature," volume one

... provided a sympathetic account of what has since been called the "consumer revolution" of the eighteenth century. Focusing on science and the mechanical and fine arts, Miller applauded the profusion of cheap goods – pottery, glass, stoves, clocks, and so forth – made available by recent inventions and improved methods of manufacture. He also welcomed the increased leisure brought about by the division of labour and by time-saving devices in the workplace and the home.²¹

Miller's work was the "first American intellectual" history,²² and contained many diverse "firsts" within. Volume one is the "first history of science written by a nineteenth-century American author"²³ containing, amongst many items of interest, the "earliest American history of geology,"²⁴ and in volume two, in a section on Chinese Literature, there is "an overview of the influence of China in Europe, the first to be written in the Western hemisphere."²⁵

Miller got the idea for *A Brief Retrospect* from a century sermon he preached on the same subject.

... while still in New York, and just at the beginning of the nineteenth century, he delivered to his congregation a sermon on the century just then closed. So impressed were those who listened to it with the writer's grasp of the subject and with its admirable generalizations, that they asked for its publication. The writer, on the contrary, was struck with its fragmentary character and its incompleteness in every sense. His dissatisfaction with it led him to plan and to write in three volumes the First Part (for he had in mind three more parts) of *The Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*.²⁶

In the introduction to the Thoemmes edition of *Brief Retrospect*, Roger Fechner states the work

... was an extraordinary, encyclopedic tour de force and, ultimately, the most important book he produced during his long lifetime. He was already a prominent minister in New York City and an aspiring author whose goal was to become a member of the international literati in the Atlantic republic of letters. Although he intended to publish it in 1803 (the title-page reflects his original publication date²⁷), the manuscript was not completed until early December and published by T. and J. Swords in January 1804. Like many early nineteenth-century books, the title was deceptive, for neither its full title, *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century, Part First In Two Volumes Containing A Sketch of the Revolutions and Improvements in Science, Arts, and Literature During that Period*, nor its length, 1,074 pages, was brief. As long as it was, however, Miller's massive work was incomplete, for he had planned three additional sections on church history and theology, ethics, and political thought and politics, which he never finished. Not only was *A Brief Retrospect* the first history of ideas by an American author, but it was also a window into United States cultural and intellectual life against the backgrounds of the European Enlightenment and American society in the Early Republic.

Even though his plan for *Brief Retrospect* was not fully realized, and while some chapters are better than others, Miller covers an amazing number of topics in twenty-six chapters: (vol. 1) 1. Mechanical Philosophy; 2. Chemical Philosophy; 3. Natural History; 4. Medicine; 5. Geography; 6. Mathematics; 7. Navigation; 8. Agriculture; 9. Mechanic Arts; 10. Fine Arts; 11. Physiognomy; (vol 2) 12. Philosophy of the Human Mind; 13. Classic Literature; 14. Oriental Literature; 15. Modern Languages; 16. Philosophy of Language; 17. History; 18. Biography; 19. Romances and Novels; 20. Poetry; 21. Literary Journals; 22. Political Journals; 23. Literary and Scientific Associations; 24. Encyclopaedias, &c.; 25. Education; 26. Nations Lately Become Literary.

Despite "contradictions and flaws" in the book Fechner gives the opinion that

Miller's history was a major undertaking, a striking work for a number of reasons and deserving of careful attention from students of the Enlightenment. It was a groundbreaking study in cultural and intellectual history. Although it is over 1000 pages and incomplete, it is still a useful summary of a considerable body of eighteenth-century thought in science, agriculture, medicine, philosophy, art, literature, and education. Miller's approach to Enlightenment thought also has a contemporary ring to it because of its comparative thrust. Although he rightly focused most of his attention on European thinkers and thought, Miller paid considerable attention to American intellectuals and

22. "... he is remembered for his two-volume *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* (1803), one of the first American intellectual histories." Donald K. McKim, David F. Wright, *Encyclopedia of the Reformed Faith* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992) 241.

23. Roger Fechner, ed., "Introduction," Samuel Miller, *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* (Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum, 2001) v–xi. Online in archive at <http://tinyurl.com/2gngct>.

24. George Willard White, "Reference Books for History of Geology," in *Essays on History of Geology* (New York: Arno Press, 1978) multiple paginations, 29.

25. Alfred Owen Aldridge, *The Dragon and the Eagle: The Presence of China in the American Enlightenment* (Wayne State University Press, 1993) 14.

26. John De Witt, "The Intellectual Life of Samuel Miller, The Opening Address of the Session 1905–06 at Princeton Theological Seminary," *The Princeton Theological Review* (April 1906) 179.

27. Miller's dedication to John Dickinson is dated November 25, 1803. A notice only in volume two states, "*District of New-York, ss. Be it remembered, That on the seventh day of December, in the twenty-eighth year of the Independence of the United States of America [i.e. December 7, 1803], Samuel Miller, of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a book....*" However, evidently due to delays the work did not come out until January 1804 (*Life of Miller*, 173; Fechner, v).

their ideas as a vital part of the Atlantic cultural discourse of the time. Miller was also correct in emphasizing the greatest thinkers in every field of thought he examined, but his analysis – however lacking in depth on occasion – also included many minor figures whose ideas have usually been ignored in recent and contemporary histories of the Enlightenment.

Fechner is critical of Miller's Calvinism²⁸ and of some of his handling of the Enlightenment, but nevertheless concludes: "Miller's minor classic is not only valuable as a primary and a secondary source for understanding the Enlightenment, but it is also significant as the earliest example in the historiography of United States intellectual history and as a major example of the tension between faith and reason in the cultural and intellectual milieu of American society at the beginning of the nineteenth century."

Two Streams of Influence in Miller's Brief Retrospect

As a Presbyterian minister and as an associate of the Friendly club, Miller forms an intersection of authors of religious material and those of literary and scientific pieces published by T. & J. Swords. According to Fechner, two general streams of influence contributed to the production of *Brief Retrospect*. The first was Miller's initial schooling and training by his father and his subsequent studies under Charles Nisbet, president of Dickinson College, an influence Miller does not hide and other authors note. "Nisbet's broad knowledge of Enlightenment thinkers impressed his young charge so much that when Miller began to collect and organize materials for his work years later he asked his teacher's advice on what to include. Nisbet recommended the inclusion of the ideas of an exceptionally wide range of eighteenth-century European and American intellectuals" (Fechner).

Less commonly explored perhaps is the great influence the discussions of the associates of the Friendly club had on Miller. "There can be little doubt that Miller's active engagement in the club did much to shape his outlook and led directly to his focus on Enlightenment thought in *A Brief Retrospect*, for one of the major activities of the Club's members was to read and discuss the works of eighteenth-century European thinkers" (Fechner).

28. "Miller, too much the traditional Calvinist, rejected what he thought were the mistaken conclusions of secular philosophers, that material and moral progress would result in human perfection, and their overly confident assumption that advances in the sciences would result in higher moral standards in society, a conservative position that became one of the major strains in American intellectual culture in the first half of the nineteenth century" (Fechner).

29. *Medical Works of Edward Miller*, xiii; xiv; *Life of Samuel Miller*, 1.175–176.

In keeping with the spirit of the time, Miller declares in his preface that: "He is also bound in candour to declare, that his own instruction and improvement were among his principal motives in undertaking and prosecuting this work. Being persuaded that writing on a subject is one of the best means of methodizing and correcting one's own views of it; and hoping that, while he informed himself, he might amuse, if not instruct others, he submitted to the toil of collecting and arranging the materials which are here presented." He also made it very clear that he could not have completed *Brief Retrospect* without help and readily admitted the nature of the work as a compilation. "Though the greater part of this work consists of compilation; yet the writer claims to be something more than a mere compiler. He has offered, where he thought proper, opinions, reflections, and reasonings of his own; and though many of these are adopted, perhaps too hastily, from others, there are some of which all the praise and all the blame belong to himself. He is not, however, solicitous to discriminate, even if it were possible, between these several parts of the work. If the exhibition of facts and opinions, so far as it goes, be tolerably just, the question whence they originated is of little consequence to the reader" (*Brief Retrospect*, ix). And in perhaps a reference to his fellow Friendly associates, he closes his preface: "The reader is particularly requested not to over-look the *Additional Notes*. They will be found to supply some of the deficiencies, and to correct some of the errors with which the body of the work abounds. About an *eighth* or *tenth* part of these notes are derived from the remarks of friends. It was at first intended to make a particular acknowledgment to every individual who had furnished any thing of this kind; but, for cogent reasons, a general acknowledgment was afterwards thought preferable" (xiv).

Miller later acknowledged in the biography of his brother, that the part of the work on Medicine was largely written by Edward Miller, and rates it as probably the longest and "best part" of the *Brief Retrospect*.²⁹ Fechner notes that Charles Brockden Brown contributed, and it is easy to imagine Dr. Mitchill may have, as well as William Dunlap, who might have lent a hand to the section dealing with the German playwrights, and Kotzebue in particular (2.220–222).

Dr. Miller was also not hesitant to mention the work of some of his accomplished Friendly associates and other friends. Under "Zoology" he mentions Mitchell in the same space as Jefferson as Americans worthy of respect in giving "new and valuable descriptions of particular animals which came under their observation" (1.127). Under the section on American medicine he writes on the *Medical Repository* (1.325–326):

In the year 1797, a periodical publication, under the title of the Medical Repository, was commenced by Drs. Mitchell, Miller, and Smith, which, from the peculiar circumstances of our country, may be considered as an important event, in noting the successive steps of medical improvement in the United States. In the premature death of the last named gentleman, who bid fair to attain the most honourable eminence in his profession, this work sustained a great loss. It is still, however, prosecuted with undiminished excellence and success; and furnishes at once very reputable specimens of learning, talents and zeal of many American physicians; and a most useful vehicle for conveying to the public a knowledge of every improvement in the science of medicine.”

In a footnote Miller wrote a brief biographical note on Dr. Smith and continued:

“The surviving Editors of the Medical Repository speak of their deceased colleague in the following honourable terms.”

As a physician, his loss is irreparable. He had explored, at his early age, an extent of medical learning, for which the longest lives are seldom found sufficient. His diligence and activity, his ardour and perseverance, knew no common bounds. The love of science and the impulse of philanthropy directed his whole professional career, and left little room for the calculations of emolument. He had formed vast designs of medical improvement, which embraced the whole family of mankind, were animated by the soul of benevolence, and aspired after every object of a liberal and dignified ambition. His writings, already published, incessantly awaken regret, that the number of them is not greater. They display singular diligence and acuteness of research, the talents of accurate and extensive observation, great force and precision of reasoning, and the range of a vigorous and comprehensive mind.” *Medical Repository*, v.ii. p. 214, 215. *second* [sic] *Edition*.

Presbyterian minister that he was, Miller was not happy with the growing practice of the day of reading novels, and his views expressed on Romances and Novels are decidedly negative.³⁰ However, he commends the work of his fellow Friendly, Charles Brockden Brown (2.171):

America has given birth to few productions in the department of romance or novel. Indeed, no work of

this nature deserving respectful notice had appeared in the United States prior to the year 1798, when Mr. Charles Brockden Brown, of Philadelphia, published his *Wieland*, which has been since followed by *Ormond*, *Arthur Mervyn*, *Edgar Huntly*, and *Jane Talbot*, from the pen of the same author. Mr. Brown discovers, in these several productions, a vigorous imagination, a creative fancy, strong powers of description, and great command, and, in general, great felicity of language. He has the honour of being the first American who presented his countrymen with a respectable specimen of fictitious history; and is certainly the first who succeeded in gaining much attention to his labours in this branch of literature.

Sadly, the 1799 ARP Standards and Miller’s *Brief Retrospect* were to be the only large works by Presbyterians published by T. & J. Swords. The same year of 1804 in which the *Brief Retrospect* appeared, there began a controversy which would shatter the good relations the Protestant Episcopal Church shared with the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches in the City of New York. Since much of the polemic material from the Episcopalian side would come from the Swords’ press, the Presbyterians began resorting to other shops for their publications.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

