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Front Cover: John Knox (1514?–1572), based upon a sketch and painting by Sir David Wilkie, "John Knox dispensing the Sacrament at Calder House."
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Editorial

Whether you are reading for the first time or you have been an annual reader for some years, welcome to the pages of *The Confessional Presbyterian.* For most of our readers it is no secret that John Calvin (1509–64) has in many respects "out lasted" all other sixteenth century reformers. The only possible exception to that may be his senior reformer, Martin Luther. From the pew to the pastor's study to the seminary classroom, Calvin is a pretty standard fixture. Part of the reason for this is that he's been made so accessible through herculean translational efforts. His commentaries, *Tracts and Treatises,* and, of course, *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* all find special places in most Calvinistic ministers' libraries. Not insignificantly, he is still being translated in many parts of the world today.

Indeed, there was a considerable celebration of his life in 2009. One of the largest organized efforts was simply titled **Calvin 500**, with website, international conferences, and all the trimmings. *The Confessional Presbyterian* was not absent from the party as we acknowledged the 500th anniversary of the Genevan reformer's birth with our 2009 edition. So, Calvin gets a lot of our attention. With this edition of *The Confessional Presbyterian,* however, we want to acknowledge another vital piece of the Protestant Reformation set and that is the Scottish Reformation. It is our hope that this edition, and particularly the articles keyed to the Scottish theme, will generate new excitement for our Scottish branch of the Reformation.

Glen Clary leads off this year's issue with an article which nicely compliments our cover artwork which features the great Scottish reformer John Knox administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. This piece features some nice insights into the trumpeter's theology, especially with regard to Holy Communion. Drawing upon the latest scholarship in the study of John Knox (1514–72), Clary sketches not so much the Scottish preacher's practice of the Supper, but particularly the theology which stood back of his practice. Clary makes an original contribution by highlighting three dimensions—eschatological, covenantal, ecclesiological—of Knox's sacramentology.

Clary's fine article is followed by an article and sermon from Iain Wright. Wright first provides the reader with an introduction to James Begg, a 19th century theological and ecclesiastical descendent of John Knox. Begg was one of those manly-men who stood against the abuses and compromise of the mother Kirk in Scotland (the Church of Scotland) and joined Thomas Chalmers, William Cunningham, and others in the founding of the Free Church of Scotland. From this most useful introduction to Begg, Wright provides our readers with a Begg sermon, preached "on Sabbath evening November 24, [1872], being the Tercentenary of the death of John Knox." Begg preached the sermon from the historic pulpit of St. Giles Church, Edinburg—the pulpit from which Knox preached throughout his later years. The sermon title explains it relevance—"John Knox and the Reformation."

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Holy Communion in the Theology of John Knox

By Glen J. Clary

In the historical exhibition at St. Andrews Castle, we find an image of John Knox as the fiery preacher of Scotland. With outstretched arm and clinched fist, Knox is leaning over the pulpit—boldly proclaiming the Word as the trumpeter of God. This is the image that usually comes to mind when one thinks of John Knox. Yet there is another image of Knox that is equally true to history— an image that portrays him, not only as a minister of the Word, but a minister of the sacrament. In Sir David Wilkie's portrait of Knox (see cover, and page 255), we find our Reformer serving the sacrament of Holy Communion to a small band of believers sitting at a table. This image of Knox bears eloquent testimony to the legacy of our Reformer as the restorer of the sacrament of Holy Communion in the realm of Scotland.

In this article, we will examine Knox's doctrine of the Lord's Supper as it is presented in his own writings. We will focus primarily on the early development of his faith, in order to understand the influences that shaped his eucharistic theology. What we hope to demonstrate is that his doctrine of the Lord's Supper was basically set at the beginning of his ministry.[1] We will further demonstrate that that doctrine was essentially Bucerian or Calvinistic. In short, we will attempt to vindicate Knox's claim that his eucharistic theology and practice remained consistent throughout his entire ministry.

Striking at the Root

On 29 May 1546, a group of sixteen men gathered before sunrise in the priory churchyard near St. Andrews Castle, where the notorious Cardinal David Beaton resided. The men stormed the castle and forced their way into Beaton's chamber, where they found the terrified Cardinal crying out, "I am a priest! I am a priest! Ye shall not slay me!" Then, one of the men shouted, "Repent thee of thy former wicked life, especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of God, Master George Wishart, which, albeit the flame of fire consumed before men, yet cries it a vengeance upon thee; and we from God are sent to revenge it." Then, striking him with a sword, he shed his blood, and the dying Cardinal fell to the ground moaning, "I am a priest! I am a priest! Fie, fie! All is gone."[2] A few weeks earlier, Beaton had presided over the ecclesiastical court that condemned and executed George Wishart. Since his return to Scotland in 1543, Wishart had been promoting the Reformation by an extensive preaching tour, which took him from his home town of Montrose to places as far apart as Dundee, Kyle, Perth, Leith and Lothian.[3]

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1. Richard Kyle, *The Ministry of John Knox: Pastor, Preacher, and Prophet* (Wales: The Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd., 2002) 143; hereafter cited as Kyle, *Ministry*.

2. John Knox, *The History of the Reformation of Religion Within the Realm of Scotland*, edited by C. J. Guthrie (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 2000) 65–9; hereafter cited as Guthrie; John Knox, *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland*, edited by William Croft Dickinson (New York: Philosophical Library, 1949) 76–8; hereafter cited as Dickinson. On Cardinal Beaton, see Margaret H. B. Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton, c.1494–1546* (Edinburgh: J. Donald Publishers, 1986).

3. On George Wishart, see James William Baird, *Thunder Over Scotland: The Life of George Wishart, Scottish Reformer, 1513–1546* (California: Green Leaf Press, 1982); hereafter Baird, *Wishart*; Jasper Ridley, *John Knox* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968) 36–44; John Durkan, "George Wishart: His Early Life," *Scottish Historical Review* 32 (1953): 98–99; Charles Rogers, *Life of George Wishart the Scottish Martyr with His Translation of the Helvetian Confession* (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1876); Guthrie, 52–69; and Dickinson, 60–74.

He frequently addressed packed congregations in parish churches, but on some occasions, when "his entry to the church was barred by the authorities," he had to address the "crowds at open-air rallies in the fields nearby" (Ridley, 37). "Christ Jesus is as potent in the fields as in the kirk," said Wishart (Rogers, 24). When his itinerate ministry led him to Lothian, late in 1545, he encountered John Knox, who was so moved by his preaching that he joined "the little band of friends and admirers who guarded Wishart as he travelled from one safe house to the next. It was usually Knox who carried a large two-handed sword before Wishart, to frighten off his enemies."[4] This arrangement, however, abruptly came to an end, for Wishart was suddenly arrested and brought to St. Andrews Castle, where he was executed as a heretic on 1 March 1546.[5] His supporters were outraged by his death. Some of them even vowed vengeance on "the bloody butcher" Beaton. John Knox wrote,

> After the death of this Blessed Martyr of God, began the people in plain speaking, to damn and detest the cruelty that was used. Yea, men of great birth, estimation, and honour, at open tables avowed, that the blood of Master George should be revenged, or else it should cost life for life (Guthrie, 65).

Less than two months later, the despised Cardinal met his bloody retribution.

With the departure of Wishart from this world, Knox would soon take up his prophetic mantle. Although he had been ordained as a priest on 15 April 1536, Knox did not preach his first sermon until more than ten years later.[6] Ironically, he would first blast the trumpet in the same town where his master was martyred. The men who slew Cardinal Beaton barricaded themselves inside the castle walls and waited in vain for the English military to come to their aid. These so-called "Castilians" were gradually joined by other supporters, and their number grew to more than 120 men, among whom were Henry Balnaves (an important political figure) and John Rough, who became their chaplain.[7] Immediately after Easter in 1547, John Knox, together with three young pupils under his care, also sought refuge inside the castle walls.[8] Knox found the protection he needed, but he did not find "a perfect school of Christ" as he would later discover at Geneva (Reid, 45). In fact, the castle was "a hotbed of revolutionaries. Only a few of the men resident in the castle—such as Henry Balnaves and John Rough—possessed purely religious motives" (Kyle-Johnson, 43). When these two men heard Knox lecturing his students on the Fourth Gospel, they were so impressed with his teaching that they urged him to take up the public ministry of the Word.[9] Knox refused to do so without a proper call. He was finally persuaded, however, when John Rough boldly charged him from the pulpit:

> In the name of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of these that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you, that ye refuse not this holy vocation, but … that ye take upon you the public office of preaching, even as ye look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that He shall multiply His graces upon you.[10]

"Only after an outburst of tears and days of sequester in his room did Knox accept this unusual call to preach" (Kyle-Johnson, 43). When he finally stepped into the pulpit at the end of April 1547, he preached his first sermon on the seventh chapter of Daniel.[11] Knox argued that the last beast of Daniel's vision represents

4. Rosalind K. Marshall, *John Knox* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd., 2000) 9; cf. Ridley, 38–44. Knox was already a supporter of the Reformation before meeting Wishart; see *John Knox: An Introduction to His Life and Works,* ed. Richard G. Kyle and Dale W. Johnson (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock) 40–2; hereafter cited as Kyle-Johnson; cf. W. Stanford Reid, *Trumpeter of God: A Biography of John Knox* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974) 19, 24–31.

5. According to Ridely, Knox would have been martyred too if Wishart had not compelled him to flee for his own safety. "If Knox had stayed with Wishart some nine hours longer, he would have been burnt as a heretic in 1546" (Ridley, 44). Wishart "died to assert his testimony against sacerdotal arrogance and priestly corruption, which are the curse of nations. In his blood the Scottish Church took root, and so long as his countrymen cherish Protestantism and love liberty his memory will be fragrant" (Rogers, 62).

6. After his ordination, Knox served as a tutor and papal notary; see *John Knox and the British Reformations,* ed. Roger A. Mason (England: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 1998) 117–29.

7. On Henry Balnaves, see Hugh Watt, "Henry Balnaves and the Scottish Reformation," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 5 (1935): 23–9; James Edward McGoldrick, *Luther's Scottish Connection* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1989) 63–9; John Knox, *The Works of John Knox*, 6 vols., edited by David Laing (Edinburgh: Printed for the Bannatyne Club, 1846–64; reprint New York: AMS Press, 1966) 3.403–542; hereafter cited as *Works*. Cf. James K. Cameron, "Aspects of the Lutheran Contribution to the Scottish Reformation 1528–1552," *Lutheran Theological Journal* 19 (May 1985): 12–20.

8. His pupils were Francis and George Douglas and John Cockburn. Their fathers (Hugh Douglas of Longniddry and John Cockburn of Ormiston) solicited Knox to go to St. Andrews, "that he himself might have the benefit of the castle, and their children the benefit of his doctrine" (Guthrie, 70); cf. Dickinson, 81–2; Ridley, 50–3; and Reid, 44–6.

9. As Knox put it, they "began earnestly to travail with him, that he would take the preaching place upon him" (Guthrie, 71).

10. Guthrie, 72; cf. *Works*, 1.186–8; and Ridley, 53–5.

11. Knox has left us a rather detailed description of this sermon; see *Works*, 1.189–92.

the Roman Church because it "had arisen out of the ruins of the Roman Empire" (Kyle, *Ministry*, 90). Therefore, the Roman Church is none other than the Man of Sin, the Antichrist, and the Whore of Babylon (*Works*, 1.190).[12] His denunciation of the Roman Church was so vehement that his listeners could be heard saying, "Others cut the branches of the Papistry, but he strikes at the root, to destroy the whole."[13] Knox was thirty-two years of age when he commenced his preaching ministry. From that day forward, he considered preaching his chief calling.[14] Knox "was most at home in the pulpit, where he saw himself as God's mouthpiece and he described his preaching as 'blowing the trumpet'" (Mason, 20). The effect of his preaching was profound. One contemporary described it as follows: "His voice, thundering from the pulpit, was able, in one hour, to put more life in us than 500 trumpets continually blustering in our ears" (Mason, 20).

Knox's Principle of Worship

Knox's first blast of the trumpet stirred up a hornets' nest within the Roman clergy. John Winram—the Subprior of the Augustinian monastery who had recently been appointed Vicar-General of the diocese of St. Andrews—received a letter from Archbishop Hamilton, reproving him for allowing "such heretical and schismatical doctrine to be taught" without opposition (Guthrie, 75).[15] The decision that Knox should preach in the parish church at St. Andrews "would certainly have been sanctioned by Winram, if not in fact instigated by him" (Dunbar, 26). Although he was sympathetic to the Reformation and undoubtedly agreed with much of Knox's criticism of the Roman Church, Winram was not prepared to side with the Reformers.[16] He decided, therefore, to hold a convention of Grey and Black Friars at which Knox and Rough would be allowed to explain their views. When the two men appeared before the convention, they were presented with a list of articles summarizing their controversial doctrines, including the following:

> 1. Man may neither make nor devise a religion [worship] that is acceptable to God, but he is bound to observe and keep the religion [worship] that he has received from God, without any change.
>
> 2. The Sacraments of the New Testament ought to be administered just as they were instituted by Christ and practiced by the Apostles. Nothing ought to be added to them or diminished from them.
>
> 3. The Mass is an abominable idolatry, blasphemous to the death of Christ, and a profanation of the Lord's Supper.[17]

"The strangeness of these articles," explained Winram, "has moved us to call for you to hear your own answers" (Guthrie, 76). Knowing that Winram was already inclined toward the Reformation, Knox tried to maneuver him "into supporting Protestantism openly by affirming the disputed doctrines" (Dunbar, 27). Winram, however, was unwilling either to approve or condemn the articles, for he was present not to judge but only "familiarly to talk" (*Works*, 1.195). When he inquired about the denial of the Church's right to devise religious ceremonies, Knox explained that the Church ought to do nothing except in faith and that it must not go before but is bound to follow the voice of the True Shepherd (John 10:4). Papistical inventions designed to adorn the sacraments—such as the use of spittle, salt, candles and oil in the baptismal rite—are not ordained in Scripture and, therefore, cannot be done in faith. For something to be done in faith, it must derive from the Word of God, for "faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God" (Romans 10:17).

> [Therefore] if ye will prove that your ceremonies proceed from faith, and do please God, ye must prove that

12. "It has been suggested that the inspiration for this inaugural sermon, in particular Knox's ideas on the apocalypse, were derived principally from English sources – or at least from English translations of continental works" (Mason, 36); cf. Richard G. Kyle, *The Mind of John Knox* (Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1984) 215–35; hereafter Kyle, *Mind*.

13. Kyle, *Ministry*, 90; and *Works*, 1.192.

14. His "total commitment to preaching and to what preaching alone can achieve provides the real key to understanding Knox as a man, a Christian, and a reformer;" J. Douglas MacMillan, "John Knox—Preacher of the Word," *Reformed Theological Journal* (November 1987) 6. Unfortunately, only a few examples of his sermons have been preserved in writing; see *Works*, 1.189–92; 4.87–114; 6.221–71. Cf. Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church*, vol. 5 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2004) 429–32; and Pierre Janton, *John Knox (ca. 1513–1572): L'homme et l'oeuvre* (Paris: Didier, 1967) 403–505.

15. Guthrie, 75. On John Winram, see Linda J. Dunbar, *Reforming the Scottish Church: John Winram (c. 1492–1582) and the Example of Fife* (England: Ashgate, 2002).

16. Winram did eventually join the Reformed Church, and in 1560 he participated in drafting *The Scots Confession of Faith* and *The First Book of Discipline*. He also served as Superintendent of Fife from 1561–75. On Winram's changing religious convictions, see Dunbar, 15–36.

17. Guthrie, 76; *Works*, 1.193–4; cf. Peter Lorimer, *John Knox and the Church of England: His Work in Her Pulpit and His Influence Upon Her Liturgy, Articles, and Parties* (London: Henry S. King and Co., 1875) 6–7.

> God, in expressed words, has commanded them; or else shall ye never prove that they proceed from faith, nor yet that they please God, but that they are sin, and do displease him, according to the words of the Apostle, "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin" (Lorimer, 7).

At this, Winram retorted, "Will ye bind us so strait that we may do nothing without the express word of God? If I asked for a drink, would that be sin? Yet it is not commanded in Scripture" (cf. Dickinson, 89). Knox replied,

> I would not we should jest in so grave a matter. I wonder that ye compare things profane and holy things so indiscreetly together. The question was not nor is not of meat and drink, wherein the kingdom of God consists not [Romans 14:17], but the question is of God's true worshipping, without which we can have no society with God. And here it is doubted if we may take the same freedom in the using of Christ's sacraments that we may do in eating and drinking; one meat I may eat, another I may refuse, and that without scruple of conscience. I may change one with another, even as oft as I please. Whether may we do the same in matters of religion? May we cast away what we please and retain what we please? If I be well remembered, Moses, in the name of God, says to the people of Israel, "All that the Lord thy God commands thee to do, that do thou to the Lord thy God; add nothing to it, diminish nothing from it" [Deuteronomy 12:32]. By this rule think I that the Kirk of God will measure God's religion, and not by that which seems good in their own eyes (Lorimer, 7–8).

From the very beginning of his ministry, Knox was deeply devoted to the purification of Christian worship. Indeed, his "regard for worship took top priority in all his labors as a Reformer."[18] The convention of Grey and Black Friars gave Knox "his first opportunity of laying down the thesis at which he was to hammer for the rest of his life: that all ceremonies devised by man for the worship of God, without express warrant of Scripture, are idolatry."[19] Knox's demand for biblical warrant was grounded in his radical commitment to the doctrine of *sola Scriptura* (see Kyle, *Mind*, 30–8). Scripture is the only infallible authority and, therefore, the final arbiter in all matters of worship. It is the supreme liturgical norm. According to Knox, only what God has commanded in Scripture is permissible in worship; everything else is idolatry. Knox draws this principle primarily from Deuteronomy 4 and 12, which he summarizes as follows:

> [T]he plain and straight commandment of God is, "Not that thing which appears good in thy eyes, shalt thou do to the Lord thy God, but what the Lord thy God has commanded thee, that do thou: add nothing to it; diminish nothing from it" (Dickinson, 91).

This rule is the architectonic principle of Knox's theology of worship, which he uses assiduously to destroy the idols of popery.[20]

Communion at St. Andrews

Although the convention ended without resolution of the articles in question, Winram soon found a more effective way of checking the Reformers than by disputations such as this (Ridley, 58). Winram "arranged for every learned man in the priory and University to preach in the parish church on Sundays, so that there was no vacant Sunday" on which the Reformers could preach (Ridley, 58). Knox, however, was permitted to preach on weekdays, which afforded him the opportunity of commenting on the Sunday sermons as he saw fit (Dickinson, 93). The labors of Knox "were so successful during the few months that he preached at St. Andrews" that, besides the garrison in the castle, a great number of the townspeople "renounced popery, and made profession of the Protestant faith," by participating in the Lord's Supper.[21] In his *History of the Reformation*, Knox recalls the event:

> God so assisted his weak soldier, and so blessed his labours, that not only … those of the Castle, but also a great number of the town, openly professed, by participation of the Lord's Table, in the same purity that now [c.1566] it is ministered in the churches of Scotland, with that same doctrine, that he [Knox] had taught unto them (Dickinson, 93).

This evangelical celebration of Communion early in

18. Kevin Reed, "John Knox and the Reformation of Worship in the Scottish Reformation," in *Worship in the Presence of God*, edited by David Lachman and Frank J. Smith (Greenville, SC: Greenville Seminary Press, 1992) 295; cf. Richard G. Kyle, "John Knox and the Purification of Religion: The Intellectual Aspects of His Crusade Against Idolatry," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 77 (1986): 265–80.

19. Eustace Percy, *John Knox* (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1965) 56.

20. On the significance of this principle in the Reformation era, see Glen J. Clary, "Ulrich Zwingli and the Swiss Anabaptists: Sola Scriptura and the Reformation of Christian Worship," *The Confessional Presbyterian* 6 (2010): 108–24.

21. Thomas McCrie, *The Life of John Knox* (Glasgow: Free Presbyterian Publications, 1976) 32.

1547 was "an important milestone on the road from a mere Protestant Movement to a Reformed Church."[22]

Knox's claim that the Communion rite was administered "in the same purity" as it was later administered in Scotland after the Reformation has inspired much speculation. It is often assumed that "in the same purity" means "in accordance with the Genevan model" (Burnet, 2); that is, in accordance with *The Genevan Book of Order* (1556) or *The Book of Common Order* (1564). The latter was in use at the time that Knox wrote his *History*. However, it "cannot have been precisely the same service that was used in Scotland after 1560, as this had not yet been drafted" (Ridley, 59). Without any supporting evidence, Ridley suggests that the Communion rite of 1547 may have been "a form of service that Wishart and Rough and other Scottish Protestant ministers had developed for themselves, being based in all essentials on the Protestant services of Strasbourg" (Ridley, 59). "This would mean that the form used was either that of Martin Bucer or of Valerian Poullain, who used a liturgy derived from one prepared by Calvin, his predecessor as pastor of the French church" (Reid, 50–1).[23] Ridley's suggestion is interesting, but it cannot be proven. We do know, however, that, in his preaching tours, Wishart had administered the Lord's Supper according to the Reformed model. In Knox's first Communion service, he apparently followed the example of Wishart.[24] Wishart owed a great deal to the eucharistic theology of the Swiss Reformers, whom he visited in the late 1530s.[25] In fact, on his return to Scotland in 1543, he brought with him his English translation of *The First Helvetic Confession of Faith*, which Knox undoubtedly studied.[26] Knox's doctrine of the Lord's Supper "was basically set during the earliest stages of his ministry" (Kyle, *Ministry*, 143). His claim that the 1547 Communion service was celebrated "with the same doctrine" as it was later administered in Scotland in the 1560s indicates that his early eucharistic theology was not Lutheran but Reformed.[27] Scholars are divided, however, as to which specific Reformed label to hang on him. Did he follow Zwingli, Bullinger, Bucer or Calvin—or can we be no more specific than the general Reformed label?[28]

> To the extent that Bucer's, Calvin's and even Bullinger's views bore resemblance, any specific label on Knox must be conjectural. Rather it would seem that Knox's early Eucharistic thought emerged from the abundant interchange of sacramental thought taking place at that time (Kyle, *Mind*, 170).

That Knox was no mere carbon copy of Calvin has been widely recognized in our day, yet Calvin's influence on him should not be minimized.[29] It appears, however, that he did not begin any serious study of Calvin's

22. George B. Burnet, *The Holy Communion in the Reformed Church of Scotland, 1560–1960* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1960) 2.

23. On Bucer's liturgy, see Bard Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1961) 159–79; hereafter Thompson, *Liturgies*; and Bard Thompson, "Reformed Liturgies in Translation Part 2: Martin Bucer," *Bulletin of the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church* XXVIII, 1 (January 1957): 1–18. On the Strasbourg liturgy of Poullain and Calvin, see Thompson, *Liturgies*, 185–210; *Valerandus Pollanus Liturgia Sacra (1551–1555)*, edited by A. C. Honders (Leiden, 1970); and Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Patristic Roots of Reformed Worship* (Black Mountain, NC: Worship Press, 2004) 80–96.

24. See Duncan B. Forrester and Douglas M. Murray, eds., *Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996) 38; cf. Burnet, 1; William McMillan, *The Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church, 1550–1638* (London: James Clarke, 1931) 24–5; and John Howie, *The Scots Worthies* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier, 1870) 22, 28. The Communion liturgy used by Knox during his ministry in Berwick-upon-Tweed (see below) bears resemblance to the liturgy of Zurich. For this reason, McMillan suggests that Knox was exposed to the Zurich Communion rite by Wishart, and therefore, the 1547 Communion service at St. Andrews may have been drawn partly from the Communion liturgy of Zurich; see McMillan, 24–8; and Lorimer, 290–7.

25. Baird, *Wishart* 73; cf. Duncan Shaw, "Zwinglian Influences on the Scottish Reformation," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 22 (1986): 119–39.

26. Richard L. Greaves, *Theology and Revolution in the Scottish Reformation: Studies in the Thought of John Knox* (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian University Press, 1980) 97. For Wishart's translation, see Rogers, 63–73; for a modern translation, see James T. Dennison Jr., ed., *Reformed Confessions of the 16th and 17th Centuries in English Translation: Volume I, 1523–1552* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2008) 342–52. *The First Helvetic Confession* was an important confessional symbol produced in 1536 to unite the Protestant churches of German-speaking Switzerland. It was composed by Heinrich Bullinger, Simon Grynaeus, Oswald Myconius, Kaspar Megander and Leo Jud. Martin Bucer and Wolfgang Capito, who were present at the synod that adopted the confession, influenced its final form, especially its chapter on the Lord's Supper; see Greaves, 96–100.

27. The case of Sir James Balfour, discussed in Knox's *History*, confirms this; see Dickinson, 93.

28. See Kyle, *Ministry*, 143, 208; cf. Ridley, 92. On the eucharistic theologies of Zwingli, Bullinger and Calvin, see Paul Rorem, *Calvin and Bullinger on the Lord's Supper* (Bramcote, England: Grove Books Limited, 1989); and Joseph C. McLelland, "Meta-Zwingli or Anti-Zwingli? Bullinger and Calvin in Eucharistic Concord," in *Huldrych Zwingli, 1484–1531: A Legacy of Radical Reform*, edited by E. J. Furcha (Montreal: McGill University, 1985) 179–95.

29. Percy and McEwen, for example, minimize the influence of Calvin on Knox's eucharistic thought; see Percy, 230; and James S. McEwen, *The Faith of John Knox* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1961) 45–60; cf. Greaves, 86–110, 217–18. For a corrective of Percy and McEwen, see James Kirk, "The Influence of Calvinism on the Scottish Reformation," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 8 (1974): 157–79; and V. E. D'Assonville, *John Knox and the Institutes of Calvin* (Durban: Drakensberg Press, 1969) 6–22.

writings until he arrived in England in 1549 (McGoldrick, 71). At St. Andrews, the primary source of his eucharistic faith would have been Wishart's translation of *The First Helvetic Confession*, which contains a "Calvinistic type" of eucharistic theology, "older than Calvin himself."[30] According to Gerrish's taxonomy, this confession teaches "symbolic instrumentalism" rather than Zwingli's "symbolic memorialism" or Bullinger's "symbolic parallelism" (Gerrish, 232). In other words, it teaches the eucharistic theology developed by Bucer and, later, by Calvin.[31] It is certainly an exaggeration to say, as some have said, that "Bucer made Calvin a Calvinist," yet Bucer's influence on Calvin was significant, and their views on the Lord's Supper were strikingly similar.[32] Thus, Knox's early eucharistic faith was in line with the Bucerian or Calvinistic type of eucharistic theology presented in *The First Helvetic Confession*, which we will briefly summarize.

First of all, the confession denies that the sacraments are merely empty signs.[33] The sacraments are "tokens of secret things; that is, of godly and spiritual things," but they are not "naked signs;" rather, they consist of the signs and things signified together.[34] Indeed, the signs convey and offer the spiritual things that they signify (Gerrish, 232). The signs of the eucharist are the bread and wine, but the thing signified is the communion of the body and blood of Christ. In the Lord's Supper, we find salvation and the forgiveness of sins, and these things "are received by faith even as the signs and tokens are received by the mouth of the body" (Rogers, 69). The sacraments are not only "badges and tokens of Christian fellowship," they are "signs of the grace of God, by which ministers work with God, to the end that" what he has promised is brought to pass (Rogers, 69). They are instruments through which God truly gives what he promises (Gerrish, 232). Although men are used to dispense the sacraments, the power and efficacy of the sacraments are ascribed to God alone. In the Lord's Supper, Christ offers us his body and blood, "that is, His own self truly to His own, for this purpose, that He might live more and more in them and they in Him" (Rogers, 70). Union with Christ is, therefore, the purpose of the sacrament. By faith, we are united to him; we dwell in him and he in us. "He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood," said Christ, "dwells in me and I in him" (John 6:56). The faithful communicant enjoys true communion with the body and blood of Christ—not because his body and blood are "joined naturally to the bread and wine" or are locally present in them or contained in them "by any carnal or marvelous presence" (Rogers, 70). Rather, the body and blood of Christ are truly communicated because the bread and wine are sacramental signs "by which the true communion or participation of the Lord's body and blood are exhibited by the Lord himself, through the ministration of the Church, not to be perishable food for the body but to be nourishment and food for eternal life" (Rogers, 70). Thus, the real presence of Christ is affirmed, yet any carnal or local notion of presence (be it Lutheran or Roman Catholic) is denied. Christ is present spiritually; that is, by the agency of the Holy Spirit. Christ is offered as food for the soul, not for the body, and is eaten with the mouth of faith. In the Lord's Supper, "we behold with the eye of faith the death and blood of the crucified one. We remember our salvation and health, not without a taste of the heavenly life, and a true feeling of eternal life" (Rogers, 70). Thus, the Lord's Supper is a "participation in a heavenly reality."[35] We not only commemorate an event in the past, we encounter the living and exalted Christ of the present and experience a foretaste of everlasting glory (Rogers, 70). Therefore, when we celebrate Communion, we exult and rejoice with a

30. B. A. Gerrish, "The Lord's Supper in the Reformed Confessions," *Theology Today* 23 (July 1966) 232; hereafter cited as Gerrish.

31. Bucer and Capito did influence the confession's chapter on the Lord's Supper, which was written with "an eye to reconciling Lutheran and Zwinglian views;" Kyle, *Mind*, 169; cf. *Common Places of Martin Bucer,* ed. David Wright (Appleford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1972) 372. On Bucer's eucharistic theology, see *Martin Bucer: Reforming Church and Community,* ed. David Wright (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 72–82; Wright, *Common Places*, 313–400; Ottomar Frederick Cyprus, *Basic Principles: Translation and Commentary of Martin Bucer's "Grund und Ursach," 1524* (Dissertation, Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1971; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 2003); W. P. Stephens, *The Holy Spirit in the Theology of Martin Bucer* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1970) 238–59; Hastings Eells, "The Contributions of Martin Bucer to the Reformation," *Harvard Theological Review* 24 (January 1931): 29–42; and Hastings Eells, "The Genesis of Martin Bucer's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper," *The Princeton Theological Review* 24 no 2 (1926): 238–55.

32. Kyle, *Mind*, 170. For Bucer's influence on Calvin, see Wright, *Martin Bucer* (1994) 32–44; François Wendel, *Calvin: The Origins and Development of His Religious Thought* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963) 137–44, 332–3; and Bard Thompson, "Bucer Study Since 1918," *Church History* 25 (March 1956) 64–70. While there may be minor differences between Bucer and Calvin on the Lord's Supper, these differences should not be exaggerated; see Joseph McLelland, *The Visible Words of God: An Exposition of the Sacramental Theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957) 272–3.

33. On the doctrine of the Lord's Supper in *The First Helvetic Confession of Faith*, see Gerrish 232–3; and Lorimer, 141–5.

34. Rogers, 69. Although it is a rather free translation of the Latin text, we will use Wishart's translation of *The First Helvetic Confession of Faith*, since this is the version that Knox would have studied. Wishart's English has been updated in accordance with modern usage.

35. Hughes Oliphant Old, *Holy Communion in the Piety of the Reformed Church* (Unpublished Manuscript) 171.

joy inexpressible in words, and "with all our power and strength," we give thanks to God "for so wonderful a benefit of Christ toward us" (Rogers, 70). This is the doctrine of *The First Helvetic Confession of Faith*. This is the doctrine that Knox was teaching at St. Andrews in 1547 when he administered his first Communion.

The "Idolatrous" Mass

The ministry of Knox at St. Andrews suddenly came to an end when a fleet of twenty-one French ships arrived in June of 1547.[36] The Castilians were soon forced to surrender, and some 120 men, including Knox, were herded into the galleys as prisoners. Knox spent the next nineteen months "confined as a galley slave, fixed in irons and forced to row between Scotland and France" (Kyle-Johnson, 43). When Knox was released in February of 1549, he was free to go wherever he wished, with the exception of Scotland. He chose to labor in England because the fields there were ripe for the harvest.[37] Since the death of Henry VIII in January of 1547, the Reformation in England had made significant progress under the leadership of Edward Seymour (Duke of Somerset) and Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.[38] Somerset and Cranmer were gathering together a body of international Reformers to assist them in creating a Protestant state in England and to educate men at Oxford and Cambridge for pastoral ministry.[39] Thus, at the invitation of the Archbishop, scholars from the Continent—including Peter Martyr Vermigli, Martin Bucer and Jan Laski—came to England in the late 1540s.[40] These continental Reformers had a lasting impact on the faith and worship of the Church of England.[41] When Knox began his service in the English Church, Somerset and Cranmer had already made significant reforms. They had introduced the administration of Communion in both kinds, "directing that the wine, as well as the bread, was to be given to the congregation" (Ridley, 88). Images and crosses had been removed from churches, and prayers to the Virgin Mary and to the saints had been condemned (Ridley, 88).

> A few weeks before Knox arrived in England, they made the greatest advance of all. The Act of Uniformity enacted that after Whitsun 1549 the old Latin church service should be replaced by the English service in the first *Book of Common Prayer* which Cranmer drafted (Ridley, 88; cf. MacCulloch, 409).

In fact, Knox arrived in London just in time to obtain an early copy of Cranmer's new *Prayer Book* hot off the press (Lorimer, 10). Knox had gained quite a reputation by preaching at St. Andrews, and his name was already well-known among the English Protestants.[42] On 7 April 1549, the Privy Council paid him £5 "by way of reward," which indicates that the payment was made in gratitude for his services or "as a tribute to past

36. Dickinson, 94–7; cf. E. Bonner, "The Recovery of St. Andrews Castle in 1547: French Naval Policy and Diplomacy in the British Isles," *English Historical Review* (June 1996): 578–98.

37. Cf. Kyle-Johnson, 47. On the Reformation in England, see A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London: BT Batsford Ltd., 1989); Philip Hughes, *The Reformation in England*, vol. 2 (London: Hollis and Carter, 1953); and G. Constant, *The Reformation in England*, vol. 2, translated by E. I. Watkin (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1942).

38. It should be noted that Edward Seymour (Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector) was the uncle of the boy-king, Edward VI. On Cranmer, see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996); C. H. Smyth, *Cranmer and the Reformation Under Edward VI* (London: SPCK, 1973); Jasper Ridley, *Thomas Cranmer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962); Geoffrey W. Bromiley, *Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop and Martyr* (London: Church Book Room Press, 1956); and Francis E. Hutchinson, *Cranmer and the English Reformation* (London: English Universities Press, 1951).

39. Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986) 26.

40. Vermigli taught at Oxford, and Bucer at Cambridge, while Jan Laski (John à Lasco) was appointed Superintendent of the Strangers' Church of London. On Vermigli, see *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformation,* ed. Frank A. James III (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004) 26–112, 215–37; McLelland, *Visible Words*, 1–68; *The Life, Early Letters and Eucharistic Writings of Peter Martyr,* ed. Joseph McLelland and Gervase Duffield (Oxford: The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1989) 9–94; and Marvin W. Anderson, *Peter Martyr: A Reformer in Exile (1542–1562): A Chronology of Biblical Writings in England and Europe* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1975). On Bucer, see Martin Greschat, *Martin Bucer: A Reformer and His Times*, translated by Stephen E. Buckwalter (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004); Wright, *Martin Bucer* (1994) 144–75; *Martin Bucer and the Book of Common Prayer,* ed. Edward C. Whitaker (Great Wakering: Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1974); Constantin Hopf, *Martin Bucer and the English Reformation* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1946); Hastings Eells, *Martin Bucer* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1931); and Andrew E. Harvey, *Martin Bucer in England* (Marburg: B. Heinrich Bauer, 1906). On Laski, see Michael S. Springer, *Restoring Christ's Church: John à Lasco and the "Forma ac ratio"* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Dirk W. Rogers, *John à Lasco in England* (New York: Peter Lang, 1994); Basil Hall, *John à Lasco 1499–1560: A Pole in Reformation Europe* (London: Williams Trust, 1971); and Hermann Dalton, *John à Lasco: His Early Life and Labours*, translated by Maurice J. Evans (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1886).

41. We have already seen how Bucer's doctrine of the Lord's Supper influenced Knox's eucharistic thought during his early ministry in Scotland. In England, he was similarly influenced by Jan Laski. See Rogers, *John à Lasco in England*, 162–4; Ridley, 107–8, 113; and William D. Maxwell, *The Liturgical Portions of the Genevan Service Book Used by John Knox While a Minister of the English Congregation of Marian Exiles at Geneva, 1556–1559* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1931) 76, 94, 184.

42. McCrie, 40; Marshall, 31; and Lorimer, 16.

achievements."[43] Knox was licensed to serve as a minister in the Church of England, and his first appointment was the parish church in Berwick-upon-Tweed in the northern part of the country where the Tweed River forms the border between England and Scotland.[44] This part of England was still largely unaffected by the Reformation. Berwick was in the diocese of the Bishop of Durham, Cuthbert Tunstall, who had opposed every Protestant reform introduced by Cranmer.[45] Knox, however, "would get no sympathy from Cranmer and the leaders of the Protestant faction if he resisted Tunstall's authority," for every priest was expected to obey his bishop, just as every bishop was expected to obey the Protector and the Privy Council (Ridley, 90).

Upon his arrival in Berwick, Knox began a pulpit crusade against the idolatrous worship of Rome. In particular, he strongly denounced the Mass as an abomination before God and blasphemous to the death of Christ. By 1550, this war against the Mass had attracted the rage of Bishop Tunstall, and Knox was summoned to appear before the Council of the North in Newcastle on 4 April 1550 to defend his teaching (Kyle-Johnson, 47). It was decided that he should deliver his defense from the pulpit of "the Church of St. Nicholas, a large, Gothic building with a handsome lantern tower which is still a feature of the Newcastle skyline today" (Marshall, 36). Along with the Bishop and the Councilors, "a number of other persons, including some eminent theologians, who had been invited to attend" were present to hear his defense (Ridley, 95). "If the Council intended to intimidate Knox, their strategy failed badly" (Kyle-Johnson, 48). Tunstall was not prepared to take any action against him for fear of how the Privy Council might react (Ridley, 97). Thus, when Knox finished his speech, he was allowed to return to Berwick and resume his ministry, without any hindrance (Marshall, 37). Knox preserved a written copy of his defense, which he later published under the title *A Vindication of the Doctrine That the Sacrifice of the Mass is Idolatry* (see *Works*, 3.29–70). Here is a brief summary of the *Vindication*.

First of all, Knox observes that for the Roman Church, the Mass is the ground and foundation of religion. It is the central act of divine worship. Abolish the Mass, and no true worship remains (*Works*, 3.34). To the Roman clergy, therefore, nothing could be more absurd than to claim that the Mass is idolatry, an abomination before God, blasphemous to the death of Christ and contrary to the Lord's Supper, yet this is exactly what Knox will attempt to prove.[46] If he cannot prove it "by plain and evident Scriptures," he will recant his teaching as "wicked doctrine" and confess himself "worthy of grievous punishment" (*Works*, 3.34). Knox builds his case on two logical syllogisms. The first one is as follows:

> All worshipping, honoring, or service invented by the brain of man in the religion of God, without his own express commandment, is idolatry. The Mass is invented by the brain of man, without any commandment of God. Therefore it is idolatry (*Works*, 3.34).

To establish the major premise of this syllogism, Knox calls on several biblical witnesses. The first witness is Saul's unlawful sacrifice, for which he was sharply rebuked by the Prophet Samuel. "Thou hast done foolishly; thou hast not kept the commandment of the LORD thy God, which he commanded thee … [therefore] thy kingdom shall not continue" (1 Samuel 13:13–14). "Here is the ground of all his iniquity," says Knox, "and from this proceeds the causes of his dejection [ejection] from the kingdom: that he would honor God otherwise than was commanded by his express word" (*Works*, 3.35). Since "no commandment was given to the King to make or offer to God any manner of sacrifice," his act was unlawful. Thus, God does not accept any worship offered to him without it having "the express commandment of his own Word to be done in all points" (*Works*, 3.35–6). Neither Saul's preeminence, nor his precarious situation, nor his good intentions could justify his actions (*Works*, 3.36).

In 1 Samuel 15, Knox finds another witness from the life of Saul to support his case. When Saul defeated the Amalekites, he spared the best of their livestock that they may be offered to God. Saul was of the opinion that he had obeyed God because—although it was contrary to God's command—he had acted with good

43. Ridley, 85; cf. Lorimer, 15; and *Works*, 3.79. Marshall suggests that when Knox was introduced at Court, he may have preached before Somerset (Marshall, 31).

44. "It is hard to believe that he [Knox] did not have a hand in the decision, for in Berwick-upon-Tweed he could not have been closer to Scotland. Indeed, for most of its history, Berwick had actually been Scottish, standing as it does on the north bank of the River Tweed … (Marshall, 32); cf. McCrie, 40.

45. Ridley, 90. "Twenty-five years before, as Bishop of London, he [Tunstall] had been in charge of the first drive against Lutheran books and the first English Bibles; and throughout his twenty years as Bishop of Durham he had played a leading part in the doctrinal struggles among the bishops, as the ally of Gardiner and a foremost member of the Catholic faction" (Ridley, 90). Tunstall's opposition to the Reformation, however, was only one of many reasons why Berwick would have been a very difficult place for Knox to minister; see Ridley, 90, 85–90.

46. *Works*, 3.33–4. Knox's English has been updated in accordance with modern usage.

intentions, and God would surely be pleased with the offerings. Once again, however, he received a stern rebuke. The Lord delights more in obeying his voice than in burnt offerings and sacrifices; thus, to obey is better than to sacrifice. "For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry" (1 Samuel 15:22–23). From this story, Knox concludes:

> Disobedience to God's voice is not only when man does wickedly contrary to the precepts of God, but also when of good zeal, or good intent … man does anything to the honor or service of God not commanded by the express Word of God, as may be plainly seen in this matter. For Saul transgressed not wickedly in murder, adultery, or like external sins, but saved one aged and impotent King … and permitted the people … to save certain beasts to be offered unto the Lord; thinking that God should therewith stand content and appeased, because he and the people did it of good intent. But both these Samuel called idolatry: first, because they were done without any commandment of God; and, secondly, because in doing thereof he thought himself not to have offended. And that is principal idolatry when our own inventions we defend to be righteous in the sight of God, because we think them good, laudable, and pleasant. We may not think us so free nor wise, that we may do unto God, and unto his honor, what we think expedient. No! the contrary is commanded by God, saying, "Unto my word shall ye add nothing; nothing shall ye diminish from it, that ye might observe the precepts of your Lord God" [Deuteronomy 4:2]. Which words are not to be understood of the Decalogue and Moral Law only, but of statutes, rites, and ceremonies; for God requires equal obedience of all his Laws (*Works*, 3.37–8).

Another biblical witness that Knox finds is the strange fire of Nadab and Abihu. These two sons of Aaron fell under divine judgment because they offered strange fire before the Lord, which he had not commanded (Leviticus 10:1–3). Therefore, it is plain, says Knox, that neither the preeminence of the person who "makes or sets up any religion, without the express commandment of God, nor yet the intent whereof he does the same, is accepted before God" (*Works*, 3.38). God only accepts the worship he prescribes. He rejects all that is added to it and "punishes the inventors and doers thereof" (3.38). Therefore, the Church has no power, says Knox, "to set up, devise, or invent honoring of God, as it thinks most expedient for the glory of God" (3.40). Jesus said, "I will be with you to the end of the world," and "wherever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them" (Matthew 28:20; 18:20). From these sayings, says Knox, the Roman Church has falsely concluded that it has "all power" and "cannot err" and that whatever it does, "God accepts and approves" (*Works*, 3.40). To the contrary, the Church is still bound by the precept, which has never been abrogated: "Not that thing which appears righteous in your own eyes, that shall you do, but what God has commanded, that observe and keep" (Deuteronomy 12:8, 31–32). Jesus himself teaches the same principle when he says, "My sheep hear my voice, and a stranger they will not follow, but will flee from him" (John 10:3–5).

> To hear his voice … is to understand and obey the same; and to flee from a stranger, is to admit none other doctrine, worshipping, nor honoring of God than has proceeded forth of his own mouth; as he himself testifies, saying, "All that are of the truth, hear my voice" [John 18:37]. And [likewise] Paul says, "The Kirk is founded upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles" [Ephesians 2:20]; which foundation, no doubt, is the Law and the Evangel. So that it may command nothing that is not contained in one of the two; for if it does so, it is removed from the only foundation, and so ceases to be the true Kirk of Christ (*Works*, 3.40–1).

Jesus Christ is the sole King and Head of his Church. He alone has the authority to make laws that his subjects are bound to obey (*Works*, 3.41). The Church has no power to create laws, for all its power comes from and is subject to the authority of Christ (3.41). Knox exclaims,

> O God Eternal! hast thou laid none other burden upon our backs than Jesus Christ laid by his Word? Then who has burdened us with all these ceremonies, prescribed fasting, compelled chastity, unlawful vows, invocation of saints, and with the idolatry of the Mass? The devil, the devil, brethren, invented all these burdens to depress imprudent men to perdition (*Works*, 3.42).

Having established the premise that all service invented by man in the worship of God, without his own express commandment, is idolatry, Knox goes on to defend his claim that the Mass is merely an invention of man, set up without any commandment of God (*Works*, 3.47). Here, Knox is referring particularly to the canon of the Mass in the Roman liturgy. The papists themselves, says Knox, teach that various parts of the canon were created by one pope or another, who lived long after the age of

the Apostles (*Works*, 3.48–9). Hence, the Apostles could not have used the Mass because it did not exist in their day. For this reason, argues Knox, one must conclude that the Mass is an invention of man. Even the so-called "words of consecration" (which the papists believe to be the very heart of the Mass) have been altered by the Roman Church (*Works*, 3.50–1). In short, nothing of the Lord's own institution remains pure and undefiled in the Mass. "I think it is in vain," concludes Knox, to labor further to prove that the Mass is "invented and devised by the foolish brain of man," and therefore, "it cannot be denied to be idolatry" (*Works*, 3.51).

At this point, Knox turns to the second syllogism on which he builds his defense, namely, "All honoring or service of God, whereunto is added a wicked opinion, is abomination. Unto the Mass is added a wicked opinion. Therefore it is abomination" (*Works*, 3.52). The wicked opinion that has been joined to the Mass, explains Knox, is that the Mass is a propitiatory sacrifice for the remission of sins.

> It has been held in common opinion. It plainly has been taught; by law it is decreed; and in the words of the Mass it is expressed, That the Mass is a Sacrifice and oblation for the sins of the quick and the dead: so that remission of sins undoubtedly was believed by that same action and work presently done by the Priest (*Works*, 3.54).