CHRIS COLDWELL ■

30. “His preacher side – *A Brief Retrospect* began as a sermon – got the better of the historian in his discussion of the novel and, to a lesser extent, in his remarks on the commercializing of authorship. Miller praised Charles Brockden Brown as the only American novelist ‘deserving respectful notice,’ but his overall assessment of the new genre was sharply negative. No more than one novel out of a thousand could be read for improvement; the rest were either frivolous or ‘seductive and corrupting.’ Miller saw the novel’s rise as an unfortunate consequence of the invasion of letters by the commercial spirit. He noted that a new determinant of value, the market, had entered culture in the eighteenth century, leading artists away from commitment to truth and social utility and narrowing their vision to the sordid calculation of profit. All too often men and women now wrote ‘in accommodation to the public taste, however depraved, and with a view to the most advantageous sale.’ The novel, with its great circulation and shameless pandering to prurient interest, was one result; others, Miller complained, included the hasty production of worthless books and a lessening of the author’s standing in public esteem.” *Cambridge History of American Literature*, 565–566.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- *John Calvin, the Nascent Sabbatarian: A Reconsideration of Calvin's View of Two Key Sabbath-Issues*, by Stewart E. Lauer. Pages 3–14.
- Beckwith, Roger T. and Wilfrid Stott. *This is the Day: The Biblical Doctrine of the Christian Sunday in its Jewish and Early Church Setting*. London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1978.
- Calvin, John. *Calvin's Commentaries*, vol. I, *Commentary on the First Book of Moses Called Genesis*, translated by John King. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1979.
- . *Commentaries*, vol. XX, *1 Corinthians*, translated by John Pringle. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979.
- . *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, edited by John T. McNeill and translated by Ford Lewis Battles, 2 vols. *Library of Christian Classics*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960.
- . *John Calvin's Sermons on the Ten Commandments*. Translated and edited by Benjamin W. Farley. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1980.
- . *Sermons on Deuteronomy: On the Sabbath*. Translated by J. R. Hughes (© 1996). Online: www.reformed.com/pub/jc_sab_1.htm [accessed on September 21, 2006].
- . *The Sermons of M. John Caluin vpon the fifth booke of Moses called Deuteronomie*. Translated by Arthur Golding. London, 1583. Facsimile reprint: Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1987.
- Danker, Frederick, ed. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, third edition. University of Chicago Press, 2000. [BDAG]
- Friberg, Barbara and Timothy, eds. *Analytical Greek New Testament*. Victoria, BC, Canada: Trafford Publishing, 2001.
- Gaffin, Richard B. "Calvin and the Sabbath: A Thesis Submitted to the faculty of Westminster Theological Seminary in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Theology." Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania, 1962. Rpt. Westminster Theological Seminary, 1981.
- . *Calvin and the Sabbath: The Controversy of applying the Fourth Commandment*. Ross-shire, Great Britain: Mentor, 1998.
- Matsuda, Kazuo. "The Doctrine of Worship in the Westminster Confession of Faith—Concerning the Sabbath Day" in *Pastor Kazuo Matsuda's Collection of Theological Essays—On the 34th Anniversary of the Mission to Establish Itayado Church*. Kobe, Japan: Itayado RCJ, 1994. Japanese essay title: "Ueshominsta Shinkou Kokuhakuni okeru Reihairon—Ansokunichi-ni tsuite—"
- Orthodox Presbyterian Church. *The Confession of Faith and Catechisms: The Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms as adopted by The Orthodox Presbyterian Church with Proof Texts*. Willow Grove, Pa.: The Committee on Christian Education of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, 2005.
- Primus, John H. *Holy Time: Moderate Puritanism and the Sabbath*. Macon, Georgia: Mercer Univ. Press, 1989.
- . "Calvin and the Puritan Sabbath: A Comparative Study," in *Exploring the Heritage of John Calvin*, edited by D.E. Holwerda. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1976.
- Schaff, Philip, ed. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, volume 12. John Chrysostom. *Homilies on the Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians*. Grand Rapids, Mich: W.R. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1956.
- Westminster Assembly of Divines. *The Westminster Confession*. Glasgow: FPP, 1976. 6th ed. 1990.
- *The Westminster Standards and Confessional Lutheranism on Justification*, by J. V. Fesko, Ph.D. Pages 15–26.
- Alsted, J. H. *Theologia Scholastica Didactica*. Hanover, 1618.
- Althaus, Paul. *The Theology of Martin Luther*, translated by Robert C. Schultz. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966.
- Aquinas, Thomas. *Summa Theologica*. 1911; Allen: Christian Classics, 1948.
- Bayer, Oswald. *Living by Faith: Justification and Sanctification*, Lutheran Quarterly Books, translated by G. W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003.
- Beattie, Francis R. *The Presbyterian Standards*. Reprint: Greenville: Southern Presbyterian Press, 1997.
- Beza, Theodore. *The Christian Faith*, translated by James Clark. Lewes: Focus Christian Ministries, 1992.
- Bierma, Lyle D., ed. and trans. *An Introduction to the Heidelberg Catechism: Sources, History, and Theology*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2005.
- Calvin, John. *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, edited by John T. McNeill and translated by Ford Lewis Battles, 2 vols. *Library of Christian Classics*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960.
- . *Institutionis Christianae Religionis*, in *Opera Selecta*, vol. 4, edited by Peter Barth and William Niesel. Munich: 1926–1952.
- Caryl, Joseph. *Bible Thoughts*. Reprint: Morgan: Soli Deo Gloria, 1995.
- Ebeling, Gerhard. *Word and Faith*. London: SCM Press, 1963.
- Elert, Werner. *Law and Gospel*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967.
- Fesko, J. V. "Calvin on Justification and Recent Misinterpretations of His View," *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 16 (2005) 83–114.
- Forde, Gerhard O. "The Lutheran View," in *Christian Spirituality: Five Views of Sanctification*, edited by Donald L. Alexander. Downers Grove: IVP, 1988.
- Heppel, Heinrich. *Reformed Dogmatics: Set Out and Illustrated from the Sources*, edited by Ernst Bizer and translated by G. T. Thomson. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 1978.
- Hodge, A. A. *The Confession of Faith*. Reprint: Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1958.
- Horton, Michael. "Law, Gospel, and Covenant: Reassessing Some Emerging Antitheses," *Westminster Theological Journal* 64/2 (2002).
- Klug, Eugene F. "Luther on Law, Gospel, and the Third Use of the Law," *The Springfielder* 38/2 (1974).
- Kolb, Robert. *Martin Luther as Prophet, Teacher, and Hero: Images of the Reformer, 1520–1620*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999.
- Kolb, Robert and Timothy J. Wengert. *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000.
- Lillback, Peter A. *The Binding of God: Calvin's Role in the Development of Covenant Theology*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 2001.
- Lohse, Bernhard. *Martin Luther's Theology: Its Historical And Systematic Development*. Minneapolis, Minn: Fortress Press, 1999.
- Luther, Martin. D. *Martin Luther's Werke*. Weimar: 1883–1987.
- . "Large Catechism," in *Triglott Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, translated by F. Bente and W. H. T. Dau. St. Louis: Concordia, 1921.

- . *Lectures on Galatians 1535 Chapters 1–4*, translated by Jaroslav Pelikan, Vol. 26, *Luther's Works*, edited by Jaroslav Pelikan. St. Louis: Concordia, 1963.
- “Small Catechism,” in *The Creeds of Christendom*, edited by Philip Schaff. 3 vols. 1931; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1990.
- McGrath, Alister E. *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification*, vol. 2. 1986; New York: Cambridge U.P., 1994.
- Mueller, J. T. *Christian Dogmatics*. St. Louis: Concordia, 1955.
- Muller, Richard A. *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Noll, Mark A., ed. *Confessions and Catechisms of the Reformation*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991.
- Parker, T. H. L. “Calvin's Doctrine of Justification,” *The Evangelical Quarterly* 25 (1952) 101–107.
- Perkins, William. *The Art of Prophesying*. 1606; Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1996.
- Pieper, Francis, *Christian Dogmatics*, vol. 3. St. Louis: Concordia, 1953.
- Piscator, Johannes. *A Learned and Profitable Treatise on Man's Justification*. London, 1599.
- Ratzinger, Joseph, ed. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*. Ligouri: Ligouri Publications, 1994.
- Reynolds, Edward. *The Sinfulness of Sin*. 1826; Morgan: Soli Deo Gloria, 1996.
- Rutherford, Samuel. *Christ Dying and Drawing Sinners to Himself*. Edinburgh: 1727.
- . *The Covenant of Life Opened*. Edinburgh: 1655.
- . *The Sum of Christian Religion*, in *Catechisms of the Second Reformation*, edited by Alexander F. Mitchell. London: James Nisbet, 1886.
- Sandlin, P. Andrew. *Backbone of the Bible*. Nacogdoches, Tex: Covenant Media Press, 2004.
- . “Lutheranism Calvinism: Gospel or Law, or Gospel and Law,” *Reformation and Revival Journal* 11/2 (2002).
- Schaff, Philip. *The Creeds of Christendom*, 3 vols. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1990.
- Schneckenburger, M. *Vergleichende Darstellung des lutherischen und reformierten Lehrbegriffs*, 2 vols., Hersg. Eduard Guder. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1855.
- Shaw, Robert. *An Exposition of the Westminster Confession of Faith*. 1845; Fearn: Christian Focus, 1998.
- Shepherd, Norman. *The Call of Grace: How the Covenant Illuminates Salvation and Evangelism*. Phillipsburg: P & R, 2000.
- Shepherd, Norman. “Justification by Faith Alone,” *Reformation and Revival Journal* 11/2 (2002).
- Steinmetz, David. *Calvin in Context*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Traill, Robert. *Justification Vindicated*. 1692; Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 2002.
- Trueman, Carl R. *Luther's Legacy: Salvation and English Reformers 1525–56*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1994.
- . “Is the Finnish Line a New Beginning? A Critical Assessment of the Reading of Luther Offered by the Helsinki Circle,” *Westminster Theological Journal* 65 (2003) 231–244.
- Turretin, Francis. *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, 3 vols. Edited by James T. Dennison and translated by George Musgrave Giger. Phillipsburg, Pa.: P&R, 1994.
- . *Institutio Theologiae Elencticae*. Edinburgh: John D. Lowe, 1847.
- Ursinus, Zacharias. *Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism*. 1852; Phillipsburg: P & R, n. d..
- Ussher, James. *The Principles of Christian Religion* (London, 1654), in *Catechisms of the Second Reformation*, edited by Alexander F. Mitchell. London: James Nisbet, 1886.
- Warfield, B. B. *Calvin and Augustine*, edited by S. G. Craig. Philadelphia: P & R, 1956.
- Wawrykow, Joseph. “John Calvin and Condign Merit,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 83 (1992).
- Wendel, François. *Calvin: The Origins and Development of His Religious Thought*, translated by Philip Mairet. 1950; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1997.
- Westermarck, Stephen. *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith: Paul and His Recent Interpreters*. 1988; Wipf & Stock, 1998.
- Westminster Assembly. *Westminster Confession of Faith*. 1646; Glasgow: Free Presbyterian Publications, 1995.
- Zanchius, Jerome. *Confession of Christian Religion*. Cambridge, 1599.
- *The True History of Paedo-Communion* by Matthew Winzer. Pages 27–36.
- Augustine of Hippo. “Against Two Letters of the Pelagians.” In *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* first series volume 5, edited by Philip Schaff. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991 rpt.
- . “On Forgiveness of Sins and Baptism.” In *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* first series volume 5, edited by Philip Schaff. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991 rpt.
- . “Sermons on Selected Lessons of the New Testament.” In *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* first series volume 6, edited by Philip Schaff. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991 rpt.
- . “Tractates on the Gospel according to St. John.” In *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* first series volume 7, edited by Philip Schaff. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991 rpt.
- . *The Works of Saint Augustine*, vol. 5, Part III-Sermons, translated by Edmund Hill, edited by John E. Rotelle. 11 vols. New Rochelle, N. Y.: New City Press, 1992.
- Basil, “Letter XCIII.” In *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* second series volume 8, edited by Phillip Schaff and Henry Wace. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991 rpt.
- Bingham, Joseph. *Antiquities of the Christian Church*. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1856.
- Chrysostom, John. “Homily XXVIII” on First Corinthians. In *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* first series volume 12, edited by Philip Schaff. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991 rpt.
- Cyprian. “Epistle LVIII.” In *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* volume 5, edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993 rpt..
- Cyril of Jerusalem. “Lecture XXIII.” In *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* second series volume 7, edited by Phillip Schaff and Henry Wace. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991 rpt.
- Dujarier, Michele. *A History of the Catechumenate: the First Six Centuries*. Online at <http://www.cyberfaith.com/examining/historyof2-12.html>.
- Ferguson, Everett. “Inscriptions and the Origin of Infant Baptism,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 30 (1979) 37–46.
- Jewett, Paul K. *Infant Baptism and the Covenant of Grace*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1978.

- Jordan, James B. "Theses on Paedocommunion," in *The Geneva Papers*. Tyler, Tex.: Geneva Divinity School, 1982.
- Justin Martyr. "The First Apology of Justin." In *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* volume 1, edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993 rpt.
- Keidel, Christian L. "Is the Lord's supper for children?" *Westminster Theological Journal* 37 (Spring, 1975).
- Lee, Tommy. *The History of Paedocommunion: From the Early Church until 1500*. Online at http://www.reformed.org/sacramentology/tl_paedo.html.
- McClintock, John M., and James Strong eds. "Infant Communion" in *Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature*. Vol. 4. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1981 rpt.
- Miller, Samuel. *Infant Baptism Scriptural and Reasonable*. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, n.d.
- Percival, Henry R., ed. "The Seven Ecumenical Councils." In *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* second series volume 14, edited by Phillip Schaff and Henry Wace. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991 rpt.
- Schaff, Philip. *History of the Christian Church*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1994 rpt.
- Scholaasticus, Evagrius. *A History of the Church in Six Books*. London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1846.
- Sutton, Ray R. "Presuppositions of paedocommunion," in *The Geneva Papers*. Tyler, Tex.: Geneva Divinity School, 1982.
- Tertullian, "On Baptism." In *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* volume 3, edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993 rpt.
- Walker, Williston. *A History of the Christian Church*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930.
- *A Critical Text of the Westminster Larger Catechism: Q. 1–50*, by Chris Coldwell. Pages 37–85.
- In addition to the works cited below, see the manuscripts and editions of the Westminster Larger Catechism cited in the Endnotes beginning on page 71.
- Bower, John R. "The Westminster Assembly's Larger Catechism. A Critical Edition. A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Westminster Theological Seminary in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Theology" (2006).
- Carruthers, S. W. "The True Text of the Larger Catechism," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* [of England] 3 (1927) 216–218. Hereafter, "True Text."
- . *The Confession of Faith of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Tercentenary Edition*. London: Publishing Office of the Presbyterian Church of England, [1946].
- . *Three Centuries of the Westminster Shorter Catechism* (NB: Published for the Beaverbrook Foundations by the University of New Brunswick, 1957).
- . *The Westminster Confession of Faith: Being an account of the Preparation and Printing of its Seven Leading Editions to which is Appended a Critical Text of the Confession with notes thereon* (Manchester: R. Aikman & Son, 1937).
- Carruthers, William., *The Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly of Divines* (London: Publication Office of the Presbyterian Church of England, 1897).
- Coldwell, Chris. [Unpublished] Draft Transcription of The Larger Catechism MSS (The Westminster Assembly Project, 2004).
- . "Examining the Work of S. W. Carruthers: Justifying a Critical Approach to the Text of the Westminster Standards & Correcting the 18th Century Lineage of the Traditional Scottish Text," *The Confessional Presbyterian* 1 (2005).
- . "Antiquary: The traditional form of *The Westminster Standards*," *The Confessional Presbyterian* 1 (2005).
- Warfield, B. B. "Notes Toward A Bibliography of the Westminster Confession: I. Britain," *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, xii (1901) 614–659.
- . "Notes Toward A Bibliography of the Westminster Confession: II. American," *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, xiii (1902) 71–120.
- Westminster Assembly. *The Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms ...* (Edinburgh: E. Robertson, 1756).
- *Edwards' Freedom of the Will: A Review and Analysis*, by W. Gary Crampton, Ph.D. Pages 86–103.
- Brand, David C. *Profile of the Last Puritan*. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1991.
- Cherry, Conrad. *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards: A Reappraisal*. Indianapolis, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1966; 1990.
- Danaher, Jr., William J. *The Trinitarian Ethics of Jonathan Edwards*. London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004.
- Daniel, Stephen H. *The Philosophy of Jonathan Edwards*. Indianapolis, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- Edwards, Jonathan. *The Freedom of the Will*. Morgan, PA: Soli Deo Gloria, 1996.
- . *Justification by Faith Alone*, edited by Don Kistler. Morgan, Pennsylvania: Soli Deo Gloria, 2000.
- . *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*. Revised and corrected by Edward Hickman. Carlisle, Pennsylvania: Banner of Truth Trust, 1834; 1974.
- . *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, Volume 1. Edited by Paul Ramsey. *Freedom of the Will*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1957.
- Volume 2. *Religious Affections*. Edited by John E. Smith. 1959.
- Volume 3. *Original Sin*. Edited by Clyde A. Holbrook. 1970.
- Volume 4. *The Great Awakening*. Edited by C. C. Goen. 1972.
- Volume 6. *Scientific and Philosophical Writings*. Edited by Wallace E. Anderson. 1980.
- Volume 8. *Ethical Writings*. Edited by Paul Ramsey. 1989.
- Volume 9. *A History of the Work of Redemption*. Edited by John F. Wilson. 1989.
- Volume 13. *The "Miscellanies" a–500*. Edited by Thomas A. Schafer. 1994.
- Volume 18. *The "Miscellanies" 501–832*. Edited by Ava Chamberlain. 2000.
- Volume 23. *The "Miscellanies" 1153–1360*. Edited by Douglas A. Sweeney. 2004.
- Fiering, Norman. *Jonathan Edwards's Moral Thought and Its British Context*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1981.
- Gerstner, John H., Douglas F. Kelly, and Philip Rollinson. *A Guide to The Westminster Confession of Faith: Commentary*. Signal Mountain, Tennessee: Summertown Texts, 1992.
- Gerstner, John H. [Unpublished]: "A Deterministic Model: Jonathan Edwards' Freedom of the Will" [a handout sheet used by Dr. Gerstner in his lectures on *Freedom of the Will*], A1.
- . *Jonathan Edwards: Evangelist*. Morgan, Pennsylvania: Soli Deo Gloria, 1995.
- . *The Rational Biblical Theology of Jonathan Edwards*. Pow-

- hatan, Virginia: Berea Publications; Orlando, Florida: Ligonier Ministries, 1991–1993.
- Guelzo, Allen C. "Freedom of the Will," in *The Princeton Companion to Jonathan Edwards*, edited by Sang Hyun Lee. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Holbrook, Clyde A. *The Ethics of Jonathan Edwards: Morality and Aesthetics*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1973.
- Kistler, Don, ed. *The Puritan Pulpit*. Morgan, Pennsylvania: Soli Deo Gloria, 2004.
- . *Jonathan Edwards: His Life and Legacy*, a tape series. Morgan, Pennsylvania: Soli Deo Gloria, 2003.
- Lee, Sang Hung. *The Philosophical Theology of Jonathan Edwards*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Marsden, George M. "The Quest For the Historical Edwards." In *Jonathan Edwards at Home and Abroad*, edited by David W. Kling and Douglas A. Sweeney. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2003.
- Moody, Josh. *Jonathan Edwards and the Enlightenment*. New York: University Press of America, 2005.
- Murray, Ian H. *Jonathan Edwards: A New Biography*. Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1987.
- Noll, Mark. "Jonathan Edwards, Moral Philosophy, and the Secularization of American Christian Thought," as cited in Justin Taylor, "Introduction," *A God Entranced Vision of All Things: The Legacy of Jonathan Edwards*, edited by John Piper and Justin Taylor. Wheaton, Illinois: Crossway Books, 2004.
- Piper, John. *God's Passion For His Glory*. Wheaton: Crossway, 1998.
- Reese, William L. "Jonathan Edwards 1703–1758." In *Dictionary of Philosophy and Religion*. Atlanta Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1980.
- Scheick, William J. *The Writings of Jonathan Edwards*. College Station, Texas: Texas A & M University Press, 1975.
- Shaw, Robert. *An Exposition of the Confession of Faith*. Ross-shire, Scotland: Christian Focus Publications, 1845, 1980.
- Simonson, Harold P. *Jonathan Edwards: Theologian of the Heart*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1974.
- Sproul, R. C. "Foreword." In *Altogether Lovely*, edited by Don Kistler. Moran, Pennsylvania: Soli Deo Gloria, 1997.
- Steele, David N. and Curtis C. Thomas, and S. Lance Quinn, *The Five Points of Calvinism*. Phillipsburg, New Jersey: P & R, 2004.
- Storms, C. Samuel. "Jonathan Edwards on the Freedom of the Will," *Trinity Journal* 3 NS (1982).
- Talbot, Kenneth G. and W. Gary Crampton. *Calvinism, Hyper-Calvinism, and Arminianism*. Draper, Va.: The Apologetics Group, [1990] 2006.
- Wainwright, William. "Jonathan Edwards." In *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/edwards/> [Accessed on October 3, 2006].
- Warfield, Benjamin B. *Studies in Theology*. Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1988.
- Westminster Assembly. *Westminster Confession of Faith*. Glasgow: Free Presbyterian Publications, 1994.
- In *Defense of the Descendit: A Confessional Response to Contemporary Critics of Christ's Descent into Hell*, by Daniel R. Hyde. Pages 104–117.
- Ambrose. *Saint Ambrose: Letters*, The Fathers of the Church 26. New York: Catholic University of America Press, 1954.
- Augustine. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: First Series* 1, trans. J. G. Cunningham. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 2004.
- Bandstra, Andrew J. "Making Proclamation to the Spirits in Prison: Another Look at 1 Peter 3:19," *Calvin Theological Journal* 38:1 (April 2003).
- Bavinck, Herman. *Gereformeerde Dogmatik*. Cited in Louis Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*. 4th rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, repr. 1994.
- Beattie, Francis R. *The Presbyterian Standards: An Exposition of the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms*. Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1896, as cited at http://www.shortercatechism.com/resources/beattie/wsc_be_027-028.html (accessed May 3, 2007).
- Billheimer, Paul E. *Destined for the Throne*. Fort Washington, Pa.: Christian Literature Crusade, special edition for TBN, 1988. Cited in Hank Hanegraaff, *Christianity in Crisis*. Eugene: Harvest House, 1993.
- Bonaventure. *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, trans. Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.
- Book of Praise: Anglo-Genevan Psalter*, revised ed. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Premier, 1998.
- Boston, Thomas. *Commentary on the Shorter Catechism*, Classis Collector's Edition, 2 vols. 1853; Edmonton: Still Waters Revival Books, repr. January 1993.
- Braaten, Carl and Robert Jensen, ed. *Christian Dogmatics*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984.
- Bray, Gerald. *Creeds, Council and Christ*. Leicester: IVP, 1984.
- Brown, Raymond E. *The Gospel According to John XIII–XXI*, The Anchor Bible 29A. New York: Doubleday, 1970.
- Bruce, F. F. *The Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Ephesians*, The New International Commentary on the New Testament, ed. F. F. Bruce. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984.
- Calvin, John. "Catechism of the Church of Geneva." In *Selected Works of John Calvin: Tracts, Part 2*, ed. and trans. Henry Beveridge, 7 vols. Grand Rapids: Baker, reprinted 1983.
- . *Commentaries of the Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians*, trans. William Pringle, Calvin's Commentaries, 22 vols. Grand Rapids: Baker, repr. 1996.
- . *Commentaries on the First Epistle of Peter*, trans. John Owen, Calvin's Commentaries, 22 vols. Grand Rapids: Baker, reprinted 1996.
- . *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, 2 vols. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960.
- . *Sermons on Ephesians*. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, repr. 1987.
- Catechism of the Catholic Church*. New York: Doubleday, 1994.
- Christian Reformed Church. *Psalter Hymnal*. Grand Rapids: Christian Reformed Church, 1976.
- Christian Reformed Church. *The Psalter*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1914.
- Connell, Martin F. "Descensus Christi Ad Inferos: Christ's Descent to the Dead," *Theological Studies* 62:2 (June 2001).
- Copeland, Kenneth. "Jesus Our Lord of Glory," *Believers Voice of Victory* 10:4 (April 1982). Cited in Hank Hanegraaff, *Christianity in Crisis*. Eugene: Harvest House, 1993.
- Cyprian. *In Expos. in Symb.* Oxon. 1682. As cited in *The Decades of Henry Bullinger*, ed. Thomas Harding 2 vols. 1849–1852; Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Press, repr. 2004.
- Erikson, Millard J. "Did Jesus Really Descend to Hell?" *Christianity Today* 44:2 (February 7, 2000).
- Fisher, James. *The Assembly's Shorter Catechism Explained, By Way of Question and Answer*. Glasgow: Printed for James Gillies, 1796.
- Grudem, Wayne. "He Did Not Descend Into Hell: A Plea for Fol-

- lowing Scripture Instead of the Apostles' Creed," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 34:1 (March 1991).
- Hall, Stuart G. *Doctrine and Practice in the Early Church*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991.
- Harris, W. Hall III. "The Ascent and Descent of Christ in Ephesians 4:9–10," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 151 (April–June 1994).
- Henry, Matthew. *An Exposition of the Shorter Catechism, or, A Scripture Catechism in the Method of the Assemblies*. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1850.
- Hippolytus. *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome*, ed. Gregory Dix and Henry Chadwick. Ridgefield, Conn.: Morehouse Publishing, reissued 1992.
- Hornik, Heidi J. and Mikeal C. Parsons, "The Harrowing of Hell," *Bible Review* 19:3 (June 2003).
- Horton, Michael. *We Believe: Recovering the Essentials of the Apostles' Creed*. Nashville: Word, 1998.
- Hyde, Daniel R. "We Confess: Article 18," *The Outlook* 54:11 (December 2004).
- . "We Confess: Article 21," *The Outlook* 55:3 (March 2005).
- . *With Heart and Mouth: An Exposition of the Belgic Confession*. Grandville, Mich.: Reformed Fellowship, forthcoming 2007.
- Jobes, Karen H. *1 Peter*, Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005.
- John Chrysostom. *Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians*, ed. Mark J. Edwards, Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: New Testament 8. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1999.
- Kelly, J. N. D. *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and Jude*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1969.
- . *Early Christian Creeds*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co Inc., 1950.
- . *Rufinus: A Commentary on the Apostles' Creed*, Ancient Christian Writers 20. New York: Newman Press, 1954.
- Kloosterman, Nelson D. *Pilgrims Among Pagans: Studies on First Peter*. Grand Rapids: Reformed Fellowship, Inc., 1994.
- Kreitzer, L. Joseph. "The Plutonium of Hierapolis and the Descent of Christ into the 'Lowest Parts of the Earth' (Ephesians 4, 9)," *Biblica* 79:3 (1988).
- Litton, E.A. *Introduction to Dogmatic Theology on the Basis of the Thirty-Nine Articles*, ed. H. G. Grey. London: R. Scott, 1912.
- Luther, Martin. *Luther's Small Catechism with Explanation*. Saint Louis: Concordia, 1986.
- McCulloch, J. M. *The Harrowing of Hell: A Comparative Study of an Early Christian Doctrine*. Edinburgh, 1930.
- Melito of Sardis. "A New Translation of Melito's Paschal Homily," trans. Gerald F. Hawthorne. In *Current Issues in Biblical and Patristic Interpretation: Studies in Honor of Merrill C. Tenney Presented by His Former Students*, ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975.
- Michaels, Ramsey. *1 Peter*, Word Biblical Commentary 49. Waco, TX: Word, 1988.
- Morison, J. L., ed. *Reginald Peacock's Book of Faith*. Glasgow: J. Maclehose and Sons, 1909.
- Morris, Leon. *The Gospel According to John*, The New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, reprinted 1987.
- Olevianus, Caspar. *A Firm Foundation: An Aid to Interpreting the Heidelberg Catechism*, trans. Lyle D. Bierma, Texts & Studies in Reformation & Post-Reformation Thought. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995.
- Otto, Randall E. "Descendit in Inferna: A Reformed Review of a Creedal Conundrum," *Westminster Theological Journal* 52 (1990).
- Pannenberg, Wolfhart. *The Apostles' Creed in the Light of Today's Questions*, trans. Margaret Kohl. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1972.
- . *Jesus: God and Man*, trans. Lewis L. Wilkins and Duane A. Priebe. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1975.
- Pearson, John. *An Exposition of the Creed*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1877.
- Perkins, William. *An Exposition of the Symbole, or Creed of the Apostles*. London: John Legatt, 1623. In *The Workes of that Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the University of Cambridge, Mr. William Perkins*, 3 vols. London: John Legatt, 1626.
- Philastrius of Brescia, *Diversarum hereseon liber*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, volume 9, ed. F. Heylen. Turnholt, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 1957. Translated and cited in Martin F. Connell, "Descensus Christi Ad Inferos: Christ's Descent to the Dead," *Theological Studies* 62:2 (June 2001).
- Price, Frederick K.C.. *Ever Increasing Faith Messenger* (June 1980). Cited in Hank Hanegraaff, *Christianity in Crisis*. Eugene: Harvest House, 1993.
- Ratzinger, Joseph. *Introduction to Christianity*, trans. J. R. Foster. New York: Herder and Herder, 1970.
- Ridderbos, Herman. *The Gospel of John: A Theological Commentary*, trans. John Vriend. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997.
- Scaer, David P. "He Did Descend to Hell: In Defense of the Apostles' Creed," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 35:1 (March 1992).
- Schaff, Philip, ed. *The Creeds of Christendom*, rev. David S. Schaff, 3 vols. Grand Rapids: Baker, repr. 1996.
- Selwyn, Edward Gordon. *The First Epistle of St. Peter*. 2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981.
- Venema, Cornelis P. *What We Believe: An Exposition of the Apostles' Creed*. Grand Rapids: Reformed Fellowship, 1996.
- Vermigli, Peter Martyr. *Early Writings: Creed, Scripture, Church*, trans. Mariano Di Gangi and Joseph C. McLelland, ed. Joseph C. McLelland. The Peter Martyr Library: Volume One. Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, Inc., 1994.
- Vincent, Thomas. *An Explicatory Catechism: or, An Explanation of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism*. New Haven: Walter, Austin and Co., 1810.
- Vos, Johannes G. *The Westminster Larger Catechism: A Commentary*, ed. G. I. Williamson. Phillipsburg: P&R Publishing, 2002.
- Wallace, D. D. "Puritan and Anglican: the Interpretation of Christ's Descent Into Hell in Elizabethan Theology," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 69 (1978).
- Westminster Assembly. *The Confession of Faith; the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, with the Scripture-Proofs at Large*. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1855.
- Westra, Liuwe H. *The Apostles' Creed: Origin, History, and Some Early Commentaries*, Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 43. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2002.
- Williams, Michael. "He Descended Into Hell: An Issue of Confessional Integrity," *Presbyterian* 25:2 (Fall 1999).
- Witsius, Herman. *Sacred Dissertations on What is Commonly Called the Apostles' Creed*, trans. Donald Fraser, 3 vols. Phillipsburg: P&R, repr. 1993.
- Worthen, T. F. "The Harrowing of Hell in the Art of the Italian Renaissance," PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1981.
- Yates, John. "He Descended Into Hell: Creed, Article and Scripture: Part 1," *Churchman* 102:3 (1998).
- Zwingli, Ulrich. *An Exposition of the Faith*. In *Zwingli and Bullinger*, trans. G. W. Bromiley, The Library of Christian Classics. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1953.

■ *John Brown of Wamphray, Richard Baxter and the Justification Controversy*, by Bruce R. Backensto. Pages 118–146.