Scripture plainly teaches that justification comes only from "the mere mercy of God, without all deserving of us, or of our work proceeding of ourselves." Thus, to say that the Mass is a sacrifice offered to God for the forgiveness of sins is an abomination (*Works*, 3.54). Furthermore, Scripture plainly teaches that Christ's sacrifice was perfect and need not be repeated (Hebrews 7:26–27; 9:26; 10:14, 18). To teach that the Mass is a repetition of Christ's sacrifice is, therefore, "extreme blasphemy" (*Works*, 3.56).

> Consider now, Brethren, if the opinion of the Mass be not vain, false, and deceitful? Caused they not you to believe it was a Sacrifice, whereby remission of sins was obtained? And you may plainly perceive that no sacrifice there is, nor at any time was, for sins, but the death of Jesus Christ only. For the sacrifices of the Old Law were only figures of that very and true sacrifice once offered by Jesus Christ. And in them was commemoration of sins made, but neither was remission of sins obtained, nor purgation made by any such sacrifice…. And yet, to the great blasphemy of Christ's death, and open denial of his Passion, it has been affirmed, taught, and believed, that the Mass was a Sacrifice for the sins of the quick and the dead: which opinion is most false, vain, and wicked. And so, I think, the Mass to be abominable and Idolatry no man of indifferent judgment will deny (*Works*, 3.61–2, 64).

In the last part of the *Vindication*, Knox explains how the Mass and the Lord's Supper are diametrically opposed to each other (*Works*, 3.64). First of all, they are contrary in institution. The Lord's Supper was instituted to call to our remembrance the perfect sacrifice of Christ by which we are redeemed,

> [in order to] move us to unfeigned thanksgiving unto God the Father, and to his only Son Jesus, who has restored us again to liberty and life, and this is it which Paul commands, saying, "As often as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall declare the Lord's death till he come" [1 Corinthians 11:26]. That is, you shall laud, magnify, and extol the liberal kindness of God the Father, and the infinite benefits which you have received by Christ's death (*Works*, 3.64–5).

The Mass, on the other hand, was instituted "to be a Sacrifice for the sins of the quick and the dead: for doing of the which Sacrifice, God is bound not only to remit our sins, but also to give unto us whatever we will ask" (*Works*, 3.65).

> The Supper of the Lord is the gift of Jesus Christ, in which we should laud the infinite mercy of God. The Mass is a Sacrifice which we offer unto God, for doing whereof we allege God should love and commend us. In the Supper of the Lord, we confess ourselves redeemed from sin by the death and blood of Jesus Christ only. In the Mass, we crave remission of sins, yea, and whatsoever thing we list, by working of that same work, which we presently do ourselves…. Last, in the Supper of the Lord, we confess ourselves eternal debtors to God, and unable any way to make satisfaction for his infinite benefits which we have received. But in the Mass, we allege God to be a debtor unto us for oblation of that Sacrifice, which we there presently offer, and dare affirm that we there make satisfaction by doing thereof, for the sins of ourselves and of others (*Works*, 3.65–6).

Secondly, the Lord's Supper is contrary to the Mass with regard to its administration. In the Lord's Supper, the minister does not stand alone at an altar dressed in priestly vestments, but he and the congregation sit together at one table, where everyone partakes of both

elements.[47] In the Mass, however, the congregation merely watches the priest perform a sort of liturgical drama: gesticulating, muttering, bowing, turning, crossing, uplifting and nodding (*Works*, 3.67). In short, there is nothing of the Lord's institution in the Mass but only superstition and sorcery. It is, therefore, contrary to the Lord's Supper. Knox concludes his defense by briefly summarizing his main points:

> But now briefly, let these contradictions be collected. In the Lord's Supper are offered thanks for the benefits which we have received of God. In the Mass, the Papist will compel God to grant all that he asks of him, by virtue of that Sacrifice; and so alleges, that God should refer thanks unto him that does Mass.
>
> In the Supper of the Lord, the actors humbly do confess themselves redeemed only by Christ's blood, which once was shed. In the Mass, the priest vaunts himself to make a Sacrifice for the sins of the quick and the dead.
>
> In the Lord's Supper, all the partakers at that table grant and confess themselves debtors unto God, unable to refer thanks for the benefits which we have received of his liberality. In the Papistical Mass, the Priest alleges that God is a debtor to him, and unto all them for whom he makes that Sacrifice. For he does affirm remission of sins to be obtained thereby: And in that the Mass is blasphemous to Christ's death.
>
> In the Lord's Supper, all sit at one table; no difference in habit nor vestment between the Minister and the Congregation. In the Papistical Mass, the Priests are placed by themselves at one Altar … and are clad in disguised garments.
>
> In the Lord's Supper, finally, all do eat of one bread and drink of one cup. But in the mischievous Mass, one man did eat and drink all (*Works*, 3.68–9).

Christ, the Primary Actor

While the Protestant Reformers were all in agreement that the sacrifice of the Mass is idolatry, none of them attacked the Mass as vigorously or as vehemently as John Knox. However, it would be a mistake to assume that Knox was exclusively polemical in his eucharistic theology—that he labored only to destroy the idolatrous Mass and had nothing positive to contribute to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. While it may be true that his primary focus on the subject was his war against the Mass, it is also true that Knox had a very rich, positive doctrine of the sacrament. In fact, in the same year that Knox gave his vigorous defense before the Council of the North (1550), he also composed a brief confession of the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which he appended to the *Vindication* and to which he gave the following title:

> Here is briefly declared in a summary, according to the Holy Scriptures, what opinion we Christians have of the Lord's Supper, called the sacrament of the body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ.[48]

Although the *Summary* is only seven paragraphs in length, it is, nevertheless, brimming with rich theological insights on the doctrine of the sacrament. "If Knox wrote in a polemical tone in his critique of the Mass, his very brief summary of the meaning of the Lord's Supper is positive, affirming, and beautifully written" (Kyle-Johnson, 50–1).

The first thing we notice in the *Summary* is that the Lord's Supper is not a work of man but of God. Christ is the subject of each sentence. He "lifts us up unto heavenly and invisible things." He "confirms and seals up to us his promise." He "represents … and makes plain to our senses, his heavenly gifts." He "gives unto us himself." He "gathers us unto one visible body." He "calls us to remembrance of his Death and Passion" (*Works*, 3.73). Christ is clearly the one who acts. He is the subject; man is the object or indirect object of each verb. Thus, the sacrament is a divine work not a human work. Commenting on the *Summary*, James McEwen wrote:

47. *Works*, 3.66. For Knox, this table gesture (that is, sitting together at a table to partake of the elements) is an essential part of the sacrament. Indeed, Knox seems to teach that it is of the essence of the sacramental sign. See Old, *Communion*, 237–8; MacCulloch, 525–30; and Lorimer, 251–89. Knox's practice of sitting at the Lord's Table to celebrate Communion became a significant feature of Scottish Communion piety that held sway in Scotland until the time of Thomas Chalmers; see Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield, "The Posture of the Recipients at the Lord's Supper: A Footnote to the History of Reformed Usages," in *Selected Shorter Writings*, vol. 2, edited by John E. Meeter (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R, 2001) 351–69.

48. *Works*, 3.73. For convenience sake, we will refer to this document simply as the *Summary*; see *Works*, 3.72–5. The *Summary* appears to have a quasi-confessional status, as one can see from the consistent use of the plural pronoun "we" throughout. In fact, Lorimer suggests that Knox used it in his Communion liturgy (Lorimer, 293). We agree with Lorimer's suggestion, but we would add one qualification, namely, that only the first five paragraphs of the *Summary* were used as a Communion Exhortation. Paragraphs six and seven seem to have a different purpose (see below).

> In this little document, in a remarkable and striking way, the whole action of the sacrament is referred to Christ. There is nothing at all about what "we" do, or what the Church does. The sacrament is not looked on as a ministerial act, or a Churchly ordinance. It is, first and last, something that Christ does for us (McEwen, 56).

McEwen's comment is basically correct, but it needs qualification. The *Summary* does, in fact, have something to say about what we do in the sacrament. When the Lord "calls us to remembrance of his Death and Passion," we respond with praise and thanksgiving (*Works*, 3.73). The sacrament is a *eucharist* (εὐχαριστία) in which we give thanks to God. Just as Christ gave thanks at the last supper, so too, when we come to the Lord's table, we offer prayers of thanksgiving and sing psalms of thanksgiving. In fact, Knox's Communion liturgy strongly emphasizes this eucharistic dimension of the sacrament. This is clearly seen in his Eucharistic Prayer, which is a thanksgiving for creation and redemption.[49] In the *Genevan Book of Order*, we find the following instructions after the Communion Invitation:

> *The exhortation ended, the Minister cometh down from the Pulpit, and sitteth at the Table, every man and woman in like wise taking their place as occasion best serveth: Then he taketh bread, and giveth thanks, either in these words following, or like in effect:*

O Father of mercy and God of all consolation, seeing all creatures do acknowledge and confess thee as Governor and Lord, it becometh us, the workmanship of thine own hands, at all times to reverence and magnify thy Godly Majesty; first, for that thou hast created us to thine own image and similitude, but chiefly because thou hast delivered us from that everlasting death and damnation into the which Satan drew mankind, by the means of sin, from the bondage whereof neither man nor angel was able to make us free, but thou, O Lord, rich in mercy and infinite in goodness, hast provided our redemption to stand in thine only and well beloved Son, whom of very love thou didst give to be made Man like unto us, in all things, sin except, that in his body he might receive the punishment of our transgression, by his death to make satisfaction to thy justice, and by his resurrection to destroy him that was author of death, and so to bring again life to the world, from which the whole offspring of Adam most justly was exiled.

O Lord, we acknowledge that no creature is able to comprehend the length and breadth, the deepness and height of that thy most excellent love, which moved thee to show mercy where none was deserved, to promise and give life where death had gotten the victory, to receive us into thy grace when we could do nothing but rebel against thy justice.

O Lord, the blind dullness of our corrupt nature will not suffer us sufficiently to weigh those thy most ample benefits: yet, nevertheless, at the commandment of Jesus Christ our Lord, we present ourselves to this his Table, which he hath left to be used in remembrance of his death, until his coming again, to declare and witness before the world, that by him alone we have received liberty and life, that by him alone thou dost acknowledge us thy children and heirs, that by him alone we have entrance to the throne of thy grace, that by him alone we are possessed in our spiritual kingdom, to eat and drink at his Table, with whom we have our conversation presently in Heaven, and by whom our bodies shall be raised up again from the dust, and shall be placed with him in that endless joy, which thou, O Father of mercy, hast prepared for thine Elect before the foundation of the world was laid. And these most inestimable benefits we acknowledge and confess to have received of thy free mercy and grace, by thine only beloved Son Jesus Christ, for the which therefore, we thy Congregation, moved by thy Holy Spirit, render thee all thanks, praise, and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.[50]

49. On Knox's Eucharistic Prayer, see Hughes Oliphant Old, *Worship: Reformed According to Scripture* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 2002) 136–7; Thompson, *Liturgies*, 303–4; *The Liturgy of the Church of Scotland Since the Reformation: Part II, the Book of Common Order, Commonly Known as Knox's Liturgy,* ed. Stephen A. Hurlbut (Washington, D.C.: The St. Albans Press, 1945) 49–50, 58–9; Maxwell, 124–6, 134–6; George W. Sprott, *The Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland Commonly Known as John Knox's Liturgy* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1901) 123–5; and Charles Washington Baird, *Eutaxia: Or, the Presbyterian Liturgies: Historical Sketches* (New York: M. W. Dodd Publisher, 1855) 91–137; hereafter *Eutaxia*. Cf. Old, *Patristic Roots*, 14, 299–301; and Hughes Oliphant Old, *Leading in Prayer* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1995) 235–8.

50. Hurlbut, 49–50. Concerning Knox's Eucharistic Prayer, Maxwell writes, "Although it does not use any of the time-honoured words or phrases of the Western liturgies, it is nevertheless truly eucharistic and follows the order of the primitive liturgies: Adoration and Thanksgiving for Creation and Redemption, Commemoration of the Incarnation, Death, Resurrection, and the Last Supper, concluding with a Doxology" (Hurlbut, 58; cf. Maxwell, 134). Although Knox did not include an Epiclesis in his Eucharistic Prayer, "The Revision of 1629 suggested to the Assembly contains a very 'careful' and partial Epiclesis: Merciful Father, we beseech thee that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine—according to thy Son our Savior his holy institution—may be made partakers of his most blessed body and blood. Send down, O Lord, thy blessing upon this Sacrament that it

In addition to this emphasis on εὐχαριστία, Knox teaches that the Lord's Supper is a *sacramentum* in which we pledge our allegiance to Christ by publicly professing our faith. The Lord's Supper confirms and seals—not only God's promises to us—but our faith by which we receive them (*Works*, 3.74). We will examine this sacramental dimension of the Lord's Supper later. What we wish to point out here is that Knox does, in fact, have something to say about what we do in the Lord's Supper. However, he does not begin to say what we do until he has first set forth all that Christ does. Moreover, he does not simply say that "we remember" but "the Lord calls us to remembrance," or that "we praise" but the Lord "stirs up our hearts to praise."[51] Thus, even when describing what we do in the sacrament, he emphasizes the work of Christ. Jesus Christ is the primary actor, and all that we do is in response to his work.

The Eschatological Dimension

In the first paragraph of the *Summary*, Knox teaches that the Lord's Supper consists of two realities, an earthly and a heavenly.[52]

> First, we confess that it is a holy action, ordained of God, in the which the Lord Jesus, by earthly and visible things set before us, lifts us up unto heavenly and invisible things. And that when he had prepared his spiritual banquet, he witnessed that he himself was the lively bread, wherewith our souls are fed unto everlasting life.[53]

Since we are earthly beings, "it is needful for us that God should make use" of earthly and visible things "to represent to us spiritual and heavenly things, for otherwise we could not comprehend them" (Dennison, 511). Christ uses these earthly elements to lift us up to heaven. He draws us into his presence and brings us to his heavenly table where he has prepared for us a spiritual banquet. The Lord's Supper is a spiritual feast celebrated in the presence of the risen and ascended Christ (Old, *Communion*, 177). This is better understood in terms of eschatology than in terms of mysticism. In modern theological terminology, one might say that Knox sees in the sacrament an element of realized eschatology (Old, 171). In the Lord's Supper, Christ—having already inaugurated his kingdom and being exalted at the Father's right hand—lifts us up to heaven and gives us a foretaste of the messianic feast of the age to come.

> To the eyes of faith, the Supper is a sign of the heavenly banquet, and through faith, those who participate in the sacred meal receive a foretaste of the heavenly reality. The bread and the wine of Communion are a spiritual food which nourishes us unto eternal life (Old, 174).

Knox found this eschatological dimension of the sacrament in the teaching of Jesus, particularly in the bread of life discourse, where Jesus says,

> Whoever feeds on my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is true food, and my blood is true drink. Whoever feeds on my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him. As the living Father sent me, and I live because of the Father, so whoever feeds on me, he also will live because of me. This is the bread that came down from heaven, not as the fathers ate and died. Whoever feeds on this bread will live forever (John 6:54–8).

Since the Lord's Supper is a heavenly event, in order for us to enjoy the spiritual reality signified by it, we must lift up our hearts to heaven where Christ dwells at the right hand of the Father (Dennison, 517; cf. *Institutes*, 4.17.18). For this reason, Knox included the language of the *Sursum corda* in his Communion Invitation.[54]

may be unto us the effectual exhibitive instrument of the Lord Jesus" (cf. Maxwell, 135).

51. *Works*, 3.73. Knox may have been influenced by Zwingli's later eucharistic writings, which present a complicated Platonic understanding of remembrance "in which the active subject is not so much the believers who remember the past but God who reminds them of it in the present" (Rorem, 165); cf. Gottfried Locher, *Zwingli's Thought, New Perspectives* (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 214–28, 314–26.

52. The first article of *The Wittenberg Concord* (1536) attributes this concept to Irenaeus; see Wright, *Common Places*, 362.

53. *Works*, 3.73. Contrary to some scholars who minimize the influence of Calvin on Knox's eucharistic theology (see footnote 29), we should note that the last statement of this paragraph is Knox's free translation of a sentence in an early edition of Calvin's *Institutes*; Calvin writes, the Lord's Supper is "a spiritual banquet, wherein Christ attests himself to be the life-giving bread, upon which our souls feed unto true and blessed immortality;" cf. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, translated by Ford Lewis Battles, edited by John T. McNeill (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960) 4.17.1. In the *Summary*, we discover the obvious influence of Calvin on Knox's eucharistic theology. In fact, as in this case, we see unmistakable traces of literary dependence on the writings of Calvin. It is difficult to identify, however, what particular writings of Calvin were studied by him. Knox seems to be familiar with Calvin's 1538 Catechism, his *Short Treatise on the Lord's Supper* (1541), his *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (1546), and one or more of the early editions of Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536, 1539, 1541, 1543).

54. The *Sursum corda* goes way back in the history of the liturgy, and the Reformers were well aware of its antiquity (Old, *Communion*, 173). Calvin writes "the practice always observed by the early Church, when about to celebrate the Supper, was solemnly to exhort

Knox borrowed this practice from Calvin, who, in turn, borrowed it from William Farel.[55] These Reformers, to be sure, never used a responsive *Sursum corda* in their Communion prayers, for "these so-called Eucharistic dialogues would have been all too mechanical to appeal" to their understanding of prayer (Old, *Communion*, 173). But they did retain the language of the *Sursum corda* in their Communion Invitations because it was agreeable to their doctrine of the Lord's Supper. In Farel's liturgy, before the distribution of the elements, the celebrant exhorts the congregation:

> Therefore, lift up your hearts on high, seeking the heavenly things in heaven, where Jesus Christ is seated at the right hand of the Father; and do not fix your eyes on the visible signs which are corrupted through usage. In joy of heart, in brotherly union, come, everyone, to partake of our Lord's Table … (Thompson, *Liturgies*, 223; cf. Old, *Patristic Roots*, 75–6).

This exhortation warns the congregation "not to look for Christ on the altar nor cleave to the signs that had been spoiled by the Mass" (Thompson, *Liturgies*, 187). Rather, "these creatures of *earth*, these signs of God's redemptive *condescension* were supposed to transport the believer *above* the material realm, to the Risen Lord in the far reaches of heaven" (*Liturgies*, 187). Following the lead of Farel, Calvin includes a similar expression in his Communion Invitation.

> [Let] us lift up our spirits and hearts on high where Jesus Christ is in the glory of His Father, whence we expect Him at our redemption. Let us not be fascinated by these earthly and corruptible elements which we see with our eyes and touch with our hands, seeking Him there as though He were enclosed in the bread or wine. Then only shall our souls be disposed to be nourished and vivified by His substance when they are lifted up above all earthly things, attaining even to heaven, and entering the Kingdom of God where He dwells. Therefore let us be content to have the bread and wine as signs and witnesses, seeking the truth spiritually where the Word of God promises that we shall find it (Thompson, *Liturgies*, 207; cf. Calvin, *Tracts*, 2.197–8).

In like manner, we find the language of the *Sursum corda* in Knox's Communion liturgy prior to the Eucharistic Prayer.

> Then, to the end that we may be worthy partakers of his [Christ's] merits, and most comfortable benefits, which is the true eating of his flesh and drinking of his blood, let us not suffer our minds to wander about the consideration of these earthly and corruptible things (which we see present to our eyes, and feel with our hands), to seek Christ bodily present in them, as if he were enclosed in the bread or wine, or as if these elements were turned and changed into the substance of his flesh and blood; for the only way to dispose our souls to receive nourishment, relief, and quickening of his substance, is to lift up our minds by faith above all things worldly and sensible, and thereby to enter into Heaven, that we may find and receive Christ, where he dwelleth undoubtedly very God and very Man, in the incomprehensible glory of his father, to whom be all praise, honour, and glory, now and ever. Amen (Hurlbut, 49; cf. Thompson, *Liturgies*, 302–3).

It is widely recognized that the ascension of Christ is an important feature of Reformed eucharistic theology, but for Calvin and Knox, it is equally important to recognize that although Christ has ascended into heaven and has, therefore, ceased to reside on earth, "no distance can prevent his power from feeding his believers on himself and bringing it about that they still enjoy ever-present communication with him, though he is absent from that place."[56] As Knox explains in the *Summary*, this "feeding" or "communication" is accomplished by the miraculous and secret power of the Holy Spirit, "for whom it is not difficult to associate things that are otherwise separated by an interval of space" (Hesselink, 148; cf. *Works*, 3.73).

The Covenantal Dimension

In the second paragraph of the *Summary*, Knox highlights the covenantal dimension of the Lord's Supper.

> And therefore, in setting forth bread and wine to eat and drink, he confirms and seals up to us his promise and communion (that is, that we shall be partakers with

the people to raise their hearts on high, to intimate, that if we would adore Christ aright, we must not stop at the visible sign;" John Calvin, *Tracts and Letters*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 2009) 188. Cyprian provides an ancient witness to its use; see Cyprian, *On the Lord's Prayer*, in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. 5, edited by A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (New York: Christian Literature Co., 1897).

55. This so-called Reformed *Sursum corda* was apparently the creation of Farel, since it first occurs is in his *La Maniere et fasson* (1524); see Thompson, *Liturgies*, 187.

56. From Calvin's 1538 Catechism; see I. John Hesselink, *Calvin's First Catechism: A Commentary, Featuring Ford Lewis Battles's translation of the 1538 Catechism* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997) 35.

> him in his kingdom); and [he] represents unto us, and makes plain to our senses, his heavenly gifts; and also gives unto us himself, to be received with faith, and not with mouth, nor yet by transfusion of substance. But so through the virtue of the Holy Ghost, that we, being fed with his flesh, and refreshed with his blood, may be renewed both unto true godliness and to immortality (*Works*, 3.73).

Although the word "covenant" does not appear in the text, the idea of confirming and sealing the promises of God is at the heart of a covenantal understanding of the sacraments (Old, *Communion*, 36). The Lord's Supper is a sign of the new covenant by which Christ "confirms and seals up to us" his promise of salvation. As early as 1520, Martin Luther suggested that the Lord's Supper might be understood better in terms of the biblical concept of covenant rather than in terms of scholastic theology.[57] Luther's suggestion was based on the words of institution, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood" (1 Corinthians 11:25). In *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, Luther writes,

> Let this stand, therefore, as our first and infallible proposition—the mass or Sacrament of the Altar is Christ's testament, which he left behind him at his death to be distributed among his believers. For that is the meaning of his words, "This cup is the new testament in my blood."[58]

After explaining that a testament or covenant is essentially a promise, Luther observes that when we examine the promises of God in Scripture, we discover that God usually adds to each promise "some sign as a memorial or remembrance of the promise" (Luther, *Three Treatises*, 162). As examples of this, Luther points to the sign of the rainbow in God's covenant with Noah and the sign of circumcision in his covenant with Abraham.[59] "We read of many such signs of the promises of God in the Scriptures," says Luther (*Three Treatises*, 162). Applying this teaching to the Lord's Supper, Luther concludes,

> So in the mass also, the foremost promise of all, he adds, as a memorial sign of such a great promise, his own body and his own blood in the bread and wine…. We may learn from this that in every promise of God two things are presented to us, the word and the sign, so that we are to understand the word to be the testament, but the sign to be the sacrament. Thus, in the mass, the word of Christ is the testament, and the bread and wine are the sacrament … the mass is nothing else than the divine promise or testament of Christ, sealed with the sacrament of his body and blood (*Three Treatises*, 162, 166).

Luther's great insight into the covenantal nature of the Lord's Supper was embraced by many of the Reformers including Calvin and Knox.[60] In the Lord's Supper, says Calvin, "we have both a covenant, and a confirmatory pledge of the covenant."[61] The covenant is first proclaimed in the Gospel and then sealed in the Supper. The promise always precedes; "the symbol is added because it confirms and seals the promise itself and makes us more aware how the Lord provides appropriately for our slender capacity" (Hesselink, 33; cf. *Institutes*, 4.14.3). The sacrament gives us certainty and assurance that the promise is truly ours—that Christ himself is truly given to us as our spiritual nourishment.

> For seeing that we are so weak that we cannot receive

57. Old, *Communion*, 39. For Luther's criticisms of scholastic eucharistic theology, see Martin Luther, *Three Treatises* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970) 144–52. In 1520, Luther wrote two significant works on the Lord's Supper that emphasize the covenantal nature of the Sacrament: *A Treatise on the New Testament, that is, the Holy Mass* and *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*. For the latter, see ibid., 123–260; for the former, see Martin Luther, *Luther's Works*, vol. 35, edited by E. Theodore Bachmann (Philadelphia, PA: Muhlenberg Press, 1960) 75–111.

58. Luther, *Three Treatises*, 154. In a later work, Luther says, "Briefly, the testament is the blessing or forgiveness of sins, Christ is the mediator of the testament, the dead body and the blood of Christ are truly the revealing and the sealing of the testament, the bread and wine are the symbols of the confirmed testament, which remind [us] of redemption and union" (Rorem, 163).

59. The example of circumcision was particularly important for Luther with regard to the doctrine of justification by faith alone. Abraham "received the sign of circumcision," says Paul, "as a seal of the righteousness that he had by faith" (Romans 4:11). Luther cites this text to defend the saying, "Not the sacrament, but the faith of the sacrament, justifies" (Luther, *Three Treatises*, 188). "Thus circumcision did not justify Abraham and his seed, and yet the Apostle calls it the seal of the righteousness by faith [Romans 4:11], because faith in the promise, to which circumcision was added, justified him and fulfilled what the circumcision signified. For faith was the spiritual circumcision of the foreskin of the heart, which was symbolized by the literal circumcision of the flesh." "Thus it is not baptism that justifies … but it is faith in that word of promise to which baptism is added. This faith justifies, and fulfills that which baptism signifies" (idem).

60. In Zurich, Zwingli and Bullinger significantly developed this covenantal perspective on the sacraments; see Jack Cottrell, *Covenant and Baptism in the Theology of Huldreich Zwingli* (Ph.D Dissertation, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1971); and Charles S. McCoy and J. Wayne Baker, *Fountainhead of Federalism: Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenantal Tradition* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991). On the covenantal perspective of Oecolampadius, see Old, *Patristic Roots*, 15–6.

61. John Calvin, *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2005) 383.

> him with true heartfelt trust, when he is presented to us by simple doctrine and preaching, the Father of mercy, disdaining not to condescend in this matter to our infirmity, has been pleased to add to his word a visible sign, by which he might represent the substance of his promises, to confirm and fortify us by delivering us from all doubt and uncertainty (Calvin, *Tracts*, 2.166).

The covenantal dimension of the Lord's Supper underscores the inseparable relationship between Word and sacrament. When Knox says that the Supper confirms and seals the promise of God, he defines the sacrament by its relationship to the Word. For Calvin, the sacrament receives its life from the Word and cannot exist apart from it.[62] Without the Word, the sacrament has no meaning and conveys no benefit (McEwen, 50). The sacrament is "never without a preceding promise but is joined to it as a sort of appendix, with the purpose of confirming and sealing the promise" (*Institutes*, 4.14.3). Thus, the administration of Communion must be preceded by the ministry of the Word. Like Calvin, Knox placed the Word first and the sacrament second.[63] This priority of the Word, however, does not mean that the sacrament is peripheral or nonessential. Christ has ordained and commanded both Word and sacrament to be used in his Church, and the bold presumption of man, says Knox, must never separate them (*Works*, 4.121). "No man, is so regenerate, but that continually he has need of the means which Christ Jesus" has appointed to be used in his Church, namely, "the Word truly preached and the Sacraments rightly administered" (4.121).

As Luther observed, the key text for this covenantal perspective on the Lord's Supper is "This cup is the new covenant in my blood" (1 Corinthians 11:25). These words indicate that what happens in the Lord's Supper is the making of a covenant. "It is our Lord who gives it and his people who accept it. We accept it by sharing a meal with our Lord and with our brethren in Christ" (Old, *Patristic Roots*, 16). In the words of institution, Christ echoes the words of Moses, "Behold the blood of the covenant which the LORD has made with you" (Exodus 24:8). Hughes Oliphant Old summarizes the covenant ceremony recorded in the twenty-fourth chapter of Exodus:

> [First] Moses reads to the assembled people the book of the covenant, and the people make a vow: "All that the LORD has spoken we will do, and we will be obedient" (v. 7). Then Moses takes the blood of the sacrifice, sprinkles half of it on the altar and half on the people. This signifies the covenantal union that brought God and his people together in a common life. [Then, Moses declares,] "Behold the blood of the covenant which the LORD has made with you in accordance with all these words" (v. 8)…. Finally, Moses took the elders up on the mountain, and "they beheld God, and ate and drank" (v. 11). The meaning of this is clear: in the sharing of the meal one enters into table fellowship with God … this is fellowship or, even better, communion at its most intimate.[64]

Here we have "the prototype of the worship of God's people down through the centuries" (Old, *Preaching*, 1.22). The covenant is first proclaimed, and then it is sealed with sensible signs, namely, the sprinkling of the blood and the sharing of a meal in the presence of God, which are types of baptism and the Lord's Supper. It is precisely this covenantal understanding of the sacrament that Knox has in mind when he says that Jesus "confirms and seals up to us his promise and communion … and represents unto us, and makes plain to our senses, his heavenly gifts" (*Works*, 3.73).

The Real Spiritual Presence

In the *Summary*, Knox rejects the idea that only bread and wine are given in the Supper and not the true body and blood of Christ as well. Jesus Christ is truly present and presented and received in the sacrament. He gives himself to be received with faith. Christ is the matter or substance of the sacraments, "for in him they have all their firmness, and they do not promise anything apart

62. Glen J. Clary, "John Calvin: Servant of the Word," *Ordained Servant* 18 (2009) 87. Knox wrote, "Where Christ Jesus is not preached … the Sacrament has neither life nor soul" (*Works*, 6.14).

63. Kyle, *Ministry*, 135. We should note here that since 1960— when Dr. James McEwen gave the Croall Lectures at New College, Edinburgh— scholars have sharply debated "whether Knox subordinated the sacrament to the Word or made them more co-central" (Kyle, *Ministry*, 135). The debate may be followed in the following works given in chronological order: Percy, 65, 229–30; McEwen, 45–60; D'Assonville, 18–19, 81–3; Reid, 51; Greaves, 103–5; Kyle, *Mind*, 172–4; and Kyle, *Ministry*, 135–6.

64. Hughes Oliphant Old, *Themes and Variations for a Christian Doxology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1992) 111–2; cf. Hughes Oliphant Old, *Worship: Reformed According to Scripture* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 2002) 118. On the covenant ceremony in Exodus 24, see Brevard S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 2004) 497–511; Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, Co., 1998) 21–4; and Tse-Gun Song, *Sinai Covenant and Moab Covenant: An Exegetical Study of the Covenants in Exodus 19:1–24:11 and Deuteronomy 4:45–28:69* (Cheltenham and Gloucester: College of Higher Education, 1992) 109–87.

from him" (*Institutes*, 4.14.16; cf. Calvin, *Tracts*, 2.169). To deny that Christ is truly given in the Supper is to render the sacrament frivolous and useless (Calvin, *Tracts*, 2.170). "If God cannot deceive or lie, it follows that" the Lord's Supper "accomplishes all that it signifies" (2.172). The visible signs of bread and wine are not empty figures. They are instruments through which the true body and blood of Christ are truly given and received. The signs should neither be separated from, nor confused with, the reality they signify. Sign and reality must be distinguished but not divided (cf. Calvin, *Tracts*, 2.172). As we saw in our examination of *The First Helvetic Confession*, Knox rejected the idea that the body and blood of Christ are either joined naturally to the bread and wine or locally confined in them or placed in them by any carnal presence. Instead, following the lead of Bucer and Calvin, he taught that the true body and blood of Christ are *spiritually* communicated to us through the agency of the Holy Spirit. In the Supper, we receive Christ "with faith, and not with mouth, nor yet by transfusion of substance. But so through the virtue [power] of the Holy Ghost, that we, being fed with his flesh, and refreshed with his blood, may be renewed both unto true godliness and to immortality" (*Works*, 3.73).

> The sharing in the Lord's body, which … is offered to us in the Supper, demands neither a local presence, nor the descent of Christ, nor an infinite extension of His body, nor anything of that sort; for, in view of the fact that the Supper is a heavenly act, there is nothing absurd about saying that Christ remains in heaven and is yet received by us. For the way in which He imparts Himself to us is by the secret power of the Holy Spirit, a power which is able not only to bring together, but also to join together, things which are separated by distance, and by a great distance at that.[65]

In the vigorous debates between Luther and Zwingli on the sacrament, Zwingli insisted that Christ is eaten spiritually (*manducatio spiritualis*) in the Supper. The natural, material body of Christ is in heaven, and therefore, says Zwingli, it is "not eaten by us, literally or in substance, and all the more not quantitatively, but only sacramentally and spiritually" (Dennison, 189). Although Bucer and Calvin use similar terms, their interpretation of the *manducatio spiritualis* is not identical to Zwingli's. For Zwingli,

> To eat the body of Christ spiritually is nothing else than to trust in spirit and heart upon the mercy and goodness of God through Christ, that is, to be sure with unshaken faith that God is going to give us pardon for our sins and the joy of everlasting blessedness on account of his Son, who was made wholly ours, was offered for us, and reconciled the divine righteousness to us…. To eat the body of Christ sacramentally, if we wish to speak accurately, is to eat the body of Christ in heart and spirit with the accompaniment of the sacrament.[66]

While Bucer and Calvin agreed with Zwingli's denial of the local and bodily presence of Christ in the Supper, they criticized his failure to explain how Christ is truly present in the sacrament and how his body and blood are actually given and received (see Calvin, *Tracts*, 2.195). As Calvin put it, Zwingli "laboured more to pull down what was evil than to build up what was good" (ibid., 2.196). Therefore, both Bucer and Calvin attempted to correct this fault—chiefly by emphasizing the role of the Holy Spirit in the Supper.[67] Calvin explains,

> [Christ is] given to us in the Supper spiritually, because the secret virtue of the Spirit makes things which are separated by space to be united with each other, and accordingly causes life from the flesh of Christ to reach us from heaven (Calvin, *Tracts*, 2.578).

For Zwingli, the *manducatio spiritualis* is essentially negative, since he primarily uses it to refute the eucharistic doctrines of Luther and Rome. For Bucer and Calvin, however, it is essentially positive, since they primarily use it to refer to the role of the Holy Spirit. To be sure, Bucer and Calvin do use the term in contrast to eating in a natural or carnal manner, but they are quick to add that this does not mean that Christ is present only in spirit or only in the believer's imagination. At the Wittenberg conference in 1536, Bucer attempted to clarify this point for the Lutherans who were present.

> By our expressions affirming that the body of Christ is eaten spiritually, and that Christ is presented to the

65. Hesselink, 148; cf. ibid., 35; Dennison, 544; and Calvin's comment on John 17:21 in John Calvin, *Commentary on the Gospel of John*, vol. 2 (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2005) 184.

66. Dennison, 190. On Zwingli's understanding of spiritual eating, see ibid., 186–93; cf. Zwingli's arguments against Luther at the Marburg Colloquy in *Luther's Works*, vol. 38, edited by Martin E. Lehmann (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1971) 5–89; and Geoffrey W. Bromiley, *Zwingli and Bullinger* (Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press, 1953) 176–238.

67. Cf. Hesselink, 147–9; Stephens, 238–59; B. A. Gerrish, *Grace and Gratitude: The Eucharistic Theology of John Calvin* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993) 131, 137–8, 175; hereafter Gerrish, *Grace*; and Ronald S. Wallace, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacrament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1957) 203–10.

> mouth of faith, we were not proposing some kind of imaginary or pretended presence. We merely sought to exclude that material presence (called a "bodily" presence) which had brought the world to such depths of madness as to believe that the Lord is contained bodily in the sacrament so long as the outward appearances of bread and wine remain, and that this sacramental presence of itself conveys some benefit and averts all evils, with the result that men had made the mere sight and carrying around of this sacrament of the highest importance, despite the absence of all teaching or mention of faith. Nevertheless we admitted that we had not always given so full an exposition of the presence of which we were now speaking (Wright, *Common Places*, 360–1).

That Knox followed Bucer and Calvin on this matter rather than Zwingli is evident in the *Summary*, for he defines the spiritual communication of Christ's flesh and blood in terms of the work of the Holy Spirit.

> [Christ] gives unto us himself, to be received with faith, and not with mouth, nor yet by transfusion of substance. But so through the virtue of the Holy Ghost, that we, being fed with his flesh, and refreshed with his blood, may be renewed both unto true godliness and to immortality (*Works*, 3.73).

In the last two paragraphs of the *Summary*, Knox turns his attention to the doctrine of transubstantiation. What we find most interesting here is that not one harsh word is spoken against transubstantiation. To be sure, Knox believed it was a blasphemous fable and passionately condemned it on numerous occasions. In the *Summary*, however, his tone is entirely pastoral. His aim was not so much to denounce transubstantiation but to comfort weak Christians, who were being terrified by papists, who insisted that if the bread is not transubstantiated into the body of Christ, there is no hope of salvation for anyone. They further insisted that the doctrine of transubstantiation is so essential to our salvation that a denial of it results in eternal damnation. Therefore, in a pastoral manner, Knox endeavors to relieve the troubled conscience of the fearful Christian. To accept the doctrine of transubstantiation does not save anyone; to reject it does not condemn anyone.[68] Knox writes,

> And as concerning these words, *Hoc est corpus meum,* "This is my body," on which the Papists depend so much, saying, That we must needs believe that the bread and wine are transubstantiated into Christ's body and blood; We acknowledge that it is no article of our faith which can save us, nor which we are bound to believe upon pain of eternal damnation. For if we should believe that his very natural body, both flesh and blood, were naturally in the bread and wine, that should not save us, seeing many believe that, and yet receive it to their damnation. For it is not his presence in the bread that can save us, but his presence in our hearts through faith in his blood, which has washed out our sins, and pacified his Father's wrath towards us. And again, if we do not believe his bodily presence in the bread and wine, that shall not damn us, but the absence out of our heart through unbelief (*Works*, 3.74).

In the Roman liturgy, the miracle of transubstantiation occurred when the priest recited the canon of the Mass with the intention of consecrating the elements. Thus, the words of institution—*Hoc est corpus meum*—came to be seen as a magical formula or incantation, and all of the "mimicry and buffoonery" that was added to the celebration of the sacrament only confirmed this superstition (Calvin, *Tracts*, 2.193). "Hence their consecration," says Calvin, "is only a species of sorcery, seeing that by muttering and gesticulating like sorcerers, they think to constrain Jesus to come down into their hands" (2.191). As in the Roman liturgy, Knox's liturgy also includes the words of institution, but in Knox's liturgy, these words are recited—not as a formula of consecration—but "rather to set forth the warrant and true manner of the sacrament" (Thompson, *Liturgies*, 292). To make this clear, Knox appended the following statement to the end of *The Genevan Book of Order*:

> And as for the words of the Lord's Supper, we rehearse them, not because they should change the substance of the bread or wine, or that the repetition thereof, with the intent of the sacrifice, should make the Sacrament, as the Papists falsely believe, but they are read and pronounced to teach us how to behave ourselves in that action, and that Christ might witness unto our faith, as it were with his own mouth, that he hath ordained these signs to our spiritual use and comfort … so that

68. Kyle and Johnson write, "In the last two paragraphs, Knox once again goes on the offensive citing Scripture and selecting church fathers to prove that belief in transubstantiation will lead to damnation…. Belief in the bread and wine as the transubstantiated body and blood of Christ as an article of faith will lead to eternal damnation" (Kyle-Johnson, 51). In our opinion, Kyle and Johnson have misinterpreted the meaning and purpose of these last two paragraphs. Knox does not say that affirming transubstantiation will lead to damnation; rather, he says that denying transubstantiation will not lead to damnation. Other than this minor fault, Kyle and Johnson have written a superb introduction to the life and works of John Knox.

> without his word and warrant there is nothing in this holy action attempted (Hurlbut, 52).

Thus, the words of institution were retained in Knox's Communion liturgy, but they were not used in the same way or for the same purpose as in the canon of the Mass. In the last paragraph of the *Summary*, Knox anticipates and answers one objection to his denial of transubstantiation.

> Now, if they would here object, that though it be truth, that the absence out of the bread could not damn us, yet we are bound to believe it because of God's Word, saying, "This is my body," which who believes not as much as in him lies, makes God a liar: and therefore, of an obstinate mind not to believe his Word, may be our damnation. To this we answer, That we believe God's Word, and confess that it is true, but not so to be understood as the Papists grossly affirm. For in the Sacrament we receive Jesus Christ spiritually, as did the Fathers of the Old Testament, according to St. Paul's saying [1 Corinthians 10:1–4]. And if men would well weigh, how that Christ, ordaining this Holy Sacrament of his body and blood, spoke these words Sacramentally, doubtless they would never so grossly and foolishly understand them, contrary to all the Scriptures, and to the exposition of St. Augustine, St. Jerome, Fulgentius, Vigilius, Origen, and many other godly writers (*Works*, 3.74–5; cf. Calvin, *Tracts*, 2.185).

If transubstantiation is not true, then how are we to understand the words of Jesus? Knox gives two answers to this question. We have already examined his first answer, namely, that Christ is received spiritually in the sacrament. His second answer, however, adds a new thought. When Jesus said, "This is my body," he spoke these words sacramentally. In other words, since the bread is the sacrament and figure of the body, "the name of the body of Jesus Christ is transferred to the bread" (Calvin, *Tracts*, 2.172). There is a sacramental union between the sign and the reality, such that the name or title of the reality may be given to the sign. For this reason, Jesus refers to the bread as his body.

The Ecclesiological Dimension

In the third paragraph of the *Summary*, Knox highlights the ecclesiological dimension of the Lord's Supper. Knox writes that in the sacrament,

> the Lord Jesus gathers us unto one visible body, so that we become members one of another, and make altogether one body, whereof Jesus Christ is the only head. And finally that by the same Sacrament, the Lord calls us to remembrance of his Death and Passion, to stir up our hearts to praise his most holy name (*Works*, 3.73).

"This means, if words mean anything," remarks McEwen, "not just that Christ gathers and creates the Church, but that He gathers it by this sacrament, and that on this sacrament He founds it" (McEwen, 56). It is by the Lord's Supper that Christ gathers us "unto one visible body" and knits us together so that we become "members one of another." Knox found this ecclesiological dimension of the sacrament in the first letter of Paul to the Corinthians, where Paul says, "Since there is one bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread" (1 Corinthians 10:17). That is, although we are many in number, we become one body when we all share in the one bread of the Lord's Supper. The reason is that in the Supper, Christ "makes himself common to all" and "makes all one in himself" (Hesselink, 35; cf. *Institutes*, 4.17.38). The Supper unites us to Christ, and *in him*, we are united to one another. Since Christ is one person and cannot be divided, all who are *in him* form one single and indivisible body. In the sacrament, Christ communicates himself to us in such a manner that "he is made completely one with us and we with him" (*Institutes*, 4.17.38). We dwell in him, and he in us, and this mutual indwelling of Christ and the saints is the root that produces the unity of the Church. Calvin explains,

> Now, since he [Christ] has only one body, of which he makes us all partakers, it is necessary that all of us also be made one body by such participation. The bread shown in the Sacrament represents this unity. As it is made of many grains so mixed together that one cannot be distinguished from another, so it is fitting that in the same way we should be joined and bound together by such great agreement of minds that no sort of disagreement or division may intrude.[69]

Thus, the Church becomes one body by participating in the sacrament of Holy Communion. Knox further develops this ecclesiological dimension when he says that the Lord's Supper establishes a bond of mutual and fraternal love among believers (*Works*, 3.74). Once again, we see the influence of Calvin on Knox's eucharistic

69. *Institutes* 4.17.38; cf. Calvin, *Tracts*, 2.177. See also Capito's chapter on the eucharist in *The Tetrapolitan Confession* (Dennison, 159); cf. Zwingli's interpretation of 1 Corinthians 10 in Bromiley, *Zwingli and Bullinger*, 237; and Jacques Courvoisier, *Zwingli: A Reformed Theologian* (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1963).

theology, for Calvin—following the lead of Augustine—refers to the Lord's Supper as "the bond of love."

> Accordingly, Augustine with good reason frequently calls this Sacrament "the bond of love." For what sharper goad could there be to arouse mutual love among us than when Christ, giving himself to us, not only invites us by his own example to pledge and give ourselves to one another, but inasmuch as he makes himself common to all, also makes all of us one in himself (*Institutes*, 4.17.38; cf. Calvin, *Tracts*, 2.177).

Thus, through the Lord's Supper, Christ incites us to live in peace, unity and love with one another.

The ecclesiological dimension of Knox's eucharistic theology has received much attention in the last fifty years—primarily due to the Croall Lectures of James McEwen at New College, Edinburgh in 1960. Prior to McEwen's lectures, the publication of Lord Eustace Percy's biography of Knox in 1937 brought this to the attention of scholars. Percy argued that the true legacy of Knox was not that he was "the thunderous preacher" of Scotland but rather "the restorer of the Sacrament" (Percy, 65).

> This is the one thing that he achieved. His pulpit words have faded, as he intended they should; his *blasts of the trumpet* against established governments have been drowned by the fanfares of more convinced revolutionaries. But his conception of the central act of Christian worship set a lasting seal upon the Church of Scotland, differentiating it from all other Protestant communions and making it, in the strict sense of the term, a Eucharistic Church. His political vehemencies, systematised by others to conclusions which his hot-headedness had never drawn, were to torture the body of Scotland for a century; but his vision of this one central truth was to save her soul.[70]

Furthermore, Percy asserts that Knox went well beyond Calvin in lifting up the Lord's Supper, for he simply "could not take Calvin's colder view about the sacraments" (Percy, 230). In a similar fashion, McEwen insists that Knox departed significantly from Calvin in his sacramental theology (McEwen, 47). For this reason, says McEwen, it will not do to say that in matters sacramental "Scotland followed Calvin." In fact, this is precisely "the point at which Scotland diverged" (McEwen, 47). McEwen claims that Knox—unlike Calvin—consistently maintained the unity of Word and sacrament and regarded them as co-central in the life of the Church (McEwen, 53). He supports his claim by appealing primarily to the fact that Knox was willing to serve Communion to any group of believers gathered for worship, without waiting for the establishment of an organized Church. During his travels throughout Scotland in 1555–56 and his visit to Kyle in 1562, Knox held services at numerous private residences in which he administered the Lord's Supper.[71] McEwen writes,

> During both missions, his practice was at every possible opportunity to gather the faithful into the drawing room of some gentleman's house, or some other convenient place, and there to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. There was no question of waiting for the establishment of an organized Church. Wherever two or three could be gathered together, there Knox administered Communion, carefully noting the date and place of celebration as important and significant events (McEwen, 56).