- Baxter, Richard. *The Autobiography of Richard Baxter being the Reliquiae Baxterianae Abridged from the folio (1696)*. Rpt. Mobile, Ala.: R E Publications, n.d.
- Brown of Wamphray, John. *An Exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle, to the Romans, with large Practical Observations, delivered in several lectures*. Edinburgh: Printed by David Paterson. MDC-CLXVI [1766].
- . *The Life of Justification Opened, or A Treatise grounded upon Gal. 2. 11. Wherein the Orthodox Doctrine of Justification by Faith and Imputation of Christ's Righteousness, is clearly expounded, solidly confirmed, and learnedly vindicated from the various Objections of it Adversaries. Whereunto are subjoined some Arguments against Universal Redemption*. Printed in the Year MDCXCV [1695].
- Douglas, J. D. *Light in the North*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1964.
- Gaulter, Rudolphus. D. *Matthæus Euangelista*. Tiguri: Excudebat Christophorus Froschouer, [1581].
- Hewison, James King. *The Covenanters: a History of the Church in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution, in Two Volumes*. Glasgow: John Smith and Son, 1913.
- Howie of Lochgion, John. *The Scots Worthies Containing A Brief Historical Account of the Most Eminent Noblemen, Gentlemen, Ministers, and others, Who Testified or Suffered for the Cause of Reformation in Scotland from the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century to the Year 1688*. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, n.d.
- . *The Scots Worthies Their Lives and Testimonies including Many Additional Notes not Contained in the Original Collection*, edited by Rev. J.A. Wylie, assisted by Rev. James Anderson. London: William MacKenzie, Ludgate Hill, E.C, n.d.
- Pareus, David. *Operum theologicorum*, 3 vols. Frankfurt, 1647.
- Scott, Hew. *Faſti Eccleſiæ Scotticane The Succeſſion of Miniſters in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, New Edition, Vol. II. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1917.
- Socinus, Fauſtus. *De Ieſu Chriſto ſervatore, hoc eſt, cur & qua ratione Ieſus Chriſtus noſter ſervator fit ... diſputatio*. [Krakoiw]: A. Ro-decki, 1594. In *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1. [Amſterdam]: 1656.
- *The Denial of the Imputation of the Active Obedience of Christ: Piscator on Justification*, by J. Wesley White. Pages 147–154.
- Arminius, James. *The Works of James Arminius*, vol. 1, translated by James Nichols. London: Longman, Hurst, etc., 1825.
- Boersma, Hans. *A Hot Pepper Corn: Richard Baxter's Doctrine in Its Seventeenth-Century Context of Controversy*. Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 1993.
- Buxtorf, Johannes. *Synagoga Judaica*. Online at <http://www.uwm.edu/~corre/buxdorf/myintro.html>.
- Calvin, John. *Commentaries XXI*. Grand Rapids, Baker, 1999.
- Clark, R. Scott. "Do This and Live." In *Covenant, Justification, and Pastoral Ministry*, edited by R. Scott Clark. Phillipsburg, N.J.: P & R Publishing, 2007.
- De Moor, Bernhardinus. *Commentarius perpetuus in Joh. Marckii compendium theologiae christianae didactico-elencticum*, vol. 3. Ludgdunum Batavia, 1765.
- Ecumenical and Reformed Creeds and Confessions*. Mid-America Reformed Seminary, 1991.
- Gerhard, Johann. *Loci Theologici*, Vol. 3. Berlin: Guſt. Schlawitz, 1865.
- Good, J. I. *The Origin of the Reformed Churches in Germany*. In *James I. Good Collection*. The Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States, 2004.
- . *The Swiss Reformed Church Since the Reformation*. In *James I. Good Collection*. The Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States, 2004.
- Heppe, Heinrich. *Reformed Dogmatics*, translated by G.T. Thomson, revised & edited by Ernst Bizer. London: Wakeman Great Reprints.
- Hodge, Charles. *Systematic Theology*, Vol. 2. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2001.
- Leigh, Edward. *A Treatise of Religious Learning and of religious and learned men*. London, 1656.
- Maresius, Samuel. *Systema Breve Universae Theologiae*. Groningen: Johannes Collanus, 1659.
- Mitchell, Alexander F. *The Westminster Assembly: Its History and Standards*. London: James Nisbet & Co., 1883.
- Müller, E. F. Karl. "Piscator, Johannes." In *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, Vol. IX, edited by Samuel Macauley Jackson, D.D., LL.D. 1911; Reprint, Grand Rapids Mich.: Baker Book House, 1953.
- Muller, Richard. *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics*, Vol. 1. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 2003.
- Neel, Adriaan C. *The Art of Living to God: A Study of Method and Piety in the Theoretico-practica theologia of Petrus van Mastricht (1630–1706)*. Pretoria, South Africa: University of Pretoria, 2005.
- Piscator, Johannes. *Analysis Logica Epistoliarum Pauli*. London: George Bishop, 1591.
- . *Analysis logica Septarum Epistolarum Apostolorum que Catholicae appellari solent*. London: John Wolf, 1593.
- . *A Learned and Profitable Treatise of Mans Iustification: Two bookes. Opposed to the sophismes of Robert Bellarmine, Iesuite. By Iohn Piscator, professor of diuinitie in the famous schools of Nassouia Sigena*. London: By Thomas Creede, for Ralphe Iackson, dwelling in Paules Church-yard at the signe of the Swanne, 1599.
- Ritschl, Albrecht. *A Critical History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*, translated by John S. Black. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1872.
- Schultens, John Jacob. *Omſtandigen Brief aan den hr. Nic. Holtius over de zaak van A. v.d. Os*. Cited in Bernhardinus De Moor, *Commentarius perpetuus in Joh. Marckii compendium theologiae christianae didactico-elencticum*, vol. 3. Ludgdunum Batavia, 1765.
- Schweizer, Alexander. *Die Glaubenslehre der Evangelisch-Reformirten Kirche*, Vol. 2. Zürich: Orell, Füssli, und Comp., 1847.
- Shepherd, Norman. "The Grace of Justification." Online at http://www.hornes.org/theologia/content/norman_shepherd/the_grace_of_justification.htm. All online materials for this article were accessed as of May 10, 2007.
- . "Justification by Works in Reformed Theology." In *Backbone of the Bible*, edited by Andrew Sandlin. Nacogdoches, Tex.: Covenant Media Press, 2004.
- . "Law and Gospel in Covenantal Perspective," *Reformation and Revival Journal* 14/1 (2005).
- . *The Call of Grace*. Phillipsburg, N.J.: P&R Publishing, 2000.
- Townley, James. *Illustrations of Biblical Literature Exhibiting the History and Fate of the Sacred Writings*. New York: Carlton & Porter, 1856.
- Turretin, Francis. *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, 3 vols. Edited by James T. Dennison and translated by George Musgrave Giger. Phillipsburg, Pa.: P&R, 1994.
- Ursinus, Zacharias. *Summa Theologiae*. 1561.

- Van den Berg, J. "Het stroomlandschap van de Gereformeerde Kerk in Nederland tussen 1650 en 1750." In *Een richtingenstrijd in de Gereformeerde Kerk: Voetianen en Coccejianen (1650–1750)*, edited by F.G.M. Broeyer and E.G.E. van der Wall. Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 1994.
- Wenneker, Erich. "Piscator, Johannes." In *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*. Online at http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/p/piscator_j.shtml.
- White, J. Wesley. "Saying 'Justification by Faith Alone' Isn't Enough." *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 17 (2006) 256–266.
- *The Regulative Principle of Worship: Sixty Years in Reformed Literature. Part Two (2000–2007)*, by Frank J. Smith, Ph.D., D.D. with Chris Coldwell. Pages 155–215.
- Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church. DRAFT: "The Directory Of Public Worship Of The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church Presented to the 202nd General Synod of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church." Online at www.arsynod.org. File Date: June 6, 2006 [Accessed April 9, 2007].
- Atchison, Thomas F. "Developing a Practice of Worship that Unites." In *Authentic Worship: Scripture's Voice, Applying Its Truth*, edited by Herbert W. Bateman. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Kregel Academic & Professional, 2002.
- Backus, Kevin M. "MYTH # 2: We Must Make Our Church Worship Meet Today's Standards." *WRS Journal* 7/1 (February 2000) 1–7.
- Barrett, Michael P.V. *The Beauty of Holiness: A Guide to Biblical Worship*. Greenville, S.C. and Belfast, Northern Ireland: Ambassador International, 2006.
- Battle, John A. "Scriptural Singing In The Church." *WRS Journal* 7/2 (August 2000).
- Bennett, Christopher J. L. "Worship among the Puritans—the Regulative Principle." In *Spiritual Worship: Westminster Conference 1985*. Printed in England: Published by The Westminster Conference, 1985.
- Bible Presbyterian Church. "Exclusive Psalmody." See http://www.bpc.org/reading_room/index.html.
- . "Music in Worship." See URL above.
- . "The Music of the Church, a Paper by Pastor Edward E. Crawford." See URL above.
- . "Response to the Petition from the Edmonton Bible Presbyterian Church Concerning Church Music From the Northwest Presbytery of the Bible Presbyterian Church." See URL above.
- . "The Doctrine of the Trinity and the Use of it; A Sermon by Isaac Watts." See URL above.
- Blair, Cliff. "The Few on behalf of the Many: An Examination of Choirs in the Light of Scripture, Church History, and Practical Theology." In *The Worship of God: Reformed Concepts of Biblical Worship*. Fearn, Tain, Ross-shire, Scotland: Christian Focus Publications, and Taylors, S.C.: Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, 2005.
- Brand, Chad and David E. Hankins. *One Sacred Effort: The Cooperative Program of Southern Baptists*. Nashville, Tenn.: B&H Publishing Group, 2006.
- Brother John (nom de plume). "God's Cure for Liturgical Chaos: The Bible's Hymnal" (c. 2002). <http://web.archive.org/web/20021005002530/members.aol.com/Dbix7/canon.html>.
- . "What is Worship?" (c.2005). <http://web.archive.org/web/20050225084551/http://www.geocities.com/reformedpresbyterian/worship.htm>.
- Burridge, Bob. *Survey Studies In Reformed Theology: A Syllabus of the Genevan Institute for Reformed Studies*, "Unit 5: Nomology, Lesson 3a: Worship and the Sabbath (WCF 21): The Regulative Principle" (GIRS, 2000). <http://www.girs.com/library/theology/syllabus/nomindex.html>.
- Carruthers, S. W. *The Westminster Confession of Faith: Being an account of the Preparation and Printing...* Manchester: R. Aikman & Son, [1937].
- Carson, D. A., ed. *Worship by the Book*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2002.
- Cartwright, H. M. "Psalms or Hymns in Public Worship," *The Free Presbyterian Magazine* (March 2002); Rpt. in *The Blue Banner*, 11.1 (January–March, 2002) 23–27.
- Chanski, Mark. (Audio Recording) "Leviticus #8: Strange Fire" (1994) and "Leviticus #9: The Regulative Principle" (1994). http://www.npbwebsite.org/html/audio_cassettes.html. Also available online at sermonaudio.com.
- Christian Reformed Church. *Authentic Worship in a Changing Culture*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: CRC Publications, 1997.
- Clifford, Alan C. "The Westminster Directory Of Public Worship (1645)," *WRS Journal* 7/2 (August 2000) 1–11.
- Clowney, Edmund P. "Presbyterian Worship." In *Worship: Adoration and Action*, edited by D. A. Carson. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1993. Reprint, Eugene, Ore.: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2002.
- Comin, Douglas W. *Worship: From Genesis to Revelation: A Vindication of the Regulative Principle as the Unifying Standard of Corporate Worship in both the Old and New Testaments, Proved by a Survey of the Canonical Scriptures*. Lulu.com: Douglas W. Comin, 2007.
- Covenant Theological Seminary. 2005 *Sacrifice of Praise Worship Renewal Conference*. Covenant Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Mo. February 28–March 2, 2005. Audio online at <http://www.covenantseminary.edu/resource/default.asp>.
- . *Worthy Is the Lamb Worship Conference*. Covenant Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Mo. March 13–15, 2006. Audio online at <http://www.covenantseminary.edu/resource/default.asp>.
- Dallison, Anthony. (Audio) "How Should We Worship God?" 1. The Principles of Biblical Worship. 2. Worshipping in Spirit. 3. Our Duty of Thanksgiving. 4. Trembling at God's Word. http://www.sermonaudio.com/source_detail.asp?sourceid=wpcus.
- Dever, Mark and Paul Alexander. *The Deliberate Church: Building Your Ministry on the Gospel*. Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway Books, 2005.
- Dunahoo, Charles. "Book Review. Covenantal Worship: Reconsidering the Puritan Regulative Principle by R.J. Gore, Jr." *Equip for Ministry* (May/June 2003). <http://www.pcanet.org/CEP/Publications/May03EFM.htm>
- Engelsma, David J. "Shall We Please God or (Certain Kinds of) People? Or, The Regulative Principle of Worship," Part 1, *The Standard Bearer*, 76.14 (April 15, 2000); Part 2, 76.15 (May 1, 2000); Part 3, 76.16 (May 15, 2000); Part 4, 77.3 (November 1, 2000). Reprint, David Engelsma, Barry Gritters and Charles Terpstra, *Reformed Worship*. Grandville, Mich.: Reformed Free Publication Association, 2004.
- Escondido United Reformed Church. "Principles of Reformed Worship. Adopted September 19, 2000 by the Consistory of the Escondido United Reformed Church." <http://public.csusm.edu/guests/rsclark/Principles.html>.
- Fleming, David Hay. "The Hymnology of the Reformation," *Original Secession Magazine* (January–June and September 1884); repr. in *An Anthology of Presbyterian & Reformed Literature* volume 4. Dallas, Tex.: Naphtali Press, 1992.
- Frame, John M. *Worship in Spirit and Truth: A Refreshing Study of the Principles and Practice of Biblical Worship*. Phillipsburg, N.J.: P&R Publishing, 1996.

- Gillespie, George. *A Dispute Against the English Popish Ceremonies*. 1637. New edition, edited by Christopher Coldwell. Dallas, Tex.: Naphtali Press, 1993.
- Girardeau, John L. "The Discretionary Power of the Church." In *Sermons by John L. Girardeau*, edited by Rev. George A. Blackburn. Columbia, S.C.: The State Company, 1907. Reprint, *The 'Blue Banner'* 8.5–6 (May–June, 1999). Online, at <http://www.thebluebanner.com>.
- . *Instrumental Music in the Public Worship of God*. Richmond, Va.: Whittet & Shepperson, 1888. Repr. with Preface by Joseph Dugan, Havertown, Pa.: New Covenant Publication Society, 1983.
- Glick, Robert P. *With All Thy Mind: Worship That Honors the Way God Made Us*. Herndon, Va.: The Alban Institute, 2006.
- Godfrey, W. Robert. "Calvin and the Worship of God," *The Blue Banner*, 3.11–12 (November–December 1994) 1–10; repr. in *The Worship of God: Reformed Concepts of Biblical Worship*. Fearn, Tain, Ross-shire, Scotland: Christian Focus Publications, and Taylors, S.C.: Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, 2005.
- . *Pleasing God in Our Worship*. Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway Books, 1999.
- . "The Psalms and Contemporary Worship." In *The Worship of God: Reformed Concepts of Biblical Worship*. Fearn, Tain, Ross-shire, Scotland: Christian Focus Publications, and Taylors, S.C.: Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, 2005.
- . *An Unexpected Journey: Discovering Reformed Christianity*. Phillipsburg, N.J.: P&R Publishing, 2004.
- Goggans, Austin Lee. "Holding to a regulative principle in worship," *Atlanta (Georgia) Christian Index* (November 24, 2005). <http://www.christianindex.org/1767.article>.
- Gordon, T. David. "Review Article: The Westminster Assembly's Unworkable and Unscriptural View of Worship," *WTJ* 65 (2003).
- Gordon, T. David. Personal Correspondence, Dr. T. David Gordon, Professor of Religion and Greek, Grove City College, to Frank J. Smith, Ph.D., D.D., February 28, 2005.
- Gore, R. J., Jr., "Response – Covenantal Worship: Reconsidering the Critics," *WTJ* 67 (2005) 363–79.
- . "Review: Smith, Frank J. and Lachman, David C. eds., *Worship in the Presence of God: A collection of essays on the nature, elements, and historic views and practice of worship*," *WTJ* 56 (1994).
- . "Reviewing the Puritan Regulative Principle of Worship," *Presbyterian* 20.1 (1994).
- . "Reviewing the Regulative Principle. Part II," *Presbyterian* 21.1 (1995).
- . "The Pursuit of Plainness: Rethinking the Regulative Principle of Worship." Ph.D. Dissertation, Westminster Theological Seminary, 1988.
- . *Covenantal Worship: Reconsidering the Puritan Regulative Principle*. Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2002.
- Gritters, Barry. "Contemporary worship practices." In David Engelsma, Barry Gritters and Charles Terpstra, *Reformed Worship*. Grandville, Mich.: Reformed Free Publication Association, 2004.
- . "Proper worship." In David Engelsma, Barry Gritters and Charles Terpstra, *Reformed Worship*. Grandville, Mich.: Reformed Free Publication Association, 2004.
- . "A Reformed critique of contemporary worship." In David Engelsma, Barry Gritters and Charles Terpstra, *Reformed Worship*. Grandville, Mich.: Reformed Free Publication Association, 2004.
- Hall, Stan. "The Westminster Directory and Reform of Worship." In Calvin Studies. VIII: Presented at The Colloquium on Calvin Studies, held January 26–27, 1996, at Davidson College and the Davidson College Presbyterian Church, Davidson, North Carolina, edited by John H. Leith. n.p., [1997?].
- Hart, D. G. and John M. Frame. *The Regulative Principle: Scripture, Tradition, and Culture: A Debate Featuring Dr. D. G. Hart and Professor John M. Frame*. Glenside, Pa.: Westminster Seminary Bookstore, n.d. The text is available online at http://www.framepythress.org/frame_articles/1998HartDebate.htm.
- Hart, D. G. and John R. Muether. *Fighting the Good Fight: A Brief History of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church*. Philadelphia, Pa.: The Committee for Education and the Committee for the Historian of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, 1995.
- . *With Reverence and Awe: Returning to the Basics of Reformed Worship*. Phillipsburg, N.J.: P&R Publishing, 2002.
- Hart, D. G. *Recovering Mother Kirk: The Case for Liturgy in the Reformed Tradition*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2003.
- Haynes, Stephen R. *Noah's Curse: The Biblical Justification of American Slavery*. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Hicks, Joshua. *The Right Way to Worship God*, 1–5 (April 2, 2006–May 9, 2006). <http://www.reformersandpuritans.com/2006/04/02/the-right-way-to-worship-god-1/>.
- Horton, Michael. "Powerful Praise," *Australian Presbyterian* [3 April, 2001]. http://www.ap.presbyterian.org.au/articles/april03_01.htm.
- . *A Better Way: Rediscovering the Drama of Christ-Centered Worship*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 2002; paperback version, 2003.
- Hyde, Daniel R. *What to Expect in Reformed Worship: A Visitor's Guide*. Eugene, Ore.: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2007.
- Jarmen, B. A., Robert D. "The Regulative Principle of Scripture: The Origin of a Cardinal Doctrine in the Early Elizabethan Puritan Movement." Master's thesis, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Illinois, June, 1977.
- Johnson, Terry L. *The Case for Traditional Protestantism: The Solas of the Reformation*. Edinburgh, UK, and Carlisle, Pa.: Banner of Truth Trust, 2004.
- . *The Pastor's Public Ministry*. Greenville, S.C.: Reformed Academic Press, 2001.
- . *Reformed Worship: Worship that Is According to Scripture*. Greenville, S.C.: Reformed Academic Press, 2000.
- Kalooostian, Adam M. *What is the Reformed Faith. Workbook*. Ontario, Calif.: Ontario United Reformed Church, USA 2006.
- Keddie, John W. "A Review of the Pamphlet *The Psalter – The Only Hymnal?* by Iain H Murray, Banner of Truth Trust" (circa October 27, 2002). <http://www.reformed.com/pub/psalter.htm>;
- . "Whatsoever I have Commanded You," *The Gospel Magazine* (November–December 1980) 262–267.
- . *Sing the Lord's Song: Biblical Psalms in Worship*. The Knox Press, 1994; 2nd edition Pittsburgh, Pa.: Crown & Covenant Publications, 2003.
- Kelly, Douglas F. "The Puritan Regulative Principle and Contemporary Worship." In *The Westminster Confession into the 21st Century*, volume 2, edited by J. Ligon Duncan, III. 2004; repr. Fearn, Ross-shire, Scotland: Christian Focus Publications, 2005.
- Lachman, David. "Reframing Presbyterian Worship: A Critical Review of R. J. Gore's 'Pursuit of Plainness,'" *The Confessional Presbyterian* 1 (2005) 135–141.
- . *Scottish Presbyterianism*, CD (MP3 format), Course #327a (January, 2003), Puritan Reformed Theological Seminary.
- Leithart, Peter J. *From Silence to Song: The Davidic Liturgical Revolution*. Moscow, Idaho: Canon Press, 2003.
- Lucas, Sean Michael. *On Being Presbyterian: Our Beliefs, Practices, and Stories*. Phillipsburg, N.J.: P&R Publishing, 2006.
- MacLeod, John. *Dynasty: The Stuarts: 1560–1807*. New York: Saint Martin's Press, 2001.
- Malone, Fred. "Infant Baptism and the Regulative Principle

- of worship," *The Founders Journal* 35 (Winter 1999) http://wwwFOUNDERS.org/FJ35/article1_fr.html.
- . *The Baptism of Disciples Alone: A Covenantal Argument for Credobaptism Versus Paedobaptism*. Cape Coral, Fla.: Founders Press, 2003.
- Marcellino, Jerry. "Leading the Church in God-Centered Worship: The Pastoral Role." In *Reforming Pastoral Ministry: Challenges for Ministry in Postmodern Times*, edited by John H. Armstrong. Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway Books, 2001.
- McMahon, C. Matthew. "The Regulative Principle in Worship: A brief article" (2002). <http://www.apuritansmind.com/PuritanWorship/PuritanWorshipMainPage.htm>.
- . "The Rejection of the Baptism of Disciples Alone." <http://www.apuritansmind.com/BookReviews/Sourpuss/MaloneFredBaptismDisciplesAlone.htm>.
- . "Strange Fire" (2002). <http://www.apuritansmind.com/PuritanWorship/PuritanWorshipMainPage.htm>.
- Meyers, Jeffrey J. *The Lord's Service: The Grace of Covenant Renewal Worship*. Moscow, Idaho: Canon Press, 2003.
- Miller, David A. *Contemporary Worship in the Reformed Tradition: Practical Approaches for Congregations*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Vital Faith Resources, 2001.
- Mohon, Roy. "Iain H. Murray *The Psalter – the Only Hymnal?* A Review and Response." 2001. <http://www.truthzone.co.uk/WHCpsalmsIHM.htm>.
- Morecraft, III, Joe. *How God Wants Us to Worship Him: An Exposition and Defense of the Regulative Principle of Worship*. Cumming, Ga.: Triumphant Publications, 2001.
- Muller, R. A. and Rowland S. Ward. *Scripture and Worship*. Phillipsburg, Pa.: P & R, 2007.
- Murray, Iain H. "The Directory for the Public Worship of God." In *To glorify and enjoy God: a commemoration of the 350th anniversary of the Westminster Assembly*, edited by John L. Carson and David W. Hall. Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1994.
- . "The Reformers and the Regulative Principle." In *The Reformation of the Church*. Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1965; repr. 1987.
- . "Scripture and 'Things Indifferent' A central issue in Puritan controversy." In *Diversity in Unity: Papers Read at the Puritan and Reformed Studies Conference, December 1963*. London: Available from *The Evangelical Magazine*, 1964.
- . *A Scottish Christian Heritage*. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 2006.
- Needham, Nick. "Westminster and Worship: Psalms, Hymns? and Musical Instruments?" In *The Westminster Confession into the 21st Century*, volume 2, edited by J. Ligon Duncan, III. 2004; repr. Fearn, Ross-shire, Scotland: Christian Focus Publications, 2005.
- . "Worship Through the Ages." In *Give Praise to God: A Vision for Reforming Worship: Celebrating the Legacy of James Montgomery Boice*, edited by Philip Graham Ryken, Derek W. H. Thomas, and J. Ligon Duncan III. Phillipsburg, N.J.: P&R Publishing, 2003.
- Nelson, Brent F. and Beverly A. Gaddy. "Presbyterian Church in America." In *Pulpit and Politics: Clergy in American Politics at the Advent of the Millennium*, edited by Corwin E. Smidt. Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2004.
- New City Fellowship (PCA). [Untitled] <http://www.newcityfellowship.com/music.html>.
- Old, Hughes Oliphant. "Calvin's Theology of Worship." In *Give Praise to God: A Vision for Reforming Worship: Celebrating the Legacy of James Montgomery Boice*, edited by Philip Graham Ryken, Derek W. H. Thomas, and J. Ligon Duncan III. Phillipsburg, N.J.: P&R Publishing, 2003.
- . *Worship that is Reformed according to Scripture*. Richmond, Va.: John Knox, 1984; 2002.
- Orthodox Presbyterian Church. "Report of the Committee on Song in Worship Presented to the Thirteenth General Assembly, on the Teaching of Our Standards Respecting the Songs That May Be Sung in the Public Worship of God." *Orthodox Presbyterian Church, Minutes of the General Assembly* [1946].
- Peel, Warren. "Framing the Regulative Principle," *Reformed Theological Journal* 19 (November 2003) 17–28.
- Pennington, Jeff. "Why I Believe in the Regulative Principle of Worship" (2003). http://www.lakeside-church.org/Pos_Papers/pos_regulative_worship.htm.
- Pipa, Joseph, A., Jr. et al. *The Worship of God: Reformed Concepts of Biblical Worship*. Fearn, Tain, Ross-shire, Scotland: Christian Focus Publications, and Taylors, S.C.: Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, 2005.
- Postma, Rick. "Worship Wars," *Messenger* (June 2004). Online at <http://www.frcna.org/Messenger/Archive.asp?Issue=200406>.
- Presbyterian Church in America. *Book of Church Order*. Lawrenceville, Ga.: The Office of the Stated Clerk of the Presbyterian Church in America, 2006.
- . *Minutes of the Twenty-Second General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America*. Atlanta, Ga.: Office of the Stated Clerk of the Presbyterian Church in America, 1994.
- . *Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America*. Atlanta, Ga.: Office of the Stated Clerk of the Presbyterian Church in America, 1999.
- Price, John. *Old Light on New Worship: Musical Instruments and the Worship of God, A Theological, Historical and Psychological Study*. Avinger, Tex.: Simpson Publishing, 2005.
- Rayburn, Robert G. "Evangelical Worship in Our Day." In *Practical Theology and the Ministry of the Church, 1952–1984: Essays in Honor of Dr. Edmund P. Clowney*, edited by Edmund P. Clowney. Phillipsburg, N.J.: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1990.
- Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, Committee on the Study of the Doctrine of Worship. *The Worship of the Church: A Reformed Theology of Worship*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Crown and Covenant, 2004.
- Reisinger, Ernest C. *Thoughts on the Regulative Principle in a Reforming Situation*. Cape Coral, Fla.: Christian Gospel Foundation, 1982.
- Rice, Howard L. and James C. Huffstutler. *Reformed Worship*. Louisville, Ky.: Geneva Press, 2001.
- Ritchie, Daniel F. N. *The Regulative Principle of Worship: Explained and Applied*. N.p. [Longwood, Fla.]: Xulon Press, 2007.
- Robertson, George. "Regulative or Relative? The Regulative Principle in Southern Presbyterianism, a Th.M. paper written for Covenant Seminary" (13 April 1994).
- Robinson, E. Bennett. "How Shall We Now Worship? Applying The Regulative Principle," *WRS Journal* 7/1 (February 2000) 24–35.
- Robinson, Jeff. "Whitney: Worship should be God-centered & biblical," *Baptist Press*, 11 November 2003. Online at <http://www.baptistpress.org/bpnews.asp?ID=17059>.
- Rule, Gilbert. *The Good Old Way Defended against the attempts of A.M. D.D. in his book called, An enquiry into the new opinions, (chiefly) propagated by the Presbyterians of Scotland* Edinburgh: Heirs and successors of Andrew Anderson, 1697.
- Rutherford, Samuel. *The Divine Right of Church-Government and Excommunication....* London: John Field for Christopher Meredith [1646].
- Ryan, Joseph "Skip." *Worship: Beholding the Beauty of the Lord*. Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway Books, 2005.