Contrary to the practice of Knox in Scotland, Calvin "discouraged the persecuted Huguenots of France from seeking to institute the celebration of the sacraments: for the celebration of these could very well wait until such time as they had opportunity to organize their Church in an orderly manner" (McEwen, 53). From this, McEwen draws the conclusion that "the Sacrament had an importance and a vital quality to Knox that it apparently did not have to Calvin" (ibid., 56). Moreover, the key to understanding this difference in practice between Calvin and Knox, says McEwen, is found in Knox's *Summary*, particularly, in his statement that "the Lord Jesus gathers us unto one visible body, so that we become members one of another, and make altogether one body, whereof Jesus Christ is the only head" (*Works*, 3.73).

70. Idem.; cf. Reid, 51; and McEwen. Although we do not entirely agree with Percy's portrait of John Knox, we do agree with the idea that the rich Communion piety of Scottish Presbyterian history is a legacy of Knox's eucharistic faith and practice. See Old, *Communion*, 227–96; Old, *Worship*, 136–40; and Burnett, 1–63; cf. Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Holy Fairs: Scotland and the Making of American Revivalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2001).

71. Greaves, 104. These Communion services are recorded by Knox in his *History*; see Guthrie, 111–6; Dickinson, 118–22; cf. McEwen, 56; Percy, 230–1; and McCrie, 90–2. One such private meeting in which Knox administered the Lord's Supper took place at Calder House in West Lothian (Guthrie, 116). The portrait of Knox administering Communion on the cover of this journal is from Sir David Wilkie's depiction of this Communion service at Calder House; it bears the caption, "The first Sacrament of the Supper given in Scotland after the Reformation was given in this Hall." Evidence to support the caption's claim, however, may be lacking; see McMillan, 28; and Baird, *Eutaxia*, 115–8.

> I know nothing quite like this anywhere else in Reformed teaching. This is not a dispensable sacrament that Knox is describing; not one that may be postponed without serious harm until the visible body of the Church has been organized. This sacrament, as Knox describes it, is the very foundation of the visible body of the Church: by it, Christ brings that visible body into being. The Church is founded on the Word—yes: but on the Word completed and fulfilled by the action of Christ in the Sacrament. Now, here is the reason why Knox, unlike Calvin, will not wait to celebrate the sacraments till the Church be formed; for it is the sacraments that form the Church. This is why Knox, in his missions to Scotland, gathers his two or three where he can, for the Lord's Supper. It is in these sacramental gatherings that they cease to be scattered believers, and begin to form "the face of a Kirk." Here they are made members one of another; here they are gathered by Christ Himself into one visible body, with Himself as Head. By Word and Sacrament the Church is created. On Word and Sacrament the Church is founded. But by Word alone, without Sacrament, the Church cannot be. To Knox, the Sacrament is creative, and basic, for the life of the Church, in a way it is not for Calvin—or anywhere else in the Reformed world…. None in the Reformed world made the Sacrament basic for the Church itself, as Knox did (McEwen, 57).

While McEwen's argument is interesting, it is, nevertheless, unconvincing. As we have demonstrated above, the ecclesiological dimension of Knox's eucharistic theology is not a point at which he and Calvin diverged. Quite the contrary, the doctrines of Calvin and Knox on this subject are virtually indistinguishable. The only substantive argument that McEwen offers in support of his claim is the difference in practice between Calvin and Knox concerning the lawful administration of the sacraments. We do not deny that there is a difference in practice between the Reformers, but we deny the inference that McEwen draws from it. Does this minor difference in sacramental practice *necessarily* indicate a substantive difference in sacramental theology?[72] We do not believe that it does. One could just as easily argue that Calvin and Knox had different ideas concerning ecclesiology or Church discipline. Richard Greaves suggests this when he writes,

> When Knox administered the sacraments during his travels in 1555–56, he *was* administering them to visible kirks. His congregations were, at least for the most part, believers, and he was proclaiming the Word and administering the sacraments. Only ecclesiastical discipline was lacking…. Where the Word was preached and the sacraments were rightly administered, there the visible church existed…. Knox certainly did not underestimate the value of an organized kirk. Neither did he equate that value with the underlying reality of the church as a body of believers gathered to hear the Word and receive the sacraments. In essence, Knox did not absolutely equate the visible church with the organized church. The latter was obviously visible, but there was also a visible church which could totally lack the elements of ecclesiasticism. It was not until Knox's visible kirks of 1555–56 became organized kirks that he added the element of discipline as a necessary mark. The significance of Knox's position … was that visible churches could exist where ecclesiasticism was absent (Greaves, 105).

While there may be some weaknesses in Greave's thesis, it is, nevertheless, more convincing than McEwen's. However one explains this divergence in practice between Knox and Calvin, in our opinion, it would be a mistake to infer a significant theological disagreement between them from this minor variation in practice.

The Sacramental Dimension

From their study of the Church Fathers, the Reformers discovered the original meaning of the Latin word *sacramentum* and the reason why it came to be used for baptism and the Lord's Supper. According to Mohrmann,

> the basic meaning of the word *sacramentum* is a religious commitment…. In a derived sense it can, therefore, mean an initiation to a religious community, an oath of allegiance, a religious vow, or a legal or religious contract. Tertullian, in his *De corona*, contrasts the sacrament of the Christian with the sacrament of the soldier. By this he means that just as the soldier has made an oath of allegiance to his commander, so the Christian in his baptism has made an oath of allegiance to

72. Perhaps one could argue that there is an inconsistency between theology and practice in one of the Reformers. McEwen writes, "Calvin's whole treatment of the sacraments exhibits a vacillation between a 'high' doctrine and a merely 'obsignatorial' one. There is clear inconsistency between his description of the Eucharist as a great mystery—a communion in the Body and Blood of Christ, and his description of it as a mere seal, a useful but not essential stimulus to faith" (McEwen, 53). If McEwen is willing to admit that such an inconsistency may exist within someone's theology, why does he not consider the possibility of inconsistency between the faith and practice of Calvin (or Knox)?

> Christ. For Tertullian, it was this understanding of the word *sacramentum* which led to his application of it to baptism or the Lord's Supper.[73]

For this reason, Zwingli teaches that the sacraments "fill the office of an oath of allegiance." The Latin writers, says Zwingli, used *sacramentum* in place of "oath" because "those who use one and the same oath, become one and the same race and sacred alliance, united into one body and one people" (Dennison, 196). Likewise, Calvin has this understanding of *sacramentum* in mind when he writes,

> All believers have one common vow which, made in baptism, we confirm and, so to speak, sanction by catechism and receiving the Lord's Supper. For the sacraments are like contracts by which the Lord gives us his mercy and from it eternal life; and we in turn promise him obedience.[74]

Thus, *sacramentum* originally signified "the solemn oath that the soldier took to the commander when he entered military service" (*Institutes*, 4.14.13). It is appropriate, therefore, to use the term for baptism and the Lord's Supper, for by these rites, we profess Christ to be "our commander, and testify that we serve under his" banner just as soldiers "bind their fealty to their commander" by a military oath "and make profession of military service" (4.14.13). This is the primary meaning of *sacramentum* in secular writings, but when it is applied to baptism and the Lord's Supper, the emphasis is not on the believer's act of vowing himself to his commander but "the commander's act of receiving soldiers into the ranks. For by the sacraments the Lord promises that 'he will be our God and we shall be his people'" (4.14.13). While this is the primary meaning of *sacramentum* in its Christian use, it also has a secondary meaning, namely, the believer's oath of allegiance (4.14.13). In the Lord's Supper, therefore, we pledge our allegiance to Christ by publicly professing our faith, and we declare and witness before the world that he is our God, and we are his people. Knox highlights this sacramental dimension of the Lord's Supper when he writes,

> [W]e believe that it is a Confession, wherein we show what kind of doctrine we profess; and what Congregation we join ourselves unto; and likewise, that it is a bond of mutual love among us. And, finally, we believe that all the comers unto this holy Supper must bring with them their conversion unto the Lord, by unfeigned repentance in Faith; and in this Sacrament receive the seals and confirmation of their faith; and yet must in no wise think, that for this work's sake their sins are forgiven (*Works*, 3.74).

Thus, the sacrament seals and confirms—not only God's promises to us—but our faith by which we receive them. Furthermore, the sacrament is a confession of our faith. When I eat and drink at the Lord's Table, says Knox,

> I openly confess the fruit and virtue of Christ's body, of his blood and passion, to appertain to myself; and that I am a member of his mystical body; and that God the Father is appeased with me, notwithstanding my first corruption and present infirmities (*Works*, 3.67–8; cf. 4.120).

By coming to the Lord's Table, we solemnly witness before the world that we are of "the household of God our Father" and are received into his family by his covenant of mercy (*Works*, 4.124). By partaking of the Lord's Supper, we declare to the world that because we are clothed in the righteousness of Christ,

> he admits us to his table, and expressly in his word sets before us the bread of life which descended from heaven, to assure our consciences that … with joy does he receive us as the father did his unthankful and prodigal son, returning to him from his wretched condition and miserable poverty (*Works*, 4.124).

Thus, when we come to the Lord's Table, our heavenly Father prepares for us a spiritual feast and feeds us with the bread of life from heaven. At the Lord's Table, we rejoice and celebrate that we who were dead are now alive—that we who were lost are now found. And in joy and thankfulness, we pledge our allegiance to Christ and vow our obedience to him: "All that the LORD has spoken we will do, and we will be obedient" (Exodus 24:7).

Continued on Page 249.

73. Old, *Patristic Roots*, 286–7; cf. Old, *Communion*, 68; John F. D'Amico, "Beatus Rhenanus, Tertullian, and the Reformation," *Archive for Reformation History* 71 (1980): 37–63; Christine Mohrmann, "Sacramentum dans les plus anciens texts chrétiens," *Etudes sur le latin des chrétiens*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1958–1965) 1.233–44; and Tertullian, *The Chaplet, or De corona*, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 3, edited by A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) 93–103.

74. *Institutes*, 4.13.6. It is worth noting here that in the same section of the *Institutes*, Calvin uses Tertullian's definition of the baptismal vow as a renunciation of Satan (see idem.). In baptism, says Tertullian, "we are called upon to make a vow renouncing the devil, his pomp and his angels" (cf. Old, *Patristic Roots*, 303).

John Knox and the Reformation by the Rev. Dr. James Begg

Edited by Iain Wright
With an Assessment of the Life of Dr. James Begg

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In the sermon that follows the reader may find the emphases James Begg placed on Knox's life and ministry different to the ones he might be expecting. The occasion for the sermon was the tercentenary of the death of the great Scottish Reformer. The address, however, is no mere rehearsing of historical events only vaguely remembered. Begg was addressing his contemporaries and made reference to a number of significant events which would have been very much in their thinking. A little over two years before Begg gave his address the First Vatican Council had adjourned, having defined papal infallibility. One year earlier the Church of Ireland had been disestablished. The same year, the government in London had passed the Education (Scotland) Act which transferred the control of the schools from the church to the state.

In their own way, these were each momentous events for Begg. George III had resisted Catholic emancipation for years. His successor had no such qualms, signing the bill in 1829 when Begg was twenty-one years old. Throughout his life Begg was an ardent opponent of Roman Catholicism, founding the Scottish Reformation Society and its publication *The Bulwark* to counteract what he saw an ever present threat to both church and state.

His concern to maintain the establishment principle may seem strange to a North American reader, but for Begg the principle was the very cornerstone on which church and state together would prosper. It was, moreover, the issue at the heart of the conflict in the Free Church of Scotland over proposed union with the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. On the occasion of the tercentenary, that which historians describe as the "second ten years' conflict" (1863–73) had not yet concluded. In that struggle, Begg represented the historically reformed theology that traced its origins back to Knox himself. Begg was resolutely committed to the theology taught by him, and later given even greater definition in the work of the Westminster Assembly.

As Begg comments on the legacy of Knox, it becomes obvious that for him one of the most significant aspects of the reformation in Scotland was the commitment to universal education. The reason hardly needed to be explained. Place a minister in each parish to preach and set alongside him a school teacher. If the ordinary people can read and have the Bible in their own hands and are taught to study it, not only will they not return to Rome, but they will embrace the gospel. Resistance to the threat of Rome and teaching the population to read were not distinct endeavours but parallel courses to the same objective. From this it follows that Begg was not concerned merely with a secular education. The idea that the state could provide an education devoid of sound Biblical teaching was anathema to him. The state was under sacred duty to provide, maintain, and defend Biblical truth. Yielding to the Voluntarism of the United Presbyterian Church was no less abhorrent to him than yielding to the Erastianism of the Church of Scotland prior to the Disruption of 1843. Though his indefatigable opposition to union prevented the two denominations from coming together in his lifetime, ultimately he only succeeded in delaying the merger, not averting it. Begg wrote close to seventy works, mostly

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brief pamphlets on a wide range of subjects often related to the well-being of the ordinary working man. He was leader of those who were committed to a confessional stance in a Free Church increasingly enamoured of German liberalism. His oratorical, debating and organizational skills were not inconsiderable; and yet, for all his gifts, he was unable to hold the Free Church to its founding principles. At best he delayed the inevitable, but in truth even that is questionable.

In Begg's lifetime his name would have been "as familiar as any contemporary politician."[1] When the press came to comment on the workings of the courts of the church, he was vilified as the arch-bigot who wanted to take "his bigotry neat."[2] "For twenty years after this the name of Dr. Begg was used in the Edinburgh newspapers as a synonym for bigotry and intolerance."[3] His opposition not only to union with United Presbyterians but his resolute insistence on exclusive and unaccompanied Psalm singing, and his dogged sounding of the warning against Romanism, made sure of his being maintained before the public gaze as a Calvinistic fossil out of touch as well as out of sympathy with modern trends. "It would be hard to find a better example of that misunderstood type of Free Church minister whom posterity has disliked and whose merits have been forgotten."[4]

It was not always so, however. In 1865, while on his way to Geneva for a time of recuperation following an illness, Begg was involved in a train accident which came close to being fatal. Had Begg been killed instead of seriously injured, posterity would have remembered him as a great champion of the working classes, rather than a dour cleric unable to deal with the changing scene of Scottish Church life.[5]

Begg had a strong personality and was "utterly indifferent to abuse and misrepresentation, so long as [he was] persuaded that [he was] in the path of duty."[6] "Truth and right," as he said, "have been in the minority since the time of Noah."[7] For his part, he "would rather be a minister in the smallest Church in Christendom, holding a full testimony for Christ, than [he] would be a minister of the largest union that ever was formed or conceived, if there is anything like a sacrifice of principle involved."[8]

Within the Free Church his opponents thought little of him, and seemed incapable of separating their personal feelings from an honest assessment of their chief antagonist. William Robertson Smith despised Begg as a ranter.[9] Smith's biographer wrote: "Dr. Begg, whose intervention in any controversy was ominous of misfortunes for the Church, appeared as the stormy petrel of a new tempest."[10] In the opinion of Carnegie Simpson, although Begg was one of the two most powerful leaders of the Free Church, his influence was "a disastrous one." "If Begg had been a nobler man, he would have been something of a great man."[11] Rainy, in a letter to the author of his biography, wrote: "Begg was the evil genius of the Free Church. He introduced a policy of conspiracy and of attempting to carry points by threatening us with law. No man did more to lower the tone of the Church and to secularise it" (*Life of Principal Rainy*, 2.50). Charteris' biographer said, "Begg wrote several books and pamphlets, none of them of enduring merit",[12] which missed the point that Begg wrote topically concerning the issue of the day. Charteris, himself a personal friend of Begg, had commented: "Of all who were prominent [during the Disruption], there is but one survivor; and it is notable that he (Dr. Begg), with manly consistency, held his own then, as ever since, denouncing the Act of Queen Anne as the source of all the evils of the Church."[13]

Not all were scathing in their comments. "The stature of James Begg was universally recognized, albeit sometimes grudgingly, by his contemporaries, but history has not always done him justice."[14] As Arthur Gordon described Begg: "… in addition to his sturdy independence, oratorical gifts, and Scottish mother-wit, Dr. Begg was straight and consistent. Men knew where to find him."[15] For Benjamin Disraeli, Begg was a "lion of

1. T. C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People 1830–1950* (London: Fontana 1997) 181.
2. *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, April 28, 1864.
3. Thomas Smith, *Memoirs of James Begg* (Edinburgh: James Gemmell, 1888) 2.373.
4. Andrew Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Scottish Church 1688—1843* (Edinburgh: St. Andrews Press, 1973) 186.
5. Stewart Mechie, *The Church and Scottish Social Development 1780–1870* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960) 119. Andrew Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843–74* (Edinburgh: St. Andrews Press, 1975) 134.
6. *Daily Review* (Edinburgh), March 22, 1872.
7. Smith, *Memoirs of James Begg*, 2.479.
8. *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland*, 1863, 233. Hereafter *PGAFCS*.
9. Andrew Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Church in Late Victorian Scotland 1874–1900* (Edinburgh: St. Andrews Press, 1978) 63.
10. John Black and George Chrystal, *The Life of William Robertson Smith* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1912) 190.
11. Patrick Simpson, *The Life of Principal Rainy* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909) 2.50.
12. J. G. Fyfe, ed., *Scottish Diaries and Memories 1746–1843* (Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1942) 532.
13. *St. Giles Lectures: First Series. The Scottish Church from the Earliest Times to 1881* (Edinburgh: W & R Chambers, 1881) 319.
14. Kenneth Ross, *Church and Creed in Scotland: The Free Church Case 1900–104 and its Origins* (Edinburgh: Rutherford House, 1988) 19.
15. Arthur Gordon, *The Life of Archibald Hamilton Charteris* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1912) 298.

the tribe of Judah" (299). For Nicoll, "He was generally in conflict with the tendencies of the times … yet he remains for us … one of the most striking and memorable figures we have ever gazed on."[16] Of Begg, William Knight wrote:

> I must mention a man from many of whose opinions I differed, and who never won me even as a foeman: a man nevertheless of great power and influence, Dr. James Begg. He was a robust and stalwart antagonist of all that he disapproved of, the most redoubtable and conscientious champion of forlorn causes, a heroic defender of belated opinion. He was never afraid of being in a minority. Lord Beaconsfield [better known as Benjamin Disraeli] once said "The man who fears being in a minority will never be in a majority." That sentence expresses the ruling principle of Dr. Begg's life. He knew that he was in a hopeless minority, but a knowledge of the fact only nerved him to work on behalf of the forlorn cause. He had a marvelous power of objecting to the decisions and opinions of his fellowmen.[17]

Again Nicoll spoke greatly in admiration of Begg:

> After all these years, and some experience of other arenas, he rises before me as by far the most commanding figure in the Church. There is almost no assembly, political, social or ecclesiastical in which I can think of his match, and in the Free Assembly it always seemed a case of eclipse first and the rest nowhere far as sheer popular power was concerned…. He had such qualifications for the leadership of the people that he might easily have been the first man in Scotland; in Parliament the Balfours and the Churchills could not have held a candle to him.[18]

The question still remains as to why such an influential figure has become so largely forgotten in his native land. The answer lies partly in the public *persona* created for him by the press. He was the representative of an old-style Calvinism which was out of step with the trends of the day. The people of Scotland did not want to be drawn back, either to the style of worship, or to the ethos of which exclusive psalmody was the embodiment. He "was the last prominent spokesman in the Lowlands for the ideals of the Disruption fathers which their sons were now discarding."[19]

As both a preacher and pastor he enjoyed "one of the very highest reputations … for personal, private, parochial attention to those who [sat] under him."[20] It must be recognized that few men have suffered more at the hands of a biographer.[21] Again, as Macdonald cites in his thesis,[22] Nicoll made a sharp comment:

> A fatality has attended the biographies of the heroes of the Disruption. With two or three exceptions they are deplorable, presenting the images of fussy, bigoted ecclesiastics, always making speeches or taking bitter part in petty quarrels, and completely dissociated from the larger world of culture. In comparison with Dr. Begg's life, however, the worst of them is a classic…. The book is, in short, a heap of hay and stubble, with one or two needles hopelessly lost therein.[23]

Begg features prominently in two major works on the history of this period: Rainy's biography and his own. The former always shows Rainy in a good light and Begg in the worst. "Between them these two works have obscured the undoubted fact that Begg was amongst the front rank of Scottish churchmen in the nineteenth century."[24] Begg had, in fact, at one point nominated his future biographer, Thomas Smith, for the Chair of Apologetics at New College instead of William Garden Blaikie. It may have been just as well that this was yet another vote that he lost.[25]

More recently others, in particular Bishop[26] and Macdonald, have sought to look at the life of Begg. In the former there is little more than a recitation of the social issues in which he was involved with no explanation

16. W. Robertson Nicholl, *Princes of the Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1921) 13.

17. William Knight, *Some Nineteenth Century Scotsmen* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1909) 106.

18. *British Weekly* (London), 1893, May 11. Ross in commenting on Nicoll's article said the weight of his judgement was increased by his having been generally opposed to the tendency in the Free Church which Begg represented and its impressiveness was magnified by the fact that he could only have seen Begg when the latter was past his prime. Ross, *Church and Creed*, 20.

19. Drummond and Bulloch, *Church in Late Victorian Scotland*, 53.

20. *Sketches of the Edinburgh Clergy* (Edinburgh: n.p., 1865) 11.

21. Drummond and Bulloch, *Church in Victorian Scotland*, 135.

22. For a detailed treatment of Begg's contribution regarding the proposed union of the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church see Neil Angus Macdonald, "The Rev. James Begg, D.D., Free Church 'Constitutionalist': A Study of his views on the Testimony, Doctrine, Worship and Practice of the Free Church of Scotland with Special Reference to the Period 1860–8" (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1984).

23. Nicoll, *Princes of the Church*, 12.

24. Ross, *Church and Creed*, 20.

25. PGAFCS 1868, 221.

26. Donald Harold Bishop, "Church and Society: a study of the social work and thought of James Begg 1808–1883, A. H. Charteris 1835–1908, and David Watson 1859–1943" (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1953).

as to the motivation that lay behind them, and no explanation as to whether his involvement was good, bad or indifferent. Macdonald's thesis is a much better examination, especially of Begg's close involvement in matters concerning the proposed union. Unintentionally but inevitably, however, Macdonald does Begg a disservice. By focusing on the narrow range of issues, he serves to confirm, in the academic mind at least, that the only area of Begg's life worthy of note is his involvement in controversy, especially in the Second Ten Years' Conflict. Though the subject is clearly worthy of consideration, it is a great pity for posterity's appreciation of Begg that he should be seen through such narrow parameters. Rather more disappointingly, Macdonald is willing to dismiss Begg's commitment to the establishment principle as being founded on a weak application of the concept of Israel as a theocracy, and he does not appear to recognize just how profound an effect this doctrine had on Begg's world and life view.

James Begg was committed, whatever the cost, to the maintenance of the Reformed Faith as he understood it. The faith which he maintained was the Calvinist Creed as embodied in the *Westminster Confession of Faith* and the *Shorter* and *Larger Catechisms*. As William Ferguson put it, he was the "orthodox of orthodox."[27] He was convinced that the ordinary people of Scotland held these truths as dearly as he did, and he was surprised when events proved him wrong. His was a theology, which had long ceased to be the governing principle of Scottish life. At the time of the Disruption, it must have appeared that the wave of sympathy which buoyed up those who had separated themselves from the established church would herald another Reformation and the rekindling of the fervor of a previous generation. The reality was indeed a great disappointment to Begg, as with the passing of the years all that he held dear was first challenged, then set aside.

He "seemed to know instinctively how to arrest his audience and carry them along with him. Yet it was observed that Begg had little control over the deeper feelings of men."[28] He failed in the end, despite his tremendous energy and considerable journalistic and pamphleteering skills,[29] to persuade sufficient numbers of his brethren in the Free Church to maintain the principles of the Disruption. How can the historian account for this?

On every theological subject of any consequence that the Free Church faced, and some that really were of no consequence, Begg could be relied on to give the traditional response. He spoke with frequent quotations from Scripture, often with humor and not a little style. Yet it was clear that there was no room for accommodation with those whose views need not necessarily be at the opposite end of the spectrum. His strict conservatism lost him the sympathy of not only those who were rapidly overturning the historic position of the Free Church, but many who held the middle ground.

His sheer activism told against him. Reading through the minutes of the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh or the Free Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale and the reports of the *Proceedings of the General Assembly* show how frequently he was on his feet. It was not uncommon for Begg to make as many as sixteen speeches in one Assembly. If every commissioner had spoken as much as he did, then one Assembly would have run into the next. There was certainly an exasperation in the mind of some that Begg appeared like a stormy petrel, the harbinger of disaster for the church. He was to them simply "that bustling, meddling clergyman."[30]

He seems to have been totally indiscriminate as to which issues he raised. He had but to hear that all was not well at the Musselburgh Races for him to be on his feet at the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh, calling for a committee to look into its "drunkenness and profligacy." In the way in which such things function, to propose action on a subject meant the forming of a committee and that one would be appointed as the convenor. At times, Begg could boast that he was on the majority of the General Assembly's Committees.

In terms of his social concerns, Begg invariably took the side of the working man against the interests of the establishment. As one of the "most outspoken critics of the aristocracy,"[31] his political radicalism provoked the anger of at least some of the landowners and would have made him suspect in the eyes of conservative churchmen. Again the sheer breadth of the topics which he covered gives the impression that there could hardly have been an issue upon which Begg would have been

27. Ferguson cites a passage from John MacLeod's *Scottish Theology* in which Thomas Carlyle is reported to have exclaimed to Begg during the trial of William Robertson Smith, "Have my countrymen's heads become turnips when they think that they can hold the premises of German unbelief and draw the conclusions of Scottish Evangelical Theology?" Stewart J. Brown and George Newlands, eds., *Scottish Christianity in the Modern World* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000) 84. John MacLeod, *Scottish Theology* (1943; repr., Edinburgh: Knox Press,1974) 310.

28. *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. Begg, James.

29. Alexander Cheyne, *Transforming the Kirk* (Edinburgh: St. Andrews Press, 1983) 123.

30. *North British Mail* (Glasgow), 1874. March 10.

31. Donald Smith, *Passive Obedience and Prophetic Protest: Social Criticism in the Scottish Church 1830–1945* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987) 314.

unwilling to speak: Prussia's war with France; the collapse of a bank in Glasgow; the arrest of a woman in Florence for distributing tracts; the opening of Princes' Street Gardens; the closing of the Botanical Gardens; Royal Mail deliveries; city planning and new streets; Saturday opening of shops; the Syrian Massacre; drunkenness at the Musselburgh races; the national education system; disestablishment of the Church of Ireland; the number of rooms in a house per family; highland evictions and emigration; franchise for parliament; eligibility of Members of Parliament. The aforementioned is not even an exhaustive list! There are indications not only from the secular press but even from Hugh Miller, editor of *The Witness,* that at times the editors of newspapers and broadsheets were irritated by yet another missive on this subject or that.

Begg was out of sympathy with the spirit of the age. The Truth of Scripture, as he saw it was there to be proclaimed, not debated. He was not temperamentally equipped to negotiate, whether concerning the establishment principle, exclusive psalmody, musical instruments in worship or anything else. He held to the principles that, as far as he was concerned, had guided the Kirk since the days of John Knox. There is no indication of bitterness or of pride in the writings or speeches of Begg, but there is evidently great sorrow, disappointment and perhaps even some perplexity that so often his, if not the only voice, was one that went unheeded. As colleagues of his generation passed away, he saw them being replaced by men who did not love the old ways. Typically and poignantly, he quoted from Scripture of the days when the children of Israel were being brought under the yoke of slavery: *Now there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph* (Exod. 1:8). As far as he was concerned, the younger generation of men was turning its back on those who had been the intimates of God. He had striven to maintain Biblical orthodoxy, but knew that he was losing the battle. In his sixties Begg addressed the Assembly: "Come what will, I trust to die an honest and a consistent man."[32] He was hated, despised and vilified in his own generation: the object of scorn in the press, and castigated in the biographies of his contemporaries; but none can doubt that he was both "honest and consistent."

Begg has suffered much at the hands of his friends as well as those of his critics. His biographer, Thomas Smith, seemed to have had a poor understanding of his subject. He thought that Begg had little knowledge or liking for poetry, and yet the pamphlets and speeches recorded often have a line of verse to illustrate a point; and he seems to have little understanding of what really motivated Begg, either in the courts of the church or in the sphere of social responsibility. He alluded to the various projects in which Begg was involved, but with little sympathy. With no robust and balanced view of the life of Begg, it was inevitable that his high profile over the union controversy would be the abiding image. This is a most unfair portrayal of such a leading figure. It is sad that the image of the litigious, not to mention belligerent Begg, is one which those who see themselves as his direct spiritual descendants are seeking to perpetuate. They have seized upon his bold and uncompromising stand as the leader of the minority opposed to compromise on a matter of principle, but they have failed to grasp fully the principles themselves, while at the same time neglecting his substantial commitment to social issues. By doing so they will assure that a further generation will see Begg as being overly quick to pursue litigation to achieve his own ends, while it will fail to acknowledge him as a very much larger man than that. Though the antipathy of his opponents was obvious even in his own day, succeeding generations have had removed from their gaze that which would have helped correct their appreciation. It was ordinary working men who seemed to have the better understanding of Begg, for "[w]hen he was carried to his grave in Edinburgh, great multitudes of working men gathered, and watched with a solemn fixed attention. The nation knew that one of her greatest confessors of Christ had fallen silent."[33]

There remains at least one more question to ask of the life and work of James Begg: to what extent is or should he be a model for those who follow? He tried and ultimately failed to keep the Free Church true to its founding principles. With the benefit of hindsight, what counsel might have been given him to assist him in what he sought to do, and to that extent what lessons might be learned when dealing with the issues of the present generation? Though it is evident that Begg enjoyed controversy, it was not that he was a hard-hearted man concerned only with principle. Even in controversy there was a warmside to him, which enables the reader to understand why it could be said by an opponent that he failed to win him even as a foeman. When that is coupled with his boundless energy for improving the lot of the ordinary working man, it is obvious that he was far from being a harsh and uncaring man. Yet for all that, he made no accommodation to the opinions that were not his own. No doubt accommodation would have been seen as compromise, but where Begg did his own cause harm was by giving the impression

32. PGAFCS 1870, 239.

33. *British Weekly* (London), 1893. May 11.

that he could not so much as see the other point of view. It must be possible, without compromising one's own dearly-held beliefs, at least to acknowledge that a fellow believer may have come to a different opinion, while still seeking to remain true to Scripture.

On a more practical level, though the energy expended so greatly on so many matters leaves the examiner of Begg's life amazed at all he sought to do, it must have been extremely wearing on his colleagues. Not everyone, perhaps not anyone, had his zeal and enthusiasm for so many diverse issues or to the same intensity. Ultimately, it creates the impression that a voice that is raised on every issue is heard on none. For those who would expend their energy for the kingdom of God, the need is not to be any less energetic, but perhaps to show greater discernment as to the issues that can by no means be allowed to pass by, while recognizing that there are indeed some which, though not trivial, do not require the clarion call to arms.

Where Begg stands head and shoulders above the vast majority of his peers is in his promotion of the well-being of the ordinary working man. He was not without a degree of Victorian paternalism, yet that surely is forgivable. It is not that churchmen cannot be found in the present generation who will speak out concerning social issues, but few of them would have had any sympathy for Begg's theology, and those who would be closest to his theology seem the least willing to address those concerns. There has been a retreat into pietism in the last hundred years by those who hold a high view of Scripture. It appears that the sphere of social concern has been largely conceded to those without sympathy for the Reformed cause. Begg is an encouragement to engage in social issues and direct involvement in ameliorating them, not as a compromise of the gospel message, but as a necessary consequence of commitment to it. It is particularly disappointing that the clear testimony of Begg to the harmony between a strong gospel message and clear social conscience is obscured by those who seek to make use of his reputation for their own much narrower concerns.

It has to be admitted that Begg was largely out of sympathy with his age. He looked back to a previous generation with a rather wistful, perhaps rather naïve, desire. The truth is that all who desire to live a godly life will face persecution, as Paul wrote. The Christian is living in this world, but his citizenship is in heaven. To that extent it is his lot always to be out of sympathy with the spirit of the age. Begg certainly had his "feet of clay," as do all men. Nevertheless, he stands out as one who would not be swept along by every breeze that blew upon him. Not every Christian may share his theology and his heavy dependence upon the establishment principle, and yet in his willingness to stand firm by what he understood Scripture to be teaching, as well as practically to apply those principles to a wide variety of issues and situations, he must surely be a great encouragement. The reward of those who enter into glory is to hear the Master say, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant!" Honesty and consistency were hallmarks of Begg's ministry. His stated desire was to die an honest and consistent man. As far as he was, by grace, able to accomplish that great aim, according to his light, he remains an encouragement for those who follow after.

John Knox and the Reformation
By the Rev. Dr. James Begg

On Sabbath evening November 24,[34] being the Tercentenary of the death of John Knox, the Rev. Dr Begg preached in John Knox's Church,[35] Edinburgh, a sermon on "God's gift to Scotland in John Knox and the Reformation."[36] The church was crowded to excess, and hundreds could not obtain admission. After the usual devotional exercises. [sic]

The Rev. Dr. Begg chose for his text Psalm 44:1, "We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us what work Thou didst in their days in the times of old." There are several principles of much importance and of perpetual application indicated in this portion of the Divine Word. The following may be specified amongst others: A Christian must have regard to the past in his devout contemplations as well as to the present and the future. All the blessings of the past must be traced directly, moreover, to the hand of God. Men and other means are employed as instruments, but God himself is the great worker, and to Him belongs all the glory. All the blessings of the past, as well as of the present, ought to give rise, therefore, to songs of thankfulness. This verse is part of the praise which God has provided for the Church by the inspiration of His Holy Spirit, and which we know he will graciously accept, and as the tide of blessings flows on the tide of praise should

34. John Knox died in his home in Edinburgh on November 24, 1572.

35. The church to which Begg was referring was the High Kirk of St. Giles, which stands on the south side of the Royal Mile in Edinburgh, a short walk from John Knox's House which is also located on the Royal Mile a few hundred yards further east.

36. James Begg, *God's Gift to Scotland in John Knox and the Reformation. A Sermon Preached* ... November 24 ... *the Tercentenary of Knox's Death* (Perth: Dewar, Mitchell & Co., printers, 1872). "Reprinted from the Perthshire courier."

swell and increase. Parents, moreover, are bound to inform their children, and truly Christian parents do inform their children, in regard to God's past goodness in providence and grace, so that "race unto race may praise His works and show forth His mighty deeds."[37] These and other principles and lessons are clearly embodied in the text, and in other circumstances might be fully illustrated. But we have met specially to consider one fitting application of the text, viz., the event which took place a few yards from where we speak 300 years ago, and the signal gift of God to Scotland in John Knox and the Reformation. We shall, first, accordingly consider the man whom God chiefly honoured and raised up; and, secondly, the work of the Reformation, in connection with which he was so powerful an instrument.

(1) The man, or in other words the gift of God in John Knox. When Elijah was carried to heaven in a chariot of fire, Elisha exclaimed, "My Father, my Father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof." In this he spoke truth, but partial truth. He was too desponding. He placed too much dependence on man, and he was made after wards to feel that his strength lay entirely in "the Lord God of Elijah," who never changes [cf 2 Kings 2:12, 14]. No creature is a ground of trust or is perfect, and we do not claim perfection for Knox. No creature is necessary, and it has justly been said, that "the best of men are but men at the best."[38] But when a great work is to be done God generally raises up powerful instruments to accomplish that work, and this was never more wonderfully illustrated than in the case of our great Reformer. "What went ye out for to see? A reed shaken with the wind?" [cf. Matt. 11:7; Luke 7:24]. If ye did ye must certainly have been disappointed. On the contrary, ye saw a man of the greatest firmness, with singular comprehension of mind, and the most remarkable mental power—a rare combination of strong faith, clear perception, undaunted courage, the most tender sensibility, and the most earnest patriotism. Christian principle of the most decided kind was the undoubted substratum of his whole character. You now see him from the ends of the earth towering head and shoulders above all his countrymen. Scotland has had many, eminent and good men, but it is no disparagement to any of them to say that she has only had one John Knox. And as the loftiest mountains seem most remarkable at a distance, so this great man, raised up by God, is seen today across three centuries towering head and shoulders above the most eminent of Scotchmen. There was a rare combination of gifts and graces in our illustrious Reformer. Physical and moral courage are not always, are indeed rarely, combined. Some men can stand at the cannon's mouth who shrink from confronting their fellowmen in debate; and others can face the most stormy assembly who would shrink from the horrors of war. But in Knox both elements were combined, and in the highest degree.

We see him first carrying the sword before Wishart.[39] Amidst the hardships and prostration of the French galleys, and in the face of scowling foes he was brave and determined, and inspired with courage his desponding fellow-sufferers. He preached with determination in the face of armed men threatening his life. He was not afraid even when "no man stood by him" to speak unwelcome truth to the Potentates of the earth. He gives us a most elevated conception of an ambassador of heaven. Amongst his last acts on earth was to denounce vengeance on the King of France for the massacre of St. Bartholomew.[40] 'Worn out' says M'Crie, and near to death, the Reformer heard of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and "being conveyed to the pulpit … he thundered the vengeance of heaven against 'that cruel murderer and false traitor, the King of France,' and desired Le Croc, the French ambassador, to tell his Master that sentence was pronounced against him in Scotland, that the Divine vengeance would never depart from him nor from his house if repentance did not ensue, but his name would remain an execration to posterity, and none proceeding from his loins should enjoy his kingdom in peace."[41]

The rare combination of the theologian and the statesmen in Knox was equally remarkable with this. It laid the foundation of that elevated system of Christian ethics and social science which, when carried out, even partially, made Scotland illustrious. The combination of cheery humour and the utmost firmness, of immense power and thorough disinterestedness, stern determination in public life, with a most remarkable tenderness of domestic affection, and also a deep feeling of sympathy with the helpless and oppressed, constituted some more of the rare peculiarities of Knox. In a word, he was a many-sided and most remarkable

37. Begg is slightly misquoting the Scottish Metrical version of Psalm 145:4.

38. From a letter from John Aubrey to Anthony Wood dated June 15,1680 quoting a Parliamentary General, John Lambert (1619–83). The full quote is, "I remember one sayeing of generall Lambert's that, 'the best of men are but men at the best.'" John Aubrey, *Brief Lives: Chiefly of Contemporaries, Set Down by John Aubrey*, ed. Andrew Clark (Oxford: Clarendon, 1898).

39. George Wishart (1513–1546), through his preaching, popularized the theology of John Calvin in Scotland. He was burnt at the stake on March 1, 1546 at St. Andrews, Scotland.

40. August 23, 1572.

41. Thomas M'Crie, *Life of John Knox* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1840) p. 337.

man, and eminently qualified by God both by gifts and grace for the signal service to which he was called, and which has now stood the test of three centuries of trial.

That personal Christianity was the true basis of his character need not be repeated. Knox was a man of earnest piety. Such objects as he aimed at, and such unfaltering determination as he manifested could only spring from such a source. There were two features of his character, however, apart from all others, which were certainly pre-eminent, and which were specially required for his work, viz., unwavering firmness, determination, and constancy, and an entire submission of his mind and will to the authority of God in His word. Experience of mankind demonstrates that there is nothing so rare as consistent firmness amidst difficulty. Talent is much more common than tenacity, and yet it is tenacity that, by the Divine blessing, carries the day. It is especially necessary in public enterprises, and in those raised up by God to work deliverances in the earth. There is a contagious power in determination. Feebleness and vacillation are incompatible with success. When "a standard bearer fainteth" the troops are dispersed, and "if the trumpet gives an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle?" Hence the old proclamation in the camp of Israel, "Whoso is faint hearted, let him go and return to his house, lest his neighbour's heart faint as well as his." Knox, although tried as few men have been, died with this remarkable proclamation over his grave—"Here lies the man that never feared the face of man."[42] M'Crie tells us that although he did not expect that the garrison of St. Andrews would be able to hold out, Knox could not prevail upon himself to desert his charge, and resolved to share with his brethren the hazards of the siege, whilst his colleague, John Rough, retired to England. He was thus made prisoner and cruelly treated. Confined to the French galleys, and asked insultingly to give the kiss of adoration to a painted image of the Virgin his historian says he refused, saying that such idols were accursed and he would not touch it." "But you shall," replied one of the officers roughly, at the same time forcing it towards his mouth. Upon this the prisoner seized the image and throwing it into the river, said, "Let our lady now save herself, she is licht enough, let her learn to swim" (M'Crie, *Life of John Knox*, 42). The image was saved with difficulty. In sight of St. Andrews from the same galleys, the emaciated and sickly Knox, being asked if he knew the city, said, "Yes, I know it well, for I see the steeple of that place where God first opened my mouth in public to His glory, and I am fully persuaded how weak soever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life till my tongue shall glorify His godly name in the same place" (M'Crie, 43).

In his remarkable essay on "Decision of Character," John Foster, without referring to Knox, speaks of this determined energy as contrasting remarkably with our ordinary experience of mankind, and even of great men.

> "A little acquaintance," says he, "with mankind, will supply numberless illustrations of the importance of this qualification. You will often see a person anxiously hesitating a long time between different or opposite determinations, though impatient of the pain of such a state, and ashamed of the debility. A faint impulse of preference alternates toward the one and toward the other; and the mind, while thus held in a trembling balance, is vexed that it cannot get some new thought, or feeling or motive; that it has not more sense, more resolution, more of anything that would save it from envying even the decisive instinct of brutes. It wishes that any circumstance might happen, or any person might appear that could deliver it from the miserable suspense. In many instances, when a determination is adopted, it is frustrated by this temperament…."[43]

> "Sometimes, indeed, it happens that a person so constituted falls into the train, and under the permanent ascendency of some stronger mind, which thus becomes through life the oracle and guide, and gives the inferior a steady will and plan …" (Foster, 87).

> "When a firm decisive spirit is recognized, it is curious to see how the space clears around a man, and leaves him room and freedom. But this position to interrogate, dictate, or banter, preserves a respectful and politic distance, judging it not unwise it keeps the peace with a person of so much energy …" (90).

> "The subject of such a commanding passion wonders, if indeed he were at a leisure to wonder, at the persons who pretend to attach importance to an object which they make none but the most languid efforts to secure. The utmost powers of the man are constrained into the service of the favourite cause of this passion, which sweeps away as it advances all the trivial objections and little opposing motives, and seem almost to open a way through impossibilities" (103).

42. These are the words of the newly elected regent, Morton, over the grave of John Knox. M'Crie, *Life of John Knox*, 347.

43. John Foster, *Decision of Character* (New York: Robert Carter and Bros, 1882) 82–83.

Speaking of Howard he says

"The energy of his determination was so great, that if instead of being habitual, it has been shown only for a short time on particular occasions, it would have appeared a vehement impetuosity; but by being unintermitted, it had an equalability of manner which scarcely appeared to exceed the tone of a calm constancy, it was so totally the reverse of anything like turbulence or agitation. It was the calmness of an intensity kept uniform by the nature of a human mind forbidding it to be more, and by the character of the individual forbidding it to be less. The habitual passion of his mind was in a pitch of excitement and impulsion, almost equal to the temporary extremes and paroxysms of common minds, as a great river in its customary state is equal to a small or moderate one, when swollen to a torrent" (107).

"The moment of finishing his plans in deliberation and commencing them in action was the same. I wonder what must have been the amount of that bribe in emoluments or pleasure that would have detained a week inactive, after their final adjustments. The law which carries water down a declivity was not more unconquerable and invariable than the determination of his feelings towards the main object. The importance of this object held his faculties in a state of determination was too rigid to be affected by lighter interests, and on which, therefore, the beauties of nature and art had no power …" (Foster, 107).

"In almost all plans of great enterprise, a man must systematically dismiss at the entrance every wish to stipulate with his destiny for safety. He voluntarily treads within the precincts of danger; and though it be possible he may escape, he ought to be prepared with the fortitude of a self-devoted victim. This is the inevitable condition on which heroes, travelers, or missionaries among savage nations and reformers on a grand scale, must commence their career. Either they must allay their fire of enterprise, or abide the liability to be exploded by it from the world. The last decisive energy of a rational courage which confides in the supreme power is very sublime; it makes a man who intrepidly dares everything that can oppose or attack him, within the whole sphere of mortality; who will still press towards his object while death is impending over him; who would retain his purpose unshaken amidst the ruins of the world" (Foster, 113).

Although Foster, as I have said already, does not refer to John Knox in the course of his essay, there have been few men in any age to whom his striking descriptions so emphatically apply.

The other great feature in the character of our great Reformer was an entire, abjugation [*sic*; more likely "adjuration" was intended] of self in questions of religious principle, and a submission of every question to the authority of the Word of God. When one of the emissaries of Rome exclaimed that in accordance with this principle he would leave them "no church," "Yes," rejoined Knox boldly, "in David I read of the Church of malignants *odi ecclesiam malignantium*; this church you may have without the word and fighting against it. Of this church if you will be I cannot hinder you, but as for me I will be of no other church but that which has Jesus Christ for pastor, hears his voice and will not hear the voice of a stranger."[44]

(2) Such being the man and such the leading principle which he maintained, let us now look at the great work which God accomplished mainly by his instrumentality. This work was partly destructive and partly constructive.