- Ryken, Philip Graham, Derek W. H. Thomas, and J. Ligon Duncan III, eds. *Give Praise to God: A Vision for Reforming Worship: Celebrating the Legacy of James Montgomery Boice*. Phillipsburg, N.J.: P&R Publishing, 2003.
- Savaštio, Jim. (Audio Recording) "The Law of God Pt. 4: The Second Commandment" (2002). Available at http://www.npbwebsite.org/html/audio_cassettes.html. Also available online at sermonaudio.com.
- Schwertley, Brian. "The Biblical Case for Exclusive Psalmody." In *The Worship of God: Reformed Concepts of Biblical Worship*. Fearn, Tain, Ross-shire, Scotland: Christian Focus Publications, and Taylors, S.C.: Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, 2005.
- . *The Regulative Principle of Worship and Christmas*. Haslett, Mich.: Covenanted Reformation Press, 2003.
- . *Sola Scriptura and The Regulative Principle of Worship*. Southfield, Mich.: Reformed Witness, n.d.
- Shaw, Benjamin. "The Biblical Case for Hymnody." In *The Worship of God: Reformed Concepts of Biblical Worship*. Fearn, Tain, Ross-shire, Scotland: Christian Focus Publications, and Taylors, S.C.: Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, 2005.
- Sibley, Larry. *Worship: Discovering What Scripture Says*. Colorado Springs, Colo.: Shaw Books, 2003.
- Smith, Frank J. and David C. Lachman, eds. *Worship in the Presence of God: A collection of essays on the nature, elements, and historic views and practice of worship*. Greenville, S.C.: Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, 1992.
- Smith, Frank J. and Lee Irons. "Exclusive Psalmody Debate: Lee Irons and Frank Smith." Warfield List, March 14th–April 17th, 2000. Privately Compiled and Edited (2005). Online at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/bbwarfield/files/>.
- Smith, Frank J. *The History of the Presbyterian Church in America: The Silver Anniversary Edition*. Lawrenceville, Ga.: Presbyterian Scholars Press, 1999.
- Taylor, Junell. "The Regulative Principle of Worship and Basic Definitions" (2001). http://users2.ev1.net/~providencechurch/regulative_principle.htm.
- Terpstra, Charles. "The active participation of believers." In David Engelsma, Barry Gritters and Charles Terpstra, *Reformed Worship*. Grandville, Mich.: Reformed Free Publication Association, 2004.
- . "A conscious involvement." In David Engelsma, Barry Gritters and Charles Terpstra, *Reformed Worship*. Grandville, Mich.: Reformed Free Publication Association, 2004.
- . "A serious preparation for worship." In David Engelsma, Barry Gritters and Charles Terpstra, *Reformed Worship*. Grandville, Mich.: Reformed Free Publication Association, 2004.
- The Theology Committee of the ARBCA: Rev. Don Lindblad – Chairman, Rev. Tom Lyon, Dr. Fred Malone, Rev. Fred Pugh, Dr. James Renihan, Dr. Mike Renihan. *A Position Paper Concerning the Regulative Principle of Worship: A Report by the Theology Committee of the Association of Reformed Baptist Churches of America* (Formally Approved by the General Assembly March 8, 2001). See <http://65.71.233.194/arbca/pdf/Principle.PDF>.
- Thomas, Derek W. H. "The Regulative Principle: Responding to Recent Criticism." In *Give Praise to God: A Vision for Reforming Worship: Celebrating the Legacy of James Montgomery Boice*, edited by Philip Graham Ryken, Derek W. H. Thomas, and J. Ligon Duncan III. Phillipsburg, N.J.: P&R Publishing, 2003.
- Toon, Peter and Dr. L. Roy Taylor, Dr. Paige Patterson, and Sam E. Waldron. *Who Runs The Church? Four Views of Church Government*, edited by Steven B. Cowan and Stanley N. Gundry. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2004.
- Trueman, Carl R. "The Theology of the English Reformers." In *The Cambridge Companion to Reformation Theology: Cambridge Companions to Religion*, edited by David Bagchi and David C. Steinmetz. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- United Reformed Churches in North America. "What is the Reformed Faith, Section V, Chapter 2, Reformed Worship," (Audio Lecture) http://www.start.urchlearning.org/audio/WITRF_5_2.mp3.
- Waldron, Samuel E. (Audio Recording) "The Regulative Principle: 1. History & Theology Parts; 2. Scriptural Support; 3. Necessary Clarification; The Corporate Worship of the Church #18–19: The Regulative Principle: Prescribed Elements: Singing." Available at http://www.npbwebsite.org/html/audio_cassettes.html.
- . "Regulative Principle of Worship: The Text of a Message Given in South Africa." <http://www.atgeneva.com/regulativeprinciple.html> [placed online circa July 17, 2004].
- . *A Modern Exposition of the 1689 Baptist Confession of Faith*. Faverdale North, Darlington, England; Webster, N.Y.: Evangelical Press, 1989; 2005.
- Walker, James. *The Theology and Theologians of Scotland 1560–1750*. Edinburgh: John Knox Press, Reprinted, with additional notes, from the second revised edition of 1888, 1982.
- Ward, Rowland S. "The Directory for Public Worship Prepared by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster in the Year 1644." *Westminster Assembly 2004: A Conference on the Westminster Standards*, Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia Pa., November 21–22, 2004. Unpublished; MS dated February 18, 2006.
- Ward, Timothy. *Word and Supplement: Speech Acts, Biblical Texts, and the Sufficiency of Scripture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Watts, Malcolm H. and David Silversides. *The Worship of God*. Edinburgh: Marpet Press, 1998.
- Watts, Malcolm H. *God's Hymnbook for the Christian Church: A Response to Iain Murray's The Psalter—The Only Hymnal?* N.p.: The James Begg Society, 2003.
- Webb, Andrew James. *A Brief Guide to Presbyterian Worship, or, Why We Worship the Way We Do*. Online at <http://www.providencepca.com/essays/whyweworship.html>.
- . *Why Do Presbyterians Observe Holy Days?* (November 2002). Available online at <http://www.providencepca.com/essays/holydays.html>.
- Weir, David A. *Early New England: A Covenanted Society, Emory University Studies in Law and Religion*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2005.
- Westminster Theological Seminary in California. (Audio) *Growing Reformed Churches (2001): Worship in Spirit & in Truth*, Westminster Theological Seminary, Escondido, California, February 16–17, 2001.
- Plenary sessions: 1. Worship and the Bible (Dr. W. Robert Godfrey); 2. Worship: where and what to do (Dr. Leonard Payton); 3. The regulative principle of the church (Pastor Samuel Waldron).
- Worship in historical perspective: 1. The elements of worship (Dr. W. Robert Godfrey); 2. Worship in the Old and New Testaments (Dr. Iain Duguid); 3. Transcendence and reverence in worship (Pastor Ken Jones); 4. Emotion vs. Emotionalism in worship (Pastor Earl Blackburn); 5. Worship in American Presbyterianism (Pastor Jim Garretson).
- Worship in pastoral perspective: 1. Seeker sensitive worship (Dr. Michael Horton); 2. Singing psalms and hymns (Pastor Lee Irons); 3. Sacraments in worship (Dr. R. Scott Clark); 4. Children in worship (Pastor Ron Scheuers); 5. The hymn controversy (Dr. Darryl Hart).
- Worship in theological perspective: 1. Centrality of the word

- in worship (Pastor Samuel Waldron); 2. Musical instruments in worship (Dr. Leonard Payton); 3. Confession and absolution in worship (Dr. Kim Riddlebarger); 4. The text of hymns (Pastor Chris Beamer); 5. High church vs. low church (Dr. Hywel Jones).
- . *Growing Reformed Churches* (2002): *Spiritual Worship, A Reformed Perspective on Worship; Rediscovering the Drama of God-Centered Worship*, Bethel United Reformed Church, Jenison, Indiana, November 8–9, 2002. Speakers: Dr. W. Robert Godfrey, Dr. Michael Horton, and Rev. Terry Johnson.
- Winzer, Matthew. "Singing The Lord's Song In A Strange Land. A Review of Iain Murray's *The Psalter, The Only Hymnal?*" *Credo Quarterly* (March 2002).
- Witney, Donald S. "Private Worship." In *Give Praise to God: A Vision for Reforming Worship: Celebrating the Legacy of James Montgomery Boice*, edited by Philip Graham Ryken, Derek W. H. Thomas, and J. Ligon Duncan III. Phillipsburg, N.J.: P&R Publishing, 2003.
- Wright, David F. "The Scottish Reformation: theology and theologians." In *The Cambridge Companion to Reformation Theology: Cambridge Companions to Religion*, edited by David Bagchi and David C. Steinmetz. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Appendix: The Meaning of "Psalms" in the Context of the Westminster Standards. Pages 211–215.**
- A *Confession of Faith: put forth by the elders and brethren of many congregations of Christians (baptized upon profession of their faith) in London and the country*. N.p. 1689.
- Annan, William. *Letters on Psalmody: A Review of the Leading Arguments for the Exclusive Use of the Book of Psalms*. Philadelphia, Pa.: W.S. & A. Martien, 1859.
- Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church. *The Standards of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church*. Printed under the auspices of the General Synod of the ARP, 2006.
- Coldwell, Chris. "Examining the Work of S. W. Carruthers: Justifying a Critical Approach to the Text of the Westminster Standards and Correcting the 18th Century Lineage of the Traditional Text," *The Confessional Presbyterian* 1 (2005).
- David Laing, ed. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, A.M.* Edinburgh: Printed for Robert Ogle, 1841–1842.
- Edgar, Andrew. *Old Church Life in Scotland: Lectures on Kirk-session and Presbytery Records*. London: Alexander Gardner, 1885.
- Fleming, David Hay. "The Hymnology of the Reformation," *Original Secession Magazine* (January–June and September 1884); repr. in *An Anthology of Presbyterian & Reformed Literature* volume 4. Dallas, Tex.: Naphtali Press, 1992.
- Mitchell, Alexander F., and James Christie, D.D., eds. *The Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland Holden in Edinburgh in the Years 1646 and 1647*. Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1892.
- Needham, Nick. "Westminster and Worship: Psalms, Hymns? and Musical Instruments?" In *The Westminster Confession into the 21st Century: Essays in Remembrance of the 350th Anniversary of the Westminster Assembly*, edited by J. Ligon Duncan. 2004; rpt. Mentor Print of Christian Focus Publications: Fearn, Ross-Shire, Scotland, 2005.
- Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. *The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*. Philadelphia: Thomas Bradford, 1789.
- Ritchie, F. N. Daniel, *The Regulative Principle of Worship: Explained and Applied*. Longwood, Fla.: Xulon Press, 2007.
- Schwertley, Brian M. *Sola Scriptura and The Regulative Principle of Worship*. Southfield, Mich.: Reformed Witness, n.d.
- Stephen Pribble, "The Regulative Principle and Singing in Worship," online at <http://www.all-of-grace.org/pub/pribble/hymnsing.html>.
- Van Dixhoorn, Chad. "Chronological Bibliography of the manuscript and published papers of the Westminster Assembly." In "Reforming the Reformation: Theological debate at the Westminster Assembly, 1643–1652," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2004.
- Westminster Assembly. Draft of a Directory for Fasting and Thanksgiving and Of Singing of Psalms. House of Lords Record Office, Historical Manuscripts Reports 4–7, MP 1 Jan 1644/45.
- . "The Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechisms." In *A Collection of Confessions of Faith, Catechisms, Directories, Books of Discipline, etc.*, edited by William Dunlop Volume 1. Edinburgh: Printed by James Watson, 1719.
- . *The Confession of Faith*, etc. Edinburgh: E. Robertson, 1756.
- . *The Confession of Faith*, etc. Lumisden and Robertson, 1728; 1736; 1744.
- . *The Confessions of Faith, Catechisms, etc.* [Edinburgh: Lumisden and Robertson, 1725; 1739; Glasgow: John Bryce, 1764; 1785.
- . *Westminster Standards: Limited Anniversary Edition*. CD version. Audubon, N.J.: Old Paths Publications, 1997.
- **Presbyterians in the South and the Slave: A Study in Benevolence**, by C. N. Willborn, Ph.D. Pages 216–222.
- [Alexander, Archibald?]. "Review of Charles C. Jones, *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States* (n.p., 1842)," *The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review* XV (1843) 26–27.
- Adger, John B. *My Life and Times*. Richmond: The Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1899.
- Boles, John B. *The South Through Time*, 2 vols. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1995.
- Charleston Mercury*, October 25, 1859.
- Charleston Observer*, April 30, 1842.
- Clarke, Erskine. "Thomas Smyth: Moderate of the Old South," Th.D. Thesis, Union Theological Seminary, 1970.
- . *Dwelling Place: A Plantation Epic*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- . *Wrestlin' Jacob: A Portrait of Religion in Antebellum Georgia and the Carolina Low Country*. Reprint, Tuscaloosa, Ala.: The University of Alabama Press, 2000.
- Girardeau, John L. "Prefatory Notes," Thomas Smyth Papers, South Carolina Historical Society.
- . *A Catechism For The Oral Instruction of Coloured Persons*. Charleston: Evans and Cogswell, 1860.
- Jones, Charles Colcock. *A Catechism of Scripture, Doctrine and Practice: For Families And Sabbath Schools, Designed also for the Oral Instruction of Colored Persons*, 3rd ed. Savannah, GA: Thomas Purse and Co., 1845.
- . *The Religious Instruction of Negroes. In the United States*. Savannah, GA: Thomas Purse and Co., 1842. Available online as *The Religious Instruction of Negroes. In the United States. Electronic Edition*. The University of North Carolina, Documenting the American South.
- Kelly, Douglas. *Preachers with Power: Four Stalwarts of the South*. Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1992.