Knox was raised up by God as a mighty instrument in overthrowing the gigantic system of superstition and idolatry which at that time stood entrenched in Scotland, shutting out the light of the Gospel truth, and subverting the foundations of human hope. The highest object of our great Reformer was that the Word of the Lord might have free course and be glorified. Time would fail were we to enter into details, nor is it necessary to refer minutely to the nature of Popery. It is a formidable conspiracy as Adam Smith has said, against the religion and liberties of mankind.[45] It destroys true religion, and lays the axe to the root of liberty and of social morality. In Scotland, before the days of Knox, it was extremely powerful, and manifested its most repulsive features. No doubt it had been weakened by the satires of Sir David Lindsay and others, and by, its own bloody cruelty, especially in the murder of Patrick Hamilton and George Wishart. Still John Knox struck the first deadly blow at this gigantic fabric by taking up the ground that it was the foredoomed apostasy of Daniel, Paul, and John. "As for your Roman Church as it is now corrupted," said he, "wherein stands the hope of your victory. I no more doubt that it is the synagogue of Satan

44. John Knox, *History of the Reformation in Scotland* (1733) 91–92.

45. "… the church of Rome may be considered as the most formidable combination that ever was formed against the authority and security of civil government, as well as against the liberty, reason, and happiness of mankind, which can flourish only where civil government is able to protect them." Smith, *Wealth of Nations*. 5.1. (1843) 337.

and the head thereof called the Pope to be the Man of Sin of whom the apostle speaks, than I doubt that Jesus Christ suffered by the procurement of the visible church of Jerusalem. Yea, I offer myself by word or writing to prove the Roman Church this day, farther degenerate from the purity which was in the days of the apostles, than was the church of the Jews from the ordinances given by Moses, when they consented to the innocent death of Jesus Christ" (M'Crie, 36–37).[45]

By the firm maintenance of this doctrine the Scottish Reformation was secured, and therefore it was more thorough and complete than similar movements in any other part of Europe. It, however, was accomplished in the face of overwhelming difficulties, and especially in the face of Royal and courtly opposition. The determined firmness and plainness of speech of our great Reformer has been the occasion of much unfounded attack. To a mind rightly constituted the boldness of Knox in such circumstances approached to absolute sublimity, and it is well for us and for all generations of Scotchmen that the slavish principles which many now advocate had no existence in his intrepid mind. The whole history of the world proves that liberty has only been secured by men under the influence of Christian principle. Knox was the true predecessor and example of the Puritans of England, whilst the Puritans of England were the true founders of British and American liberty, both civil and religious. Speaking of these remarkable men and their achievements, Macaulay says, in language which exhibits the true spirit, which enabled Knox to speak to monarchs in the gate—

> "The Puritans were men whose minds had derived character from the daily contemplation of superior beings and eternal interests. Not content with acknowledging in general terms an overruling Providence, they habitually ascribed every event to the will of the great being for whose power nothing was too vast for whose inspection nothing was too minute. To know him, to serve him, to enjoy him was with them the great end of existence. They rejected with contempt the ceremonious homage which other sects substituted for the pure worship of the soul. Instead of catching occasional glimpses of the Deity through an obscuring veil, they aspired to gaze full on his intolerable brightness, and to commune with him face to face. Hence originated their contempt for terrestrial distinctions. The differences between the greatest and the meanest of mankind seemed to vanish when compared with the boundless interval which separated the whole race from him on whom their own eyes were constantly fixed. They recognised no title to superiority but his favour, and confident of that favour they despised all the accomplishments and all the dignities of the world. If they were unacquainted with the works of philosophers and poets, they were deeply read in the oracles of God. If their names were not found in the registers of heralds, they were recorded in the book of life. If their steps were not accompanied by a splendid train of menials, legions of ministering angels had charge over them. Their palaces were houses not made with hands, their diadems crowns of glory, which should never fade away. On the rich and the eloquent, on nobles and priests, they looked down with contempt, for they esteemed themselves rich in a more precious treasure, and eloquent in a more sublime language, nobles by the right of an earlier creation, and priests by the imposition of a mightier hand. The very meanest of them was a being to whose fate a mysterious and terrible importance belonged; on whose slightest action the spirits of light and darkness looked with anxious interest, who had been destined before heaven and earth were created—to enjoy a felicity which should continue when heaven and earth should have passed away."[46]

This contains a partly exaggerated, but, in the main, a true representation of the spirit which animated Knox, and made everything shrink into insignificance in comparison of the great and holy object upon which his heart was set. His spirit was that of the Psalmist: "I'll speak thy word to kings, and I with shame shall not be moved: and will delight myself always in thy laws which I loved." But even this, after all, is an inadequate representation of the object and result of that portentous struggle. It is now admitted on all hands that the true principles of civil and religious liberty were, although with undoubted imperfections, first broached by Knox and his fellow-labourers, and that the English Puritans and the Scottish Covenanters were only their pupils. These principles at length became paramount, and were carried out so far into practical accomplishment at the Revolution of 1688. Our present Constitution stands upon them. Its great principles are a limited monarchy and the Protestant succession-government, not as an arbitrary and conventional arrangement for the gratification of individual caprice, but as a Divine ordinance established for the glory of God and the public good, and who can tell how many thousands of immortal souls will have cause to bless God through all eternity for this?

45. Cf. Knox, *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, ed. William M'Gavin (Blackie: 1831) 65; Knox, *Works*, ed. David Laing, 1.189.

46. From Macaulay's essay "*On Milton*," as first published in the *Edinburgh Review*, August, 1825.

When this great man, therefore, in circumstances of peculiar difficulty, and amidst the desertion of friends, was bringing strange things to the ears of Queen Mary, he was laying in the strongest manner the true foundations of civil and religious liberty, in connection with which alone the Word of God has had free course and been glorified. In his interview with the Queen, trained in Popish and arbitrary principles at Loch Leven, he declared that if the laws were executed, the Protestants would be satisfied, but not other wise. The Queen exclaimed, "Will ye allow that they shall take my sword in their hands?" "The sword of justice is God's," calmly replied the Reformer, "and is given to princes and rulers for one end, which, if they transgress, sparing the wicked and oppressing the innocent—they who, in the fear of God, execute judgment where God has commanded, offend not God although kings do it not." Again, "It shall be profitable to your Majesty to consider what is the thing your Grace's subjects look to receive of your Majesty, and what it is that ye ought to do to them by mutual contract. They are bound to obey you, and that not but in God; ye are bound to keep laws to them. Ye crave of them service; they crave of you protection and defence against wicked doers. Now, Madam, if ye shall deny your duty unto them (which especially craves that ye punish malefactors) think ye to receive full obedience of them? I fear, Madam, ye shall not." (M'Crie, 252–253)

"What are you in this commonwealth?" exclaimed Mary on another occasion. "A subject born within the same," said Knox; "and albeit, I be neither Earl, Lord, nor Baron in it, yet God has made me (how abject that ever I be in your eyes) a profitable member within the same. Yea, Madam, to me it appertains no less to forewarn of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, than it doth to any of the nobility, for both my vocation and conscience require plainness of me" (M'Crie, 259).

The work of Knox in overthrowing the Romish system in Scotland was nearly perfect. To this great work he brought untiring energy, a deep insight into all the springs of human action, and a courage that never quailed. Now that the dust of battle is swept aside, our most distinguished historians fully recognise his singular power, and the great work which God enabled him to achieve amidst unspeakable difficulties. This work also he watched over with untiring faithfulness and amazing sagacity to the end of his days.

Speaking of Knox, Froude says: "The object of the Scottish nobles was political, national, patriotic. For religion, it was no great matter either way; and as they had before acted with the Protestants, so now they were ready to turn about, and openly or tacitly act with the Catholics. Mary Stuart's friends in England and on the Continent were Catholics, and therefore it would not do to offend them. First, she was allowed to have mass at Holyrood; then there was a move for a broader toleration. That one mass, Knox said, was more terrible to him than 10,000 armed men landed in this country; and he had good reason for saying so. He thoroughly understood that it was the first step towards a counter-revolution, which in time would cover all Scotland and England, and carry them back to Popery. Yet he preached to deaf ears.... Even the ministers of the Kirk were fooled and flattered over. Maitland told Mary Stuart that he had gained them all except one. John Knox alone defied both his threats and his persuasions. Good reason has Scotland to be proud of Knox. He only in this wild crisis saved the Kirk which he had founded, and saved with it Scottish and English freedom…. She (Queen Elizabeth) would still say nothing—promise nothing, bind herself to nothing; and so far as she was concerned, the war would have been soon enough brought to a close. But away at St Andrews, John Knox, broken in body, and scarcely able to stagger up the pulpit stairs, still thundered in the parish church, and his voice, it was said, was like ten thousand trumpets braying in the ears of Scottish Protestantism. All the Lowlands thrilled under his tones." [47] We may apply to this great man the language of the poet—"Like some tall cliff that rears its lofty form, Above the vale and midway meets the storm; Though round its breast the gathering clouds are spread, Eternal sunshine settles on its head."[48]

What matter all clouds of reproach and misrepresentation to Knox now? They have all been swept away forever, and the grandeur of his work and of the man himself as a signal instrument in the hand of God, have come out into clear and noble development. "The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance; the memory of the wicked shall rot."

So much for the first work of Knox. The work of our great Reformer, however, did not consist merely in overturning arbitrary government and sweeping out of Scotland the mass of idolatry and superstition by which it had been previously encumbered, but in reconstructing

47. Cf. James Anthony Froude, *Short Studies on Great Subjects* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1868) 139–140, 143–144.

48. Begg is somewhat misquoting four lines from Oliver Goldsmith's *The Deserted Village* which should read: "As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form, / Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm, / Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread, / Eternal sunshine settles on its head." *The Norton Anthology of Poetry*, 3rd ed. (New York: Norton, 1983) 475.

the Church and civil society of the country on Scriptural foundations. The old Scots Confession, and the First Book of Discipline—chiefly his works—are noble monuments of his Christian sagacity and ripe judgment. The wide circulation of these books at present, as well as of his noble "History of the Reformation," could not fail to be productive of the best results. The mass of the Scotch people, we suspect, have never seen these interesting documents, and without seeing them, it is impossible to understand the history of our country, or how much we owe under God to John Knox and to the Reformation. Let us cull a few extracts from the First Book of Discipline.

> "With the Apostle we affirm, that all Scripture inspired of God is profitable to instruct, to reprove, and to exhort, in which books of the Old and New Testament, we affirm that everything necessary for the instruction of the Church, and to make the man of God perfect, is contained and sufficiently expressed. By the contrary doctrine, we understand whatsoever men by law, councils, or constitutions have imposed upon the consciences of men without the express commandment of God's Word."[49]

Now, here is a principle of the widest interest. Like a great broad axe it is sufficient to cut down at once the whole upas tree of superstition and idolatry. It restores the true Lord of the Church to his rightful place, and sets aside all usurpers. "Let God be true and every man a liar" [Rom. 3:4]. "To the law and the testimony, if they speak not according to this word it is because there is no light in them" [Isa. 8:20]. It goes deeper than the Reformation of Luther. Many things may not be in opposition to any direct Scripture text, which still are unworthy of God and truth, and we only reach the true foundation when we demand an express warrant or commandment of God's Word, as "Thus saith the Lord" for all that we do or say in the Christian Church. Again, "It appertaineth to the people, and to every several congregation to elect their minister" … (*FBD*, 96). "That the life and conversation of the person presented or to be elected may be more clearly known, public edicts should be directed to all parts of this realm, or at least to those parts where the person hath been most conversant, as where he was nourished in letters, or where he continued since the years of infancy and childhood were passed …" (*FBD*, 100–101).

"The minister elected or presented examined, and as said, is publicly admitted, may neither leave the flock at his pleasure to which he hath promised his fidelity and labours, neither yet may the flock reject or change him at their appetite, unless they be able to convict him of such crimes as deserve deposition …" (*FBD*, 103). "The chiefest remedy left to your honours and to us in all this rarity of true ministers, is fervent prayer unto God, that it will please His mercy to thrust forth faithful workmen into his harvest …" (104).

> "Seeing that of our Master Christ Jesus and his Apostle Paul, we have that the workman is worthy of his reward, and that the mouth of the labouring ox ought not to be muzzled; of necessity it is, that honest provision be made for the ministers which we require to be such, that they have neither occasion of solicitude, neither yet of insolency and wantonness, and this provision must be made not only for their own sustentation during their lives, but also for their wives and children after them, for we judge it a thing most contrarious to reason, godliness, and equity, that the widow and the children of him who, in his life, did faithfully serve the Kirk of God, and for that cause did not carefully make provision for his family, should after his death be left comfortless of all provision …" (*FBD*, 108).

The great question of pauperism, which baffles our statesmen, was handled with much wisdom by Knox, as a matter in which the Christian Church is deeply interested. After much experience on the subject, I am convinced that, in addition to the parochial system properly applied, the application of his distinction between those who become poor in the course of Providence, and those who make themselves poor by their own misconduct, affords the only hopeful solution of this overwhelming problem. The first class are few, comparatively, the other class may he indefinitely multiplied, to the utter ruin of society, as well as of themselves. "I have been young," said David, "and am old, yet I never saw the righteous man forsaken" [Ps. 37:25]. He does not say it never happened, but it is comparatively rare.

Hear the wise words of Knox :

> "Fearful and horrible it is that the poor whom not only God the Father in his law, but Christ Jesus in his Evangel, and the Holy Spirit speaking by St Paul, hath so earnestly commended to our care, are universally so contemned and despised. We are not patrons for stubborn and idle beggars, who, running from place to place, make a craft of their begging, whom the civil magistrate ought to compel to work, or then punish; but for the widow and fatherless, the aged, impotent, or lamed,

49. Cf. John Knox, *The First Book of Discipline*, ed. James Cameron (Edinburgh: St Andrew Press, 1972) 87–88. Hereafter *FBD*.

> who neither can nor may travel for their sustentation, we say that God commands his people to be careful, and therefore for such, as also for persons of honesty, fallen into decay and poverty, ought such provision to be made, that of our abundance their indigence may be relieved" (*FBD*, 112–113).

His grand principles of Christian education, however, are of special importance at the present moment.[50] It is outrageous to hear men quoting Knox in favour of systems of education which he would have emphatically disowned. Let them produce, if they can, any commonwealth of greatness reared by mere secular teaching, but never let them utter in that connection the name of our great Reformer. The truth is, the attempt to separate the moral from the intellectual nature of children is simply preposterous and profane. It is an attempt to separate what God has united; and it must prove equally cruel to the children and disastrous to the commonwealth. I earnestly trust that the Scottish people, now that this immense interest is committed to their care, will discharge their trust in such a way as, by the Divine blessing, to confer unspeakable advantages on the generations yet to come. The words of Knox should be written equally above the senate and the school-house….

> "Seeing that God hath determined that His kirk here on earth shall be taught not by angels but by men, and seeing that men are born ignorant of God and of all godliness, and seeing also He ceases to illuminate men miraculously, suddenly changing them as He did the Apostles and others in the primitive kirk; of necessity it is that your honors be most careful for the virtuous education and godly upbringing of the youth of this realm, if either ye now thirst unfeignedly the advancement of Christ's glory, or yet desire the continuance of His benefits to the generation following" (*FBD*, 112–113).

Our Reformer, however, had as elevated conceptions of the higher as of common education. With a noble conception of the brotherhood of man, an earnest desire to diffuse the light of the highest knowledge universally—a determination, if possible, to place the ladder of learning at every poor man's door, so that his sons, if talented, might climb to the highest positions in the Church and Commonwealth, Knox proclaimed that in addition to the universities colleges for learning should be found everywhere. This noble idea has never been realized. It has not even existed in England, and now we are threatened with its entire suppression if our people do not firmly resist.

Here are our Reformer's words :

> "And further, we think it expedient that in every notable town, and specially in the town of the superintendent, there be erected a college in which the Arts, at least logic and rhetoric, together with the tongues, be read by sufficient masters, for whom honest stipends must be appointed—as also that provision be made for those that be poor and not able by themselves nor by their friends to be sustained at letters, an in special those that come from landward" (*FBD*, 131).

John Knox, however, had in every respect a most healthy and Christian spirit, and there is nothing more affecting than the deep interest which he took in the working classes—the true base of the social pyramid. He addresses one of his noble letters "to his beloved brethren the commonalty of Scotland" [cf. Laing, *Works*, 4.521] and whilst most assuredly he would not have countenanced them in any folly, he was most anxious that justice should be done on all sides, and that all classes of the community should be united together by a feeling of common interest and by the exercise of kindly offices. He says:—

> … "We must crave of your honors in the name of the eternal God and of his Son, Christ Jesus, that ye have respect to your poor brethren, the labourers and manurers of the ground…."
>
> "With the grief of our hearts we hear that some gentlemen are now as cruel over their tenants as ever were the Papists requiring of them the teinds and whatsoever they afore paid to the kirk, so that the Papistical tyranny shall only be changed into the tyranny of the lord and laird. We dare not flatter your honors, neither yet is it profitable for you that we so do; for neither shall we if we permit cruelty to be used, neither shall ye who by your authority ought to gainsay such oppression, nor yet they that use the same escape God's heavy and fearful judgments" (*FBD*, 156–157).

There is great largeness of view and the true spirit of Christian statesmanship in the main principles laid down in this remarkable book. Its wise maxims have never been fully carried out; but in so far as they have been, the greatest good has resulted to Scotland. In the

50. It was in this year that the government in London introduced The Education (Scotland) Act transferring the responsible for education from the church to the state and establishing compulsory education for 5–13 year olds.

principles thus proclaimed will be found a true exhibition of Christian statesmanship, and the only solution of our urgent social problems. No better improvement could be made of the present occasion, which has aroused the interest of all Scotland, than in attempting to secure a practical acknowledgment and adoption of the principles of our great Reformer.

It is worthy of remark at the same time as proving the magnanimity of Knox, that although thus most earnestly engaged in promoting the highest interests of his native land, he was also deeply concerned for the spiritual prosperity of England. When he saw that the alternative was between the Reformers of England and the Church of Rome, he did not scruple to give his most strenuous support to the Episcopalian Protestants of England.

He did this, of course, without compromising his own decided views; yet he helped to improve the Liturgy, and revise the articles, although he refused a bishopric when it was offered him, and thus gave a proof of disinterestedness which some of our modern declaimers who swim with the tide have not given. He certainly could distinguish things that differed, and rising above the crowd of pigmies around him, he made common cause with the great Protestant family of Britain, and thus succeeded in baffling the Pope and his emissaries. The following extract from the Life of John Knox by M'Crie may be read with advantage by some modern Presbyterians:

> "In December, 1551, the Privy Council conferred on him a mark of their approbation, by appointing him one of King Edward's Chaplains in ordinary.... In the course of this year, Knox was consulted about the Book of Common Prayer, which was undergoing a revisal. On that occasion it is probable that he was called up for a short time to London. Although the persons who had the chief direction of ecclesiastical affairs were not disposed, or did not deem it as yet expedient, to introduce that thorough reform which he judged necessary, in order to reduce the worship of the English Church to the Scripture model, his representations on this head were not altogether disregarded. He had influence to procure an important change in the Communion Office, completely excluding the notion of the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, and guarding against the adoration of the elements which was too much countenanced by the practice still continued of kneeling at their reception. In his Admonition to the Professors of the Truth in England, Knox speaks of these amendments with great satisfaction. 'Also gave great boldness and knowledge to the court of Parliament, to take away the round-clipped god, wherein standeth all the holiness of the Papists, and to command common bread to be used at the Lord's Table, and also to take away the most part of superstitions, (kneeling at the Lord's Table excepted,) which before profaned Christ's true religion.' These alterations gave great offence to the Papists. In a disputation with Latimer, after the accession of Queen Mary, the prolocutor, Dr Weston, complained of our countryman's influence in procuring them. 'A runagate Scot did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the Sacrament, by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last Communion Book; so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time.' In the following year he was employed in revising the Articles of Religion previous to their ratification by Parliament" (M'Crie, *Life of John Knox*, 52–54).

John Knox at a subsequent period invoked successfully the aid of England to repel the aggressions of Popish France, and thus in a sense made common cause with those from whom he widely differed, when the religion and liberties of the country were at stake. For this he has since received the highest commendations of enlightened historians, but the most undying hatred of the emissaries of Rome.

The work of Knox, however, has greatly fallen into decay, and, indeed, is threatened with entire overthrow. Romanism is now more defiant than ever amidst its apparent weakness. It proclaims the most persecuting and intolerant principles from the Vatican Council, and it has at length invested the Pope with one of the attributes of God.[51] With stealthy and wary steps it is finding its way back to Britain. It already has great influence in our legislation, and at present receives half a million of money annually from the British Government. It is seeking and obtaining power in the Church of England, and its emissaries, driven from the land of Luther, are finding easy access to the lands of Cranmer and Knox. Protestants are asleep, divided, and inactive, and many who claim descent from Knox repudiate his principles. Professing to seek union and progress they are blindly disowning what was specially vital in the old Reformation struggle—the universal supremacy of Christ and the necessity for Bible teaching. They are also shaking the whole foundations of truth by the theory of open questions, which shifts the ground of faith from divine authority to human opinion, and in connection with which no spirit of martyrdom or mighty struggles for

51. The First Vatican Council which met from 1869–70 defined Papal Infallibility.

truth could ever have been possible. Knox would have repudiated all such theories. It is one thing to build the tombs of the prophets, and quite another to adhere steadfastly to their principles. No one can fail to observe the attempt made in some quarters to separate between Knox and his principles. To commemorate a man, apart from principles, is sheer idolatry. But the tendency referred to arises partly from ignorance, and partly from the fact that of late years, some who would fain claim a descent from Knox have entirely abandoned the ground on which he stood and conquered. One of his leading principles was, that the nation in its corporate capacity was bound to honour and serve God, and that Church and State were inseparably connected. He says in the Scots Confession of 1560:

> "Moreover, to kings, princes, rulers, and magistrates we affirm that chiefly and most principally the conservation and purgation of the religion appertains, so that not only they are appointed for civil policy, but also for maintenance of the true religion, and for suppressing of idolatry and superstition whatsoever, as in David, Jehosaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah, and others highly commended for their zeal, in that case may be espied."[52]

His theory of Scriptural education in the common schools was also utterly inconsistent with Voluntaryism. There can be little doubt that upon the principles now maintained by some we never could have had a Reformation, and that if such principles ever acquire supremacy, the days of our Reformation are numbered. Voluntaryism has manifested little zeal and no power against Rome. The theory of national indifferentism in regard to religion, is, manifestly atheistical in spirit, and most ruinous in result. Nations cannot be neutral. Their pretended neutrality is treated by Christ as direct hostility. He declares that "The nation and kingdom that will not serve His church shall perish, those nations shall be utterly wasted." Nay, God may yet employ our very old enemy which many treat so lightly as the means of our punishment.

"Make peace if you will with Popery," says an eloquent English preacher, "receive it into your Senate, shrine it in your Churches, plant it in your hearts—but be ye certain, as certain as that there is a heaven above you and a God over you, that the Popery thus honoured and embraced is the very Popery that was degraded and loathed by the holiest of your fathers; the very Popery, the same in haughtiness, the same in intolerance, which lorded over kings, assumed the prerogative of Deity, crushed human liberty, and slew the saints of God."[53]

Events have fully illustrated the wisdom of Knox and the goodness of God, in giving him and the Reformation to Scotland. It is most striking, moreover, that after lying for generations under a load of unmerited obloquy, God has not only wiped away his reproach, but constrained his very enemies to speak in his praise. Perhaps, in the whole history of the world there has never been a more remarkable fulfillment of the promise of Scripture, "Commit thy way unto the Lord ; trust also in Him, and He shall bring it to pass, and He shall bring forth thy righteousness as the light, and thy judgment as the noon-day" [Ps. 37:5–6].

Can we not make the present a blessed opportunity of repenting and doing the first works? On the broad and Scriptural foundations of the old Reformation there is a noble meeting-place for all classes of patriotic Scotchmen, and amidst our distractions we may well hear the voice which still speaks to us from this honoured grave. Knox, in one of his noble sermons, says:

> "Would'st thou O Scotland have a king to reign over thee in justice, equity, and mercy? Subject thyself to the Lord thy God, obey his commandments and magnify thou that word that calleth unto thee, 'This is the way, walk ye in it.' And if thou wilt not, flatter not thyself. The same justice remaineth this day in God to punish thee Scotland, and thee, Edinburgh, in especial, that before punished the land of Judah and the city of Jerusalem. Every realm and nation (saith the prophet Jeremy) that likewise offendeth, shall be likewise punished. But if thou shalt see impiety placed in the seat of justice above thee, so that in the throne of God (as Solomon doth complain) reigneth nothing, but fraud and violence accuse thy own ingratitude and rebellion, for that is the only cause why God taketh away (as the same prophet in another place doth speak) the strong man and the man of war, the judge and the prophet, the prudent and the aged, the captain and the honourable, the counsellor and the cunning artificer. And I will appoint, saith the Lord, children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them…. If these calamities I say, apprehend us, so that we see nothing but the oppression of good men and of all godliness and wicked men, without God reign above us, let us accuse and condemn ourselves as the only cause of our own miseries. For if we had heard the voice of the Lord our God and given upright obedience unto the same, God should have multiplied our peace, and should have rewarded our obedience before

52. John Knox, *The Scots Confession*, ed. G. D. Henderson (1560; repr., Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1937) 95.

53. Canon Henry Melvill, quoted in the July 1870 edition of the *The Bulwark* of which Begg was the editor.

> the eyes of the world." [Cf. Laing, "A Sermon on Isaiah XXVI. 13.-21, preached in St. Giles's Church, Edinburgh, 19. August M.D.LXV.," *Works*, 6.241-242].
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> "But be of good courage O little and despised flock of Christ Jesus, for he seeth your grief, and hath power to revenge it" [Cf. Laing, 6.272].

My dear friends, let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter. Let us give all diligence to make our calling and election sure. Let us seek refuge under the covert of atoning blood; and in doing good to all as we have opportunity let us desire to be followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises, implicitly trusting in our glorious heavenly King and Master. Let us seek to be enabled to obey His will, fully to confess Him before men, and to rejoice even to be counted worthy to suffer for His sake. The times are strange, and they threaten, in the language of one of old, to be times of "much suffering or of much sinning." But the great Master is ever the same. He can raise up new instruments to maintain His cause, He can, in answer to prayer, defeat the counsels of wicked or misguided men, arm His servants with the necessary wisdom, fortitude, and patience, and dash His enemies to pieces like a potter's vessel. Blessed are all they and only they that trust in Him. "Wherefore, my beloved brethren, be ye stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord" [1 Cor. 15:58].▪



"Portrait of John Knox in Beza's Incones." Frontispiece, P. Hume Brown, *John Knox A Biography* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1895).

The Early Reformation in Scotland

By W. Duncan Rankin

Introduction

How deep the roots of the Reformation go into Scottish soil! Courageous believers in generations past—like Patrick Hamilton, George Wishart, and John Knox—stood for God, His Son, and His Word in that small yet influential land so profoundly shaped by the Reform movement. What a debt we in America even now owe: the lessons learned in that place and time still echo down through the years, teaching whoever will listen ageless truths of God and man. The purpose of this paper is to relate the impact of the early Scottish Reformation on the spheres of church doctrine, worship, and order. It is given in the hope that the glorification of God, love of His Son, and respect for His Word might once again flourish in our time.

Religion in Old Caledonia hardly began with the Reformation. As is the case with every human heart, the Britons, Angles, Scots and Picts who came to make up the nation of Scotland were born with a sense of the Transcendent both within them and without. Their vain attempts to answer the light of general revelation by dancing around the Callanish Standing Stones on Lewis or to respond to the *imago Dei* by ritual burial at Maes Howe and Skara Brae on Orkney did not go unanswered.

As related by Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*, when St. Columba traveled from Ireland in the mid 6th century to evangelize these heathen from his monastic base on the Isle of Iona, he did not seek to snuff out their darkened culture but rather to illumine it with gospel light. Centers of Christian learning and devotion were built across the land.[1] Standing stones became preaching crosses, complete with Celtic decoration! Pictish kings and princes soon came to serve the King of Kings, protecting missionaries in their realm. From tiny Iona, the gospel went forth first to Britain and eventually to the world. Christianity made an impact in that place second to none.

The most obvious point of change made by the Reformation was in the church. Her doctrine, worship, and life were all set back on a more firm foundation. Gone were Queen Margaret's medieval attempts to establish the authority of the Popes of Rome over the simpler Celtic Church: the sovereignty of God was reasserted and the rule of His Word given its primacy. Luther's watchwords—*sola Scriptura*, *sola gratia*, *solo Christo*, *sola fide*, *soli Deo gloria*—became first the gossip and eventually the established religion of the realm. What a difference was made on Sunday morning and evening, when the public worship of God was conducted by the ordained ministry for all! The whole biblical priority of preaching, sacraments, prayer, and praise came into its own. Also, the recognition of God's congregational leadership was given back to the people, and that same leadership's responsibility to keep proper spiritual order in the church fellowship was also seen. Let's look together at each of these items.

Reformation In Church Doctrine

The 16th Century Reformation of Christianity in Scotland was very much a doctrinal affair. Yes, there were profound social, economic, and political factors at work, but on some levels, there always are. What was so different and unique this time? Contrary to the distortions of fashionable historicism, it is abundantly clear that the Reformation was a profoundly theological movement.

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1. Cf. Adomnán of Iona, *Life of St. Columba*, trans. Richard Sharpe (London : Penguin, 1995).

Beginning under the impact of Martin Luther from Wittenberg and flowering under the influence of John Calvin from Geneva, this movement touched every aspect of life in the Old Country. But its root was firmly in the soil of Christian teaching.

In Germany, Luther had wrestled early in life through an Augustinian rejection of his more native Ockhamist nominalism, opening him to feel the injustice of the indulgence system on the one hand and the inadequacy of sacramental transubstantiation on the other. But it was his more mature consideration of the doctrine of justification—moving him beyond even Augustine and more towards the Apostle Paul—that so impacted Scotland.

Luther learned from his study of the Bible that justification was *sola fide,* "by faith alone," and by an "alien" *justitia*, or an "alien or foreign righteousness."[2] It is literally the righteousness of someone else—of another person, the incarnate God-man Jesus Christ—that can alone save. How can Christ's righteousness be yours? "By faith alone," Luther said, is how you may grasp and take hold of Him as your own. And this faith must be no shallow or mere verbal profession of faith, but it must be a real and deep trust, reliance, resting, or grasping of Christ by the soul. To have Christ in this way is to have His acceptance by the Father as your own, according to the German Reformer (*WA* 40/1:229). This was Luther's key insight which so shook the soul of Scotland.

You can, therefore, be *simul justus et peccator*, "at once righteous and a sinner," Luther insisted—righteous because of Christ's righteousness, and a sinner because of your own misdeeds (*WA* 38:205). Thus, your salvation can only come *solo Christo*, "by Christ alone," because only in having Jesus as your own can you have hope of heaven. But how can a sinner like you ever receive Christ and His righteousness? Luther pointed back to God: salvation is *sola gratia*, "by grace alone," because only God can give this gift of Christ and saving faith in Him to a needy sinner like you or me.

The influence of this Lutheran doctrine of justification was profound in Scotland, especially in the second quarter of the 16th Century. Lutheran books poured into Scotland secretly by boat from across the Channel. Luther's preface to the New Testament was translated in 1525 and added as a prologue to Murdoch Nesbit's *The New Testament in Scots.*[3] In 1533, Scottish exile John Gau issued his book *The Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine*, which was little more than a translation of a Danish version of an earlier German Lutheran work.[4] Even Wedderburns's *Gude and Godlie Ballaties* helped spread Lutheran teaching more popularly through song.[5]

In St. Andrews—the greatest of the Scottish Roman sees and home not just of golf but also of the first native Scottish university—Archbishop James Beaton and later his nephew Cardinal David Beaton sought in vain to turn back this tide of doctrinal reform. The father and first martyr of the Reformation in Scotland, the godly Patrick Hamilton, was roasted alive on 29 February 1528 for his strong Lutheran views by the uncle bishop. Perhaps James Beaton commanded this pernicious punishment because of Hamilton's effective Lutheran teaching under his own nose in the University, Hamilton's writing of the first Scottish Protestant theological work (the poignant *Patrick's Places*[6]), or even the potential danger of Patrick Hamilton's family connection to royal Stuart blood.

Less than twenty years later, the fire burned brightly again; but this time at the direction of the younger Beaton. Consumed was the body of the Zwinglian George Wishart, who had translated the first Helvetic Confession into English and conducted influential preaching tours throughout the Lowlands. At his trial, Wishart denied that auricular confession was a sacrament and asserted the priesthood of all believers. But even this second murderous act of terror—held in public view

2. Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Abteilung Werke*, vol. 2 (Weimar, 1884), 145–146. Hereafter *WA*.

3. *The New Testament in Scots, being Purvey's Revision of Wycliffe's Version turned into Scots by Murchoch Nisbet c. 1520, edited from the unique MS. in the Possession of Lord Amherst of Hackney, by Thomas Graves Law*, 3 vols, The Scottish Text Society [Publications 46, 49 and 52] (Edinburgh: Printed for the Society by W. Blackwood and Sons, [1901–05]).

4. Christiern Pedersen *The Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine*, translated from the Latin by John Gau (Malmoo: 1533); repr. *The Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine,* ed. Alexander F. Mitchell, The Scottish Text Society [Publication 12] (Edinburgh: Printed for the Society by W. Blackwood and Sons, [1888]). Pedersen's work was largely based upon, Urbanus Rhegius, *Die zw lff artikel unsers christliche glaubens* [Exposition of the Twelve Articles of the Apostles' Creed] (Augsburg, 1523). See Mitchell's Introduction for more background on the origins of this work.

5. James Wedderburn, John Wedderburn, and Robert Wedderburn, *Ane compendeous buke, of Godlye psalmes and spirituall psalmes and spirituall sangis. Newly translated out of Latine into Inglis, gadderit out of mony and divers scripturis, w[ith] mony plesande ballatis, and cheangit. Out of vaine sangis in Godlie sangis for tyll auode syn and harlatrye. And to remember on the gret benefices of God* (Bassandyne, 1565; revised edition, Edinburgh: John Scot for Thomas Bassandyne, 1567); repr. A. F. Mitchell, *A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual songs, commonly known as "The Gude and Godlie ballatis,"* The Scottish Text Society [Publication 39] (Edinburgh, London: Printed for the Society by W. Blackwood and Sons, [1897]).

6. Patrick Hamilton, *Dyvers Frutful Gatheriges of Scrypture Concernyng Fayth and Workes*, translated from the Latin by J. Frith (1532); commonly known as *Patrick's Places* from Frith's preface (which first appears as part of the title in the 1598 edition).

just outside the Castle gate—did not snuff out the gospel light! The dust of the martyrs was again the seed of the church: Wishart died well and God richly blessed His Church. The clock could not be turned back on the Scottish Kirk; Tyndale's *New Testament* was abroad in the land, and John Knox was afoot as well!

Born outside Haddington in East Lothian and educated at St. Andrews, John Knox was ordained by the Bishop of Dunblane in 1536 and later converted to the Protestant faith by reading John 17 under the influence of Thomas Guilliame, Chaplain to the Earl of Arran. While tutor to the sons of Protestant sympathizers, Knox met Wishart, eventually serving as his bodyguard on several preaching tours. This unconventional homiletical training was evidentially quite effective! After the arrest, trial, and martyrdom of Wishart—as well as the resulting execution of the responsible cleric—Knox entered St. Andrews Castle, where he received a call to preach the gospel to the reforming "Castilians," as the Protestants who settled themselves in St. Andrew's Castle for worship and protection were known. Scotland's most powerful preacher was born! With the fall of the castle in 1547 to the Regent's forces, Knox was imprisoned in a French galley ship for 19 months, somehow managing to write a revision of his comrade Henry Balnaves's *Justification by Faith* while in chains.[7] From even this early period, Knox's unbending commitment to Luther's doctrine of justification was foundational to all his thinking.

Reformation In Church Worship

From this point in his life, profound doctrinal influences only increased in Knox's thought. Upon his release from slavery, Knox was subsequently appointed first to preach in Berwick-on-Tweed and then Newcastle-Upon-Tyne in northern England. During these, his first settled pastoral charges, the Scotsman became deeply concerned that Christian worship be biblical through and through. No other issue so animated his preaching from this time forward.

The state of religion in his Northumbrian charges was hardly Reformed. Cuthbert Tonstall, the Bishop of Durham, under whose diocese Knox fell, was not sympathetic to reformation and most of the area priests were overtly loyal to Roman rites. King Edward VI's government, however, and the Reform-minded Cranmer were eager for Knox to be a catalyst for change in the far north. The Prayer Book of 1549 was not really known in this wild English outpost, so Knox's hand was free locally to construct a more simple order of service, patterned after a more Scriptural model. Still, his labors did not go unnoticed by his enemies, and they commanded that he appear before the Council of the North in 1550. His trial, however, served as but a platform for the vindication of his views. In December 1551, he was again affirmed by the authorities when appointed Chaplain Ordinary to Edward VI and was later involved in the revision of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

Knox's concern about worship sprang from the same theological root as his doctrine of justification by faith: the Protestant, or Scriptural, principle that the Bible is the only rule of faith and practice. This ideal was his theological compass throughout the stormy seas of his life. In childhood, Knox had been taught that the Church of Rome was the rule of faith and practice. She taught him that in the Mass the elements of bread and wine were literally transformed into the physical body and blood of Jesus. She taught him that the water of baptism regenerated the lost soul. She taught him that the clergy were to dominate liturgical music and read the sacred Book only in a foreign tongue. She taught him to cloak his heart in this medieval confusion and darkness, diverting and separating his life from that of Christ's, thus choking his soul.

But with his conversion, Knox learned otherwise. John 17 awakened his dull heart: "And this is eternal life, that they may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." Wed to Christ from his inmost soul by the Holy Spirit, John Knox found the life, joy, peace, and love eternal he knew he did not have in himself alone. But that same precious chapter also said something else crucial to his future ministry: "Thy word is truth." Now that John Knox was a new man, his whole life, his whole soul, and all his days were to be reoriented around God and His Word. God was glorified, and His incarnate Son was loved best, when His Word was heeded as truth itself. By Knox, we are reminded to look to the Bible alone for our sure word of truth—all religious worship must have clear biblical warrant or it must be counted but an idol. On this basis, Pastor John Knox opposed all extra-biblical practices, sweeping the field clean from the traditional accretions of previous generations: no more cup only for the priests, no more adoration of the elements—in short, no more Mass.

In April 1550, Knox penned *A Vindication of the Doctrine that the Sacrifice of the Mass is Idolatry*, nailing his colors to the mast on this important worship issue (Knox, *Works*, 3.29–70). In the 1552 revision of the *Book of Common Prayer* with which he was involved, Knox

7. See in John Knox, *The Works of John Knox*, ed. David Laing, vol. 3 (Edinburgh, 1854), 403–542.

insisted that the term "mass" be dropped altogether from Christian services. Rightly opposing in principle any kneeling to receive the Supper because it smacked of adoration of the elements, it was Knox's objections that brought change. A printed caveat was hastily added to the book that such a posture was not indicative of adoration of the elements. As this stipulation was printed in black ink next to the otherwise red type, Knox's detractors referred to this revision as the "Black Rubric." Victory was his, however, and the Mass was rejected as a proxy for the whole complex medieval system.

Knox's new liturgy gave a high place to the reading and preaching of the Word of God in the common language of the people. We know little of the details of his sermons from this period, but it would not be surprising to learn that the Scottish Reformer followed in the footsteps of John Hus and John Calvin in practicing regular, serial expository preaching through books of the Old and New Testaments. No longer a priest separated from the people and representing an oppressive and dominating hierarchy, Knox was a minister of the gospel, a servant of God and his brethren, sharing with them the precious Scriptures, the Word of life.

The congregation was also freed from mere observation to active participation in the worship of God. The singing of Psalms—the book of the Bible which so eloquently captures the moods of the soul, full of depression, excitement, oppression, and joy—became a staple of the people of God in public corporate worship. Even today, the singing of this portion of God's Word strengthens the hearts of the participants and makes the Old Testament more relevant and alive in their daily Bible reading. This inner religion of the Psalms, gained by hearty singing in common versions, Knox would doubtless tell us, is more needed in American evangelicalism today!

And to the Word read, preached, prayed, and sung, Knox rightly added the two sacraments found in the Scriptures: baptism and the Lord's Supper. In writing *Answers to Some Questions Concerning Baptism*, Knox got straight to the point with his opening sentence:

> The baptism now used in the Papistry is not the true baptism which Jesus Christ did institute and command to be used in his kirk; but it is an adulteration and profanation of the same, and therefore is to be avoided of all God's children (Knox, *Works*, 4.118).

In the place of this error, Knox established the biblical order of covenant baptism, freed from superstition and focused upon hope in Christ alone for salvation.

The Lord's Supper also received positive treatment by the Scottish Reformer, for example in his *A Summary, According to the Holy Scriptures, of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, appended to his more polemic April 1550 volume mentioned previously (Knox, *Works*, 3.71–75). Knox's emphasis fell strongly on the role of faith in rightly receiving the Supper and on the power of the Holy Spirit in our souls' feeding on Christ who is in heaven:

> For it is not his presence in the bread that can save us, but his presence in our hearts, through faith in his blood, which has washed out our sins, and pacified his Father's wrath towards us.... For in the sacrament we receive Jesus Christ spiritually, as did the fathers of the Old Testament, according to St. Paul's saying (*Works* 3.75).

No hint of Roman transubstantiation, Lutheran consubstantiation, or Zwinglian memorialism is found in Knox's high Calvinistic view, even at this early stage in his ministry.

Reformation In Church Order

With the rise of Mary Tudor to the English throne, Knox was forced in 1554 to depart his adopted home in England and flee to the Continent. Landing first in Dieppe on the Normandy coast, the Scottish Reformer spent two years visiting major Reformation centers. In Geneva, Berne, Zurich, Basel, Strasbourg, and Frankfurt, Knox consulted with John Calvin, Theodore Beza, Heinrich Bullinger, Martin Bucer, and others, becoming familiar at first hand with the Magisterial Reformers. During this period, Knox evolved from a Scotsman in exile to a true European, traveling extensively and experiencing the myriad cultures and churches on the Continent.

Serving within the episcopal structure in the Church of England had not afforded the Scottish Reformer the freedom to develop ecclesiastical structures after a biblical pattern. However, his 1552 decline of the bishopric in Rochester and public critiques of episcopacy were well known. The full flowering of such doctrinal concerns would have to wait until the late 16th to mid-17th Centuries when, under the watchful eyes of Andrew Melville, Samuel Rutherford, and George Gillespie, the general principles of biblical government could be matured in the crucible of church and national life. It could even be argued that pure Scottish Presbyterianism did not come truly into its own until the mid 19th Century, when the Evangelical Party, in the spirit of John Knox, was forced

to protect the spirituality of the church against the intrusions of patronage in the 1843 Disruption, led by Thomas Chalmers and William Cunningham. Be that as it may, at this very early stage in Knox's ministry, some basic theological axioms propaedeutic to later developments were already in place.

The principle so influential on Knox's views of church doctrine and worship was also applicable to the realm of church government: the Bible's regulative nature applied to both faith and practice. Naturally, therefore, church structure and function ought to be set on the same basis. Thus, the acorn from which later Presbyterianism grew was the same Protestant principle that the Scriptures alone are the only rule of faith and practice. As we have seen, this foundational precept was already well established in Knox's doctrinal and doxological theology, so at least to this extent he was a proto-Presbyterian.

But there is more. Scottish historian James Kirk has uncovered that since the earliest days of Lutheran influence in Scotland, small bands of Protestant believers met secretly for Christian fellowship. These "privy kirks" or "conventicles," as they were called, were so feared that the Scottish Parliament outlawed them in 1541. Men and women from all walks of life were imprisoned or hung for these secret times of Bible reading, theological discussion, prayer, and singing. But the underground "privy kirk" movement could not be stopped. The spiritual encouragement of heart-felt worship met a real need in Scottish lives. These underground little churches became nurseries in which future ministers, elders, and deacons were grown, so that they might one day serve openly and help reform the Scottish Kirk.

Knox supported privy kirks at the peril of his own life. With a bounty on his head, he chanced a return trip to Scotland from 1555–1556 during his Marian exile to encourage the saints. Meeting with these bands of believers in private homes, Knox not only preached the Word of God but also served the Lord's Supper to the privy kirks. Clearly these were important ecclesiastical gatherings to the Reformer's mind.

Pressed to return and pastor the English exiles in Geneva, Knox left *A Letter of Wholesome Counsel, Addressed to His Brethren in Scotland* with them upon his departure. Here he gave clear instructions on private worship:

> No, brethren, you are ordained of God to rule your own houses in his true fear, and according to his word. Within your houses, I say, in some cases, you are bishops and kings; your wife, children, servants, and family are your bishopric and charge. Of you it shall be required how carefully and diligently you have always instructed them in God's true knowledge, how you have studied to plant virtue in them and repress vice. And therefore I say, you must make them partakers in reading, exhorting, and in making common prayers, which I would in every house were used once a day at least (Knox, *Works* 4.137).

In contrast to the medieval emphasis upon monks, nuns, and monastic orders as the nurseries of the soul, in Reformation fashion Knox pointed to the Christian family as the proper forum for this development.

But Knox's concern did not end with family worship. He went on to urge privy kirks upon the consciences of these believers, as well:

> Considering that St. Paul calls the congregation "the body of Christ," whereof every one of us is a member, teaching us thereby that no member is of sufficiency to sustain and feed itself without the help and support of another: I think it necessary for the conference of scriptures, assemblies of brethren be had (Knox, *Works* 4.137).

The Reformer went on to instruct that these privy kirks be held weekly and include an invocation, confession of sins, the reading of Scripture, a sermon or discussion of the text, and common prayers.

Conciliar government with graded church courts would have to wait for a future day, but John Knox clearly was committed to the only structure in which Reformed elders and Sessions could be grown—the Scottish privy kirk. By 1559, privy kirk ministers, elders, and deacons were being elected, practicing their respective roles for the immediate spiritual good of their people and the eventual wider responsibilities of open church life.

Knox was apparently personally committed to the biblical function of church officers as well. Offered a living at All Hallows, London in 1553, Knox refused the appointment because there ministers were not free to practice biblical church discipline. Why be so concerned about such a matter? Knox saw from Scripture (e.g., Matthew 18:15–20 and I Corinthians 5) that discipline was a responsibility from the King of kings for ministers in the Kirk and a mark of the true church. Away was to go the medieval penitential system with its confessionals, vain prayers of merit, and fruitless good works, and in was to come the tough love of proper church discipline, regulated by biblical standards.

Conclusions

Aside from his wide ranging travels, the time of Knox's Marian exile was most strategically invested in the English-speaking church in Geneva from 1556 to 1559. There he came under the profound influence of Master John Calvin and what Knox considered "the most perfect school of Christ that ever was in the earth since the days of the Apostles."

Luther may have been the Apostle of the Reformation, but Calvin was the Theologian. Under the Genevan's oversight, a Protestant paradigm and ministry model was held up for the world to see and follow. John Knox was drawn to this gospel light, and through him Calvin helped give shape to the Reformation doctrine of the Scottish Kirk and people. On top of the Hamilton's Lutheran foundation and Wishart's Zwinglian skirt were built Knox's Calvinistic edifice that would stand for centuries.