- Law, Thomas H., D.D., "Pastorate After the War." In *The Life Work of John L. Girardeau, D.D., LL.D.*, edited by George A. Blackburn. Columbia, S.C.: State Co., 1916.
- Loring, Eduard N. "Charles C. Jones, Missionary to Plantation Slaves, 1831–1847." Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1976.
- McCurry, Stephanie. *Masters of Small Worlds*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- McLaurin, D. W. "The Confederate Chaplain." In *The Life Work of John L. Girardeau, D.D., LL.D.*, edited by George A. Blackburn. Columbia, S.C.: State Co., 1916.
- Myers, Robert Manson. *The Children of Pride: A True Story of Georgia and the Civil War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972.
- Palmer, Benjamin Morgan. *Broken Home: Lessons in Sorrow*. Reprint, Greenville, SC: Reformed Academic Press, 1994.
- Pilcher, George William. *Samuel Davies: Apostle of Dissent in Colonial Virginia*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1971.
- Proceedings of the Meeting in Charleston, SC May 13–15, 1845 on the Religious Instruction of the Negroes*. Charleston, S.C.: B. Jenkins, 1845.
- Smyth, Thomas. *Autobiographical Notes, Letters and Reflections*, edited by Louisa Cheves Stoney. Charleston: Walker, Evans, Cogswell Co., 1914.
- Thompson, E. T. *Presbyterians in the South*, 3 vols. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1963–1973.
- Trescoat, Paul, et al. Paul Trescoat et al. to the Reverend J. L. Girardeau, July 27, 1865, Microfilm #160, SCL.
- Wade, Richard C. *Slavery in the Cities*. Oxford: Oxford U. P., 1964.
- Willborn, C. N. "John L. Girardeau (1825–1898): Preacher to Slaves and Theologian of Causes," Ph.D. dissertation, Westminster Theological Seminary, 2003.
- Zion Presbyterian Church. *Minutes of Session of Zion Presbyterian Church, July 27, 1869*, The Presbyterian Historical Society Philadelphia (PHS)
- Minutes of Session of Zion Presbyterian Church, Glebe Street, March 6, 1870*, The Presbyterian Historical Society Philadelphia.
- Minutes of Session of Zion Presbyterian Church, Glebe Street, October 3, 1867; April 1868; April 1869*, The Presbyterian Historical Society Philadelphia.
- *Seminary Education*, by Dr. Joseph A. Pipa, Jr. Pages 223–230.
- Alexander, Archibald. *The Log College*. Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1968.
- Calhoun, David B. *Princeton Seminary*, 2 vols. Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1994.
- Cunningham, William. *An Introduction to Theological Studies*. Greenville, S.C.: A Press, 1994.
- Dabney, Robert L. *Discussions*. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1982.
- Fraser, James W. *Schooling the Preachers: The Development of Protestant Theological Education in the United States 1740–1875*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, Inc., 1988.
- Knight, III., George W. "Subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms." In *The Practice of Confessional Subscription*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, Inc., 1995.
- Miller, Samuel. *Doctrinal Integrity: On the Utility and Importance of Creeds and Confessions and Adherence to Our Doctrinal Standards*. Dallas, Tex.: Presbyterian Heritage Publications, 1984.
- Miller, Glenn T. *Piety and Intellect: the Aims and Purposes of Ante-Bellum Theological Education*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, © 1990.
- Pipa, Joseph A. [Unpublished] Reading Guide to the Westminster Standards.
- *The Rev. Dr. Alexander McLeod, An Annotated Bibliography With Extracts from his Diaries*, by Wayne Sparkman. Pages 231–234.
- Wylie, Samuel Brown. *Memoir of Alexander McLeod, D.D.*, New York. New York: Charles Scribner, 145 Nassau Street, 1855.
- McLeod, Alexander. McLeod Family Papers, Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, Delaware.
- *Reviews & Responses*. Pages 231–268.
- Response: "A Reply to Dr Cornelis Venema on Paedocommunion." By Tim Gallant.
- Calvin, John. *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, edited by John T. McNeill and translated by Ford Lewis Battles, 2 vols. *Library of Christian Classics*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960.
- Coppes, Leonard, J. *Daddy, May I Take Communion: Paedocommunion Vs the Bible*. Leonard Coppes, 1988.
- Reply: A Further Reply to Tim Gallant on Paedocommunion, by Dr. Cornelis P. Venema
- Arndt, William F. and F. Wilbur Gingrich. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 4th ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957.
- Beckwith, Roger T. "The Age of Admission to the Lord's Table," *Westminster Theological Journal* 38/2, 136–51.
- . "The Age of Admission to Communion," *The Churchman* 85 (Spring, 1971) 13–31.
- Segal, J. B. *The Hebrew Passover from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70*. London: O.U.P., 1963.
- Review: "Peter Enns' Incarnational Doctrine of Scripture: Reformed or Not?" Peter Enns, *Inspiration and Incarnation*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2005.
- Bavinck, Herman. *Reformed Dogmatics*. ET; Bold and Vriend; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003.
- Ellis, E.E. "A Note on 1 Corinthians 10.4," *JBL*, 76/1 (March 1957) 53–56.
- Enns, P. "The Bible in Context: the Continuing Vitality of Reformed Biblical Scholarship" (Inaugural Lecture, March 2006) cf. <http://www.wts.edu/alumni/conted.html>.
- . "The Continuing Vitality of Reformed Biblical Scholarship," *Westminster Theological Journal* 68/2 (Fall 2006).
- . "A Retelling of the Song at the Sea in Wis 10:20–21," *Biblica* 76 (1995) 23.
- France, R.T. "Inerrancy and New Testament Exegesis," *Themelios* 1/1 (1975) 14. http://www.biblicalsudies.org.uk/article_inerrancy_france.html.
- Gaffin, Richard B. "Old Amsterdam and Inerrancy?" *WTJ* 44 (1982) 250–89; 45 (1983) 219–72.
- . "The Vitality of Reformed Dogmatics." In *The Vitality of Reformed Theology: Proceedings of the International Theological Congress; June 20–24th, 1994; Noordwijkerhout, The Netherlands*, edited by J. M. Batteau, J. W. Maris, and K. Veling, Uitgeverij Kok, 1994.
- Hart, D. G. "Westminster Enns," *Nicotine Theological Journal* 10/2 (April 2006) 3.
- Pratt, Richard. "Westminster's Approach To The Scriptures In Light Of Recent Evangelical Approaches," a lecture delivered at the *Westminster Confession for Today Conference*, June 19–20, 2006. Online: <http://www.pcaga.com/shop.asp?action=details&inventoryID=46060&catId=8020>.
- Sanders, James. "Review of John Collins, *Encounters With Biblical*

- Theology*,” *Review of Biblical Literature* (SBL). Online: <http://www.bookreviews.org/bookdetail.asp?TitleId=4968>.
- Vos, G. *The Pauline Eschatology*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961.
- Warfield, B. B. Review: “How God Inspired the Bible. Thoughts for the Present Distress. By J. Patterson Smyth,” *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, 5 No. 17 [1894], 169–179.
- Wells, Paul. *James Barr and the Bible*. Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1980.
- Young, E.J. “Scripture God-Breathed and Profitable,” *Grace Journal* 7/3 (Fall 1966) 4–5.
- Review: D. G. Hart, *John Williamson Nevin: High-Church Calvinist*. Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2005.
- Hart, D. G. and Mark A. Noll, eds. *Dictionary of the Presbyterian and Reformed Tradition in America*. Westmont, Ill.: IVP, 1999.
- Hart, D. G. *Recovering Mother Kirk: The Case for Liturgy in the Reformed Tradition*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 2003.
- Holifield, E. Brooks. *Theology in America: Christian Thought from the Age of the Puritans to the Civil War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Nevin, John Williamson. *The Anxious Bench*. Chambersburg, Pa., Printed at the office of the *Weekly messenger*, 1843.
- . *The Mystical Presence: A Vindication of the Reformed or Calvinistic Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*. Philadelphia, Pa.: J.B. Lippincott, 1846.
- Review: Robert L. Reymond, *The God-Centered Preacher: Developing a Pulpit Ministry Approved by God*. Ross-shire, Scotland, U.K.: Christian Focus Publications, 2003.
- Crampton, W. Gary. a review of *A New Systematic Theology of the Christian Faith*, *The Trinity Review* (February 1999).
- . *The Scripturalism of Gordon H. Clark*. The Trinity Foundation, 1999.
- Review: *Justification Report of the Committee to Study the Doctrine of Justification*. Willow Grove, Pa.: Orthodox Presbyterian Church, 2007.
- Calvin, John. *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans F. L. Battles. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960.
- Cunningham, William. *The Reformers and the Theology of the Reformation*. 1862, repr. London: Banner of Truth, 1967.
- Dabney, R.L. *Systematic Theology*. St Louis: Presbyterian Pub. Co. of St. Louis, 1878.
- Gaffin, Richard. B., Jr. “Biblical Theology and the Westminster Standards,” in *WTJ* 65 (2003).
- Hodge, Charles *Systematic Theology*. New York: Scribner’s, 1871.
- Kuyper, Abraham. *E Voto Dordraceno*. Amsterdam, 1895.
- Letham, Robert. *The Work of Christ*. Downers Grove 1993.
- Muller, Richard A. and R. S. Ward. *Scripture and Worship*. Phillipsburg: P & R, 2007.
- Ridderbos, Herman. *Paul: An Outline of his Theology*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975.
- Smith, Ralph Allen. A Response to the OPC Committee on the Doctrine of Justification. http://www.berith.org/#new_essays [accessed 2 April 2007].
- Stonehouse, Ned B. J. *Gresham Machen, a biographical memoir*, 3rd edition. Westminster Theological Seminary, 1978.
- Thornwell, J. Henley. *Collected Writings*. Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1871–1873.
- Ward, Rowland S. Review: L. B. Schenck, *The Presbyterian Doctrine of Children in the Covenant*. In *The Confessional Presbyterian* 2 (2006) 181–184.
- Watson, Francis. “Not the New Perspective”—an unpublished paper delivered at the British New Testament Conference, Manchester, September 2001. <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/divinity/articles/watsonart.htm> [accessed 5 Jan 2004].
- Westerholm, Stephen. *Perspectives Old and New on Paul*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004.
- Wright, N. T. *What St Paul Really Said*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1997.
- *Psallo: Psalm 51. Pages 269–271.*
- “The True Psalmody.” In *An Anthology of Presbyterian & Reformed Literature*. Volume 4. Dallas, Tex.: Naphtali Press, 1991.
- In Translation: John Brown of Wamphray, *The Universal Visible Church*. From the Preface to *Libri Duo*. Pages 208–210.
- Anonymous. *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos*. Cited in S. Joel Garver, “The Epistle of Davenant (Epistola Davenantii) Bishop of Salisbury to Samuel Ward, Master of Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge.” <http://www.joelgarver.com/writ/hist/davenant.htm> [accessed June 6, 2007].
- Brown, John (of Wamphray). *De Causa Dei contra Antisabbatarios*. 2 vols. Rotterdam, 1674–1676.
- Garver, S. Joel. “The Epistle of Davenant (Epistola Davenantii) Bishop of Salisbury to Samuel Ward, Master of Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge.” <http://www.joelgarver.com/writ/hist/davenant.htm> [accessed June 6, 2007].
- Lachman, D. C. “Brown, John (of Wamphray).” In *Dictionary of Scottish Church History & Theology*, edited by Nigel M. De S. Cameron, David F. Wright, David C. Lachman, and Donald E. Meek. Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1993.
- MacPherson, John. *The Doctrine of the Church in Scottish Theology*. Edinburgh: MacNiven & Wallace, 1903.
- Theodoret. “Ecclesiastical History.” In *Nicene And Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series*, Vol. 3, ed. Philip Schaff. 1892; Rpt. Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, n.d.
- Voetius, Gisbertus (Gijsbert Voet). *Politica Ecclesiastica*, volume 1 [Amsterdam: 1663].
- Walker, James. *The Theology and Theologians of Scotland, 1560–1750*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1872.; Second Edition, edited by N.L. Walker and W.G. Blaikie, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1888; repr. Edinburgh: Knox Press, 1982.
- Wodrow, Robert. *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*. Glasgow: Blackie, Fullarton & Co., 1828.
- *Antiquary: T. & J. Swords. Part One. Pages 211–232.*
- Aldridge, Alfred Owen. *The Dragon and the Eagle: The Presence of China in the American Enlightenment*. Wayne State University Press, 1993.
- Associate Reformed Church. *The Constitution and Standards of the Associate-Reformed Church in North America*. New York: T & J Swords, 1799.
- . *A draught of an overture for the government, worship, & discipline of the Associate-Reformed Church in North America* (1796).
- . *Extract from the minutes of the acts and proceedings of the Associate Reformed Synod, met at Philadelphia, May 29,*

- 1797, and continued by adjournments. Published by order of synod (1797).
- . *Extracts from the minutes of the acts and proceedings of the Associate Reformed Synod, met at Philadelphia, May 30, 1798; and continued by adjournments. Published by order of Synod (1798).*
- Bercovitch, Sacvan, ed. *The Cambridge History of American Literature Vol. 1: 1590-1820.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997.
- Brown, Charles Brockden. *Arthur Mervyn, or, Memoirs of the year 1793* (Philadelphia: H. Maxwell, 1799).
- . *Edgar Huntly; or, The sleep walker* (Philadelphia: Printed by H. Maxwell, 1800).
- . *Jane Talbot* (Philadelphia: John Conrad, 1801).
- . *Ormond, or, The Secret Witness* (New York: Printed by G. Forman, for H. Caritat, 1799).
- . *Wieland; or The Transformation. An American Tale* (New York: T. & J. Swords, 1798).
- Butler, Charles E. "T. & J. Swords, Publishers," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 58 (1954) 89–90.
- Chinard, Gilbert. "Progress and Perfectibility in Samuel Miller's Intellectual History." In George Boas et al (eds.), *Studies in Intellectual History.* Baltimore, 1953.
- Coldwell, Chris. "Examining the Work of S. W. Carruthers: Justifying a Critical Approach to the Text of the Westminster Standards & Correcting the 18th Century Lineage of the Traditional Scottish Text," *The Confessional Presbyterian* 1 (2005).
- Curti, Merle. *The Growth of American Thought.* New York, 1943.
- De Witt, John. "The Intellectual Life of Samuel Miller, The Opening Address of the Session 1905–06 at Princeton Theological Seminary," *The Princeton Theological Review* (April 1906) 179.
- Evans, Clark. Personal Correspondence: Clark Evans, Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress, to Chris Coldwell, December 5, 2006.
- Fechner, Robert. "Introduction." In Samuel Miller, *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* (Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum, 2001) v–xi. Online in archive at <http://tinyurl.com/2gngct>.
- Gaskell, Philip. *A New Introduction to Bibliography.* New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 1972.
- Gravell, Thomas L., George Miller and Elizabeth Walsh. *American Watermarks 1690–1835.* New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 2002.
- Hall, Robert Courtney. *A Scientist in the Early Republic, Samuel Latham Mitchill 1764–1831.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1934.
- Hook, Andrew. "Samuel Miller's *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* and its Scottish Context." In *From Goosecreek To Ganderclough: Studies in Scottish-American Literary and Cultural History.* East Linton, Scotland, 1999.
- Jantz, Harold S. "The Samuel Miller Papers at Princeton," *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, IV (1943) 68–75.
- [Johnston, Paul.] "T. & J. Swords, Early New York Printers," *The Book Collector's Packet* 1 (1932) 16–17.
- Mason, John M. *Letters on frequent communion: addressed particularly to the members of the Associate-Reformed Church in North-America* (1798).
- May, Henry F. *The Enlightenment in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- McKim, Donald K. and David F. Wright. *Encyclopedia of the Reformed Faith.* Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992.
- Miller, Edward. *The Medical Works of Edward Miller, late professor of the practice of physic in the University of New York, and resident physician of the city of New York collected, and accompanied with a biographical sketch of the author, by Samuel Miller.* New York: Collins and Co., 1814.
- Miller, Samuel. *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century. Part the First; in Two Volumes: containing a Sketch of the Revolutions and Improvements in Science, Arts and Literature during that Period.* By Samuel Miller, A.M.... New York: T. & J. Swords, 1803.
- Miller, Samuel (1816–1883). *Life of Samuel Miller, D.D. LL.D.* Philadelphia, Pa: Claxton, Remsen, and Haffelfinger, 1869.
- Pintard, John. *Letters from John Pintard to his Daughter.* New York: Printed for the New York Historical Society, 1940–41.
- Scouller, James Brown. *History of the United Presbyterian Church of North America* (New York: Christian Literature Company, 1894).
- Warfield, B. B. "Notes Toward A Bibliography of the Westminster Confession: II. American, *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, xiii (1902).
- Westminster Assembly of Divines. *The Westminster Confession.* Glasgow: FPP, 1976. 6th ed. 1990.
- White, George Willard. "Reference Books for History of Geology." In *Essays on History of Geology.* New York, Arno Press, 1978.
- *In Brief:* Alexander M'Leod on the Call to the Gospel Ministry; Alexander M'Leod on a Pastor According to God's Heart. *Pages 117; 154.*
- M'Leod, Alexander. *The Constitution, Character, and Duties of the Gospel Ministry: a sermon, preached at the ordination of the Rev. Gilbert McMaster, in the First Presbyterian Church, Duaneburgh.* New-York: Printed by J. Seymour, 1808.

ADDENDA & ERRATA

ADDENDA— Samuel Miller, D. D. (1769–1850) *An Annotated Bibliography.* By Wayne Sparkman, M.A.R., M.Div. *The Confessional Presbyterian* 1 (2005) 11–40.