Calvin was of a different temperament than Knox: the Genevan Reformer was shy and scholarly, while the Scottish Reformer was bold and battle-hardened. But the tough Caledonian exile was vexed by complex questions of church and state—the legitimate right and power of these two realms—so he sought the wisdom of the master. Knox was not told all that he wanted to hear: Calvin was not ready to go as far as Knox in asserting the right of the nobles and people to overthrow an unrepentant monarch and to establish their own Reformed church. Years in the galley and on the run had burned into Knox's psyche and soul the crucial importance of civil power in defending truth and suppressing error.

By penning *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* in 1558, Knox appeared to more timid Continental eyes a revolutionary (Knox, *Works*, 4.349-422). This was all the more so because his cannon ball aimed at Mary Tudor ended up striking the new Queen Elizabeth (who was open to Reformation), and despised him because of it!

The many lessons we have surveyed from the early Scottish Reformation have clear relevance to the 21st Century world in which we live and minister. Biblical doctrine, especially on central matters such as justification by faith and union with Christ, are part of a precious inheritance we must retain in our lives. Biblical worship, with its foundation in the Scriptural principle that the Bible is the only rule of faith and practice, by which man-made idols are to be discerned from God-given prerogatives, should capture regenerate minds and hearts. Biblical church order, again based on the Scriptural principle and the recognition that only Jesus is the King and Head of His Church, is well worth protecting and preserving for the generations to come.

May the Father of our great Lord and Savior Jesus Christ help us all to rediscover these Reformation priorities in our lives and land!▪



John Knox (Photos.com)

Reformed Presbyterian Criticism of the 1859 Ulster Revival's Impact on Worship and Church Order

By Daniel Ritchie[1]

I.

The 1859 Revival has often been seen as the high point in Ulster's religious history,[2] having been portrayed by evangelicals as a dramatic outpouring of the Holy Spirit, which led to mass conversions and widespread societal reformation.[3] As a result of the Revival, the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (P.C.I.) gained 10,636 new communicant members and the bulk of the Revival's converts.[4] Yet not all orthodox Christians were entirely comfortable with what took place during the awakening, causing various clergymen to offer critiques of the movement. Some of these critics were to be found in the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland, or, as they are often known, the Covenanters. This group has its roots in the Second Scottish Reformation (1638–1649), and with the Cameronians, who maintained a witness for the principles of the Second Reformation against what they saw as the antichristian tyranny of Charles II and James II. The removal of the Stuarts at the Glorious Revolution 1688–9 did not satisfy the Cameronians, as they dissented from the Revolution Settlement due to their continued insistence upon the perpetual obligation of the National Covenant of Scotland (1638) and the Solemn League and Covenant (1643). Since the new established Church of Scotland did not officially recognise the descending obligation of the covenants, the Covenanters remained aloof from it.[5] In Ulster, the remaining Covenanters were ministered to by the Revd David Houston; he had earlier been deposed by the Route Presbytery for continuing to adhere to the covenants, while other Presbyterians had defected from these attainments.[6] By the time of his death in 1696, Adam Loughridge surmised that Houston's

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1. I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr Andrew Holmes Ph.D. of Queen's University Belfast, who read an earlier draft of this article and saved me from numerous errors. Additionally, I also received helpful suggestions from Dr Crawford Gribben Ph.D. of Trinity College Dublin and Mr Stephen Steele M.A., a divinity student at Reformed Theological College, Belfast and former history postgraduate student at Queen's. Thanks are also extended to the anonymous peer reviewers. All remaining errors in fact or interpretation are the sole responsibility of the author.

2. Ulster refers to the nine counties which make up the northern province of Ireland. What is now Northern Ireland consists of six of these counties.

3. David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster society 1740–1890* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 153.

4. William Gibson, *The year of grace: A history of the Ulster Revival in 1859* (Edinburgh, London and Belfast: C. Aitchison et al, 1860), 404.

5. Adam Loughridge, *The Covenanters in Ireland: a history of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland* (2nd edn, Belfast: Cameron Press, 1987), 5–8.

6. Peter Brooke claims that the mainstream Presbyterians in Ulster abandoned the covenants in the 1670s. See Peter Brooke, "Controversies in Ulster Presbyterianism, 1790–1836" (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1980), 32. David Houston's relationship with James Renwick receives some mention in Alexander Shield's biography of the martyr. See Alexander Shields, *The life and death of that eminently pious, free and faithful minister and martyr of Jesus Christ, Mr James Renwick: with a vindication of the heads of his dying testimony. Written by the learned and famous Mr Alexander Shields, then preacher of the gospel in the fields. Whereunto is subjoined, the manner of admission, or ordaining of ruling elders, by Mr James Renwick; and some of his many religious letters. Diligently compared with the original, and never before published* (Edinburgh: John McMain, 1724), 101, 127. However, for a discussion of the fraught relationship which Houston had with the covenanting societies in Scotland, see Robert Simpson, *Life of the Rev. James Renwick, the last of the Scottish martyrs* (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1843), 124–9, 152. Although Houston was highly

ministry had united the covenanting societies and had isolated them from other Presbyterians in Ulster.[7] However, it is important to understand that the Covenanters did not view themselves as separatists, who forsook one church to form another in a schismatic fashion. On the contrary, writing in 1858, the Revd Josias A. Chancellor concluded, "It was no secession from other churches, but simply continued adherence to the Word of God and to the testimony of Jesus Christ, that gave the Reformed Presbyterian Church a distinct existence in Ulster, nearly two hundred years ago."[8] Nevertheless, it was not until 1757 that the first Covenanter minister was ordained in Ireland, as the Revd William Martin received ordination at The Vow (a town-land near Ballymoney), Co. Antrim. Martin was initially subject to the Reformed Presbytery of Scotland, until the ordination of the Revd Matthew Lynn in 1763 made the formation of an Irish Reformed Presbytery a possibility, only for the Presbytery to collapse in 1779.[9] However, the Presbytery was reconstituted in December 1792, and the denomination grew to such an extent that a Synod was constituted in May 1811, consisting of four Presbyteries.[10]

II.

The question might arise as to why it is important to consider the Reformed Presbyterians' views in relation to the 1859 revival? By looking at the Covenanters' response to the movement, we are able to see how the most conservative Presbyterian denomination in Ireland, whose roots predate the emergence of evangelicalism, responded to an outburst of intense religious excitement. This is especially relevant to modern confessional Presbyterians, as the Reformed Presbyterians were renowned for their strict adherence to the Westminster Confession. Moreover, the Covenanters are one of the few groups in modern Northern Ireland who still maintain the confessional position on worship, and *a cappella* exclusive psalmody is probably the feature by which the denomination is most clearly distinguished from other orthodox Presbyterians.

Yet the years preceding the 1859 revival were not easy times for the Covenanters in Ireland, as they were torn apart by a prolonged controversy from 1830–40. This was fought out between the Revd Thomas Houston of Knockbracken, near Belfast, and the Revd Dr John Paul of Loughmourne, near Carrickfergus. Paul was probably the greatest Irish Reformed theologian of the nineteenth-century, or, at the very least, one of the best polemic writers of his day.[11] He was widely recognised beyond the bounds of the Reformed Presbyterian communion as a theological colossus, especially due to his role in defending the principle of subscription to creeds and confessions of faith and for his strenuous, yet scholarly, opposition to the Arian party within the General Synod of Ulster (G.S.U.) during the 1820s.[12] Paul's reputation for orthodoxy, however, could not spare him from the ire of Houston when the latter suspected that Paul was deviating from the Westminster Confession. Professor Robert McCollum has argued that from as early as 1819 Paul had adhered to views respecting the civil magistrate's role *circa sacra* and on the duty of rulers to extirpate heretics which were at odds with the teachings of the Calvinistic Reformers, the Westminster divines and the early Covenanters.[13] There does appear to be some grounds for this, because, despite Paul's condemnation of the idea of an authoritative toleration of heresy, he did say that, "in the Reformation period, the circumstances of the times might justify a degree of severity, which in the present age might be highly criminal; so we might expect that modern Covenanters would be much more mild than their forefathers."[14]

esteemed by Renwick and Michael Shields, Simpson argues that in October 1695, the United Societies disowned any who countenanced Houston due to his laxity of discipline. Ibid., 129. For an account of Houston's disputes with the Route Presbytery see J. S. Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. Comprising the civil history of the province of Ulster from the accession of James the first: with a preliminary sketch of the progress of the Reformed religion in Ireland during the sixteenth century. And an appendix, consisting of original papers*, ed. W. D. Killen, 3 vols. (Belfast: William Mullan, 1867), ii, 328–31.

7. Loughridge, *Covenanters in Ireland*, 11–13. James Seaton Reid concurs that Houston was the principle architect of Reformed Presbyterianism in Ireland, but was less complimentary in his analysis of Houston's role: "This self-willed and unstable preacher, by his irregular proceedings, laid the foundation of that schism in the Presbyterian Church in Ulster which still subsists; and he is claimed as one of the earliest witnesses to the peculiar opinions of the Covenanting or Reformed Presbyterian Church that appeared in the North of Ireland." Reid, *History*, ii, 331.

8. [J. A. Chancellor], *Review of a tract entitled "Tekel. The Reformed Presbyterian Church and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, weighed in the balance of truth." Reprinted, with some alterations from the "Covenanter" (Belfast) for October, 1858* (Londonderry: The Sentinel Office, 1858), 3.

9. Loughridge, *Covenanters in Ireland*, 19–23.

10. Ibid., 28, 55. This year marks the two hundredth anniversary of the Irish Covenanting Synod.

11. Peter Brooke, "The grand principle of magistrical restraint in matters of religion: a dispute in the Reformed Presbyterian Synod in Ireland, 1830–40," accessed September 6, 2010, http://web.ukonline.co.uk/pbrooke/p%26t/Northern%20Ireland/rpsynod.

12. Ibid. *Banner of Ulster*, 30 Aug. 1842.

13. R. L. W. McCollum, "John Paul and his contribution to the shaping of Presbyterianism in the nineteenth-century" (M.Th. diss., Queen's University Belfast, 1992), 167–9. Cf. Brooke, "Grand principle."

14. John Paul, *Creeds and confessions defended, and attacks made of Covenanters, Seceders, &c. repelled, in a series of letters addressed*

Although Paul's views were not censured by the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Ireland (R.S.P.I.) in the years immediately subsequent to the publication of his *Creeds and confessions defended*, his opinions did not escape the watchful eye of Thomas Houston. The decisive event in elevating Houston to the role of controversialist and the champion of the covenanting cause came in 1830, when he accepted the intimation of the Synod to publish and circulate a periodical throughout the Reformed Presbyterian Church. Accordingly, in December 1830 Houston issued the first copy of his new periodical, which he entitled the *Covenanter*.[15] While initially received with applause as a forum for promoting Reformed Presbyterian distinctive principles, the *Covenanter* quickly generated controversy when Houston began publishing articles on civil magistracy in March 1831.[16] In these writings Houston advocated the traditional interpretation of the Westminster Confession as sanctioning the use of civil penalties against idolaters and heretics.[17] However, the stern manner of his presentation, and the frequency with which he set forth his opinions, has caused later commentators to fault Houston for alienating many people within the denomination who would otherwise have been sympathetic.[18] Paul certainly did not take kindly to his teaching, and he wrote to the *Belfast News-Letter* in an attempt to distance himself from the views propounded by Houston.[19] It would also appear that the R.P.S.I. was nervous about what Houston was teaching, as it resolved that "the Synod do not hold themselves responsible for the contents of the 'COVENANTER' […] and the responsibility of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod is, IN NO WAY INVOLVED IN ITS PUBLICATION."[20] Sadly, the breach between Houston and Paul eventually became too great to be resolved amicably. Consequently, in 1840 a deadlock was reached, and the Eastern Presbytery issued a *Declinature* against the various decisions of the R.P.S.I. on the question of civil magistracy, and thus declined the authority of the Synod.[21] The five ministers and twelve elders who withdrew later constituted themselves as the Eastern Reformed Presbyterian Synod (E.R.P.S.) on 18 October 1842, which oversaw the Belfast and Derry Presbyteries.[22] Despite never growing beyond ten congregations, this denomination maintained a separate existence until 1902 when the E.R.P.S. officially united with the P.C.I., although half its congregations dissented from this decision and returned to the Reformed Presbyterian Church.[23] While the two communions did not officially reunite, by 1859 much of the tension of earlier years had died down, as friendly relations were restored between the previously warring factions.[24] The significance of this for the Covenanters' response to the revival is that having moved on from an earlier internal controversy and the pain of a distressing schism, they now had much more time on their hands to attack rival denominations. As we shall see, the excesses associated with the 1859 revival in Ulster were to provide the Reformed Presbyterians with ample ammunition against their main ecclesiastical rivals—the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.

III.

Although this article focuses on some of their criticisms of the movement, it would, however, be a mistake to think that the Covenanters were entirely opposed to the 1859 revival. Notwithstanding their commitment to Reformed orthodoxy, the Covenanters did not encourage a cold formalism in matters of religion. When commenting on the 1857–8 revival in the United States,

to the anonymous author of "The battle of the two dialogues" (1819) in *Works of the late Rev. John Paul, D.D., of Carrickfergus. With a memoir and introduction by the editor*, ed. Stewart Bates (Belfast: Shepherd and Aitchison, 1855), 381–2. For Paul's thoughts on authoritative toleration in distinction from passive toleration, see ibid., 385–9.

15. Loughridge, *Covenanters in Ireland*, 65.

16. Ibid. For the articles in question see *Covenanter*, Mar., Apr., June 1831. Robert McCollum has argued that some of these articles were also written by the Revd Hans Boggs and John Stewart, both of whom died in 1837. McCollum, "John Paul." 174.

17. Edward Donnelly, "Thomas Houston of Knockbracken," *Bulletin of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland*, 33 (2009): 65.

18. Loughridge, *Covenanters in Ireland*, 65. Donnelly, "Thomas Houston," 65.

19. Brooke, "Grand principle". *Belfast News-Letter*, 18 Nov. 1831.

20. *Abstract of the proceedings of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Ireland, at a meeting held in Moneymore, July, 1831* (Ballymena: George White, 1831), 13.

21. *Minutes of the annual meeting of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Ireland, held at Moneymore, July, 1840* (Belfast: Paul Kelso, 1840), 9–10. Loughridge, *Covenanters in Ireland*, 67. Cf. *The judgment of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Ireland, upon the controversy relative to the magistrate's power circa sacra, between the Rev. Thomas Houston, one of its members, and the Rev. Dr Paul, and others, who have renounced its jurisdiction, and set up a separate communion* (Belfast: Paul Kelso et al, 1842). The *Declinature* was signed by the Revds John Paul, William Henry, John Alexander, Clarke Houston and John Nevin. It was also signed by the following ruling elders: James Adrian, James Kinnear, John McCracken, Andrew Blakely and John McVicker.

22. J. P. Marcus, *Outlines of church history, with special reference to the Eastern Reformed Presbyterian Church* (Londonderry: Johnston, Hunter & Co. et al, 1869), 91.

23. Loughridge, *Covenanters in Ireland*, 67. Stephen Steele, "Thomas Houston: Covenanter and evangelical" (M.A. diss., Queen's University Belfast, 2009), 17–18.

24. Loughridge, *Covenanters in Ireland*, 67. *Minutes of the annual meeting of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Ireland, held at Londonderry, July 12, 1853* (Belfast: William Johnston, 1853), 12.

they were glad to report that "the work has proceeded with much less outward excitement than was found at former periods of revivals in America—as in the days of Edwards and Whitefield."[25] However, a significant proviso was added to this when the author argued that "THE WILDEST ENTHUSIASM IS MORE RATIONAL IN RELIGION THAN INDIFFERENCE."[26] Thus Covenanters were reluctant to dismiss excited scenes as entirely delusional, even if they could not wholeheartedly endorse them. Rather than dismissing revivals attended with undue excitement as wholly spurious, they recognised that human imperfection and sin was often mixed up with genuine religious movements.[27] Their response to 1859 was, at least initially, consistent with this viewpoint. Evidence of this can be seen in the resolutions which the R.P.S.I. adopted on Friday 8 July 1859 in response to the religious awakening:

> 1.—That without expressing any opinion with respect to the circumstances originating this movement, or the manner in which it may have been conducted in some quarters, Synod cannot but regard it as a reason for the most devout gratitude to the God of all grace, that there are so many and indubitable indications of increased earnestness in spiritual things, and delight in religious exercises, on the part of multitudes of professing Christians; and that there are also indications of many persons hitherto utterly careless, or ungodly and wicked, having been awakened to a concern for their souls, and the necessity for reformation—many, it is to be hoped, having undergone a saving change.
>
> 2.—That it is not surprising there should be marks of human imperfection on any work in which man is engaged, as an instrument to any extent, in this world. Where there are errors, irregularities, and extravagances in any district, there is greater reason why the Gospel ministers should interfere, so far as may be consistent with right principle, so as to endeavour to give a proper tone and direction to this movement.
>
> 3.—That it should be ever remembered, that even strong convictions of sin do not amount in themselves to conversion, and may never issue therein; and that it is desirable that ministers should set the whole truth on these and kindred subjects before their several congregations, especially at the present juncture—not forgetting how it is written, "not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord."
>
> 4.—That there can be no impropriety in uniting with evangelical Christians of any denomination in exercises of praise, prayer, and reading the Bible, and every encouragement should be given to all who manifest a desire for such exercises, so long as Scriptural order and purity in such acts of worship are strictly adhered to.
>
> 5.—Synod recommended to ministers and elders to set more distinctly before them as the great end of all their labours, the conversion of immortal souls; and recommend furthermore to ministers, congregations, societies, families, and individuals, increased earnestness, fervency, and perseverance in pleading the great promises of the Gospel dispensation, and in wrestling with our covenant God, that the Spirit may be poured out from on high on the churches, and also on every barren field of earth, so that all may be made speedily fruitful, and every desert made to rejoice and blossom as the rose.[28]

According to the report on the Synod in the *Belfast News-Letter* these resolutions were proposed by the Revd Robert Nevin of Clarendon Street, Londonderry, seconded by the Revd Josias Chancellor of Bready, and unanimously adopted by the Synod.[29] The resolutions had been preceded by a discourse to the Synod the previous evening on "Religious awakening and revival" (based on Isaiah 32:15) by the Revd James Kennedy of Newtonlimivady (now Limivady, Co. Londonderry), and by an address on the Friday morning by Thomas Houston on "the position and present duty of the ministers and members of the Covenanting Church in relation to promoting the revival of religion."[30] While supportive in tone, the resolutions expressed concerns relating to the prevalence of extravagance, the conflation of conviction with conversion, and the introduction of innovative worship elements into ecumenical revival meetings. Nonetheless, these resolutions do demonstrate that, although cautious and qualified in their support for the movement, the Reformed Presbyterians were not outright opponents of the Revival like some P.C.I. ministers, the Revds Isaac Nelson, William Dobbin and William Hamilton, as they believed the Revival did result in real conversions and, initially

25. Anon., "Revival of religion in the Church," *Covenanter*, Apr. 1858, 88.
26. "Revival of religion in the Church," 89–90. Emphasis original.
27. "Revival of religion in the Church," 89–90.
28. *Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Ireland, held in Belfast, 27 June 1859* (Belfast: Johnston and McClure, 1859), 18–19.
29. *Belfast News-Letter*, 9 July 1859.
30. *Belfast News-Letter*, ibid.

at least, the moral reformation of society.[31] The Revd Joseph Alexander Moody's comments to Chancellor in November 1859 appeared indicative of the Covenanters' initial reaction to the revival: "All history is just a record of human imperfections but on this account we are not to reject the work of God although it should be mixed up with the mismanagement of man or confound the cause of righteousness with the errors of the Evil One."[32]

Nor was this merely an expression of support for a genuine revival in the abstract, as various Covenanter ministers had been active in supporting the 1859 Revival. For example, in the spring of 1859, the Revd James Dick of Kellswater claimed that "[t]he very first thing I did in the spring when all expected me to preach against the Revival was to defend it from the assaults of Montgomery &c."[33] Moreover, Thomas Houston preached a revival sermon at Ballymacashon (near Killinchy, Co. Down) on 24 July.[34] And, despite later becoming one of the Revival's prominent critics, Josias Chancellor claimed to have been one of the Revival's most earnest supporters. Indeed he continued to classify himself as such even when he was making his critiques of the movement:

> When the awakening commenced in Ulster, last summer, no one hailed more eagerly the prospect of a Revival, or more readily entered into any suitable arrangements for its advancement, than I endeavoured to do. To this movement my feelings and conduct have not in the least been altered.[35]

The fact that Chancellor preached at a revival meeting in Second Strabane Presbyterian Church is evidence that he was even prepared to go outside the bounds of his own denomination in order to support the advance of the awakening.[36] Even the P.C.I. minister of Donagheady, the Revd F. J. Porter, who clashed with Chancellor over the validity of lay-preaching, admitted that, "[a]t the outset, Covenanters were alive to the necessity and importance of the work. I shall remember with thankfulness the help I had from elders and members of that persuasion, in the most stirring times."[37] However, he blamed Chancellor for quenching the zeal of the Bready Covenanters, who "assuming an apathetic phase, they stood partially aloof" as "they were taught to do so by their minister."[38] Perhaps even more surprising was the conduct of James Kennedy, who scarcely a year earlier had indulged in the most scathing criticism of the P.C.I.[39] His preaching at an open-air meeting had led to prostrations among the crowd, while he and the Revd T. Y. Killen had consented to permit a female to address a meeting in Ballykelly.[40] Thus, the *Covenanter* in October 1859 admitted that some Reformed Presbyterians had attended revival meetings, and assisted in leading them, while various "members of the Covenanting Church" were subjected to bodily prostrations.[41] In light of such conduct in promoting the awakening, even to the point of participating in what would normally have been considered aberrant practices by Reformed Presbyterian standards, it is hardly surprising that Covenanter ministers recognised that a genuine revival had taken place in 1859.[42] Hence, Chancellor was willing to admit "[t]hat a real Revival has, to a certain extent, taken place, I gladly and thankfully acknowledge."[43] Moreover, in September 1859 the *Covenanter* rejoiced in the awakening which was presently advancing in Ulster, observing that "grossly irreligious and immoral

31. Anon., "Thoughts on revival. No. II. Duties of covenanting witnesses in relation to the present awakening," *Covenanter*, Oct. 1859, 274. Cf. Stephen Steele, "'Houston, we have a problem.' Thomas Houston: Covenanter and evangelical," *Reformed Theological Journal*, 25 (Nov. 2010): 71. For more on the P.C.I. ministers, see Daniel Ritchie, "Presbyterian opposition to the 1859 Revival in Ulster" (M.A. diss., Queen's University Belfast, 2010).

32. Joseph Alexander Moody to Josias Chancellor, Convoy, Donegal, Nov. 1859 (Reformed Presbyterian Historical Library, Reformed Theological College, Belfast, Chancellor Letters).

33. James Dick to Josias Chancellor, Kellswater, 17 Dec. 1859 (Reformed Presbyterian Historical Library, Reformed Theological College, Belfast, Chancellor Letters). Dick is referring to the Arian leader, Dr Henry Montgomery of Dunmurray, Belfast.

34. Minute Book of the Eastern Presbytery of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Ireland 5 August 1845 - 7 August 1867, 24 July 1859 (Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast, Records of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, CR5/5/B/4/1/4).

35. J. A. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching and hymn-singing unwarranted in the church. In reply to the Rev. F. J. Porter and Dr Marcus Dill* (2nd edn, Londonderry: The Sentinel Office, 1860), 3.

36. Anon, "Religious movement in Ireland," *Christian Witness and Church Member's Magazine*, Sep. 1859, 392.

37. F. J. Porter, *The prophet deceived. Lay teaching not lay preaching. An epistle to an enemy of revivals, who thinks himself a friend; being an analysis of a pamphlet styled "Lay preaching"* (Londonderry: The Standard Office, 1860), repr in *A history of the 1859 Ulster Revival*, ed. Stanley Barnes, 7 vols. (Gilford: Whitefield College of the Bible, 2006), iv, 314.

38. Porter, *The prophet deceived,* ibid.

39. See [James Kennedy], *Tekel. The Reformed Presbyterian Church and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland weighed in the balance of truth* (Londonderry: The Sentinel Office, 1858).

40. T. Y. Killen, "Ballykelly," in *Authentic records of Revival, now in progress in the United Kingdom. With an introduction by Horatius Bonar, D.D.*, ed. William Reid (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1860), 100–01.

41. Anon., "Thoughts on revival. No. II. Duties of covenanting witnesses in relation to the present awakening," *Covenanter*, Oct. 1859, 273.

42. "Thoughts on revival. No. II," 278.

43. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, 15.

practices appear to be, in many places abandoned for the time, and multitudes are aroused to a sense of the paramount importance of a personal interest in religion."[44] The Reformed Presbyterians clearly welcomed the stimulus which the Revival gave to evangelism, the conversion of the worldly and to the moral reformation of society. However, the employment of the words "for the time" in the above quotation reveals a lingering suspicion that the fruits of the 1859 Revival would not last long. And so in March 1860 the *Covenanter* published an article on "The Spirit's work in reviving religion" which argued that while officers and members of the Covenanted Church were bound to be zealous in promoting revival, great care needed to be exercised lest they lapse into a form of evangelical latitudinarianism which promoted unity at the expense of truth.[45]

Their unwillingness, however, to entirely reject 1859 as a counterfeit revival means that the Covenanters should be viewed as being among the Revival's moderate critics who, despite having significant reservations, viewed the awakening as at least partially good. Following the example of Charles Hodge, the Princeton divine and critic of the First Great Awakening, Chancellor did not believe that criticism of revivals should be left to the outright opponents of such movements.[46] Instead, when responding to F. J. Porter's claim that he was an enemy of 1859, he argued that the real friends of revivals were those who withheld their countenance from the evils and irregularities that accompanied the awakenings; in so doing, they were the ones who were promoting the true work of God from unbiblical aberrations.[47]

IV.

Reformed Presbyterians were critical of the Revival's impact upon worship, especially in relation to psalm-singing and lay-preaching. Chancellor claimed that it was the movement's impact upon "the Scriptural order and purity of God's worship" which led him, as one who initially supported the awakening, to become openly critical of 1859; such was the importance that Covenanters placed upon the maintenance of biblical worship.[48] The Reformed Presbyterians adhered to what is now known as the regulative principle of worship; this is the view that God can only be properly worshipped in accordance with his own commands. Therefore, if something is not commanded in Scripture to be observed as an element of worship (either by explicit precept, legitimate historical example or valid logical deduction), then it is forbidden.[49] Adherence to the regulative principle is one of the identity markers that distinguishes the Reformed and Presbyterian traditions from other forms of Protestantism, such as Lutheranism and Anglicanism.[50] The latter groups embrace the normative principle; this is the idea that unless something is prohibited in worship, then it is acceptable.[51] Covenanters, in common with various other branches of Presbyterianism, believed that this principle necessitated the exclusive use of the biblical Psalter in praise, and that the employment of hymns of merely human composition, lacking Scriptural warrant, was a violation of the regulative principle.[52] However, in both Ulster and Scotland, the 1859 Revival gave great encouragement to the singing of uninspired hymns.[53] Thus, Chancellor lamented, "I am sorry to say it must be granted that an unprecedented

44. Anon., "Thoughts on revival of religion: no. 1—state of religion in the churches requiring revival," *Covenanter*, Sep. 1859, 255.

45. Anon., "The Spirit's work in reviving religion," *Covenanter*, Mar. 1860, 103–04. Cf. Anon., "The signs of the times, as bearing on the testimony for truth. (By a committee of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod, Ireland.)," *Covenanter*, Aug. 1860, 228.

46. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, pp 344–5. Cf. Charles Hodge, *The constitutional history of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America,* 2 vols. (Philadelphia: William S. Martien, 1839–40), ii, 65.

47. J. A. Chancellor, *The prophet un-deceived: or, a gentle dissection of "The prophet deceived"* (Londonderry: The Sentinel Office, 1860), repr in *A history of the 1859 Ulster Revival*, ed. Stanley Barnes, 7 vols. (Gilford: Whitefield College of the Bible, 2006), iv, 344–5. Cf. Porter, *Prophet deceived*.

48. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, 3.

49. See Westminster Confession XXI.

50. Philip Benedict, *Christ's churches purely Reformed: a social history of Calvinism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 490.

51. In article XXXIV of the Thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, it is maintained that the church does have the authority to invent religious ceremonies: "It is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. Whosoever, through his private judgment, willingly and purposely, doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like,) as he that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the Magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren. Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, Ceremonies or Rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying." "Articles of religion," accessed December 30, 2010, http://anglicansonline.org/basics/thirty-nine_articles.html.

52. Thomas Houston, *Divine psalms against human paraphrases and hymns. Review of a sermon by the Rev. William Johnston on "Psalms and paraphrases"* (Belfast: G. Phillips and sons, 1861), 8–10.

53. Anon., "Thoughts on revival. No. II. Duties of covenanting witnesses in relation to the present awakening," *Covenanter*, Oct. 1859, 276. Anon., "Hymn-singing and the Revival," *Reformed Presbyterian Magazine*, July 1861, 223–5. C. J. Marrs, "The 1859 religious Revival

thirst for hymns has been recently created, and an immense impulse given to their indiscriminate circulation."[54] Moreover, Houston observed that the Revival had led to a rapid increase in the purchase of hymn-books, far outstripping the biblical Psalter in terms of sales.[55] This thesis was corroborated by a Belfast Anglican, the Revd Charles Seaver, who observed that "[m]illions of little books of hymns" were sold during the awakening.[56] But the most impressive evidence in favour of the thirst that the Revival created for hymns are the statistics presented by Marcus Dill, who said:

> In the wholesale department of a bookseller's home in Belfast, formerly the average sale of Psalm books was 200 in the three months; during the same time last summer there were 1800 sold; of Hymn *books*, since the Revival commenced there have *been* upwards of 20,000 sold in three months, and of Hymn sheets, as many as 200,000.[57]

It would be hard to imagine that many of these did not fall into the hands of Presbyterians. Indeed, in 1859 Henry Cooke expressed his concern before the General Assembly that "one of the greatest dangers to the young generation at present was a set of namby-pamby hymn books, which are now stuck into everybody's hands."[58]

Houston also claimed that the conduct of P.C.I. ministers during the Revival had served to legitimize uninspired hymnody, as their participation in the ecumenical, union prayer-meetings sometimes led to them taking part in "singing vapid, and, in some cases, erroneous hymns."[59] We find ordained Presbyterian ministers, such as the Revd Robert Knox, leading hymn-singing at a union prayer meeting in Belfast, and the Revd Tommy Toye appears to have employed hymns in Great George's Street.[60] It is significant that when both Houston and Chancellor wrote in defence of exclusive psalmody in the years immediately subsequent to 1859, they were writing in defence of a position that had been attacked by P.C.I. clerics, such as the Revd William Johnston and the medic, Dr Marcus Dill. This was in spite of the fact that total psalmody was the official view of the P.C.I. In 1859 the General Assembly's position was that "[t]he metrical version of the Psalms of David used in Scotland and by this Church is the only psalmody authorized by the General Assembly."[61] This statement leaves no room for serious debate on the issue, as exclusive psalmody is the view that the psalter is the only authorised manual of praise to be used in the church. Since the P.C.I. adopted the psalter as its only authorised praise manual, then the P.C.I.'s official position was that of exclusive psalmody. Houston was quick to seize upon this: "[h]ow, after making such a profession, ministers and congregations of this body can consistently claim the right, and boast of the liberty, of introducing uninspired compositions into the church's psalmody, we are unable to determine."[62] Nevertheless, it should be noted that not all pro-Revival P.C.I. ministers embraced uninspired hymnody, because John Edgar and Henry Cooke united with Houston to write prefaces to an apology for the Davidic Psalter.[63]

In terms of the actual debate, Chancellor argued that the burden of proof on this issue lay with the proponents of hymnody, as all agreed the book of Psalms had been given to the church in the Old Testament and had been commanded to be sung in the new dispensation. This being the case, those who wanted to introduce uninspired songs of praise needed to produce biblical warrant to substantiate the opinion that God has commanded (not permitted) humanly composed hymns to be sung by the New Testament church.[64] Chancellor claimed that although the New Testament clearly sanctioned certain alterations in worship, such as the replacement of circumcision with baptism, the Passover with communion, the changing of the Sabbath from the seventh to the first day of the week, and the abolition

in Scotland: a review and critique of the movement with particular reference to the city of Glasgow" (Ph.D. diss., University of Glasgow, 1995), 171.

54. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, 28.

55. Houston, *Divine psalms*, 4.

56. Charles Seaver, *The Ulster Revival: a paper read before the conference of the Evangelical Alliance at Belfast. September 22, 1859* (London: James Nisbet, 1859), repr in *A history of the 1859 Ulster Revival*, ed. Stanley Barnes, 7 vols (Gilford: Whitefield College of the Bible, 2006), v, 54.

57. Marcus Dill, *A defence of Christian liberty in psalmody* (Londonderry: The Standard Office, 1860), 10.

58. Anon., "Rev. Dr Cooke's views of church psalmody," *Original Secession Magazine*, Nov. 1859, 370.

59. Houston, *Divine psalms*, 5.

60. *Belfast News-Letter*, 7 July 1859. Thomas Hamilton, "The Rev. Thomas Toye, of Belfast," in *Irish worthies. A series of original biographical sketches of eminent ministers and members of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, ed. idem (1875; Stoke-on-Trent: Tentmaker Publications, 2000), 120.

61. *Book of the Constitution and Discipline of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, with a directory for the administration of ordinances* (Belfast: McCormick and Dunlop, 1859), 67.

62. Houston, *Divine psalms*, 4.

63. *The true psalmody; or, the Bible psalms the church's only manual of praise* (3rd edn, Belfast: J. Johnston, 1867). Cf. Cooke's remarks in the P.C.I. General Assembly on the subject. Anon., "Rev. Dr Cooke's views of church psalmody," *Original Secession Magazine*, Nov. 1859, 369–70.

64. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, 21.

of the ceremonial and sacrificial worship of the Jewish Temple, nonetheless, there was no evidence that Christ or the apostles altered the matter of the church's praise or demanded the cessation of biblical psalm-singing. He believed that the opposite was the case; appealing to various New Testament passages, Chancellor asserted that Christ and the apostles merely reiterated the commands to utilise the book of Psalms in divine worship.[65] In light of this, Chancellor surmised that adherents to the regulative principle could not embrace the opinion that the New Testament provided authorisation for man-made hymns:

> Our Lord and his Apostles recognise the existence of a standing and sufficient collection of inspired songs when they speak of "the Book of Psalms" […] There is neither precept nor example in the New Testament for the use of other songs. Neither the Apostles nor Prophets added to the previous collection. There is no command given to any man to prepare additional hymns, nor promise of assistance while engaged in the attempt. We have Divine authority for the perpetual use of the songs of inspiration, but where is the warrant for any other?[66]

However, convincing as Chancellor's arguments may have sounded to exclusive psalmody's adherents, the issue was complicated by the position of those who believed that hymn-singing was authorised in the New Testament. For instance, Houston refers to an argument, put forth by William Johnston, in which an appeal is made to the "psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs" of Ephesians 5:19 as biblical proof for the divine warrant to compose worship songs.[67] Houston, however, dismissed this argument as being crudely facile; he responded by pointing out that the terms were all used in Scripture to refer to biblical psalms, a reality which he claimed should be apparent to "a person even slightly conversant with the Hebrew Scriptures, the Septuagint, and other ancient versions."[68] Since it could not be proved that the text in question was referring to uninspired hymns, Houston considered it a "mere waste of words" to spend any great amount of time refuting Johnston's argument.[69] Nevertheless, he deemed it necessary to cite several earlier Reformed theologians in favour of his position, including a 1673 preface to the Rouse/Scottish Metrical Psalter, signed by John Owen and twenty-five other Puritan divines, which said, "to us *David's Psalms* seem plainly intended by those terms of '*psalms and hymns and spiritual songs*,' which the apostle useth."[70] While it is beyond the parameters of this article to judge the merits of the exegetical arguments pro or contra total psalmody, it may be the case that the proponents of hymnody within the P.C.I., having tolerated this innovation during the Revival, were now desperately seeking biblical justification for a practice which the standards of their church did not authorise. To have condemned hymnody, while offering wholehearted support to the Revival which was the means of spreading its employment, would have impaled such revivalists on the horns of an excruciating dilemma. Because how could they consistently condemn the use of hymns without condemning the Revival as well? Thus it was not surprising that various revivalist ministers, including the Revds T. Y. Killen, Hugh Hanna and John Macnaughtan, became apologists for hymns.[71]

Aside from the ostensibly Scriptural arguments for hymns, revivalists also put forward a number of emotive and pragmatic arguments against total psalmody. In opposition to the argument that the psalms were unsuitable for the young and the unlearned, Houston contended that the same logic would preclude the use of the New Testament itself, since many things contained therein were difficult for the young and unlearned to grasp.[72] Chancellor took particular umbrage at Dill's view that the psalms were unsuitable for Christian worship. He cites Dill as saying:

65. *Lay-preaching*, 22. Chancellor appealed to Matthew 26:30, Ephesians 5:19, James 5:13 as examples of psalm-singing in the New Testament, and referred to Luke 20:42 and Acts 1:20 as evidence that the New Testament writers recognised the biblical Psalter as a distinct book of praise.

66. *Lay-preaching*, 22.

67. William Johnston, *The psalms and paraphrases. A sermon preached in Townsend Street Church, Belfast, on Sabbath evening, 17th March 1861* (Belfast: C. Aitchison et al, 1861), 6.

68. Houston, *Divine psalms*, 11.

69. Houston, *Divine psalms*, 11.

70. *The Psalms of David in meeter. Newly translated and diligently compared with the original text, and former translations: more plain, smooth and agreeable to the text, than any heretofore* (1673), "A Puritan preface to the Scottish Metrical Psalter," accessed December 30, 2010, http://www.cprf.co.uk/quotes/prefacescottishpsalter.htm. Cited in Houston, *Divine psalms*, 11.

71. Hugh Hanna, *A whole Bible in the worship of God. A sermon by the Rev. Hugh Hanna advocating the above principle in relation to psalmody, in refutation of the Rev. Drs. Cooke, Edgar, Houston, and several American divines* (Belfast: C. Aitchison et al, 1861). J. D. Crawford, *Hymn singing in public worship unscriptural, and opposed to the law and practice of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. A reply to the speeches of Rev. J. Macnaughtan and Rev. T. Y. Killen* (Belfast: Allen & Johnston, 1875). Robert Nevin, *The hymn question. A review of the speeches of the Rev. J. Macnaughtan and the Rev. T. Y. Killen, at a meeting of the Belfast Presbytery on the 19th April* (Londonderry: The Standard Steam Printing Works, 1875).

72. Houston, *Divine psalms*, 23. William Johnson, *The psalms and paraphrases. A sermon preached in Townsend Street Church, Belfast, on Sabbath evening, 17th March, 1861* (Belfast: C. Aitchison et al, 1861), 10–11.

> I am constrained […] for the sake of truth, and in the light of the Christian dispensation, to maintain that there are many of the Psalms unsuitable for the song of the Christian Church, and only adopted to the use of that dispensation and ritual which have waxed old and vanished away.[73]

In response, Chancellor highlighted the gospel-centred nature of the Psalter, and defended the imprecatory psalms (such as Psalm 137) from the accusation that they manifested a spirit of personal revenge, arguing, to the contrary, that such psalms serve to reveal a righteous abhorrence of wickedness and set forth the just retributions of divine government.[74] Furthermore, he viewed the idea of Christians raising objections to the psalms as fundamentally wrong. Chancellor believed that such objections were based on infidel suppositions: "Objections against the Psalms! Have Paine, and his impious 'Age of Reason,' not yet departed from our midst?"[75] As far as he was concerned, those who dared to moralise against the divinely inspired psalms were comparable to profane infidels, who had succumbed to a most destructive rationalism. Moreover, he reasoned that if such objections were to be accepted, then the psalms would have to be expunged from the Bible and never even read in public worship. And so such complaints against the Psalter were tantamount to questioning the very inspiration of Scripture itself.[76] The revivalist's sentimental argument that the psalms did not contain the name of Jesus was also dismissed with merciless logic.[77] Chancellor maintained that, on the basis of such reasoning, objectors may as well remove the book of Esther from the biblical canon, since the name of God does not occur therein. He then went on to establish the Christological value of the Psalter, which demonstrated the weakness of suggesting that the absence of the word Jesus negated the Psalter's usefulness in Christian praise.[78] In opposition to revivalist suggestions that the *Scottish Metrical Psalter* was comparable to a human composition, Houston responded by saying that the logic of this argument would preclude the Bible being translated into English, since no translation of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures was perfect.[79] His point was that one did not have to possess a perfect translation of the Psalter in order to sing the word of God, because an English rendering of the psalms was still the (mediately) inspired word (immediate inspiration was confined to the original Scriptures).[80] Despite recognising the existence of archaic words and expressions, which he did not believe represented an insurmountable difficulty to the continuance of psalm-singing, Chancellor was sufficiently satisfied with the accuracy of the Scottish Psalter, expressing his view that "it is incomparably the purest and best of its kind, and we have reason to be devoutly thankful for it."[81] Moreover, he was able to appeal to the testimony of the Anglican minister William Romaine to substantiate the view that the Scottish Psalter was one of the best translations of the psalms in English.[82] Houston, likewise, appealed to the Puritans John Owen, Thomas Manton and Matthew Poole, among others, who had signed the preface to the Scottish/Rouse Psalter in favour of the view that "[t]he translation which is now put into thy hands cometh nearest to the original of any that we have seen."[83] Moreover, he quoted the famous Scottish evangelical Robert Murray McCheyne in favour of the view that the Scottish Psalter "is truly an admirable translation from the Hebrew, and is frequently more correct than the prose version."[84]

Reformed Presbyterians also maintained that hymns served as a vehicle for spreading heterodox dogmas, even if Dill and other apologists for hymnody wished to restrict singing to ostensibly orthodox songs.[85] Since the psalms were the inerrant word of God, Chancellor reasoned it was not possible for them to be a means of spreading doctrinal error. Conversely, he maintained that hymns were first employed in public worship for the purpose of inculcating the people with Gnostic,

73. Dill, *Christian liberty*, 3. Cited in Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, 18.
74. Ibid., 20, 23. Cf. Dill, *Christian liberty*, 3.
75. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, 25. Cf. Dill, *Christian liberty*, 4–5.
76. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, 25.
77. Dill, *Christian liberty*, 8.
78. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, 25. Considering that the word Jesus is an English translation of a Greek word, its absence from the English Bible's translation of the Psalter is not difficult to explain. This is due to the fact that the English Psalter is a translation of the Psalms out of the original Hebrew. Since Jesus is not a translation of a Hebrew word, it would only occur in an English Psalter if the psalms were translated out of the Greek Septuagint (LXX).
79. Houston, *Divine psalms*, 14–15. Dill, *Christian liberty*, 9. Johnston, *Psalms and paraphrases*, 8–9.
80. Houston, *Divine psalms*, 15.
81. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, 25.
82. Ibid. See William Romaine, *An essay on psalmody* (London: n.p., 1775), 135. Chancellor's quotation differs slightly from the original, though the substance of the quote is retained.
83. *The Psalms of David in meeter. Newly translated and diligently compared with the original text, and former translations: more plain, smooth and agreeable to the text, than any heretofore* (1673), "A Puritan preface to the Scottish Metrical Psalter," accessed December 30, 2010. http://www.cprf.co.uk/quotes/prefacescottishpsalter.htm. Cited in Houston, *Divine psalms*, 15.
84. R. M. McCheyne, *Daily bread, being a calendar for reading through the word of God in a year* (Dundee: William Middleton, 1847), 14. Cited in Houston, *Divine psalms*, 15.
85. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, 19–20.

Arian and other heretical opinions.[86] Similarly, Houston claimed that hymns were introduced in the third-century by the heretic Paul of Samosata, whose purpose in employing them was to teach "fundamental error" that "glorified himself."[87] Houston also considered the revivalists's hymns to be overly sentimental in nature, and quoted with approval Henry Cooke's condemnation of such "namby-pamby" hymns.[88] Of course, given their commitment to the regulative principle, one wonders just how much weight the likes of Chancellor and Houston could place on such circumstantial arguments, because if uninspired hymnody was divinely authorised then the heterodoxy or sentimentalism of certain compositions should have had no bearing on the employment of hymnody *per se*. However, they could have thought that these type of arguments may have been of value in convincing those who were wavering on the psalmody issue of the corrosive effects of hymnody.

Despite being part of a small denomination, the Covenanters argued that exclusive psalmody was essential to the unity of the church and represented the truly catholic position. Houston said that hymns, on the other hand, were a powerful means of diffusing sectarianism and disunion in the church of Christ.[89] In light of the bitter controversy which raged in the P.C.I. over this question in the years subsequent to the awakening, Houston certainly had a point when he concluded that hymns acted as a sower of discord in the church.[90] Chancellor also warned that the tendency of hymnology was to drive out the psalms altogether. He concluded that once hymnody becomes common, "[m]en get easily wedded to human inventions, but prejudices against a strictly Scriptural worship are hard to be weeded out."[91] An explanation for this, which Chancellor offers, is that hymns often reflected the prevailing religious and cultural trends of the era in which they are written, hence they served to express popular sentiments; whereas the psalms, being given by God, challenge and purify the tastes of their singers.[92] Given the paucity of psalm singing among conservative Presbyterians in Ireland today, Chancellor's prediction about the long-term impact of the introduction of hymns into Presbyterian praise during 1859 appears to have been a true prophecy. Furthermore, the use of both uninspired hymns and instrumental music in worship, and the countenance given to these things by P.C.I. ministers, was one reason (among others) why Covenanters did not lend support to the revival under D. L. Moody in 1874–5, believing that it was inconsistent for psalm-singing churches to do so. Considering that this movement served to further the desire for liturgical innovations in the P.C.I., the Reformed Presbyterian non co-operation appears to have been logical.[93]

V.

One notable feature of the 1859 Revival was the widespread practice of lay-preaching. Clergy from both the established Church of Ireland and the Reformed Presbyterians were especially critical of this.[94] Despite being favourable to the movement, Moody of Convoy told a revivalist minister that "I neither liked the name 'Converts' nor to hear them preach: for on the one hand they might yet give sufficient evidence of being unconverted & that at any rate it tended to break down the appointed institution of the Lord Jesus Christ."[95] Upon so doing, the revivalist "went away & told that I was against the Revival."[96] Moreover, Dick of Kellswater looked upon the converts' preaching as one example of "Wesleyan Methodism in all its follies

86. *Lay-preaching*, 30.

87. Thomas Houston, *Plymouthism & revivalism: or, the duty of contending for the faith in opposition to prevailing errors and corruptions* (2nd edn, Belfast: C. Aitchison, [1874]), 30. The famous church historian Philip Schaff concurs with Houston's assessment concerning Paul of Samosata and hymnology. See Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian church,* 8 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner, 1867), i: *from the birth of Christ to the reign of Constantine*, 289–90.

88. Houston, *Divine psalms*, 5. Cooke said this at the P.C.I. General Assembly meeting in 1859, at which he and the Revd John Rogers cautioned against hymn-singing among Presbyterians. Anon., "Rev. Dr Cooke's views of church psalmody," *Original Secession Magazine*, Nov. 1859, 370.

89. Houston, *Divine psalms*, 24.

90. Cf. Finlay Holmes, *Our Irish Presbyterian heritage* (Belfast: Publications Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1985), 133.

91. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, 30.

92. *Lay-preaching*, 30–1.

93. Houston, *Plymouthism & revivalism*, 30–1. Anon., "Revival of religion in the Church: its nature, means, fruits—mistakes and dangers to be avoided," *Covenanter*, June 1875, 166. Cf. Anon., "The revivalists," *Reformed Presbyterian and Covenanter*, May 1876, 133–6. Jane Toye, *Brief memorials of the late Rev. Thomas Toye, Belfast. By his widow* (Belfast: S. E. McCormick, 1873), 74–5. Sandy Finlayson, *Unity & diversity: the founders of the Free Church of Scotland* (Fearn: Christian Focus Publications, 2010), 205. Moody's campaign was supported by clerics such as the Revds T. Y. Killen and William Johnston, with the exponent of Princetonian Calvinism, Robert Watts, acting as an enquiry room counsellor. *Witness*, 4 Sep. 1874, 1 Jan. 1875. Joseph Thompson, "The influence of D. L. Moody on Irish Presbyterianism," in *Ebb and flow: essays in church history in honour of R. Finlay G. Holmes*, ed. W. D. Patton (Belfast: Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, 2002), 123, 127, 133.

94. William McIlwaine, "Ulster revivalism: a retrospect," *Journal of Medical Science*, 6, no. 32 (January 1860): 178–9. *Belfast Daily Mercury*, 19 July 1859.

95. Joseph Alexander Moody to Josias Chancellor, Convoy, Donegal, Nov. 1859 (Reformed Presbyterian Historical Library, Reformed Theological College, Belfast, Chancellor Letters).

96. Joseph Alexander Moody to Josias Chancellor, Ibid.

and extremes."[97] Chancellor recalled that the failure of Episcopalians and Covenanters to co-operate with F. J. Porter in permitting lay-men to preach left the P.C.I. minister indignant at their conduct to the point that he was virtually anathematizing them.[98] Yet, Chancellor was able to point out that lay-preaching was at variance with the P.C.I.'s doctrinal standards. For instance, the Westminster Larger Catechism clearly prohibited the practice:

> Q. 158. By whom is the word of God to be preached?
>
> A. The word of God is to be preached only by such as are sufficiently gifted, and also duly approved and called to that office.

Chancellor also appealed to the General Assembly's code of discipline in favour of his position.[99] Thus if Porter was going to dispute this point, he would be arguing contrary to his own ordination vows, not to mention other P.C.I. ministers whom Chancellor claimed agreed with him on this point.[100] Just as he had critiqued hymn-singing on the basis that it violated the regulative principle, Chancellor condemned lay preaching on similar grounds. He compared it to Old Testament examples of people offering sacrifice without divine authorization, the principle being that no man had the right to perform the duties of an ecclesiastical office when he lacked biblical authority for doing so.[101] Additionally, the concept of allowing lay-men to preach violated some of the basic tenets of Presbyterian church government. First, no man had the right to assume the functions of the ministry unless he had been licensed and ordained to that office.[102] Second, since the congregations did not elect or issue calls to the lay-men who preached during 1859, the imposition of lay-preachers upon congregations violated the inalienable right of the people to choose their own preachers. Chancellor argued that the idea of arbitrarily imposing preachers on people was something that Episcopalian bishops did, and which Presbyterians were supposed to object to. Therefore, he thought that P.C.I. clergy were behaving like the hated prelates when they imposed lay-preachers on the people:

> But surely Presbyterian Bishops, who acknowledge the people's prerogative, and who wax vehement, or worse, at times, in denunciation of prelatic tyranny and assumption, will not quietly assume the right of lording it over the consciences of their hearers, by the introduction of unknown and unauthorized teachers into their pulpits.[103]

Presbyterians had long opposed the perceived tyranny of Episcopacy, so in flagging up this discrepancy in the conduct of P.C.I. ministers, Chancellor was able to accuse them of departing from historic Presbyterianism. This was obviously useful in bolstering the Covenanters' claim that they were the true heirs of the early Presbyterians. Interestingly, the American Covenanters later complained that the whole concept of itinerant revival preaching was irregular because it undermined parish boundaries, by permitting lay-preachers to invade the territory of regular ministers.[104] While parishes are often associated with Anglicanism, the parish system was enshrined in the Westminster formularies and its place in Irish Presbyterian history is a subject well worthy of further investigation.[105]

97. James Dick to Josias Chancellor, Kellswater, 17 Dec. 1859 (Reformed Presbyterian Historical Library, Reformed Theological College, Belfast, Chancellor Letters).

98. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, 6–7. F. J. Porter, *The Spirit resisted: a Revival address. With a letter on helps to the ministry* (Londonderry: The Standard Office, 1860), repr in *A history of the 1859 Ulster Revival*, ed. Stanley Barnes, 7 vols. (Gilford: Whitefield College of the Bible, 2006), iv, 305–06.

99. Ibid. Cf. *Book of the Constitution and Discipline of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, with a directory for the administration of ordinances* (Belfast: Published by authority of the General Assembly, 1859), 71. For this reason, Henry Cooke was criticised for condoning things which were contrary to the Code of the P.C.I. in *Northern Whig*, 13 June 1859.

100. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching and hymn-singing unwarranted in the church*, 16–17. Idem, *Prophet un-deceived*, 339.

101. Idem, *Lay-preaching*, 11. Here Chancellor is working on the assumption that, despite the abrogation of the old covenant's ceremonies, they still set forth a moral principle which remains relevant in the New Testament age. "Besides this law, commonly called moral, God was pleased to give to the people of Israel, as a church under age, ceremonial laws, containing several typical ordinances, partly of worship, prefiguring Christ, His graces, actions, sufferings, and benefits; and partly, holding forth divers instructions of moral duties. All which ceremonial laws are now abrogated, under the New Testament." Westminster Confession, XIX.III.

102. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, 8–10.

103. *Lay-preaching,* 8.

104. Anon., "The revivalists," *Reformed Presbyterian and Covenanter*, May 1876, 133.

105. The Westminster Assembly's *Form of presbyterial church government* says: "It is lawful and expedient that there be fixed congregations, that is, a certain company of Christians to meet in one assembly ordinarily for publick worship. When believers multiply to such a number, that they cannot conveniently meet in one place, it is lawful and expedient that they should be divided into distinct and fixed congregations, for the better administration of such ordinances as belong unto them, and the discharge of mutual duties. The

The fact that lay-agency had been employed during a season of revival was not, in Chancellor's opinion, proof that it was divinely approved. Since the Bible alone determined what was acceptable in worship, appeals to experience or empirical observation did not suffice as a justification for obtruding this innovation into the worship of God.[106] Defences of lay-preaching such as this were premised on the assumption that whatever took place in connection with a revival must be of God. In Porter's judgment, 1859 began and was carried on by lay-agency; thus lay-agency was deemed to be of God.[107] Chancellor believed that this was a *non-sequitur*; even though the Revival may be (partly, at least) a work of God, it does not mean that everything associated with it is divinely approved.[108] If such logic was to be accepted, then strikings, hysteria, disease, visions, supernatural messages, and stigmata would all have to be accepted as divinely accredited, since all these things were associated with 1859.[109] For example, Dr J. C. L. Carson employed this reasoning in order to defend the physical manifestations, which "were, in no sense of the word, mere accidents of the Revival. They were essentials, or God would not have sent them."[110] Hence, the argument that lay-preaching was fine due to its association with the Revival proved too much. The critique of lay-preaching was also intimately linked to criticism of the standards of preaching among the clergy, as the *Covenanter* chastened those revivalist ministers who had "laid aside careful study in preparation for the pulpit" and "the faithful discriminating preaching of the Gospel" for stories about Revival scenes.[111]

This is not to say that Reformed Presbyterians were opposed, on principle, to any and every instance of lay teaching. Quite the reverse was true. Chancellor was in favour of parents and school-teachers instructing the young, citing the want of biblical instruction as a reason why the Covenanting Church refused to countenance National Education.[112] Moreover, he argued that it was the duty of lay Christians to meet for mutual edification and instruction, which was something that Covenanters did in their society meetings for fellowship outside of public worship.[113] Yet despite the zeal of men like Porter for lay-preaching, Chancellor asked what evangelical denomination had given less encouragement to the observance of fellowship meetings than the P.C.I.?[114] Such meetings were a vital component in Covenanter spirituality, when all members of the church met upon the ground of "Christian brotherhood and equality," and where no member assumed a monopoly of instructing everyone else. It was in such meetings that great figures in the covenanting tradition, such as Alexander McLeod, claimed to have studied theology.[115] However, as Chancellor saw it, the P.C.I. had ignored this legitimate expression of lay-agency, while its ministers now defended the illegitimate practice of lay-preaching.[116]

Covenanters were also fearful of the effects which lay-preaching would have upon doctrine. They maintained that an ability to impart sound instruction was essential to someone being qualified as a preacher.[117] Since the lay-preachers employed in 1859 usually lacked such abilities, and even included women and children,[118] Chancellor believed that they were spreading error and extravagance; he sought to substantiate his point by citing historical examples of lay-preaching being used to

ordinary way of dividing Christians into distinct congregations, and most expedient for edification, is by the respective bounds of their dwellings. *First,* Because they who dwell together, being bound to all kind of moral duties one to another, have the better opportunity thereby to discharge them; which moral tie is perpetual; for Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it. *Secondly,* The communion of saints must be so ordered, as may stand with the most convenient use of the ordinances, and discharge of moral duties, without respect of persons. *Thirdly,* The pastor and people must so nearly cohabit together, as that they may mutually perform their duties each to other with most conveniency. In this company some must be set apart to bear office." "The form of presbyterial church government," accessed January 1, 2011, http://www.covenanter.org/Westminster/formofpresbygov.htm#particularcongregations.

106. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, 14–15.

107. Porter, *Spirit resisted*, 295–6.

108. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, 15.

109. *Lay-preaching*, 15.

110. J. C. L. Carson, *Three letters on the Revival in Ireland* (Coleraine: The Chronicle Office, 1859), 13. Cf. Killen, "Ballykelly," 202. Thomas Toye, "Great George's Street Church, Belfast" in *Authentic records of revival, now in progress in the United Kingdom*, ed. William Reid (London: James Nisbet, 1860), 117.

111. Anon., "Thoughts on revival. No. II. Duties of covenanting witnesses in relation to the present awakening," *Covenanter*, Oct. 1859, 277.

112. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, 5. Cf. Steele, "Thomas Houston." 25–9.

113. Ibid. Cf. Anon., "Thoughts on revival. No. II. Duties of covenanting witnesses in relation to the present awakening," *Covenanter*, Oct. 1859, 277, where Reformed Presbyterian members are admonished for attending revival prayer-meetings instead of their fellowship meetings. For more on the subject of fellowship meetings see Thomas Houston, *The fellowship prayer-meeting: the institution, nature, history, and advantages of select Christian fellowship* in *Works doctrinal and practical of the Rev. Thomas Houston, D.D., Knockbracken. In four volumes* (Edinburgh: A. Elliot, 1876), ii, 267–401.

114. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, 5.

115. *Lay-preaching*, 5–6.

116. *Lay-preaching*, 6.

117. Ibid., 9. Anon., "Revival of religion," *Covenanter*, Sep. 1864, 290.

118. The Revd James Dick of Kellswater complained of "little boys exhorting till they became quite hoarse." James Dick to Josias Chancellor, Kellswater, 17 Dec. 1859 (Reformed Presbyterian Historical Library, Reformed Theological College, Belfast, Chancellor Letters).

propagate the heterodox views of the Montanists and Anabaptists.[119] Reformed Presbyterians were not the only ones who held such views as to the effects of lay-preaching. Even James McCosh, a P.C.I. elder and professor at Queen's College, Belfast, admitted that he had been tempted to doubt the reality of the work due to the "awful scenes" of the converts' preaching.[120] Meanwhile, Henry Cooke complained to the General Assembly in September 1859 about the preaching of ignorant youths, considering it "extremely dangerous" to have them involved in such work.[121] Furthermore, at the same meeting of the General Assembly, John Rogers admitted that the convert preachers had sometimes been guilty of spreading heresy.[122] Charles Seaver, despite favouring greater lay-involvement in ecclesiastical affairs to stop the drift from the Church of Ireland and admitting the Revival owed its success to the preaching of the uneducated lower orders, also confessed that "many injudicious persons" had been employed as lay-preachers, and that convert-preachers said and did much that no one could approve of.[123] Moreover, Chancellor alleged that some of those who had subsequently been confined to the lunatic asylums of Ulster were there as a result of the hysteria which the lay-preachers' excited exhortations had spread throughout the province.[124]

VI.

Despite identifying themselves as evangelicals, Covenanters were concerned that 1859 was promoting a form of evangelical latitudinarianism, which sought to promote a union among Christians at the expense of important articles of doctrine and practice. Hence they warned against ecumenical gatherings which countenanced aberrant worship and permitted those of erroneous sentiments to spread their dogmas.[125] This adds nuance to the Synod's fourth resolution on the Revival, as it would appear that there was a tightly defined limit to their catholicity. It is even questionable if Anglicans, Baptists or Plymouth Brethren were included in the "evangelical Christians" that they would have been comfortable uniting with. In the denomination's *Testimony* of 1868, the Reformed Presbyterians explained their rationale for rejecting evangelical latitudinarianism. It was deemed erroneous because it promoted the view that only a small number of religious doctrines mattered, while everything else was unimportant. This was rejected because it undermined the Covenanters' witness for the absolute Lordship of Christ, and, if taken to its logical conclusion, would preclude them from speaking against Erastianism and from upholding purity of worship and church discipline. Although salvation was not deemed to be contingent upon right views of these things, the Reformed Presbyterians believed that they were, nevertheless, very important matters, which could not be set aside in a quest for evangelical unity.[126] They believed this would be counterproductive, because the inevitable consequence of such latitudinarianism was to lead people to undervalue, and eventually reject, one truth after another. Hence the only safe way to preserve the "fundamentals of religion" was not to adopt a minimalistic creed, but to uphold the maximum amount of doctrinal integrity that was humanly possible.[127] Such an approach was reflective of the traditional Covenanter teaching that true Christian unity could only be maintained by the church practicing the most complete uniformity that was possible. Anything else was a sign of declension, not progress.[128] Hence, they warned their

119. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, 13–14.

120. James McCosh, *The Ulster revival and its physiological accidents. A paper read before the Evangelical Alliance, September 22, 1859* (London: James Nisbet, 1859), repr in *A history of the 1859 Ulster revival*, ed. Stanley Barnes (Gilford: Whitefield College of the Bible, 2006) v, 89.

121. *Belfast Daily Mercury*, 1 Oct. 1859.

122. Ibid. Cf. S. J. Brown, "Presbyterian communities, transatlantic visions and the Ulster Revival of 1859," in *The cultures of Europe: the Irish contribution*, ed. J. P. Mackey (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, 1994), 95. Peter Gibbon, *The origins of Ulster Unionism: the formation of popular Protestant politics and ideology in nineteenth century Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975), 48.

123. Charles Seaver, *"Religious revivals": two sermons, preached in St John's Church, on Sunday, 10th July* (Belfast: George Phillips, 1859), repr in *A history of the 1859 Ulster Revival*, ed. Stanley Barnes, 7 vols. (Gilford, 2006), vi, 218. Cf. J. N. I. Dickson, *Beyond religious discourse: sermons, preaching and evangelical Protestants in nineteenth-century Irish society* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2007), 191–2. Seaver, *Ulster Revival*, 55. S. P. Kerr, "Voluntaryism within the Established Church in nineteenth century Belfast" in *Studies in church history 23: voluntary religion*, eds W. J. Shiels and Diana Wood (Oxford: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1986), 354.

124. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, 16.

125. Anon., "Thoughts on revival. No. II. Duties of covenanting witnesses in relation to the present awakening," *Covenanter*, Oct. 1859, 276. Anon., "The Spirit's work in reviving religion," *Covenanter*, Mar. 1860, 103–04.

126. *Testimony of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Ireland. Part I—historical* (Belfast: W. & G. Baird, 1868), 133–4.

127. Ibid., 134. Anon., "Thoughts on revival. No. II. Duties of covenanting witnesses in relation to the present awakening," *Covenanter*, Oct. 1859, 278.

128. The first article in the Solemn League and Covenant demanded that the Covenanters endeavour to strive after uniformity in the church: "That we shall sincerely, really and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the Word

members against the "occasional hearing" of those of erroneous sentiments.[129] It is interesting that a committee of the Synod of 1860 expressed its displeasure at the "latitudinarian spirit" displayed among those seeking to promote evangelical union and religious revival, believing that such an approach was tantamount to a detestable neutrality in doctrinal matters.[130] This meant that the type of unity which 1859 produced was not welcomed; in fact, it was even described as being the work of the devil, transforming himself into an angel of light under the guise of false charity.[131] It was also alleged that 1859 was suspect because a true revival should advance the cause of the Covenanted Reformation, which was deemed to be the height of the British church's attainments—something that the Ulster Awakening had failed to do.[132]

VII.

If the Covenanters were fearful of the Revival promoting a false ecumenicity, they were equally afraid of the encouragement that it gave to sectarian tenets.[133] The issue of anti-paedobaptism had led to serious disquiet among the Eastern Reformed Presbyterians before and during the Revival. In April 1858 the Revd R. M. Henry announced to the Eastern Synod that he wished to sever his connection with the denomination, partly due to his conviction that infant baptism was unscriptural. Consequently, on 4 May the Belfast Presbytery met to dissolve the pastoral tie between Henry and the Linenhall Street congregation, as Henry subsequently became a Baptist minister. His departure was deeply regretted, as the Presbytery minutes record that Henry "possesses talents of a high order and carefully cultivated," and recognised that he was "a devoted, labourious and zealous Pastor."[134] The following year, on 9 September, the Revd John Galway McVicker of Cullybackey (near Ballymena, Co. Antrim) came before the same Presbytery to announce his rejection of the E.R.P. constitution, and his dissent from the church's position on the mode and subjects of baptism. His fellow presbyters were concerned about McVicker's hastiness, and urged him to reconsider. However, the minutes portray McVicker as one who obstinately refused to listen to counsel: "Presbytery request Mr McVicker to consult with his brethren before he takes any decided steps in the matter. Mr McVicker however, declares his mind is made up and declines any consultation."[135] Accordingly, the pastoral tie between McVicker and the Cullybackey congregation was thus severed on 15 September.[136] McVicker was immersed in the River Maine by the revivalist Jeremiah Meneely and became the first pastor of Ballymena Baptist Church.[137] However, his theological evolution did not begin and end with baptism. It would appear that he had come to reject much else in the Reformed tradition, claiming that subsequent to his conversion "Confessions, catechisms, covenants, testimonies, etc., were as wholly stripped off me as the old skin from a serpent in sloughing time."[138] Having adopted such sentiments, it was not surprising that McVicker resigned from the Baptists in December 1862, with his followers seceding to form Ballymena's first Plymouth Brethren Assembly.[139]

These developments would have disturbed members of the old Synod, and the *Covenanter* bemoaned the "rich harvest" of proselytes that the Baptists and Plymouth

of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches; and we shall 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."

129. Anon., "Thoughts on revival. No. II. Duties of covenanting witnesses in relation to the present awakening," *Covenanter*, Oct. 1859, 278.

130. Anon., "The signs of the times, as bearing on the testimony for truth (By a committee of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod, Ireland.)," *Covenanter*, Aug. 1860, 228. *Minutes of the annual meeting of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Ireland, held in Belfast, June 25, 1860* (Belfast: James Johnston, 1860), 10.

131. Anon., "Scriptural marks of true revivals," *Reformed Presbyterian*, Jan. 1860, 11.

132. Anon., "The Spirit's work in reviving religion," *Covenanter*, Mar. 1860, 100–01. Anon., "Scriptural marks of true revivals," *Reformed Presbyterian*, Jan. 1860, 11.

133. Anon., "Thoughts on revival. No. II. Duties of covenanting witnesses in relation to the present awakening," *Covenanter*, Oct. 1859, 275.

134. Minute book of the Belfast Presbytery of the Eastern Reformed Presbyterian Synod 1855–1908, 4 May 1858 (Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast, Records of the Eastern Reformed Presbyterian Church, CR5/5/B/5/1). Cf. Geoffrey Allen, ed., *The Covenanters in Ireland: a history of the congregations* (Armagh: Cameron Press, 2010), 163, 450.

135. Minute book of the Belfast Presbytery of the Eastern Reformed Presbyterian Synod 1855–1908, 9 Sep. 1859 (Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast, Records of the Eastern Reformed Presbyterian Church, CR5/5/B/5/1).

136. Minute book of the Belfast Presbytery of the Eastern Reformed Presbyterian Synod 1855–1908, 15 Sep. 1859 (Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast, Records of the Eastern Reformed Presbyterian Church, CR5/5/B/5/1).

137. Crawford Gribben, "'The worst sect that a Christian man can meet': opposition to the Plymouth Brethren in Ireland and Scotland, 1859–1900," *Scottish Studies Review* 3 (2002): 34. N. R. Railton, *Revival on the Causeway coast: the 1859 revival in and around Coleraine* (Fearn: Christian Focus Publications, 2009), 50.

138. Cited in Gribben, "Worst sect," 34.

139. Gribben, "Worst sect," 34–5.

Brethren were making among other Presbyterians.[140] In October 1864, when reviewing the Revd Thomas Witherow's book on infant baptism,[141] the *Covenanter* claimed that Anabaptist dogmas were spread abroad during "what was termed the Ulster Revival" in "a season of religious excitement, when erroneous doctrines and disorderly practices received in many quarters not a little countenance."[142] Indeed, James Dick had come to this conclusion in 1859, as he wrote to Chancellor complaining that the lay-preaching associated with the Revival had opened "the floodgates" to Baptists and Plymouth Brethren.[143] And so the *Testimony* of 1868 was sufficiently concerned about the diffusion of Baptist tenets to critique what they labelled "Anabaptism" for its breaking of the connection between the church in both testaments, denying believers' children their place in the visible church and the sign of the covenant of grace and for teaching that immersion was of the essence of baptism.[144]

As concerned as they were about the spread of Baptists, the Covenanters were much more worried about the encouragement which revivalism gave to the doctrines and practices of the Plymouth Brethren, so much so that they were even willing to recommend a pamphlet written by a Baptist, Dr J. C. L. Carson of Coleraine, which exposed the heresies of the "Plymouthist sect."[145] They were compared to sectaries such as the Mormons and the Morisonians, and were not even regarded as fellow evangelicals.[146] It was feared that they may have been formed as part of a Jesuit plot to pave the way for Popery in Britain, as the dissemination of their doctrines would lead to "the ingress of a flood of Antichristian abominations."[147] The revival was blamed for the spread of Plymouthism, as the *Covenanter* complained that the "religious excitement" of 1859 could be traced to individuals at Kells, Connor and Ballymena who had come under the influence of the Brethren.[148] Although Nick Railton claims that Plymouthist views were gaining ground in Ulster before the Revival, citing a debate in the May 1857 meeting of the Synod of Ballymena and Coleraine as proof of their increasing influence, it should be noted that one of the Revival's earliest converts, Jeremiah Meneely, became instrumental in establishing the Brethren throughout Ulster.[149] Meanwhile, Janice Holmes has even argued that Ulster's first Brethren assemblies were established as a result the enthusiasm of 1859.[150] However, Plymouthism's anti-clericalism, dispensationalism, doctrinal aberrance and contempt for the historic church caused it to be viewed as heretical by Anglicans and Presbyterians.[151] So Covenanter criticism of the Plymouth Brethren cannot be dismissed as narrow prejudice, as they were looked upon with suspicion by orthodox divines and denominations. Surprisingly, in 1878 the American *Reformed Presbyterian and Covenanter* periodical published an article by John Brown of Iowa, who claimed that the Plymouth Brethren "are, generally, sound in doctrine, and exemplary in practice," being broadly Calvinistic in their beliefs.[152] Houston, however, was far from convinced of this. He believed that the Plymouthists were unsound on a whole host of issues, accusing them of anti-creedalism, believing in eternal justification or holding that believers were justified at the time of Christ's death rather than when they exercise saving faith, forbidding the unconverted to pray, denying the full humanity of Christ, rejecting the imputation of Christ's righteousness, advocating a universal atonement, teaching that assurance was essential to faith, denying the need for repentance, believing in an imputed sanctification, rejecting the perpetual obligation of the Christian Sabbath and adopting a pre-millennial view of Christ's return.[153] Although Houston wrote against the Brethren some fifteen years after 1859, it is probable that he viewed their rise to prominence as an outgrowth of the errors of the awakening.[154]

140. Anon., "Thoughts on revival. No. II. Duties of covenanting witnesses in relation to the present awakening," *Covenanter*, Oct. 1859, 276.
141. Thomas Witherow, *Scriptural Baptism: its mode and subjects as opposed to the views of the Anabaptists* (3rd edn, Belfast: C. Aitchison, 1864). Witherow was a minister of Maghera Presbyterian. See J. M. Barkley, *Fasti of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland 1840–1870 (Part I)* (Belfast: Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, 1986), 76.
142. Anon., "Notices of books," *Covenanter*, Oct. 1864, 335.
143. James Dick to Josias Chancellor, Kellswater, 17 Dec. 1859 (Reformed Presbyterian Historical Library, Reformed Theological College, Belfast, Chancellor Letters).
144. *Testimony*, 127–8.
145. Anon., "Errors of the Plymouthist sect," *Covenanter*, Jan. 1863, 19–20.
146. "Errors of the Plymouthist sect," 17.
147. "Errors of the Plymouthist sect," 20.
148. "Errors of the Plymouthist sect," 17.
149. Railton, *Causeway Coast*, 49–50. Cf. Roy Coad, *A history of the Brethren movement: its origins, its worldwide development and its significance for the present day* (2nd edn, Exeter: Paternoster, 1976), 171.
150. Janice Holmes, "Transformation, aberration or consolidation? Exploring the Ulster Revival of 1859," in *Exploring change in cultural studies: Historical Studies XXIII: papers read before the 25th Irish Conference of Historians, held at University College Galway, 18–20 May 2001*, ed. Niall O Ciossain (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2005), 126–7.
151. Gribben, "Worst sect," 35. Cf. A. R. Holmes, "The experience and understanding of religious revival in Ulster Presbyterianism, c. 1800–1930," *Irish Historical Studies*, 34 (2005): 382.
152. John Brown, "The Plymouth Brethren," *Reformed Presbyterian and Covenanter*, Aug. 1878, 276.
153. Houston, *Plymouthism & revivalism*, 7–26.
154. Cf. the warnings against Plymouthism juxtaposed to condemnation

VIII.

Developments in the P.C.I. after 1859 appear to vindicate the Reformed Presbyterians' concerns about the Revival's impact on worship. During the debates over hymnody subsequent to the Revival, T. Y. Killen is reported to have said that if the P.C.I. continued to practise exclusive psalmody, then "instead of being the great Presbyterian Church of Ireland, they would just sink down into a little sect of narrow bigoted Covenanters, and all the great evangelical Churches of Christendom would be laughing at them."[155] Although some Revival supporters such as Archibald Robinson maintained the confessional view of worship, Killen's comments reveal that some within the P.C.I. were now much more concerned with identifying with broader evangelicalism than with their covenanting heritage.[156] Between 1790 and 1850 hymns had gained much greater acceptance among Presbyterians, especially in America, than they had previously.[157] In Scotland there were also moves in this direction, with the Free Church of Scotland adopting a hymn-book in 1873.[158] After the Revival, the P.C.I. seems to have been following this general trend.[159] Yet this generalization should not be thought of as an absolute, as it should be noted that Andrew Holmes claims there was evidence of hymn singing among some Old Light G.S.U. ministers and a handful of Seceder ministers in Ireland in the years preceding the union of synods in 1840.[160] It may be the case that 1859 served to rekindle a desire for hymns that had previously existed, but had been mortified in the interests of church unity when the synods came together. Nonetheless, subsequent to the Revival, the tide of hymns could not be turned back, and so, after a long controversy in the General Assembly, a motion to prepare a hymn book was accepted in 1896, and the book was published in 1898.[161] Commenting on how the 1859 Revival sent the P.C.I. on a hymn-singing trajectory, Dr W. D. Bailie observed that, from 1859 onwards, paraphrases, hymns and then the American organ began to make their way into P.C.I. services, "until today almost every church in our communion has what our forebears would have termed 'innovations.'"[162] W. T. Latimer believed that this was the fruit of the emotionalism of the Revival, which created a desire for modes of worship which would excite the feelings rather than instruct the mind. As the hymnody which the P.C.I. produced contained "much that is of doubtful orthodoxy," the employment of such liturgical innovations—usually associated with non-Calvinistic forms of Christianity—during the Revival did much to undermine the P.C.I.'s Reformed identity in the long-term.[163]

Yet in spite of the Revival's effects upon doctrine and worship, and the Covenanters' reputation as stalwarts of Reformed orthodoxy, they did not offer outright opposition to the movement. At a *prima facie* level it appears strange that the most virulent opponents of 1859, excluding Unitarians and secularists, should have come from within the more mainstream P.C.I., while the Reformed Presbyterians played the role of moderates. How

of the 1859 Revival in Anon., "Revival of religion in the church: its nature, means, fruits—mistakes and dangers to be avoided," *Covenanter*, July 1875, 196–8.

155. Cited in Nevin, *Hymn question*, 14–15. Killen is referred to as saying something similar in the *Belfast News-Letter*, 20 Apr. 1875. However, the report paraphrases him as saying the adoption of total psalmody would be tantamount to "separating themselves from all the Presbyterian churches of the world, which, with the exception of the Covenanters, all used hymns." Cf. Anon., "Dr Killen on the Reformed Presbyterian Church," *Reformed Presbyterian and Covenanter*, Apr. 1882, 101.

156. Archibald Robinson, *Review of Rev. Dr. Killen's articles on the Westminster divines: and the use of instrumental music in the worship of the Christian church* (Belfast: W. H. Smith, 1882). However, Dr Robert Allen claims that Robinson eventually backed down on the hymn question, and only opposed heterodox hymns. See Robert Allen, *The Presbyterian College Belfast 1853–1953. With an introductory chapter on academic preparation for the Presbyterian ministry in Ireland 1660–1810. And a foreword by the Rt Rev. Principal J. E. Davey, D.D. moderator of the General Assembly* (Belfast: William Mullan, 1954), 217.

157. John Wolffe, *The expansion of evangelicalism: the age of Wilberforce, More, Chalmers and Finney* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 2006), 112.

158. R. S. Tosh, "An examination of the origins and development of Irish Presbyterian worship" (Ph.D. diss., Queen's University Belfast, 1983), 52.

159. Cf. Wolffe, *Expansion*, p. 112.

160. A. R. Holmes, *The shaping of Ulster Presbyterian belief and practice, 1770–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 118.

161. Holmes, *Heritage*, 133. J. E. Davey, *The story of a hundred years: an account of the Irish Presbyterian Church from the formation of the General Assembly to the present time* (Belfast: W. & G. Baird Limited, 1940) 56–7. D. W. Miller, "Did Ulster Presbyterians have a devotional revolution?," in *Evangelicals and Catholics in nineteenth-century Ireland*, ed. J. H. Murphy (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), 54. Tosh, "Irish Presbyterian worship." 171.

162. W. D. Bailie, "The 1859 Revival," in *Radicals and revivals: a tribute to W. Desmond Bailie*, ed. I. F. Smith (Belfast: Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, 2006), 16–17. Cf. D. W. Bebbington, *The dominance of evangelicalism: the age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 2005), 87–8.

163. W. T. Latimer, *A history of the Irish Presbyterians* (2nd edn, Belfast: James Cleeland et al, 1902), 494. Cf. David McMeekin, *Memories of '59 or the Revival movement* (Hull: M. Harland, 1908), 45–6, 56–7. T. E. Warner, "The impact of Wesley on Ireland" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1954), 281. Brown, "Presbyterian communities," 102. Nevin, *Hymn question*, 9. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, 30–1. W. J. H. McKee, "A critical examination of the doctrine of assurance in revivalism, with particular reference to the Revival in Ulster in 1859" (Ph.D. diss., Queen's University Belfast, 1988), 113.

can this apparent contradiction be explained? First, it may have been the case that the proximity of the P.C.I. anti-revivalists to the excitement and the fact they were opposing the views of the General Assembly, and the majority of their fellow-ministers, made it difficult for them to adopt the seeming balance and moderation of the Anglican and Covenanter critics.[164] Although difficult to objectively substantiate, W. T. Latimer argued that three quarters of the P.C.I. ministers actively supported the Revival, while less than ten per cent offered opposition.[165] Hence, the anti-revivalists were very much in the minority. Second, it could be argued that the Reformed Presbyterians' confessional orthodoxy kept them from the supposed excesses of the anti-revivalists, such as Hamilton's denial of common operations of the Holy Spirit or Dobbin's rejection of infallible assurance.[166] Yet rejection of the validity of 1859 was not contingent upon these things. In terms of common operations, McCosh had suggested that "[t]here may be bodily agitation which does not proceed from even a conviction of sin,"[167] while an "Orthodox Presbyterian" correspondent in the *Northern Whig* and the author of an article printed in the American *Reformed Presbyterian* periodical had suggested that terror of conscience can sometimes be caused by the imagination, without it being a true conviction of sin.[168] Recognising this would harmonise perfectly with Hamilton's position that the prostrations were not the work of the Spirit. In relation to assurance, Isaac Nelson did not formally reject the concept of infallible assurance, even though he denied the revivalist understanding of it.[169] Therefore, ostensible moderation is not a sufficient explanation as to why the Covenanters' adopted the position that they did.

One possible solution to the conundrum of the Covenanters' moderation is that their evangelicalism made them more open to the allegedly positive aspects of 1859. However, this argument fails to fully convince, as both Nelson and Dobbin identified with evangelicalism, yet they offered the most strenuous opposition to the movement.[170] On the other hand, the willingness of Houston and Chancellor to identify themselves with evangelicalism is important.[171] It raises the question of whether or not it was consistent for Covenanters to identify themselves as evangelicals. The latitudinarianism of evangelicalism does not appear to sit well with adherence to confessional orthodoxy or with the Solemn League and Covenant's commitment to root out Prelatic and sectarian errors. In their defence, it could be argued that the Covenanters were only identifying with other orthodox Christians on things that they agreed on, and their own criticism of the latitudinarianism of the Evangelical Alliance does seem to highlight that their identity as evangelicals did not automatically lead to ambivalence concerning their own distinctive features.[172] Yet for them to identify with a movement characterised by such doctrinal minimalism does not appear to make sense when contrasted with the comprehensiveness of

164. Latimer, *History*, 492. Cf. Isaac Nelson, *The year of delusion: a review of 'The year of grace'* (Belfast: The Advertiser Office, 1860–1866), 263.

165. Latimer, *History*, 492.

166. William Hamilton, *An inquiry into the Scriptural character of the Revival of 1859* (Belfast: Alexander Mayne, 1866), 26, 37, 63. Westminster Confession, X.IV. David Silversides, "What was the 1859 Revival?," accessed June 29, 2010, http://www.sermonaudio.com/sermoninfo.asp?SID=430091434322. William Dobbin, *Remarks on the assurance of faith: being a lecture delivered in the Second Presbyterian meeting-house Anaghlone* (Belfast: George Phillips, 1864), 4. Westminster Confession, XVIII.II-III. E. D. Morris, *Theology of the Westminster symbols. A commentary. Historical, doctrinal, practical, on the confession of faith and catechisms and the related formularies of the Presbyterian churches* (Columbus: The Champlin Press, 1900), 500. M. E. Dever, "Calvin, Westminster and assurance," in *The Westminster Confession into the 21st century*, ed. Ligon Duncan, 3 vols. (Fearn: Christian Focus Publications, 2003–09), i, 313–14.

167. McCosh, *Ulster Revival*, 91. S. J. Moore said a similar thing before the P.C.I. General Assembly. *Northern Whig*, 8 July 1859.

168. *Northern Whig*, 8 June 1859. Anon., "Scriptural marks of true revivals," *Reformed Presbyterian*, Jan. 1860, p. 8.

169. Isaac Nelson, *An answer to the Rev. John Macnaughtan's defence of revivalism, assurance, and the witness of the Spirit* (Belfast: Alexander Mayne, 1867), repr in *A history of the 1859 Ulster Revival*, ed. Stanley Barnes, 7 vols. (Gilford: Whitefield College of the Bible, 2006), iv, 68–70. Isaac Nelson, *An answer to the Rev. Professor Killen's defence of revivalism, assurance, and the witness of the Spirit* (Belfast: Alexander Mayne, 1867), repr in *A history of the 1859 Ulster Revival*, ed. Stanley Barnes, 7 vols. (Gilford: Whitefield College of the Bible, 2006), iv, 29.

170. Ritchie, "Presbyterian opposition." 78. Nelson is described in the inscription below his bust as a "Learned, upright and evangelical pastor." This currently resides in Nelson Memorial Presbyterian Church, Shankill Road, Belfast.

171. J. A. Chancellor, *Jehoiada's memorial among the kings: a sermon on the death of the Rev. Thomas Houston, D.D., professor of ecclesiastical history and exegetical and pastoral theology in the Reformed Presbyterian Church, delivered at Knockbracken, April 23rd, 1882; also the address at his funeral, March 30th, 1882* (Belfast: Archer and sons, 1882), 25–7, 31–47. Chancellor, *Lay-preaching*, 5. For a thorough argument in favour of Houston's evangelicalism, see Steele, "Houston, we have a problem."

172. Anon., "Evangelical Alliance—annual conference," *Covenanter*, Nov. 1859, 313–14. Though it should be pointed out that Thomas Houston had been involved in the Evangelical Alliance, and on one occasion called upon evangelicals to "draw more closely together" in order to spread the truth and combat Popery and infidelity. At this meeting it was explained that the Alliance would consist of "[a]ll who held the doctrine of justification by faith alone, and who were content to drop denominational differences." *Banner of Ulster*, 2 Apr. 1847. *Northern Whig*, 1 Apr. 1847.

the Covenanter testimony. And it must be recognised that the Reformed Presbyterians were influenced by some of the novelties of evangelicalism, such as the temperance movement.[173] Adam Loughridge's admission of the prevalence of total abstinence in the denomination raises important questions regarding the incongruency of such a practice with the Westminster Confession's emphasis upon Christian liberty.[174] Thus we have one example of evangelicalism undermining the Covenanters' confessionalism. In light of this, it may be the case that evangelicalism was a significant factor behind the failure to out-rightly oppose a movement which was seemingly at odds with their confessional standards. In the long-term, it is probably fair to say that the overall position of the Reformed Presbyterian Church is now somewhat weaker than it was in 1859, though it is still much more conservative and confessional than the P.C.I. The denomination still adheres to the covenants, the Westminster Confession and *a capella* psalmody, but it has forgotten its earlier postmillennialism and covenanting principles do not appear to be as crucial to the Reformed Presbyterians as they once were.[175] This raises an important question concerning the utility of the Covenanters' continued existence, because if the church is not going to stress its distinctive features, especially relating to the covenants, then how can it justify its continued existence as a communion separate from other conservative Presbyterians? In 1858 James Kennedy had little difficulty in answering this, as covenanting principles were a crucial component in the denomination's identity. However, one wonders if the same could really be said today. On the other hand, the church does continue to discourage voting for candidates without Scriptural qualifications and prohibits membership of secret societies, such as the Orange Order.[176] Yet with the exception of worship, it is difficult to distinguish modern Covenanters—in terms of piety and identity—from the mainstream of evangelical Calvinists. Perhaps it is time for Irish Covenanters to reconsider their relationship with evangelicalism, and to contemplate whether or not the church needs to vigorously reassert its Reformed and covenanting identity.▪

173. Elizabeth Malcolm, *'Ireland sober, Ireland free': drink and temperance in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin: Gill & MacMillan, 1986), 152. See Chancellor's defence of abstinence in *Testimony against social evils. By a committee of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland* (Londonderry: James MacPherson, 1868), 17–24. For Houston, see his foreword to G. H. Shanks, *Bible temperance: containing an examination of Rev. Dr Murphy's tract on "Wine in the Bible"* (Belfast: W. E. Mayne, 1869).

174. Westminster Confession XX.II. Loughridge, *Covenanters in Ireland*, 106. It must be admitted, however, that teetotalism is probably on the decline within the denomination. Even those who practice it do not necessarily do so for dogmatic reasons, but for reasons of prudence.

175. Here is a relatively recent example of the Irish Covenanters' postmillennialism: "Prophecy shows that a time is coming when the Kingdom of Christ shall triumph over all opposition and prevail in all the world. The Romish Antichrist shall be utterly destroyed. The Jews shall be converted to Christianity. The fullness of the Gentiles shall be brought in and all mankind shall possess the knowledge of the Lord. The truth in its illuminating, regenerating and sanctifying efficacy shall be felt everywhere, so that the multitudes of all nations shall serve the Lord. Knowledge, love, holiness, and peace shall reign through the abundant outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Arts, sciences, literature, and property shall be consecrated to the advancement of the kingdom of Christ. The social institutions of men shall be regulated by gospel principles, and the nations as such shall consecrate their strength to the Lord. Oppression and tyranny shall come to an end. The nations, instead of being distracted by wars, shall be united in peace. The inhabitants of the world shall be exceedingly multiplied, and pure and undefiled religion shall exert supreme dominion over their hearts and lives so that happiness shall abound. This blessed period shall be of long duration. It will be succeeded by a time of general defection from truth and holiness, and of the prevalence of irreligion and crime. This will immediately precede the second coming of the Son of man from heaven." *Testimony of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland. Part I. Doctrinal and practical* (1901; Belfast: R. Carswell & son, 1912), 138–9.

176. "Covenanters and politics," accessed January 18, 2011, http://www.rpc.org/page/moral&page=6. *Testimony of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland* (Belfast: Reformed Presbyterian Synod, 1990), 24–7, 84–8.

1812–1822: The Development of Princeton's Polemic

By Allen Stanton

In an earlier installment we demonstrated the centrality of polemic to the founding of Princeton Theological Seminary.[1] One must not conclude that this polemic ceased after the inauguration of the seminary; rather, polemic was the foundation on which Old Princeton continued. Successive generations—those of Charles Hodge, B. B. Warfield, and J. Gresham Machen—merely built upon the cornerstone which had been previously laid. The seminary's charter testifies to this fact; the introduction to The Plan, as the charter is called, contains eleven items identifying the purpose of the seminary, two of which clearly indicate the primary significance of polemic to the seminary's purpose:

> [The Seminary's purpose] is to form men for the Gospel ministry, who shall truly believe, and cordially love, and therefore endeavour to propogate 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, men who shall be able to defend her faith against infidels, and her doctrines against heretics.[2]

According to these statements, the establishment of Princeton Seminary in 1812 must not be viewed simply as a ministerial training ground, but as a declaration of theological warfare. Its founding demonstrated to all the foes of American Presbyterianism that the denomination (PCUSA) had begun preparation for theological combat. Now backed by a clerical training facility, Old School Presbyterians (as they would come to be known), under the guidance of Archibald Alexander and Samuel Miller, began to work on the development of the seminary's identity, which at its core was polemical. This first decade was crucial to the seminary's advancement and, consequently, marked one of the most contentious periods in the school's existence. The following is a reconstruction of that first decade.

Archibald Alexander and Samuel Miller

Prior to their appointment at Princeton Seminary, Archibald Alexander and Samuel Miller had proven themselves to be *de facto* ecclesiastical authorities. By the initiation of Miller in 1813, they had been granted *de jure* authority. Presbyterian eyes now looked to the Princetonians for guidance and clarity amidst the clamor of familiar opponents: the Episcopalians, Hopkinsians, Unitarians, and hyper-revivalists. As a result, the next decade thrust the two into the midst of constant controversy, which in turn shaped the denomination and the seminary.

Before proceeding it would be helpful to make a few observations. Alexander and Miller each possessed three distinct roles: professor, pastor, and writer. They had been ordained as ministers of the gospel and neither relinquished that call for the professorate. Upon his appointment to Princeton, Miller made several resolutions, one of which pertains to the present discussion.

> I will not merge my office as a *minister of the Gospel,* in that of *professor*. I will still preach as often as my Master

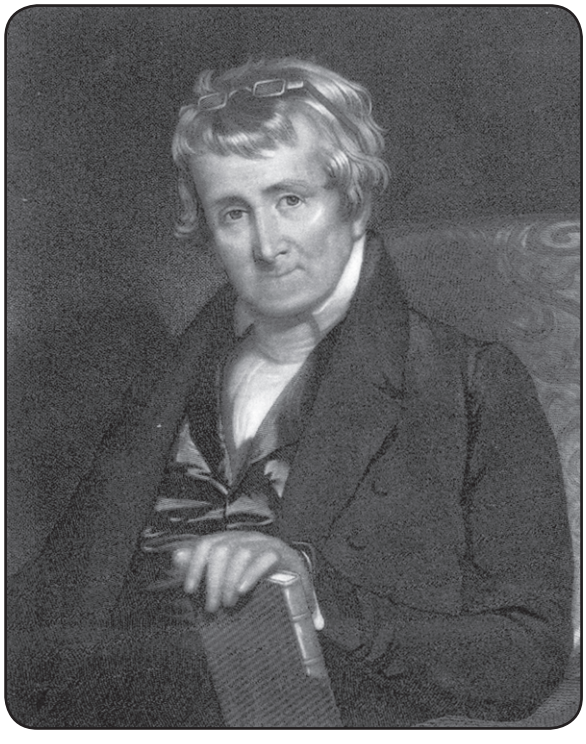
The Author: Rev. Allen Stanton (MDiv, ThM Reformed Theological Seminary, Orlando) is pastor of Waynesboro Presbyterian Church (PCA) in Waynesboro, MS..