PORTRAITS, DRAWINGS AND PHOTOGRAPHY OF DR. MILLER—

- Portrait by Thomas Sully, 1812, reproduced in *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, volume 14, p. 55, from a portrait in the possession of the Hon. Breckinridge Long, the last known owner (ca. 1953). Current location is unknown. The portrait can be viewed online at http://libweb5.princeton.edu/visual_materials/pulc/pulc_v_14_n_2.pdf. UPDATE: Donated in 2006 to Princeton Seminary by Breckinridge Willcox.

ERRATA— *The Confessional Presbyterian* 2 (2006).

- Page 142. Footnote 137 for 2005 read 2006.
- Page 184. Col. 2 line 15 from bottom, read "lightning."
- Page 193. Col 1. 2nd ¶ line 5 read "members of the."
- Page 224. Col. 2. 1st full ¶ line 9 del. "by."
- The reader will please excuse other minor errors.

John Calvin, the Nascent Sabbatarian, Continued from Page 14.

Sabbath almost disappears from recorded Christian practice after Christ's resurrection," and that furthermore, "the indirect evidence is very strong, and shows not merely that the Lord's Day was kept by Jewish Christians, but that it originated with them," for it is likely "that the church in Palestine *originally* observed both the Sabbath and the Lord's Day."⁴⁵

In short, Calvin's understanding of the biblical doctrine of the Lord's Day or Christian Sabbath, while off slightly due largely to an exegetical error, and (understandably) not so well developed as that of his Puritan successors, is in sufficient agreement with them on the central issues that he is certainly not 'non-sabbatarian' as some have suggested. In fact, one may justly categorize Calvin together with later sabbatarians; the term 'nascent sabbatarian' would seem most appropriate. ■

Edwards' Freedom of the Will, Continued from Page 103.

The present author concludes this review and analysis of *Freedom of the Will* by turning to the advice that Martyn Lloyd-Jones once gave to a man seeking to learn more about the doctrines of the Christian faith. Said Lloyd-Jones: "My advice to you is: Read Jonathan Edwards.... Read this man. Decide to do so. Read his sermons; read his practical treatises, and then go on to the great discourses on theological subjects."⁴⁹ Better advice could hardly be given. If one wants to know about the Christian faith in its richest Calvinistic form, he could do no better than beginning by reading Jonathan Edwards.

Soli Deo Gloria. ■

45. Roger T. Beckwith and Wilfrid Stott, *This is the Day: The Biblical Doctrine of the Christian Sunday in its Jewish and Early Church Setting* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott: 1978) 30–32.

49. From D. Martyn Lloyd-Jones, "Jonathan Edwards and the Crucial Importance of Revival," as cited in Justin Taylor, "Reading Jonathan Edwards: Objections and Recommendations," *A God Entranced Vision of All Things: The Legacy of Jonathan Edwards*, edited by John Piper and Justin Taylor (Wheaton, Illinois: Crossway Books, 2004) 269.

33. *Minutes of Session of the Zion Presbyterian Church, Glebe Street, August 15, 1869*, PHS. An announcement of the events of Sunday evening August 15, 1869 was published in the *Southern Presbyterian and Index*, nd., available on Microfilm #160, SCL.

34. Girardeau was elected Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology in the Columbia Theological Seminary in 1875 and remained in that chair until 1893 when his failing health forced his retirement. He died a peaceful death in Columbia on June 23, 1898 and lies awaiting the resurrection of the body in Columbia's Elmwood Cemetery.

Presbyterians in the South and the Slave, Continued from Page 222.

Zion Session, the following Freedmen were nominated to serve in the office of Ruling Elder—Paul Trescott, William Price, Jacky Morrison, Samuel Robinson, William Spencer, and John Warren. On "Sabbath August 15, 1869, 8 ½ P.M." the congregation of Zion Presbyterian Church (Colored) met for worship and the ordination and installation of their Ruling Elders. Girardeau chose for his text on this occasion Acts 14:23—"And when they had appointed for them elders in every church, and had prayed with fasting ... they commended them to the Lord." The records tell us, "Session did then with prayer and the imposition of their hands ordain the persons ... and install them in the same." Thus, Zion became the first Southern church governed by black elders.³³ Girardeau had done what Dabney and a host of other Southern churchmen would not consider doing. He had admitted that black men could be qualified to rule in the church. He had exhibited his approbation by participating in the holy service, even the laying on of hands. What Dabney and others doubted possible, Girardeau confirmed as real.

Sadly, Girardeau's experiment did not gain prominence in the Southern Church. In 1874, the Presbyterian Church US, under political and social pressures from within and without, voted to segregate their communion into black and white churches. Girardeau opposed the move, lost the vote, and lost his beloved Zion.³⁴ Within a few short years many black Presbyterians across the South affiliated with the Presbyterian Church USA, leaving the Presbyterian Church US.

CONCLUSION

All human weaknesses aside, the heritage of Davies, Jones, Adger, Smyth, and Girardeau is a good one. Their sacrificial labors could and should serve as a model for many today. Our elders and deacons should adopt a paternalistic model toward the precious sheep entrusted to them by our heavenly Father. A great sensitivity and shepherd like service would follow. The men we have considered loved their black brothers and gave themselves to the good work even in the face of social, political, and ecclesiastical difficulties. No doubt there are many rejoicing in the presence of our LORD today because of the loving ministries of these men and countless others like them. ■

Seminary Education, Continued from Page 230.

Catechisms as the guide to the survey. Readings are required in Calvin's Institutes as well as catechism memorization" (Greenville Catalogue).

Third, we seek to teach all doctrine courses exegetically. But when the truth has been established from Scripture, we use the summary found in the Standards.

Fourth, the students are required to memorize the Shorter Catechism. Ideally they go through the catechism three times in the four year curriculum. (Students from Continental Reformed denominations may substitute the Heidelberg Catechism.)

Fifth, we encourage exegetical/doctrinal preaching. Our students are encouraged to relate the truth of the text they are preaching to the doctrines of the Westminster Standards.

We live in a day with amazing resources. We need to pray that God will raise up godly men and that our seminaries will labor to provide the churches with an academic, confessional, and practical program for ministerial training. Why should we settle for less? Why should the people in the pew settle for less when our forefathers who lived in a less educated age with fewer resources had a ministry so superior? But as long as the church settles for less, as long as the church settles for mediocre preaching, as long as the church settles for men that cannot carry on a logical conversation, she will have a poorly educated ministry. On the other hand, if the church is guilty of wanting her ears tickled and not wanting doctrine taught and sin exposed, she is going to get a ministry that will meet her expectations. ■

The Regulative Principle of Worship: Sixty Years in Reformed Literature Part Two (2000–2007), Continued from Page 215.

“singing of psalms” is found in the approval of the Assembly’s “Paraphrase of the Psalmes,” which had been purged of nothing else, seems to confirm the specific use of the term “psalm” rather than a more general use to mean any spiritual song. Verifying the plain sense of the Divines from within the context of their work and the documents they produced is a sufficiently reasonable and conclusive approach to confirm their meaning, and avoids bean-counting opinions from outside their work to guess at what they “might” have meant by “psalm” in Confession of Faith 21.5. ■

In Translation: John Brown of Wamphray Singing of Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs in the Public Worship of God, Continued from Page 279.

each church would not be destitute of the ability to produce these songs, since in such public exercise the forerunning churches must take first place.²⁰ Christ surely has granted all necessary gifts to the church. This gift, however, is very rare, and not common either to the churches or its members.

(4) If Psalms and hymns so composed and written must be utilized, either the hymns must be examined or proved before they are actually introduced for public use, or not. If not, is it not likely that the church would end up with some erroneous, absurd songs and the like?²¹ If they were examined and approved beforehand, with regard to both substance and form, isn’t it also likely that sometimes the occasion would

be lost for which the song was especially prepared before it had a chance of being introduced for use? And so, too often in public gatherings, either there would be at times no sacred songs, or, composed ahead of time, or insufficient use would be made with regard to the current occasion.

(5) It is certain that the Psalms and hymns in Scripture were dictated by the infallible Spirit. No one will deny that those hymns are superior which were composed by the infallible Spirit than those composed by private individuals, regardless of how gifted they may be. Who is going to believe that it was God’s will to replace his divine songs left to us with purely human ones?

(6) If this sort of thing happens, it turns out as it did in the papal psalters, as Martyr witnesses concerning 1 Cor. 14: 26, “Indeed, let the church not be led by its own inspiration, nor let ignorant pastors in their own judgment and prudence substitute bronze for gold, in place of the Psalms and spiritual songs which they celebrate as praise to God. These traditions are most frequently absurd, mere fables, and ridiculous.” So also Nicephorus witnesses in Book 9, chapter 24, Athanasius and Photius in *The Epitome of Philostorgius’ History*, Book 2, section 2, that Arius and his followers changed certain among the received hymns, and composed new songs, including for sailors, millers, and travelers, so that he might furtively lead people to his own impiety.

(7) The ancients sang the Davidic Psalter, as Augustine witnesses, Book 10, chapter 33, *Confessions*; Theodoretus, *Histories*, Book 2, chapter 24,²² claims that Flavinus and Diodorus handed down the Davidic hymns to be sung. Augustine, Epistle 119, chapter 18, boasts that the divine songs of the prophets be sung solemnly in the church. He discusses the problem of the Donatists who abandoned the hymns of David and sang songs composed out of their own imagination. The Council of Laodicea, canon 59, forbid the speaking of private psalms in the church.

(8) How great an evil has arisen from this license in the Roman church has already been sufficiently noted.

(9) The apostle prescribes for us the substance of the songs in Eph 5:19 and Col 3:16, for *Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs* are themselves titles of the Psalms of David and others....

(TO BE CONTINUED)

TRANSLATED BY N. E. BARRY HOFSTETTER, Th.M. ■

20. This argument is a bit obscure, but Brown appears to be making a reference to the practice in the ancient church, implying that the practice would have not only been clearly instituted by Christ, but would date back to antiquity.

21. Brown here appears to have risen to the level of prophet, considering some of the musical proclivities of the contemporary worship genre.

22. [Ed. This appears to be chapter 19 in *Nicene And Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series*, Vol. 3, ed. Philip Schaff (1892; Rpt. Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, n.d.).]

Contributing Editors: Dr. Richard E. Bacon (RPC-Hanover). Dr. Bacon is pastor of the Faith Presbyterian Church, Reformed of Mesquite, Texas. He has written many articles and books, including *What Mean Ye By This Service: Paedocommunion in Light of Passover, The Visible Church & the Outer Darkness*, and *Revealed to Babes: Children in the Worship of God*.

Dr. W. Gary Crampton (RPCGA). Dr. Crampton holds the degrees of Th.M and Th.D (Whitefield Theological Seminary) and Ph.D. (Central School of Religion, Surrey, England). He is the author of many books and articles, including: *What Calvin Says, Study Guide to the Westminster Confession, The Scripturalism of Gordon H. Clark, By Scripture Alone, What the Puritans Taught and Meet Jonathan Edwards*.

Dr. J. Ligon Duncan, Ph.D. (PCA). Dr. Duncan is Senior Minister of the First Presbyterian Church, Jackson, Miss. He is the author of numerous articles and books, including, *The Westminster Assembly: A Guide to Basic Bibliography* (with David W. Hall), *A Short History of the Westminster Assembly* (with William Beveridge), and William Cunningham's *An Introduction to Theological Studies* (edited and introduced).

John T. Dyck (BPC). John Dyck is the pastor of the Edmonton Bible Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, Alberta. He is also the website manager for the Westminster Shorter Catechism Project (www.shortercatechism.com) and co-editor of *Pulpit & Pew*, an online journal of pastoral theology (www.pastoraltheology.com).

Dr. David W. Hall, Ph. D. Dr. Hall is the Senior Pastor of Midway Presbyterian Church (PCA), Powder Springs, Georgia, and is the author or editor of several books, including *The Arrogance of the Modern* (1997), *Savior or Servant: Putting Government in Its Place* (1996), *Election Day Sermons* (1996), *Paradigms in Polity* (1994), *The Practice of Confessional Subscription* (1997), and *The Genevan Reformation and the American Founding* (2003). He previously served as Pastor of the Covenant Presbyterian Church and the Founding Director of the Kuyper Institute in Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

R. Sherman Isbell (FCSC). Mr. Isbell is minister of Westminster Presbyterian Church, Bethesda, Maryland, a congregation of the Free Church of Scotland (Continuing), which has a presbytery in North America.

Ray B. Lanning (ARPC): Mr. Lanning is a graduate of Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia (M.Div., 1977) and served as Student Assistant from 1973–1977 to Dr. James M. Boice, Tenth Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. He has served churches in various Presbyterian and Reformed denominations (ARPC, PCA, CRC) and presently is minister of the ARPC of Grand Rapids. He is also instructor at Puritan and Reformed Seminary in Grand Rapids, and editorial

assistant to the seminary's president, Dr. Joel R. Beeke. He is the editor, coauthor and author of numerous articles and chapters in books, periodicals and reference books.

John R. Muether (OPC). Mr. Muether is Library Director and Associate Professor of Church History at Reformed Theological Seminary in Orlando, Florida. He also serves as the Historian of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church.

Thomas G. Reid (RPCNA). Mr. Reid is Assistant Professor, Librarian and Registrar at Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh.

Dr. Frank J. Smith. Dr. Smith is author of *The History of the Presbyterian Church in America: The Continuing Church Movement*, and co-edited with Dr. David C. Lachman, *Worship in the Presence of God: A collection of essays on the nature, elements, and historic views and practice of worship* (1992). He is pastor of the Covenant Reformed Presbyterian Church of Sheboygan, Wisconsin.

Wayne Sparkman, M.A.R., M.Div. (PCA). Mr. Sparkman is director of the PCA Historical Center, St. Louis, Missouri.

Alan Strange (OPC). Mr. Strange is Associate Professor of Church History, Theological Librarian, and Registrar for Mid America Reformed Seminary, and he is associate pastor for New Covenant Community Church, New Lenox, Illinois.

C. N. Willborn, Ph.D. (PCA). Dr. Willborn is Associate Professor of Church History at Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Greenville, South Carolina.

Editorial Assistance: Our thanks go to Mr. Carl Betsch for laying out the musical score in *Psallo*, and to Mr. B. J. Mora for extensive proof reading of many of the texts.

General Editor: Through Naphtali Press, Chris Coldwell has edited and published new editions of classic Presbyterian and Reformed books since 1987. These include two substantial works: a critical edition of George Gillespie's *A Dispute Against the English Popish Ceremonies* (1993), now out of print, and James Durham's *Christ Crucified: Or, the Marrow of the Gospel in Seventy-Two Sermons on the Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah* (2001; reprint 2007). Mr. Coldwell is currently compiling a new critical text of the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, building upon the work of Dr. S. W. Carruthers. In 2004, as a research associate of the Westminster Assembly Project, he completed a draft transcription of the two surviving manuscripts of the Westminster Larger Catechism, and there are plans to publish that text. For 2007 the Editor assumed responsibility for the publication of *The Confessional Presbyterian* journal, which is now published under Confessional Presbyterian Press. Mr. Coldwell is a member of the Lakewood Presbyterian Church (PCA) in Dallas, Texas. ■