1. Allen Stanton. "The Theological Climate of the Nineteenth Century and the Founding of a Polemical Seminary at Princeton," *The Confessional Presbyterian* 6 (2010) 22–30, 298.

2. Introduction to *The Plan of the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, located at Princeton, New Jersey: Adopted by the General Assembly of 1811* (Elizabethtown: Isaac A. Kolluck, 1816) 5.

> gives me opportunity and strength. I am persuaded that no minister of the Gospel, to whatever office he may be called, ought to give up preaching. He owes it to his *ordination vows*, to his *office*, to his *Master*, to the *Church of God,* to *his own character*, to the benefit of *his own soul*, to go on preaching to his last hour. Lord, give me grace to act on this principle![3]

Regarding the same period, Alexander's biographer writes, "During all this time he was preaching as much as many pastors. Both to his own students and to those of the College, he was always welcome in the pulpit."[4] Alexander held preaching in such regard that he took it upon himself to hold worship services in his house for the students. In 1818, Dr. Alexander started a weekly conference on Sunday evenings in the village church where, after prayer and the singing of hymns, he would preach on various topics of piety (*LOA,* 421–422).



Archibald Alexander, D.D. (1772–1851)

As pastors, they were also churchmen, and the General Assembly constantly called upon them to serve on committees, advisory boards, and ecclesiastical courts. As churchmen, they also served as shepherds for their students and the church at large, and both Alexander and Miller took personal responsibility for the protection of their students from doctrine inconsistent with Westminsterian orthodoxy.

As professors, polemic became a staple of their instruction. With Turretin as his primary textbook, Alexander conducted his class by following a pattern of sound logical and argumentative theology—the revealing of *proton pseudos* (principal falsehoods) and the resolution of principal objections against the Calvinist system.[5] He was determined to equip all graduates of the seminary to deal with controversy. His son writes:

> He was so earnestly in favour of having the young clergyman armed at all points against adversaries, that he greatly extended his lectures, so as to embrace the varieties of Heathenism and Mohammedanism with which missionaries must be brought into conflict; and also the forms of error which prevail in our Western country (*LOA,* 372).

One method Alexander used to train his students in the ways of polemic, was to assign to each of them an ancient heresy on which they were to write a dissertation. The students were to familiarize themselves with the heresy and build an adequate defense against it, and at the end of the term, each student presented their work. During the presentation, Alexander typically defended the heresy as if he himself were a sympathizer to the heretical system, before ultimately demonstrating its falsity. This challenged his students to think through their critiques and their own theological system as well as contributing to their polemical development.

Although Alexander placed great emphasis on the dismantling of erroneous systems, his biographer affirms that, far from being "an active controvertist," he often weighed adverse arguments with "judgelike calmness." He spent countless hours studying the most controversial and potentially dangerous writers and encouraged his students to do the same. In the classroom, his approach was no different:

> It became his sacred duty, to inculcate what he held to be truth, with augmented diligence, and by every means to guard his pupils against the errors of the age. This he never attempted in the way of direct debate, or violent assault, but rather by the safe establishment

3. Samuel Miller Jr., *The Life of Samuel Miller.* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen and Haffelfinger, 1869) 2:10, emphasis his. Hereafter *LOM*.

4. James Waddel Alexander, *The Life of Archibald Alexander* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1854) 422. Hereafter *LOA*.

5. Francis Turretin, *The Institutes of Elenctic Theology* (Philipsburg: P&R Publishing, 1992) 1: xxxix.

> of such principles in the earlier parts of the course, as from a logical necessity should lead to the reception of orthodox opinion (*LOA,* 427).

Although less documentation exists on Miller's classroom methods, Henry Boardman described his mannerisms in a eulogy:

> He was before them, from year to year, a model of the graces and the duties he inculcated … [But] he had no sympathy with that poor ambition, poor especially in a theological teacher, which loves to startle the world by bold speculations and novel theories. His views on all the subjects which engaged his attention were comprehensive, discriminating, sober, and of salutary tendency. And to this mould he labored to fashion the characters of the candidates under his care.[6]

These three responsibilities weighed heavily on the consciences of the Princetonians. They saw themselves as pastors, professors, and penmen and in these three capacities they felt compelled to defend the truth and dismantle error for the good of the church; and they therefore employed each venue—pulpit, classroom, and print—to do so.

Polemic Against Episcopacy

Tensions between Presbyterians and Episcopalians developed quickly in the years immediately following the Revolution. As Episcopalians sought to establish an American Episcopate, the prevalence of anti-British sentiments prevented this from taking place. Politicians such as John Adams and Thomas Jefferson championed efforts to hinder its development, but it was Presbyterian involvement that insured the Episcopalians would not succeed. This produced animosity between the two denominations that continued throughout the early years of the republic.

In 1801, the Rev. John Henry Hobart received a call as assistant minister of New York City's Trinity Episcopalian Church.[7] His tenure at that church sparked a revival of Episcopacy in New York, beginning with his work, *A Companion for the Altar* followed by *Festivals and Fasts of the Protestant Episcopal Church* in 1804. Such writings, though modified in later years, expressed an exclusivist understanding of Episcopacy, and although his teaching only represented a small portion of the Protestant Episcopal Church, it took direct aim at New York Presbyterians.

Hobart's writings evoked a response from Dr. William Linn in 1805 in a newly formed journal called the *Albany Centinel*.[8] His article, "Miscellanies, No. IX," attempted to counter the high church claims of Hobart and immediately incurred the wrath of the Episcopalians. This prompted a three-year war of words which became known as the "Albany Centinel Controversy." Without an ally, Dr. Linn received the full brunt of the blows from prominent Episcopalians—Dr. Thomas How, Rev. Frederick Beasley, Bishop William White, and John Henry Hobart.[9] With little reinforcement from the Presbyterians, the *Centinel* pulled the plug on the controversy and implicitly declared the Episcopalians victorious (Miller, *LOM,*1:216).

Capitalizing on this momentum, Hobart continued his assault in 1806 by republishing the entire episode in *Essays on Episcopacy*. Aggravated by this action, the Associate Reformed Pastor, John Mitchell Mason, composed a rebuttal to these essays in the journal which he edited, *The Christian Magazine*.[10] Hobart then released his most famous work in response, *An Apology for Apostolic Order and Its Advocates*, in June of 1807. Because the magazine had "pointedly and violently assailed" his opinion, he felt compelled to write a series of letters addressed specifically to the editor to engage these misrepresentations.[11]Anglicans lauded this work as "a still more confirmed judgment (if that were possible) on the subject of apostolic order," and deemed him "the most authoritative voice on the subject of apostolic order and episcopacy … the undisputed head of the high church in America."[12]

6. Henry Augustus Boardman, *A Discourse Commemorative of the Character and Life of the Late Reverend Samuel Miller of Princeton, New Jersey* (Philadelphia: William S. Martien, 1850) 20–21.

7. John Henry Hobart (1775–1830) was the leader of this Episcopal "revival". He was trained at the University of Pennsylvania and the College of New Jersey.

8. Dr. William Linn (dates unknown) was Pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Big Spring and President of Washington College in Maryland before editing the *Albany Centinel*.

9. Thomas How (1776–1855) served with Hobart at Trinity Church from 1808–1810. Frederick Beasley (1777–1845), was an Episcopal clergyman and provost of the University of Pennsylvania. He earned the MA at the College of New Jersey in 1797. William White (1748–1836), Protestant Episcopal Bishop, graduated from the College of Philadelphia. Became Bishop of Pennsylvania in 1786.

10. John Mitchell Mason (1770–1829) was an Associate Reformed minister and founder of Union Theological Seminary, and graduate from Columbia and Princeton. He founded the New York Missionary Society, *Christian Magazine* (1806), and American Bible Society (1816). He was later President of Dickinson College.

11. John Henry Hobart, *An Apology for Apostolic Order and Its Advocates* (New York: T.& J. Swords, 1807) iii.

12. Quoted in Esther De Waall, "John Henry Hobart and the Early Oxford Movement," *Anglican Theological Review* (1983): 326–327.

In his works, Hobart promoted several problematic doctrines for Presbyterians. He endorsed baptismal regeneration, the necessity of the Lord's Supper in salvation, apostolic succession, and participation in the ordinances of an Episcopal bishop in order to have communion with Christ.[13] Up to this point, Presbyterians had remained relatively quiet, and would do so until, writes Miller, the Episcopalians began crossing denominational lines, proselytizing and hindering the weak of conscience.[14] In response, in July of 1807, Samuel Miller published the first volume of letters concerning the proper constitution of the Church.[15]

Letters Concerning the Constitution and Order of the Christian Ministry

For Miller, the doctrines which Hobart espoused depended entirely upon the defensibility of his understanding of church polity, namely, apostolic succession. In the *Letters,* Miller attempted to expose the error of Episcopalian polity and to demonstrate Presbyterianism's greater fidelity to biblical testimony. Miller attempted to prove four things which, if successful, decided the argument.

> 1. Christ gave but one commission for the office of the Gospel ministry, and that this office, of course, is one.
>
> 2. That the words *Bishop,* and *Elder,* or *Presbyter*, are uniformly used in the New Testament as convertible titles for the same office.
>
> 3. That the same *character* and *powers* which are ascribed, in the sacred writings, to *Bishops,* are also ascribed to *Presbyters*; thus plainly establishing the identity of *order,* as well as of *name.*
>
> 4. Finally, that the Christian Church was organized by the apostles after the model of the *Jewish Synagogue,* which was unquestionably Presbyterian in its form (Miller, *Letters*, 28).

He concluded: "If these four positions can be established, there will remain no doubt on any candid mind how the question in dispute ought to be decided" (28).

After spending considerable time proving these positions by examining the relevant biblical data, he traced the developments of church government through history and attempted to demonstrate that the first three centuries followed in line with this biblical heritage but that the church, emulating the hierarchical structure of the Roman state, progressed towards Episcopacy.[16] However, the Reformers restored Presbyterian polity to the church with American Presbyterians following in their wake. This final portion, if successful, satisfied the purpose for which he set out to write—the restoration of confidence in Presbyterian polity and the protection of Presbyterians from the agitations of popery and high churchism (Miller, *Letters,* 350). Still, as Miller wrote these lines, he warned his readers of bigotry and lack of charity with Christian brethren. He writes:

> It is your duty to *contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints.* But 'let us not … lay aside charity to maintain faith.' This is never necessary; and when it is done, it is always the effect of that *unhallowed fire* in which our Lord has declared he *has no pleasure* (Miller, *Letters,* 351).

Miller's publication made no small stir in the Episcopal world. In 1808, Dr. Thomas How responded fiercely to the *Letters*, writing to Miller:

> I proceed to examine your letters; and it gives me great pleasure to observe that they are expressed, for the most part, in terms of politeness, and courtesy. But … they are, not infrequently, marked with a spirit of extreme bitterness; and that they, too often, present assertions and insinuations, which, on every principle of consistency, and candor, should have been spared.[17]

Miller attempted to defend himself against these charges in 1809 with the publication of a second work, entitled, *A Continuation of the Letters Concerning the Constitution and Order of the Christian Ministry*. Dr. Hobart continued the assault against Miller during this time by composing articles for *The Churchman's Magazine*, and Dr. Bowden replied to Miller's *Continuation* in

13. John Henry Hobart, *A Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America* (New York: T. & J. Swords, 1804). See especially "Preliminary Concerns" pp. 15–72. See Also *LOM,* 1:213–227.

14. Samuel Miller, *A Continuation of Letters Concerning the Constitution and Order of the Christian Ministry* (New York: William & Whiting, 1809) 14–18.

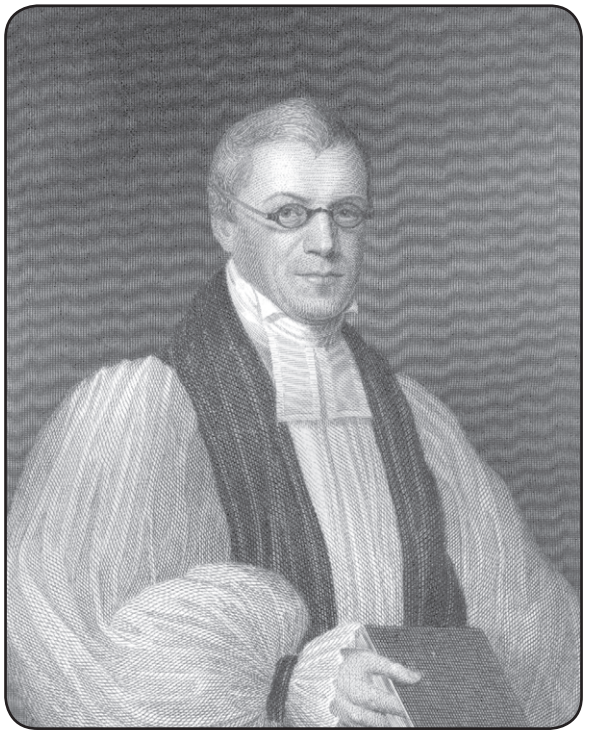
15. Samuel Miller, *Letters Concerning the Constitution and Order of the Christian Ministry as deduced from Scripture and Primitive usage: addressed to the members of the United Presbyterian Churches in the City of New-York* (New York: Hopkins and Seymour, 1807). Hereafter: *Letters*.

16. The primary texts in this discussion are: Matthew 28:18–20; John 20:21–23; Acts 20:17, 28; Acts 14:14; Philippians 1:1; 1 Timothy 4:14; 5:17; Titus 1:1; 1 Peter 5:1,2.

17. Thomas How, *Letters Addressed to the Rev. Samuel Miller, D.D., in reply to his letters* (1808) 8.

1811. It is there that the controversy appeared to end, and as Miller entered Princeton in December of 1813, he entered free from controversial baggage—or so it seemed.

In the fall of 1813, around the time Miller began his tenure at the seminary, his work, *The Life of Dr. Rodgers*, was published.[18] Praised by later Princetonians as a "richly replenished storehouse, in which Dr. Miller has introduced … nearly everything that was known thirty years ago of our Church,"[19] it was not received as well by the Episcopalians, who proceeded to enter into sharp debate with Miller's take on the conflicts between Presbyterians and Episcopalians in the early part of the nineteenth century (*LOM,* 1:313). The battle had followed Miller to Princeton.



Bishop John Henry Hobart (1775–1830)

In 1816, Dr. How again responded to Miller in his work, *A Vindication of the Protestant Episcopal Church: in a Series of Letters Addressed to the Rev. Samuel Miller, D.D. in reply to His late writings on the Christian Ministry, and to the Charges contained in His life of the Rev. Dr. Rogers; with Preliminary Remarks.*[20] Dr. How asserts:

> I came, pretty much, to the conclusion to remain silent; especially as you had declared your intention to take no further part in the Episcopal controversy. But you continued to renew the attack, in different forms, on the doctrines and order of our church; publishing, in 1811, a Sermon on the subject of lay elders; and, in 1813, a Life of the Rev. Dr. Rodgers; both of which contain matter which the sincere Episcopalian must regard, not only as inaccurate in itself, but as very pernicious in its tendency.… Upon seeing you thus persevere in your animadversions upon our Church, I resolved to finish my reply (How, *A Vindication,* 5–6).

How claimed that the biography misrepresented the Episcopal Church and compelled him to continue the controversy. This time Miller did not take up the pen again, but allowed Dr. How the final word; and while this did not mark the end of the Episcopal controversy, it sufficed to stifle it for a number of years and allowed Miller to enjoy some peace from the Episcopalians.

In concluding this section, it is interesting to note that Dr. Miller had been hired by the seminary to fill the chair of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government. It can be no coincidence that a large portion of his responsibility subsisted in the defense and propagation of Presbyterian polity. As enrollment at the seminary climbed, Miller devoted himself principally to equipping pupils to continue the polemic which he had begun with Hobart in 1807. During this first decade, Charles Hodge was one of these students who heard Miller's lectures and ultimately continued the battle of his senior professor with high church Episcopacy.

Polemic Against Hopkinsianism and Revivalism

During this time period, Episcopacy was not the only challenge to traditional Presbyterianism. The territorial growth of the United States and vast immigration raised awareness of the growing need to provide churches and pastors for the new American frontier (including the states of Ohio, Kentucky, and Illinois) and the lack of Presbyterian ability to do that.[21] Due to their strict, traditional standards for ordination, it was not possible for them to train clergy fast enough

18. Dr. John Rodgers was the senior pastor of the church where Samuel Miller received his first call. Rodgers was a convert of Whitefield and apparently a well reputed preacher himself.

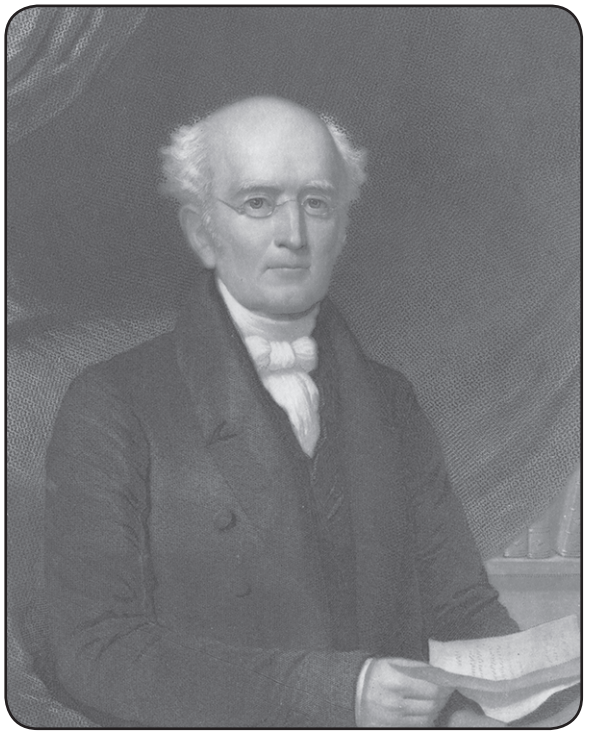
19. John De Witt, "The Intellectual Life of Samuel Miller," *Princeton Theological Review* (1906): 183.

20. Thomas Y. How, *A Vindication of the Protestant Episcopal Church: in a Series of Letters Addressed to the Rev. Samuel Miller, D.D. in reply to His late writings on the Christian Ministry, and to the charges contained in His life of the Rev. Dr. Rodgers; with Preliminary Remarks* (New York: Eastburn, Kirk, & Co., 1816) Hereafter: *A Vindication.*

21. William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier: the Presbyterians* 1783–1840 (New York: Harper & Bros., 1936), esp. 3–20.

to meet the incredible demand of the new frontier. The Baptists and the Methodists, on the other hand, rapidly established ecclesiastical monopolies across the frontier because their lack of educational requirements allowed them to readily send ministers on the field. Pressure inevitably set in against the slow-moving Presbyterians to adjust their long-held standards for ordaining ministers. Rather than give up their customs, Presbyterians concocted another way to accomplish their desired end: a partnership with the Congregationalists.

This collaboration, known as the Plan of Union (1801), initially seemed like a good idea. Presbyterian and Congregational churches, which had long been the established churches of New England, now made their presence felt in the West together. This alliance allowed particular congregations, whether Congregational or Presbyterian, to choose a pastor from either tradition, thus rapidly populating the pool of ministerial candidates for both denominations and filling the pulpits of previously vacant churches in New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, as well as new ones in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky. This amalgamation promoted a Presbyterian revival in the New England States which, due to vast migration, swiftly reached the West. From 1790 to 1820 it is estimated that some 800,000 New Englanders moved to the frontier, placing Congregationalists and Presbyterians in a prime position to impact the expanse.[22] As a result, between 1816 and 1826 some fifty thousand new members joined the Presbyterian Church.[23] By 1834 communicant members exceeded 248,000, a remarkable increase from the mere 18,000 in 1807 (Marsden, 12)!



Samuel Miller, D.D. (1769–1850)

The reasons for these Presbyterian successes stemmed from the employment of Congregational preachers, theology (Hopkinsian), and practice (revivalisitic traditions such as camp meetings, itinerant and experiential preaching).

These revivalistic and Hopkinsian implementations played a profound role in the growth of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA). The emphasis on experience rather than doctrine captivated the hearts of listeners who had formerly characterized Reformed preaching as "rigid Calvinism" and "dead Orthodoxy." These implementations sparked massive conversions to an extent previously unknown to Presbyterians. Yet such success did not come without a price.

Although the initial achievements of these years undoubtedly brought hope and encouragement to the Presbyterian Church, the theological and ecclesiastical compromises of the union had not slipped in unnoticed. Resentments and concerns had arisen among the more traditional Presbyterians who had committed themselves to the Westminster Standards and the outward and ordinary means of grace. Some of these more traditional members proposed a plan to counter the negative effects of the Union which included establishing a seminary at Princeton. This helps to explain the reality that, from its earliest days, Princeton Seminary found itself constantly in contention with advocates of revivalism and Hopkinsianism which by the nineteenth century normally accompanied one another. Fortunately Archibald Alexander had become well acquainted with both, having spent a considerable amount of time in the Northeast and having personal acquaintance with Samuel Hopkins. He also had a vast familiarity with revivals. His biographer writes, "It may safely be asserted that there was no man in the Church who had studied more closely this whole subject" [of revival] (*LOA*, 427).

22. George Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970) 10.

23. See D. G. Hart and John Muether, *Seeking a Better Country* (Phillipsburg: P&R Publishing, 2007) 112.

Princeton and Revivalism

Tensions over revivalism quickly made their way into Princeton's classrooms. Since the 1740s, the revivals had rapidly produced aspiring clergy and this intensified in the early part of the nineteenth century. With its emphasis on the dangers of an unconverted ministry, the experience of a conversion became, in many cases, the sole requirement for the preaching office. Although higher theological education had been sharply criticized by revivalists, particularly Baptists, Methodists, and the Christian Movement,[24] New Side Presbyterians and Congregationalists still found great value in education and encouraged converts to enter the theological institutions.[25] This influx of "enthusiasm" was further sparked by a revival at the College of New Jersey (Princeton) in 1815 which claimed over fifty new converts.[26] In fact, in 1816, revival served as the primary topic of discussion at General Assembly as each Presbytery reported their experience of the Spirit's work (*Minutes,* 299–302). Young revivalists flocked to the newly formed Princeton Seminary, but their entrance inevitably proved problematic.[27]

As Princeton began to fill its student body, Dr. Alexander began to experience discord in his classrooms. Alexander clearly possessed revival sympathies, having been converted at a Virginian revival, but had grown cautious over the years due to its damaging extravagances. His reticence, in time, proved warranted. In an account of this time period we read:

> The young men of the Seminary came in great numbers from the very midst of revival scenes, where these matters of controversy had been agitated, in connection with their most sacred exercises. There often appeared within the walls of the institution, hot and valorous youth, who were wiser than their teachers, and eager to beard a professor, and make converts among their fellows. The whole of this period, therefore, was one of agitation and consequent solicitude (*LOA,* 426).

This depiction describes much of the student body in terms typical to revivals: an emphasis on personal experience, skepticism of those who lacked adult conversion, and a disregard for authority. Such disturbances thrust Alexander into immediate contention with these students. Alexander attacked the extravagances of the revivals and expounded for his students, similarly to Jonathan Edwards, the *true* evidences of divine work. As a result of his labors, Alexander fell under sharp criticism. Opponents charged him with teaching "obsolete Calvinism of the seventeenth century" and opposing the "work of grace which was in progress." Ignorantly, they indicted him as "unacquainted with the phenomena of religious revival" (*LOA,* 426–427).

In response, the Princetonians resorted to polemic, defending "Old School" Calvinism and opposing "New School" profligacy. Alexander's assault against revival's extravagances consisted primarily of lectures in the classroom and discussions in the debate halls of the seminary. He established Friday night as a weekly time for disputation, and during these debates the professors gave the students absolute freedom to express their ideas, but Dr. Alexander was always given the final word. J.W. Alexander describes these Friday evenings:

> As this was a period of very active controversy in our Church, on those points of theology which have since divided us, there was, as might have been expected, a peculiar animation in these discussions; and in our opinion he, never shone more, or more displayed his stores of knowledge, his grasp of great subjects, or his acumen and dialectical force, than in some of these disputations, when, after being warmed by hearing the defence of specious error, he closed with the establishment of sound doctrine (*LOM,* 419).

Alexander also used the pulpit as a polemical platform where he "seized every fair occasion to preach the Word, in seasons of awakening, and with a fervor and success that often disarmed the prejudice which was ready to arise from mistaken views of his position" (*LOM,* 428).

Miller also devoted attention to revivalism. In 1816, during the General Assembly, enthusiastic reports of revivals took up a large portion of the meeting. However an equal amount of time was devoted to the issue of the church's constitution, in which Samuel Miller played an important role. The Assembly appointed Miller to a committee devoted to broader publication and distribution of the Confession, Catechisms, and Directory of Worship of the Westminster Assembly (*Minutes,* 310–311). The allocation of the Standards to Presbyterian ministers made up a large portion of the plan. This indicates

24. See Nathan Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

25. *Extracts from the Minutes of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America,* 1816 (Philadelphia: Printed by Jane Aitken, 1816) 300. Hereafter: *Minutes.*

26. See the full account in Ashbel Green, *The Life of Ashebel Green* (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1849).

27. Joseph Contorti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement* (Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans, 1981) 23–40.

that, prior to this time, ministers were either ignorant or negligent of the church's standards. At the same meeting, the Assembly selected Miller and Alexander to revise the Directory of Worship and the Presbyterian forms of government and discipline. This committee had been directly appointed to encourage order in light of the enthusiastic extravagances of the revivals (*LOM,* 415). These actions, though probably not to be regarded as overtly polemical, demonstrate potential concerns with the revivals of 1816. Although the Assembly celebrated the authentic work of the Spirit, remembrance of the recent century (such as the Old/New Side split) prohibited Old School Presbyterians from fully embracing the revivals.

Princeton and the Hopkinsians

The Princetonians also involved themselves in the Hopkinsian controversies during these early years. The founder of this theological school, Samuel Hopkins (1721–1803), was the preeminent student of Jonathan Edwards who attempted to continue the teaching of Edwards by developing a more "consistent Calvinism." In his system, Hopkins endorsed positions on original sin and depravity which could lead to dramatic departures from Westminsterian orthodoxy. He also emphasized what he called "disinterested benevolence," which encouraged complete devotion to the glory of God without regard for self-interest. Extremists of this position used absurdities akin to, "I would gladly enter eternal damnation for the glory of God." However, Hopkins' followers did not all press his logic to its natural conclusion, and this theology, also known as the "New Divinity," far from being a monolithic school of thought, was expressed by its adherents in varying degrees.

The tensions between Hopkinsianism and Presbyterianism surfaced when Dr. Alexander left his Philadelphia pulpit for the professorate. Ezra Stiles Ely filled the vacancy of the pulpit left by Alexander at Old Pine Church in 1813.[28] Ely had made quite a stir with the publication of his polemical work, *A Contrast Between Calvinism and Hopkinsianism*, in 1811, where he attempted to demonstrate Hopkinsianism's failure to align with Orthodoxy. This prompted far-reaching suspicion of ministers with Hopkinsian sympathies (see Hart and Muether, 117), which came to a head in 1816 when a meeting of the Hudson Presbytery refused to grant a call to the Rev. William Gray to the congregation of Goodwill because of his Hopkinsian leanings. The congregation appealed to the Synod of New York and New Jersey who reversed the decision of the Presbytery, a move which Dr. Alexander adamantly opposed. In response to his resistance, Hopkinsians turned on Alexander and the seminary, declaring them opposed to revival and the progress of grace. Hopkinsians swiftly assembled a united front against Princeton Seminary:

> Are we, gentlemen, to understand that young men, educated for the Church in that Seminary are to be imbued in this intolerance of spirit—are to be sent forth to preach down Hopkinsian heresy?... As for our Theological Seminary, it will be in the hands of men who will imbue, if possible, every candidate whom they shall instruct and send forth, in a deep abhorrence of the 'Hopkinsian heresy;' and every one will go forth under a full impression that he must beat down the odious doctrine of disinterested benevolence, and erect selfishness on its ruins.[29]

These adversaries viewed the Princetonians as supporters of a dead "triangle" Orthodoxy committed to the imputation of Adam's sin, the necessity of the atonement, and moral inability. The General Assembly of 1817, despite the Hopkinsian contentions, supported Alexander and upheld the decision of the Presbytery to refuse the call of Rev. Gray, a considerable victory for Alexander, for traditional Presbyterians, and for the seminary (Baird, 235–246).

This same General Assembly of 1817 also appointed Dr. Miller to head a committee to review the proposition of the Philadelphia Presbytery to expose ministers with Hopkinsian sympathies and charge them with heresy. By this time some Hopkinsians had sharply veered from the Confession's teaching on original sin and particular atonement.[30] Dr. Miller, however, was unwilling to fully support the proposal by the Philadelphia Presbytery to "call to an account *all* such ministers as may be suspected to embrace *any* of the opinions usually called Hopkinsian (*LOM,* 2:27, italics mine)." In other words, he would not endorse the demarcation of *all*

28. Ezra Stiles Ely (1786–1861) was a Presbyterian minister educated at Yale who in 1811 published a sharp attack on Hopkinsians entitled, "A Contrast between Calvinism and Hopkinsianism".

29. Quoted in Samuel Baird, *A History of the New School: And of the Questions Involved in the Disruption* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, & Haffelfinger, 1868) 244.

30. Some extreme Hopkinsians denied the imputation of Adam's sin and espoused a doctrine of a general atonement; both are in contradiction with the Westminster Confession: 6.3, "the guilt of this sin (Adam's first sin) was imputed, and the same death in sin and corrupted nature conveyed, to all their posterity descending from them by ordinary generation"; 8.5, "The Lord Jesus, by His perfect obedience, and sacrifice of Himself … hath fully satisfied the justice of His Father … for all those whom the Father hath given unto Him." See also Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind,* 34–39.

Hopkinsianism as heretical. He acknowledged varying degrees of sympathies and did not believe that the influence of the system was as far reaching as some believed. Later evidence vindicates his assessment.

Except for a few sentences, Miller endorsed the pastoral letter of the Philadelphia Synod, and proposed the allowance of some room to diverge on minor points of the Confession and thus proposed in essence the "system of doctrine" approach to the Confession. Samuel Baird, a fierce opponent of New School Presbyterianism, sharply criticized this move, claiming that this moderate position became "a policy which had well nigh been [the church's] ruin" (Baird, 248). Miller's policy called pastors to submit to the Confession as essentially containing the system of doctrine found in the Scriptures. Candidates were to make known any scruples with the Standards and the Presbyteries were left to decide whether these were fundamental issues or not.[31]

In light of these events, Miller's actions might seem inconsistent. Baird interprets his actions as an attempt to preserve unity at the expense of doctrine, but there is another possible interpretation. By this time Miller was well aware that many men of the Presbyterian Church possessed some Hopkinsian sympathies as a result of the influence of the Plan of Union. However he was also aware that any man of integrity espousing Hopkinsian sympathies of the most extreme order would be forced to withdraw his Presbyterian ordination in consistency with their vows. The doctrines at stake in the extreme instance—imputation of Adam's sin, atonement, and moral inability—were central to the teachings of the Westminster Standards. It appears that Miller actually made a very strategic move; instead of proposing a witch hunt, Miller placed the authority in the hands of the Presbyteries. Had he fully endorsed the actions proposed in the pastoral letter, an immediate split would have occurred and all Hopkinsian sympathizers, regardless of the degree, would have been forced to leave.

Miller's actions allowed room for three things to happen. First, they allowed for the possibility of reformation of the Hopkinsian sympathizers to the fundamental teachings of the Standards. These New Divinity men, following the General Assembly of 1817, would have been keenly aware of the dangers of flirting with these teachings and perhaps would denounce former sympathies. Miller's efforts to distribute the Standards to all Presbyterian pastors could indicate such a hope. Second, it left room for adamant Hopkinsians to leave on their own. Rather than encourage a rash break from the Presbyterian Church of all those inclined toward the system, Miller's actions would cause only the staunch Hopkinsians to leave. On this point however, his hopes appear to have failed, for there does not appear to be any evidence of this happening. Third, it restored sovereignty to the Presbyteries.

Viewed this way, Miller's actions seem quite shrewd. Although division finally came in 1837, Miller effectively prevented this for two decades. Some, as a result, have pointed to these actions to demonstrate the moderate position of the Princetonians (see Marsden, 42). However, these actions were polemically driven and specifically directed at *bona fide* Hopkisians, for true Hopkinsians could not with clear conscience subscribe to even the fundamentals of the Westminster Confession. Any minister of integrity with such sympathies would immediately inform his presbytery. Had Miller endorsed the enforcement of strict subscription to the Confession, he would have immediately ostracized both committed Hopkinsians and those with only slight Hopkinsian inclinations. Miller limited his polemic to those he viewed as truly dangerous rather than to all those veering in any minor shade from the Princetonian's theological positions. Whether or not one evaluates Miller's actions in this way, it is far too simplistic to simply dub him, as Samuel Baird did, a "peace man."

Polemic Against Unitarianism

Aside from Episcopacy, revivalism, and Hopkinsianism, Princeton also found itself involved in controversy with Unitarians. Unitarianism had been present in the New England Colonies for quite some time and had become increasingly fashionable since the infiltration of those of Unitarian persuasion at Harvard University and the election of the Unitarian President John Quincy Adams. However, it did not encroach upon Presbyterians until the early years of the seminary. When it finally became a Presbyterian issue, Samuel Miller acted as chief commander in extinguishing the threat.

Unitarianism began threatening the Presbyterian Church as early as 1816 when the Rev. J.W. Freeman, a Unitarian pastor in Boston, obliged the invitation of a congregation to conduct a series of services for a group of Unitarian sympathizers in Baltimore, Maryland. This series ultimately led to the creation of the Unitarian Independent Congregation in the following year. Once the assembly had been established, a pastor named Jared Sparks, the thirty-three year old graduate

31. For a summary on Old Princeton's view on subscription see David Calhoun, "Old Princeton and the Westminster Standards," in *The Westminster Confession into the 21st Century,* 3 volumes, ed. Ligon Duncan (Geanies House: Mentor Publications, 2004) 2:33–62.

of Harvard College, accepted a call to the pastorate. On May 5, 1819, William Channing, pastor of a Unitarian Church in Boston, delivered Rev. Sparks' ordination sermon. In that sermon, entitled "Unitarian Christianity," Channing blasted orthodox congregations with particular attention to five distinct doctrines: the Trinity, the two natures of Christ, total depravity, substitutionary atonement, and irresistible grace in regeneration. This spurred controversy both nationally and locally, and demanded a response.[32]

On October 19, 1820, the first Presbyterian Church of Baltimore installed a new pastor, William Nevens, and invited Dr. Miller to preach the installation sermon for his former student. Always eager to support his students, Miller gladly complied. Miller's visit, however, had a distinctly polemical purpose. In his sermon, *The Difficulties and Temptations which Attend the Preaching of the Gospel in Great Cities,* Miller took full aim at the Unitarians of Baltimore, warning Nevens that the temptation in a major city is to move away from the gospel and toward "refinement" and "smooth and superficial preaching." [33] This, Miller says, has always been a great danger in the church as demonstrated by the errors of Arius and Socinus. He continues:

> We might easily illustrate and confirm this position, by examples drawn from our own country, had we time to trace the history of several sects among us, and especially of American Unitarianism. But I forbear to pursue the illustration a little further; and shall only take the liberty to ask, as I pass along—How is it to be accounted for, that the preaching of those who deny the Divinity and Atonement of the Saviour, and who reject the doctrines of Human Depravity, of Regeneration, and of Justification by the righteousness of Christ—How, I ask, is it to be accounted for, that such preachers, all over the world, are most acceptable to the gay, the fashionable, the worldly minded, and even the licentious? That so many embrace and eulogize their system, without being, in the smallest perceptible degree, sanctified by it? (Miller, *Difficulties,*20–21).

Immediately following this sermon, *The Unitarian Miscellany*, a monthly Boston magazine, produced a response by Jared Sparks under the alias, "A Unitarian of Baltimore." He rebuked Samuel Miller for being so uncharitable as to refuse to extend the Christian name to Unitarians. Miller responded in the same magazine defending and maintaining his assertions. After this brief response, Miller, having become aware that his positions needed greater clarification, took up the polemical pen in a more thorough collection of letters against Unitarianism (*LOM,* 2:59–60).

Letters on Unitarianism

Miller's *Letters on Unitarianism* comprised his most sustained attack against Unitarianism, and were the most severe polemic of his literary career to this point. He demonstrates his purpose in these initial remarks:

> My object in writing at present is your benefit. It is to put you on your guard against a system of error, which I have no hesitation in considering as the most delusive and dangerous of all that have ever assumed the Christian name … it is impossible for me to think of making terms with such a system … I am bound, as a conscientious man, to do all in my power to expose the sin and danger of the heresy itself, and to warn my fellow men against its fatal allurements.[34]

Unlike his debate with Episcopalians, with whom he believed he could hold communion, Miller believed communion with Unitarians could not be maintained because they were heretics. After illuminating readers of the Unitarian rejection of essential Christian doctrines, (i.e., the Trinity, deity of Christ, deity of the Holy Spirit, the atonement, original sin, justification by Christ's merits, inspiration of Scripture, as well as the assertion of universal salvation), Miller differentiates between controversies involving evangelicals and those involving Unitarians:

> It is not a controversy between *Presbyterians* and *Episcopalians,* or between *Calvinists* and *Arminians,* in which men may take different sides, and yet be equally safe with regard to their eternal prospects. Although I am a decided Calvinist … I find no difficulty in embracing as brethren in Christ, many who do not view them with the same eyes. But the controversy between Orthodox and Unitarians, is of more vital and awful import (Miller, *Letters on Unitarianism,* 34).

This religious faction must not be recognized as

32. See Terry Bilhartz, *Urban Religion and the Second Great Awakening* (Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 1986) 119–122.

33. Samuel Miller, *The Difficulties and Temptations which attend the Preaching of the Gospel in Great Cities: A Sermon Preached in the First Presbyterian Church, in the City of Baltimore, October 19, 1820, at the Ordination and the Installation of the Reverend William Nevens* (Baltimore, 1820). Hereafter *Difficulties.*

34. Samuel Miller, *Letters on Unitarianism; addressed to the members of the First Presbyterian Church, in the City of Baltimore* (Trenton: George Sherman, 1821) 11, 19, 20. Herafter *Letters on Unitarianism.*

Christian because they reject the essential doctrines of the Christian faith. Miller acknowledges that an attempt to divide between fundamental and non-essential doctrines can be a precarious work; but, no doubt, the heart of the faith consists in Christ's deity. "Those who admit this doctrine, and build their whole system upon it; and those who totally reject it, can never worship or commune together" (Miller, *Letters on Unitarianism,* 46).

This writing served as a cursory attempt to answer the basic objections of Unitarians against Orthodox contentions by exposing these most basic Unitarian errors. Miller began by responding to Unitarian charges against those who held to traditional orthodoxy, particularly their claim of his intolerance. Rather than recoil from the accusation, he validated his claims with the pages of history.

> The word of God, as the Orthodox believe, is the only certain test of divine truth; the only infallible rule of faith and practice…. But when we think we find a doctrine plainly, frequently, and solemnly taught in the Bible, it certainly does, and in the estimation of all reasonable men, it ought to corroborate the fact, that the doctrine is *really* found there, and is, consequently, of God, when we find the true Church, in all ages, maintaining and cleaving to it, nay contending for it, with zeal as a fundamental part of divine truth. I need not tell the pious that there is a consolation as well as a duty, in *walking in the footsteps of the flock* (Miller, *Letters on Unitarianism,*111–112).

Establishing the value of church history, Miller, in an encyclopedic manner, cited the testimony of the Church Fathers on the deity of Christ. Having traced the church's testimony from Barnabas, Polycarp and Melito through to Justin, the Cappadocian Fathers and Irenaeus (to name a few), he concluded with Athanasius that those denying this testimony cannot be called by the name Christian. As the clear witness of the Scriptures and its interpreters throughout the ages conclude, so, he writes, should contemporary readers. Miller then took a surprising turn. Rather than going directly into the next time period of testimony (as he did in his letters on Episcopacy) he moved into a discussion of the heresies of the same period previously discussed. Miller suggests that Unitarianism, far from being an innovation, finds its manifestation already in the Christological heresies of the early church. He expressly identified them as the direct successors of the Marcionites and Ebionites (Miller, *Letters on Unitarianism,* 150).

Next, Miller attacked the Unitarian view of Scripture. The Unitarians, he claims, place higher emphasis on their own reason than the testimony of the Scriptures. If a teaching of the Bible, such as the Trinity, appears unreasonable, then Unitarians reject it. Orthodoxy, on the other hand, recognizes the difficulty in comprehending the Scripture's teaching on the Trinity, and instead views it not as unreasonable, but transcending the comprehension of humans. Orthodoxy accepts this teaching and submits to it as plainly revealed in the Bible despite its incomprehensibility to the mortal mind (Miller, *Letters on Unitarianism,*191–234).

For Miller, the clearest evidence against unorthodox teaching comes from examining the practical piety of those who possess such doctrines. In other words, he viewed piety and theology as integrally connected. The Unitarians, he argued, comprise the most lascivious part of society. Besides that, they commonly seduce men into thinking that they share similarities with the Orthodox camp while obscuring major differences. In sum, they express an indifference to truth utterly inconsistent with the Christian call to contend for the truth.

Lastly, he asserted their incapability of practical usefulness, namely, their inability to offer consolation in death. When one examines the claims of a religious sect, one must account for the benefits of the party. A religious camp that fails to offer consolation in death possesses little value.

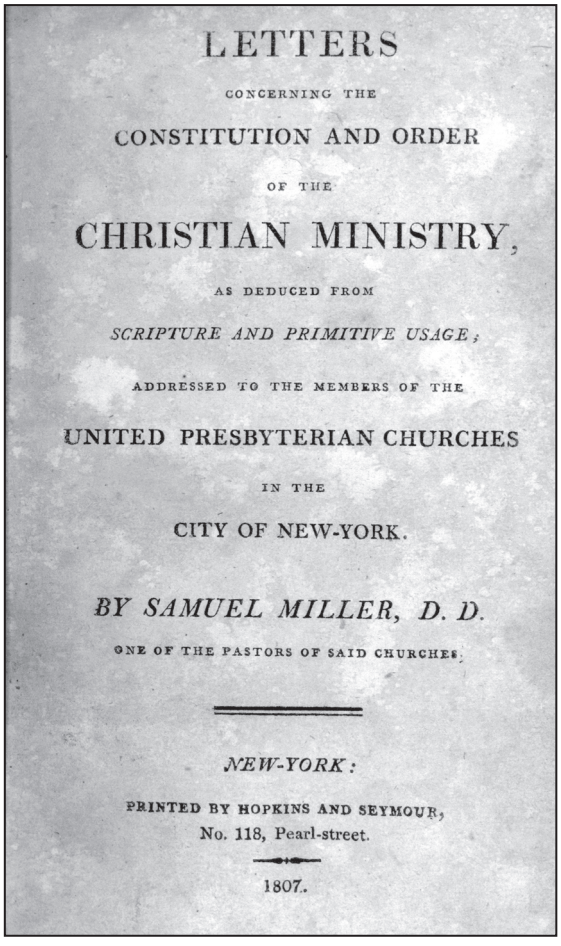
Miller then offered a few thoughts on the nature of dealing with this conflict. He encourages his readers to treat Unitarians as neighbors and to allow the grace of God to bear fruit in their lives towards them in order to avoid offense. However, he warns them not to submit themselves to the preaching and writings of the Unitarians unless fully engaged in the conversation. In other words, he admonished his audience not to read Unitarian works unless they counter it with a regular intake of orthodox teaching. To do otherwise would be like "swallowing poison without accompanying it with the requisite antidote" (Miller, *Letters on Unitarianism,* 289). The Unitarian faction, far from meriting the name Christian, illegitimately engages in Christian ministry and the administration of her ordinances and one must subject oneself to those ordinances very cautiously. Miller's assessment fully agrees with the declaration of General Assembly in 1814.

He ended the book with the following encouragements. First, he urges his readers to hold fast to the truth in righteousness. Many have been zealous for the truth but in an impious fashion as those unaffected by that truth. The truth does no good for a person who has not

been altered by the possession of it. Second, he attempts to persuade parents of the importance of instructing their children in this topic. Lastly, he admonishes his audience to live in a manner of temperance and practice superior to the Unitarians which is the only hope of winning them (Miller, *Letters on Unitarianism,* 302–311).

Conclusion

In these two installments on Princeton Seminary, we have seen that the seminary came into existence for the purpose of equipping its graduates to "contend for the faith once delivered to the saints." Having been built upon polemic, Princeton continued to fulfill its purpose by developing a distinctly polemical identity. The seminary's theological curriculum was, in keeping with this purpose, divided into two sections: dogmatic and polemic theology. The seminary's primary textbook, Turretin's *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, was decidedly polemical, and the professors themselves modeled for their students a commitment to contending with those who challenged the confessional and theological standards of the Presbyterian Church of the United States. Those who have assumed that polemic at Old Princeton did not emerge until the development of *The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review* under the guidance of Charles Hodge have concluded so mistakenly. Polemic and Old Princeton went hand-in-glove. One cannot rightly understand its story unless one acknowledges this fact. What this reality means for the present I leave to the reader to decide. ▪


LETTERS

CONCERNING THE

CONSTITUTION AND ORDER

OF THE

CHRISTIAN MINISTRY,

AS DEDUCED FROM

SCRIPTURE AND PRIMITIVE USAGE;

ADDRESSED TO THE MEMBERS OF THE

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES

IN THE

CITY OF NEW-YORK.

BY SAMUEL MILLER, D. D.

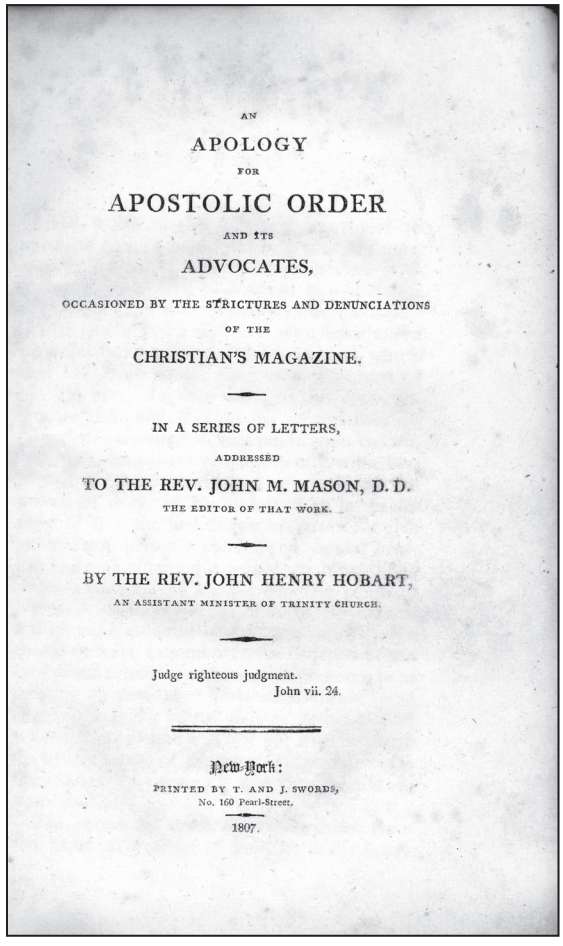
ONE OF THE PASTORS OF SAID CHURCHES.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED BY HOPKINS AND SEYMOUR,
No. 118, Pearl-street.

1807.

Title page of Samuel Miller, D.D. (1769–1850), *Letters Concerning the Constitution and Order of the Christian Ministry* (1807).


AN

APOLOGY

FOR

APOSTOLIC ORDER

AND ITS

ADVOCATES,

OCCASIONED BY THE STRICTURES AND DENUNCIATIONS

OF THE

CHRISTIAN'S MAGAZINE.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS,

ADDRESSED

TO THE REV. JOHN M. MASON, D. D.

THE EDITOR OF THAT WORK.

BY THE REV. JOHN HENRY HOBART,

AN ASSISTANT MINISTER OF TRINITY CHURCH.

Judge righteous judgment.
John vii. 24.

New-York:

PRINTED BY T. AND J. SWORDS,
No. 160 Pearl-Street.

1807.

Title page of Bishop John Henry Hobart (1775–1830), *An Apology for the Apostolic Order and its Advocates* (1807).

The Calvinistic Soteriology of Jonathan Dickinson

By Gary Steward

In 1868 William Sprague stated in his *Annals of the American Pulpit* that "it may be doubted whether, with the single exception of [Jonathan] Edwards, Calvinism has ever found an abler or more efficient champion in this country, than Jonathan Dickinson."[1] Dickinson is so little known today that this statement may surprise us, and yet Sprague is not the only one to have had a high estimation of Dickinson. Presbyterian historian Leonard Trinterud has been quoted as saying of Dickinson that "as a thinker, no one in the Presbyterian Church of the colonial period, if indeed of any period could be compared to him."[2] Also, in his recent monograph on Dickinson, Bryan Le Beau refers to many other admirers who have held Dickinson in high esteem, including Jonathan Edwards, John Erskine, and Ashbel Green, along with recent admirers Alan Heimert and Perry Miller.[3] Heimert and Miller go so far as to elevate Dickinson above Edwards, calling him "the most powerful mind in his generation of American divines."[4]

While it is not my purpose to debate the relative importance of Edwards and Dickinson, the great attention given to Edwards in recent days, as warranted as it may be, has allowed other important theologians in colonial America to go virtually unnoticed. Le Beau's recent book on Dickinson is one of the few contemporary works written on him. Le Beau himself notes that only four journal articles have been published on Dickinson apart from his own, causing him to conclude that "Dickinson remains the most underrepresented intellectual and ecclesiastical leader of the eighteenth century" (Le Beau, 1).

Modern Reassessments of Dickinson's Soteriology

Of the limited work that has been done on Dickinson, very little attention has been given to his theology. For those who have interacted with his theology, some have called into question the veracity of his Calvinism, giving an assessment of Dickinson that is quite different from William Sprague's given above. These modern reassessments of Dickinson see him significantly altering and accommodating his Calvinistic soteriology to fit the spirit of the times. Le Beau has made general statements regarding Dickinson's theology overall, stating that Dickinson accepted an "enlightened rationalism" and gave "tacit endorsement of Enlightenment rationalism" (Le Beau, 88). Such rationalism is said to have affected his soteriology. Le Beau has also stated that Dickinson's Calvinism was mediated by William Ames and William Perkins, who (in his mind) softened the hard edges of Calvinism by asserting that "the Holy Spirit would come to [all] those who entered a covenant with God and led a sanctified life" (Le Beau, 10). David Harlan has gone further than Le Beau and has specifically called Dickinson's Calvinism into question, writing that Dickinson epitomized the men of

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1. William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit,* 9 vols. (New York: Robert Carter, 1857–1869; repr., Arno Press, 1969), 3.16.

2. See Leigh Schmidt, "Jonathan Dickinson and the Making of the Moderate Awakening," *American Presbyterians* 63 (1985): 34 1–353.

3. Bryan F. Le Beau, *Jonathan Dickinson and the Formative Years of American Presbyterianism* (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 1.

4. Alan Heimert and Perry Miller, eds., *The Great Awakening: Documents Illustrating the Crisis and Its Consequences* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967), xxxi; quoted in Le Beau, 1.

his day who "tried to steer between the extremes of enthusiasm and formalism, between Calvinism and Arminianism."[5] The most strident revisionist rendering of Dickinson was offered by Keith Hardman, who stated in his 1971 doctoral dissertation that "Dickinson veered significantly away from classic Calvinism into theological innovations."[6] Hardman singles out Dickinson's view of natural ability, divine illumination, and the gospel appeal as areas where Dickinson departed from traditional Calvinism (Hardman, 244–247).

The revisionist reading of Dickinson forces us to revisit the issue of his Calvinistic soteriology. In what follows we will examine Dickinson's overall theology within the historical context of his day. We will also interact with some significant areas of his soteriology, setting it within Dickinson's broader theological context to show what modifications, if any, Dickinson made to the confessional Calvinism of the Westminster tradition. While agreeing that Dickinson adopted certain theological features that were common in the early eighteenth century, this paper will argue that his soteriology falls well within the mainstream of confessional Westminster Calvinism and that the modern reassessments should themselves be reassessed.

5. David Harlan, "The Travail of Religious Moderation: Jonathan Dickinson and the Great Awakening," *Journal of Presbyterian History* 61 (1983): 41 1–412; quoted in Le Beau, 105.

6. Keith Jordan Hardman, "Jonathan Dickinson and the Course of American Presbyterianism, 1717–1747" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1971), 242.

7. Daryl G. Hart and John R. Muether, *Seeking a Better Country* (Philipsburg, N.J.: Presbyterian and Reformed, 2007), 39–40.

8. Le Beau, 18. See also Jonathan Dickinson, *A Brief Illustration and Confirmation of the Divine Right of Infant Baptism* (Boston: S. Kneeland and T. Green, 1746).

9. Le Beau, 27–44. See also Michael Bauman, "Jonathan Dickinson and the Subscription Controversy" *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 41 (1998): 455–467. Charles Hodge stated that Dickinson "belonged to that small class of persons who are opposed to all creeds of human composition" (Charles Hodge, *The Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* [2 vols.; Philadelphia: William Martien, 1839], 1.171; quoted in Hart and Muether, *Seeking a Better Country*, 43). While Hodge goes on to state: "It is evident that his objections had not a very firm hold even of his own mind; for he joined in the adoption and imposition of the Westminster Confession [in the very year he published objections to subscription]" (Hodge, 1.171). Nevertheless, the position taken by Dickinson earned him the praise of Charles Briggs, who called Dickinson "the great representative American Presbyterian of the Colonial Period, the symbol of all that was noble and generous in the Presbyterian Church" (Charles Briggs, *American Presbyterianism* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885], 177).

10. For a complete bibliography of Dickinson's works, see Le Beau, 226–228.

Overview of Dickinson's Writings, Life, and Theological Context

Jonathan Dickinson was born in Hatfield, Massachusetts, in 1688. After graduating from Yale in 1706, he entered the ministry in 1709, serving a church in Elizabeth Town, New Jersey (Sprague, 3.14). For almost forty years, his ministry continued in this church until his death in 1747 (Le Beau, 11). In 1717, Dickinson became a member of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, thus joining the infant denomination which had only organized itself in America in 1706.[7] In 1721, Dickinson published his first theological work: a defense of infant baptism entitled *Remarks Upon Mr. Gale's Reflections on Mr. Wall's History of Infant Baptism*.[8] Baptists in the Middle Colonies had organized themselves into the Philadelphia Baptist Association in 1707, and Dickinson was likely concerned about the spread of Baptist thought in his vicinity (Le Beau, 21–22). Issues of ecclesiology would continue to consume Dickinson's attention, even as his own denomination became caught up in the Subscription Controversy of the 1720s. In this particular controversy, Dickinson led the anti-Subscription party, which opposed the requirement of subscription to the Westminster Confession as a prerequisite for ordination.[9] While the Subscription Controversy was finally resolved with the Adopting Act of 1729, Dickinson continued to write primarily on matters of ecclesiology. A major task he took up in the early years of his ministry was the defense of Presbyterian church polity against a variety of Anglican opponents, particularly John Checkley, Samuel Johnson, and Edward Vaughn. According to Le Beau, "Jonathan Dickinson was the principal Dissenter in the Presbyterian-Anglican debates for over twenty years" (Le Beau, 65). Dickinson's defense of Presbyterian government and ordination resulted in a series of books and pamphlets, including: *A Defense of Presbyterian Ordination* (1724), *Remarks upon the Postscript to the Defense of a Book Lately Reprinted at Boston, Entitled, A Modest Proof of the Order* (1724), *The Scripture Bishop* (1732), *The Scripture Bishop Vindicated* (1733), *The Vanity of Human Institutions in the Worship of God* (1736), *A Brief Discourse upon the Divine Appointment of the Gospel Ministry* (1738), and *The Reasonableness of Nonconformity to the Church of England* (1738).[10]

The next major round of writings from Dickinson's pen came as a response to the Great Awakening of the 1730s-1740s. Le Beau rightly refers to Dickinson as "a major player in the Great Awakening … a leader of the

moderate New Side."[11] While aligning himself with the New Side Presbyterians and New Light Congregationalists in support of the Great Awakening, Dickinson was critical of the revival excesses and did not condemn the clergy who were not necessarily revivalists or caught up in the revival spirit.[12] In *The Danger of Schisms*, published in 1739 as a response to the divisions occurring over the revival, Dickinson asks: "Are all men of equal sprightliness and sagacity? Are all equally eloquent? Have all the same charming voice or winning methods of address? Are all sons of thunder? No!"[13] While denominations were dividing over their acceptance or rejection of the revival movement, Dickinson stood as a voice for moderation and unity.

Though moderate in spirit, Dickinson was in fact a "friend of revivals" according to Archibald Alexander, and Dickinson's writings give a defense and analysis of the Great Awakening parallel to that of Jonathan Edwards.[14] In 1740, Dickinson published an expanded sermon entitled *The Witness of the Spirit*, and this publication provides what Alan Heimert and Perry Miller have called the "first sustained analysis of the psychology of conversion," predating both Edwards's *Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God* (1741) and Edwards's *Religious Affections* (1746).[15] Other writings of Dickinson which analyzed the nature of conversion include: *The Nature and Necessity of Regeneration* (1743), and *Reflections upon Mr. Wetmore's Letter in Defense of Dr. Waterland's Discourse on Regeneration* (1744).

A particular work of Dickinson on the Great Awakening that received a great deal of attention was a work he first published anonymously, entitled *A Display of God's Special Grace* (1742). In this work, Dickinson defended the revival preachers and their methods of preaching aimed at producing "convictions and spiritual distresses" which are "preparatory to our receiving of Christ by faith."[16] Dickinson also addressed the issues of physical agitations and public outcries at revival meetings, true and false spiritual experience, and antinomianism. This work was published with the commendation of Benjamin Colman, Joseph Sewall, Thomas Prince, John Webb, William Cooper, Thomas Foxcroft, and Joshua Gee, who proclaimed it along with Edwards's *Discourse Concerning the Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God* as "exceeding well adapted to serve the same design … to help people to judge of the present work, whether, and how far it is of God, and to remove those prejudices, which may keep them from owning it to the honor of God and from coming under the power of it to their own salvation."[17] This judgment was not shared by fellow minister Andrew Croswell, who published a sharp reply to this work entitled *Mr. Croswell's Reply to a Book Lately Published, Entitled A Display of God's Special Grace*. In it, Croswell called Dickinson's *A Display of God's Special Grace* "the worst Arminian performance that ever was written."[18] Dickinson responded to Croswell in *A Defense of the Dialogue Entitled, A Display of God's Special Grace*, and in this piece Dickinson quotes at length from Thomas Shepherd, Solomon Stoddard, Cotton Mather, and John Owen, as well as the Canons of Dort and the Westminster Confession to support his positions against those taken by Croswell.[19]

While Dickinson's controversial pieces often involved soteriological issues, Dickinson's fullest expositions of his soteriology were of a more dispassionate and systematic nature. The first to appear of this type was *The True Scripture Doctrine*, wherein Dickinson laid bare a full-orbed soteriology around the five headings of election, original sin, conversion, justification by faith, and

11. Le Beau, 104. For a brief narrative of his experience of the Great Awakening, see his letter to Thomas Foxcroft in Archibald Alexander, *Biographical Sketches of the Founder and Principal Alumni of the Log College* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Education, 1851), 265–270.

12. Dickinson was more moderate in his approach than Gilbert Tennent. See Gilbert Tennent, *The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry* (Philadelphia: B. Franklin, 1740). Tennent later apologized for the invective contained in this sermon.

13. Jonathan Dickinson, *The Danger of Schisms* (New York: John Peter Zenger, 1739), 9–10. In quotations of primary source material I have at times slightly adjusted the capitalization and punctuation to bring it into conformity with modern usage.

14. Alexander calls Dickinson: "a man of superior abilities both as a preacher and a writer, and truly evangelical; a friend of revivals, and a zealous promoter or missions among the aborigines of this country. He deserves to stand at the foremost rank among the fathers of the Presbyterian Church in the United States" (Alexander, 83).

15. Heimert and Miller, x; quoted in Le Beau, 118.

16. Jonathan Dickinson, *A Display of God's Special Grace* (Boston: Rogers and Fowle, 1742), 24.

17. Dickinson, *Display of God's Special Grace*, ii.

18. Andrew Croswell, *Mr. Croswell's Reply to a Book Lately Published Entitled A Display of God's Special Grace* (Boston: Rogers and Fowle, 1742), 23. Croswell's charge may be easily dismissed, for he was known to assert that "most of his contemporary Congregational ministers had abandoned the doctrines of the Reformation and had become 'less Orthodox than Arminius'" (Le Beau, 158). Croswell was a close associate of the radical James Davenport and was a promoter of antinomianism, what Joseph Tracy calls "the false Calvinism of the day" (Joseph Tracy, *The Great Awakening* [Boston: Charles Tappan, 1845], 405). For more on Croswell, see Tracy, 55, 349.

19. Jonathan Dickinson, *A Defense of the Dialogue Entitled, A Display of God's Special Grace* (Boston: J. Draper, 1743), 18, 19–20, 32–33, 40–44. For more information on this interchange, see Le Beau, 158–162.

perseverance.[20] This work first appeared in 1741 and was to go through many editions. While he mentions "Arminians" once in this work, *The True Scripture Doctrine* is expositional and practical in its overall tone.[21] Dickinson's second exposition of soteriology was written in the form of eighteen popular letters to a fictional inquirer entitled, *Familiar Letters to a Gentleman*.[22] The first six letters in this series seek to provide a rational defense of the Christian faith, but the remaining twelve deal primarily with soteriology, with special emphasis given to Christian experience and justification. This work also went through many reprintings.

Given the times that Dickinson found himself in, it was not possible for him to avoid soteriological polemics. By the time of the Great Awakening, the Arminian controversy had transferred itself to American soil in full force, and Dickinson was one of the earliest to write against it. Jonathan Edwards reported that in the year 1734 there "began the great noise, in this part of the country, about Arminianism," and Dickinson was to publish numerous polemical pieces aimed at this threat.[23] By the time Edwards was giving himself most fully to "the study of the Arminian controversy" and preparing to write his great *The Freedom of the Will*, Dickinson's polemics were already well circulated and were read by Edwards himself.[24]

Dickinson entered into the Arminian controversy in 1746 with the publication of a book entitled *The Vindication of God's Sovereign Free Grace*.[25] This work was a response to a sermon published by John Beach entitled *A Sermon Showing that Eternal Life is God's Free Gift*, a sermon by Henry Caner called *The True Nature of Christian Preaching*, and a pamphlet by Samuel Johnson called *A Letter from Aristocles to Authades, Concerning the Sovereignty and Promise of God*.[26] Indicative of the theology of these three Anglican ministers, the thrust of Beach's sermon was to show that salvation is God's gift "bestowed upon men according to their moral behaviour and that free grace and free will concur in the affair of man's salvation."[27] Responding to Dickinson's *Vindication*, Beach published a book entitled *God's Sovereignty and His Universal Love to the Souls of Men Reconciled*, and Johnson published a piece simply called *A Letter to Jonathan Dickinson*.[28] While preparing his response in the form of two extended letters to Beach and Johnson, Dickinson died. He had completed his reply to Beach, and Dickinson's brother Moses Dickinson completed his reply to Johnson and had them published together posthumously under the title *A Second Vindication of God's Sovereign Free Grace*.[29] The theological battle continued for another round after Dickinson's death, with Beach writing yet another response entitled *A Second Vindication of God's Sovereign Free Grace Indeed* and Moses Dickinson responding with *An Inquiry into the Consequence Both of Calvinist and Arminian Principles Compared Together*.[30]

The Arminian positions Dickinson countered in his argument against Beach and Johnson were becoming increasingly widespread among Protestants in the 1720s–1750s. During these years there was also a significant drift away from confessional Calvinism, as Enlightenment thought was gaining ground and the old theological confessions were losing their influence. Richard Muller notes that for those standing in the Reformed tradition, theology after 1725 became "less secure in its philosophical foundations" and "less bound by the confessional norms of the Reformation."[31] The drift away from confessionalism is evident in Dickinson's sparring partner, Samuel Johnson. While a young man, Johnson was heavily influenced

20. Jonathan Dickinson, *The True Scripture Doctrine* (Boston: G. Rogers, 1741).

21. Dickinson, *True Scripture Doctrine*, 124.

22. Jonathan Dickinson, *Familiar Letters to a Gentleman* (Boston: Rogers and Fowle, 1742).

23. Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards* (2 vols.; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2003), 1.347.

24. See Edwards's letter to Joseph Bellamy in John E. Smith, Harry S. Stout, and Kenneth P. Minkema, eds., *A Jonathan Edwards Reader* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 305. For the possible influence of Dickinson's writings on Edwards, see Le Beau, 155. While Edwards's *The Freedom of the Will* wasn't published until 1754, Edwards had addressed various aspects of Arminianism in his earlier writings (e. g. Edwards's *God Glorified in Man's Dependence*, published in 1731).

25. Jonathan Dickinson, *The Vindication of God's Sovereign Free Grace* (Boston: Rogers and Fowle, 1746).

26. John Beach, *A Sermon Showing that Eternal Life is God's Free Gift* (Newport: Widow Franklin, 1745) title page; Henry Caner, *The True Nature of Christian Preaching* (Newport: Widow Franklin, 1745); Samuel Johnson, *A Letter from Aristocles to Authades, Concerning the Sovereignty and Promise of God* (Boston: Thomas Fleet, 1745). See also Le Beau, 15 1–152.

27. John Beach, *Eternal Life is God's Free Gift,* title page.

28. John Beach, *God's Sovereignty and His Universal Love to the Souls of Men Reconciled* (Boston: Rogers and Fowle, 1747); Samuel Johnson, *A Letter to Mr. Jonathan Dickinson* (Boston: Rogers and Fowle, 1747). See Le Beau, 154. For more on the theology of Johnson, see E. Brooks Holifield, *Theology in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 86–92.

29. Jonathan Dickinson, *A Second Vindication of God's Sovereign Free Grace* (Boston: Rogers and Fowle, 1748).

30. John Beach, *A Second Vindication of God's Sovereign Free Grace Indeed* (Boston: Rogers and Fowle, 1748); Moses Dickinson, *An Inquiry into the Consequence Both of Calvinist and Arminian Principles Compared Together* (Boston: Fowle, 1750).

31. Richard A. Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics,* 4 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003), 1.32.

by Enlightenment philosophy, declaring in 1715 that he was "wholly changed to the New Learning."[32] Johnson was fully engaged in the trans-Atlantic intellectual scene, and he became particularly influenced by the so-called Cambridge Platonists and English latitudinarians like John Tillotson and Daniel Whitby (Ellis, 62–65). Johnson defected from New England Congregationalism to Anglicanism, becoming a leading advocate of Arminian Anglicanism in America.[33] In this age of philosophical and theological upheaval, then, Dickinson's soteriology was not only challenged by the issues raised at home by the Great Awakening and Croswell's antinomian form of Calvinism, but also by the Arminianism and Enlightenment thought trickling in from Europe.

Evaluating Dickinson's Soteriology

Given the tumultuous historical and philosophical context of his life, did Dickinson abandon or substantially modify his Calvinistic soteriology as has been claimed by Harlan, Hardman, and Le Beau? Or did he withstand the intellectual and theological pressures that challenged traditional orthodoxy? There are four aspects of Dickinson's soteriology which might be separately analyzed and evaluated.

The Five Points of Calvinism.

As has already been noted above, David Harlan has stated that Dickinson "tried to steer between the extremes of enthusiasm and formalism, between Calvinism and Arminianism." Although Harlan is not the only one to understand Dickinson in this way, the writings of Dickinson simply do not support this claim. There seems to be no evidence in Dickinson's writings of any attempt to move away from the traditional five points of Calvinism. Dickinson clearly viewed the work of salvation to be a monergistic work of effectual grace, whereby "he mortifies our corruptions, brings our sinful appetites and passions into subjection, and creates us anew in Christ Jesus … as may very aptly be compared to a quickening, or resurrection from the dead."[34] This work of grace is only wrought in the elect, whom God has chosen unconditionally before the foundation of the world by an "arbitrary and sovereign decree" (13). This eternal decree of election is the result of God's eternal will, and God's will flows out of his immutable nature. The decree, therefore, cannot depend upon any act of mutable man (10–11). The elect are brought into a state of justification "upon the Spirit's first working faith in us, and thereby uniting us to Christ in our effectual calling" (224). Dickinson further held that "all who are justified shall be glorified" (228). Regarding the nature of the atonement, Dickinson further sets forth in his writing what would be considered a traditional Calvinistic position. Dickinson frames the issue of particular atonement as follows:

> I freely allow that Christ has died for all men, in such a sense as that every individual of the human race may by virtue of the ransom paid by him obtain eternal life upon faith in his blood. Universal redemption is never taught us in Scripture in any other sense than this…. But then the question yet remains, whether Christ has not in some special and peculiar sense died for the elect?[35]

Dickinson goes on to answer this question and summarizes his views as follows:

> … although Christ is in some sense *the Savior of all men*, so that all who enjoy the gospel have the gracious and free offer of salvation, yea, all have a full and sufficient warrant to believe in Christ, and each individual of them shall surely obtain salvation, who comply with the free and gracious offer of the gospel: Yet Christ has wrought out a *special and distinguishing* redemption for the elect, whereby they are not only put into a savable state, but shall actually be saved. He has not only purchased for them a possibility of salvation, but the actual communication of grace and glory hereafter. He has not only procured for them that they may be saved if *they will*, but that they shall assuredly have salvation begun in them here and perfected hereafter, because *God will*.[36]

In each of the five points of Calvinism, then, Dickinson states a very traditional position.

Bryan Le Beau has tried to posit a distinction between Dickinson and Calvin along the lines of a "Calvin against the Calvinists" approach, only this time Perkins and Ames are said to have modified the theology of the reformer by softening the hard edges of Calvin's thought with a strong emphasis on the covenant of grace. Le Beau thinks that in this softened approach, the reality

32. Joseph J. Ellis, *The New England Mind in Transition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 36.

33. Ellis, 124–126, 140–141. Johnson converted over forty Yale graduates under his influence to Anglicanism, including John Beach (Ellis, 93).

34. Dickinson, *True Scripture Doctrine*, 138.

35. Dickinson, *Vindication of God's Sovereign Free Grace*, 2 1–22.

36. Dickinson, *Vindication of God's Sovereign Free Grace,* 26–27 (emphasis his).

of an unconditional election is fundamentally modified. Says Le Beau: "the demands of the older and more rigorous doctrines of predestination had all but been rejected" (Le Beau, 10). While Perry Miller's *Errand in the Wilderness* is referenced to support this claim, no support is given from the writings of Dickinson themselves.[37] Similarly, Keith Hardman sees a significant distinction between Calvin and Dickinson's teaching on predestination. According to Hardman, Calvin taught a dual decree of predestination including both the decree of election and of reprobation, but Dickinson, on the other hand, did not espouse the doctrine of reprobation. Hardman states: "Single predestination … was as far as he would go … in this important instance, and in [others], Dickinson veered significantly away from classic Calvinism into theological innovations" (Hardman, 242). I would argue that the differing emphases in this regard between Calvin and Dickinson are better explained by the differing contexts and situations of the two theologians, instead of by a difference in theological substance. Dickinson was in fact following the theological trends found within classical Presbyterianism and Reformed thought elsewhere. It has been noted by James Walker in his *The Theology and Theologians of Scotland* that certain Scottish Presbyterians in the early eighteenth century no longer emphasized reprobation in the way that earlier Presbyterians did as well.[38] Hardman's argument is an argument from silence, and no real difference in theological substance should necessarily be inferred.

Finally, it should be noted that Dickinson shows his affinity with confessional Calvinism in many places, most clearly in his polemical pieces. We have already noted this in his interchange with Andrew Croswell, but also, in *A Vindication of Sovereign Free Grace*, Dickinson draws a comparison between the Arminianism of John Beach and his own doctrine—the doctrine of the Thirty-Nine Articles, as well as the Canons of Dort.[39] He repeats this comparison in his follow-up reply to Beach, *A Second Vindication of God's Sovereign Free Grace*, going to great lengths to expound the meaning of various Calvinistic articles contained in the Canons of Dort and the Thirty-Nine Articles, as well as in the Augsburg Confession (1530) and the Lambeth Articles (1595).[40] It is especially clear in his exchange with John Beach that Dickinson held to "the doctrines of special grace as held by the Calvinists" and saw himself as fitting into the confessional mainstream of orthodox Calvinism.[41]

Rationalism

Bryan Le Beau states that Dickinson was one who accepted "enlightenment rationalism" and that this "made him one of the earliest eighteenth-century evangelicals to allow that the two were not necessarily antithetical" (Le Beau, 2). Thus he attempted "to appropriate and temper Enlightenment ideas, thereby signifying his tacit endorsement of Enlightenment rationalism."[42] Le Beau's analysis of Dickinson along these lines centers around Dickinson's writings of an apologetic nature, particularly his *Familiar Letters to a Christian Gentleman* and *The Reasonableness of Christianity*. In this last piece, Dickinson interestingly lauds the gift of reason, stating that it is by reason alone that man is capable of coming to faith. Says Dickinson:

> … He who has made us rational creatures expects from us reasonable service, and cannot be pleased with that faith, practice, or hope, that is grounded on education, or common opinion and not the result of rational reflection or inquiry. It must therefore be agreeable both to our duty and interest to inquire into the grounds of our holy religion, and reasonably to establish ourselves in those precious truths on which we build our hopes, and not take them upon trust, as I'm afraid too many do. For which cause I shall endeavor … to offer you some rational evidences of the truth of Christianity.[43]

Through a series of observations and inferences, Dickinson proceeds to argue for the existence and attributes of God and the reality of the fall. Dickinson uses what amounts to the cosmological argument, set within an evidentialist framework (Le Beau, 90). Using this method, he goes on to argue for the reasonableness of Scripture, the supernatural nature of prophecy, and the reality of miracles.

37. Le Beau, 193. For a critique of the "Calvin against the Calvinists" approach, see Muller, 37–46.

38. "I have been often struck with the frequency with which the subject of reprobation is introduced into our older theological works, and the almost unkind way in which reprobates are spoken of. Now the Marrow divines, as well as the divines of the second Reformation, believed in the doctrine of reprobation. But they treat it, as it were, with a holy awe, and do not care to thrust it forward. In Rutherford's work on the Covenant, the word reprobation or reprobate occurs between eighty and ninety times; in Boston on the Covenant it occurs only thrice" (James Walker, *The Theology and Theologians of Scotland* [Edinburgh: John Knox, 1982], 91–92).

39. Dickinson, *Vindication of God's Sovereign Free Grace*, 6–14.

40. *Second Vindication of God's Sovereign Free Grace*, 27–49.

41. Dickinson, *Vindication of God's Sovereign Free Grace*, 48.

42. Le Beau, 88. See also Le Beau, 83–87, 140.

43. Jonathan Dickinson, *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (Boston: S. Kneeland and T. Green, 1732), 1.

However this line of argument may or may not relate to "Enlightenment rationalism," it should first be noted that Dickinson falls in line with many Calvinistic theologians who sought to defend the truths of Christianity in a similar way against deists and skeptics in the 1700s. Jonathan Edwards's *The Great Christian Doctrine of Original Sin Defended* (1757) begins with a large section entitled "Evidences of Original Sin from Facts and Events," and his *A Dissertation concerning the End for which God Created the World* (1765) begins with a section entitled "What Reason Dictates Concerning this Affair" (Edwards, 1.97, 146). It is clear from their writings that both Edwards and Dickinson valued the secondary role of reason and observation in defending and establishing the truth of God's Word. Whether this in and of itself constitutes an adoption of enlightenment rationalism is a matter which is worthy of debate.[44] It is important to note for our purposes, though, that however high Dickinson elevated the role of reason, it seemed only to serve in his scheme in the understanding, reception, and vindication of God's revelation. Further, Dickinson's understanding of reason only seems to have affected his epistemology. It does not seem to have affected the content and structure of his theology and basic ontology. More so than Edwards, Dickinson kept speculative reason and constructive reason in check, whereas Edwards often allowed speculative reason to have a significant and constructive role in his overall ontology and anthropology.[45] Dickinson's use of reason, then, is more like Charles Hodge and less like Jonathan Edwards. Like Hodge, Dickinson's soteriology is in fundamental continuity with pre-Enlightenment thought and remains virtually untouched by Enlightenment thought, even though the epistemology underneath might have significantly changed.[46]

Free Will and Natural Ability

Keith Hardman writes that Dickinson's understanding of man's natural ability is a "departure from High Calvinism," in that it presents "the faculties of man which are not so gravely damaged that they are incapable of responsible apprehension of God's communication" (Hardman, 243–244). Noting Dickinson's sermon-like appeals in much of his writing, Hardman believes that Dickinson's "appeal to man's will to accept the atoning work of Christ" is another significant "departure … from Calvin's thought." A major reason Hardman sees this difference between Dickinson and Calvin, however, is because Hardman understands Calvin and "High Calvinism" to have rejected the indiscriminate offer of the gospel. Says Hardman:

> To Calvin, it would have been utterly useless to plead in this way with 'lost sinners,' for unless a man was elected, all the pleas in the world were unavailing. It would have been equally unnecessary to plead with one who was elected, for the 'illumination' must come from the Spirit, and would so come, although indeed preaching might be of some help, but in a secondary manner only (Hardman, 247–248).

Only by grossly misinterpreting Calvin and traditional Calvinism is Hardman able to see a distinction between Dickinson and Calvinistic orthodoxy. While Dickinson's theology and evangelistic preaching may have taken a different emphasis than Calvin, there is significant evidence that Dickinson was well within the Calvinistic mainstream regarding the issues of free will and natural ability.

Regarding the inability of unregenerate man, Dickinson clearly held to the doctrine of total depravity. According to Dickinson, man has no "natural power to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ" and is naturally "unable to comply with the gracious proposals of salvation by Jesus Christ."[47] However traditional Dickinson's view of human ability may be at its core, his understanding of human freedom does appear to have undergone some slight alterations—alterations which were subsequently made and defended by Jonathan Edwards as well.[48] Dickinson, like Edwards, finds freedom to exist not in "a power to will, or not to will, any particular object

44. For a recent book that contributes to the ongoing debate, see Paul Kjoss Helseth, *Right Reason" and the Princeton Mind: An Unorthodox Proposal* (Philipsburg: N.J., 2010).

45. Edwards held to a notion of continual creation and was a philosophical idealist. For the influence of his philosophy on his theology, some within Reformed circles have historically criticized Edwards. See, for example, Robert L. Dabney, *Systematic Theology* (St. Louis: Presbyterian Publishing Company, 1871; repr., Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1985), 100–104, 338–339.

46. Of the later Princeton theologians, Mark Noll says: "Influenced by this perspective as they were, they still retained the fidelity to Scripture and the Reformed traditions which kept them from being entirely at the mercy of their philosophy" (Mark A. Noll, *The Princeton Theology, 1812–1921* [Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1983], 33). For more examples of Reformed theologians who maintained the essence of Reformed theology in the midst of changing philosophical foundations, see Muller, 32.

47. Dickinson, *Display of God's Special Grace*, 6–8.

48. According to Le Beau, Dickinson's work on the issue of the human will "both preceded and influenced that of Edwards" (Le Beau, 85). Jon Pahl suggests that "by the time Edwards entered the fray, due in large part to Dickinson, the question had already been decided or at least a consensus, or 'harmony in discord,' had been reached" (Jon Pahl, *Paradox Lost: Free Will and Political Liberty in American Culture, 1630–1760* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992], 119; quoted in Le Beau, 85).

of choice, or a power to choose indifferently either the one or the other of two contrary objects" (Dickinson, *True Scripture Doctrine*, 39). Instead, freedom exists in the "power to will what appears to us from our present view of things most fit to be chosen" (39). Dickinson goes on: "Freedom, therefore, is only opposed to coaction or constraint.… [H]e that acts voluntarily and without any compulsion or constraint, acts freely; and he that has a power so to do, is in a state of freedom and liberty; for freedom consists in nothing else."[49] Dickinson states his understanding of freedom as part of his defense of the absolute decree of election, stating: "Freedom cannot be opposed to necessity. Every free agent must necessarily will what his understanding, appetites and affections represent to him the most fit object of choice; he cannot do otherwise" (39). One can see the influence of Enlightenment thought as Dickinson says the following:

> I know that it has been the common doctrine of divines, that the will of man has full freedom with respect to things natural, yet not in things spiritual; but that in these things it requires supernatural grace to move and influence it. However, I cannot but think, (with Mr. Locke) that it is a very inaccurate and obscure way of speaking to attribute freedom, or want of freedom, to the will.[50]

Dickinson, like Edwards, prefers to speak only of an individual as possessing freedom, for freedom implies personality, and the human will is only "a property or faculty of the mind."[51]

While this modification does reflect the influence of Enlightenment thought (at least at the level of terminology), the fundamental notion of total depravity and natural inability is left intact and Dickinson's soteriology is not substantially modified. On this point, Le Beau rightly states: "… while never losing his Calvinist moorings, Dickinson did incorporate some of the ideas of the Enlightenment. He did so especially on [the notion of] free will" (Le Beau, 85). While there may be some slight differences in Dickinson's understanding of the will from the Calvinistic thought preceding him, the differences do not substantially impact his Calvinistic soteriology.

Regeneration and Illumination

However significant the modifications made to his understanding of human freedom, Dickinson clearly believed that the regeneration of an individual was a monergistic work of sovereign grace. According to Dickinson:

> While we act as rational and free agents, we must will and choose what appears to us from our present view of things most worthy our choice.… with respect to the affairs of a spiritual and moral nature … we cannot habitually choose a gracious, spiritual, and heavenly life, until by the powerful agency of divine grace we have such an habitual impression upon our minds, as overcomes our contrary inclinations, and represents such a life most worthy of our approbation and pursuit (Dickinson, *True Scripture Doctrine*, 42).

Divine grace works powerfully in an individual's life by "quickening dead sinners" and by bringing them into a state of spiritual life (139). On these points, again, there is no indication of any accommodation to Arminianism.

Dickinson's understanding of regeneration, however, has raised significant issues from within his own tradition. Regarding regeneration, Dickinson subsumes the work of regeneration underneath the category of illumination, whereby God works primarily upon the mind to enable it to receive the truth. Says Dickinson: "The principal method by which this great change [i.e. the change of regeneration] is wrought in the heart of a sinner by the Spirit of God is his giving him a realizing view of the great truths revealed in the word of God, and enabling him to see things as they are" (139). The Spirit's work of illumination, then, is conceived as a special work whereby man's natural faculties are enabled to function properly and to perceive the true nature of reality as it really is. Dickinson explicitly denies an understanding of regeneration which says that there is an "infusion of some new faculty into the soul which it had not before" or that "the new creation implies our becoming a new sort of being, with respect to the natural powers and properties of the soul which we were not before" (139–140). Says Dickinson:

> … the Spirit of God does no more in the conversion of a sinner, than bring him to the right exercise of those rational powers with which he was born, give him a

49. Dickinson, *True Scripture Doctrine*, 40. See also Edwards, *Works*, 1.12.

50. Dickinson, *True Scripture Doctrine*, 41. See also Dickinson, *True Scripture Doctrine*, 164.

51. Dickinson, *True Scripture Doctrine*, 41. See Edwards, 1.4–12 for his great indebtedness to Locke's understanding of the will. According to Edwards, "I need say the less on this head [on the definition of liberty], Mr. Locke having set the same thing forth, with so great clearness, in his *Essay on the Human Understanding*" (Edwards, 1.12).

> just view of his greatest concerns, and enable him to act worthy of a reasonable being.… the whole change is wrought in him by spiritual illumination, by impressing a right view of things upon his mind, or by enabling him to act reasonably (140).

For Dickinson the work of the Spirit in conversion is simply the giving to the natural faculties a true sense and understanding of the truth of God as it really is. He states: "… the Spirit of God works this grace [i.e. faith] in us by illuminating our minds; and giving us a right exercise of our understandings [*sic*]" (149–150). This work of illumination is also central in the subsequent work of sanctification. Dickinson states: "The Spirit of God does likewise carry on the work of grace in a believer's sanctification, by continued views of spiritual things as they are.… [W]hat way is this glorious work of grace carried on in the soul, but by the continued assistances of the blessed Spirit to act reasonably, and to maintain a lively apprehension and impression of invisible realities" (150)? He continues:

> The extraordinary influences of the Spirit in his immediate communications of light and joy to the believer are but still a brighter discovery of things as they are. In a word, in whatever aspect this case is considered, what I am pleading for will, I think, appear to be truth. The whole work of sanctification is carried on by illumination, and by the soul's being brought, through the influences of God's Spirit, to the exercise of knowledge and understanding; and to this the Apostle ascribes it [in Ephesians 1:17–18] (151).

He continues: "Upon the whole, I cannot see that the Spirit of God does in any other manner work this wonderful change in the hearts of sinners, than be giving them a just view of things as they are, by bringing them to act reasonably, worthy the dignity of their rational nature, and the intellectual powers they are endued with" (151).

According to Dickinson, the work of illumination is usually brought about after a preparatory work of the Holy Spirit, and he outlines the "usual progressive steps by which a sinner is brought out of a state of carnal security, to the possession and exercise of the divine life" as follows: First, the Spirit of God brings a sinner "to realize his own miserable condition, and see it as it is" (140). Second, the Spirit works "humiliation" into the sinner's soul "by giving him a realizing sight of his unworthiness of divine mercy, of his spiritual impotency, and utter inability to help himself" (143). Third, the sinner is brought to "a solicitous inquiry after an interest in Christ" (145). After these three preparatory works of non-salvific grace, the Holy Spirit brings about the conversion of a sinner by giving him "a realizing sight of the fullness and sufficiency that there is in Christ; and of his willingness and readiness to save him" (147). From this new vision of Christ and the gospel springs forth saving faith (148). For Dickinson, then, regeneration takes place by illumination, as the Holy Spirit enables sinners to embrace Christ "by giving them a realizing affecting sight of things as they are" (Dickinson, *True Scripture Doctrine*, 152.).

It may be argued that this understanding of regeneration as illumination is a rationalistic way of understanding the Spirit's work in regeneration. Louis Berkhof, for example, calls it a "misconception" to understand regeneration as "simply a change in *one or more of the faculties* of the soul, as, for instance … of the intellect, by illuminating the mind that is darkened by sin, as the Rationalists regard it."[52] Similarly, Robert Dabney criticizes the view held by John Dick that "the revolution of the will … is the natural effect of true illumination," as well as the purported view of Archibald Alexander that "faith … is simply full conviction of the truth [and] is all we need to make the soul embrace salvation and duty."[53] Charles Hodge critiques a view similar to Dickinson's when he says, "The Scriptures … do not teach that regeneration consists exclusively in illumination, or that the cognitive faculties are exclusively the subject of the renewing power of the Spirit. It is the soul as such that is spiritually dead; and it is to the soul that a new principle of life controlling all its exercises, whether of the intellect, the sensibility, the conscience, or the will is imparted."[54]

Dickinson's view of regeneration by illumination does seem to put him at odds with Berkhof, Dabney, and Hodge on the issue of regeneration. There appears to

52. Louis Berkhof, *Systematic Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 468.

53. Dabney, 573–574. Dabney also criticizes Archibald Alexander and Thomas Chalmers for holding the view that "saving faith is nothing but a simple belief of propositions" (Dabney, 603). Similarly, Berkhof critiques the view of Sandeman, Wardlaw, Alexander, and Chalmers, who held that "a mere intellectual acceptance of the truth" is "the whole of faith" (Berkhof, 503). Dickinson did not have this view of faith, for he held that faith includes "assent to the gospel," "consent to what we believe," and "an affiance in him on whom we believe" (Dickinson, *True Scripture Doctrine*, 194). These aspects of faith "do mutually imply and involve each other, and all of them do always belong to the essence of a saving faith" (Dickinson, *True Scripture Doctrine*, 195).

54. Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology* (3 vols.; New York: Scribner, 1873; repr., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 3.17.

be other Calvinistic Presbyterians like Dick and Alexander, however, who would be comfortable with how Dickinson explains his understanding of regeneration. To be sure, it should be noted that Dickinson did not hold that the change brought about by illumination ends with the mind, for the "new view of things changes our wills and affections."[55] At times he says that illumination brings a powerful application of the truth to the "mind and conscience" or that it works the truth "in the soul."[56] Even with these concessions, Jonathan Edwards seems to be on surer footing when he distances himself from this more "intellectualistic" view of illumination when he speaks of illumination as "a divine and supernatural light" which gives a "true sense" of spiritual realities to the soul (Edwards, 2.12, 14). Edwards draws a distinction between notional knowledge exercised merely in the understanding, and a knowledge which "consists in the sense of the heart" (Edwards, 2.14).This is a distinction that Dickinson does not clearly make, and his failure to do so puts him at odds with the best of the Calvinistic tradition on this particular point.

Conclusion

Apart from deviating from the most commonly accepted understanding of regeneration within the Reformed tradition, Dickinson's soteriology is certainly within the mainstream of Calvinistic theology. Keith Hardman and David Harlan are incorrect in stating that Dickinson modified Calvinistic soteriology or accommodated his soteriology to Arminianism. By insisting that "Dickinson veered significantly away from classic Calvinism into theological innovations," Hardman advances a revisionist understanding of Dickinson that is not supported by Dickinson's own soteriological writings when read against a traditional understanding of confessional Calvinism (Hardman, 242). Dickinson's gospel appeals and understanding of predestination are wrongly read as departures from traditional Calvinism instead of as faithful expressions of Calvinism shaped by the historical situation. Also, when Harlan states that Dickinson "tried to steer between … Calvinism and Arminianism," he wrongly places Dickinson outside of the tradition he ardently defended against Croswell, Beach, and Johnson. Harlan also fails to consider the extensive use Dickinson made of confessional documents like the Canons of Dort and the Thirty-Nine Articles to defend his position against the Arminians of his day.[57]

Bryan Le Beau rightly points out how Dickinson's theology made some accommodations to aspects of Enlightenment thought, particularly on his understanding of human freedom and the emphasis placed on reason and the intellect. But this does not, in my mind, constitute a "tacit endorsement of Enlightenment rationalism" (Le Beau, 88). Brooks Holifield is correct in his assessment when he states: "Although he remained a Calvinist, Dickinson cited the Anglican Samuel Clarke, admired John Locke, adapted Christian apologetic to the new astronomy, and treated the credibility of Christian doctrine as a matter of converging 'probabilities.' …Reason could prove, by amassing probabilities, the truth of Calvinist orthodoxy" (Holifield, 94–95). As Holifield points out, Dickinson appropriated Enlightenment thought most prominently in the area of his theological apologetic while his theological system and soteriology remained largely unchanged. Perhaps Dickinson's understanding of regeneration is the only part of his soteriology that is affected, and even on this point, Dickinson finds himself in agreement with others within the Reformed tradition.

One cannot help but notice how close Dickinson approximates what would become the theology and outlook of Old Princeton. In recent studies of the theology of Princeton Seminary in the nineteenth century, much attention has also been given to the influence of Thomas Reid and to Common Sense Realism as it came through the College of New Jersey, transmitted by its presidents John Witherspoon, Samuel Stanhope Smith, and Ashbel Green.[58] Little attention, however, has been given to its first president, Jonathan Dickinson, and the impact of his theology upon what would emerge in the theology of Princeton Seminary. Although he served as president of the College of New Jersey for only five months, Dickinson was at the forefront of a line of important Presbyterian leaders, and his stamp upon what became the theology of Old Princeton should not be dismissed out of hand.[59] More attention, especially in this area, needs to be given to this important figure in American theological history.▪

55. Dickinson, *True Scripture Doctrine*, 165.
56. Dickinson, *True Scripture Doctrine*, 147, 143.
57. Dickinson, *Vindication of God's Sovereign Free Grace*, 6–14.
58. See Noll, *Princeton Theology*, 30–33.
59. Mark Noll notes that Dickinson was the second most prolific Presbyterian during the colonial period, second only to Gilbert Tennent (Mark Noll, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002], 460). Yet, in his book on Princeton Seminary, Noll does not mention or reference Dickinson at all.

An Introduction to T. V. Moore
Through his Essay on Juvenile Delinquency

By Barry Waugh

T. V. Moore is most likely known to readers of this journal thanks to the reprinting of his two major books by Banner of Truth—*The Last Days of Jesus* and his commentary on Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.[1] However, there is more to his life and work than just these two volumes. Other publications over the years of his life included more than fifty sermons, articles, book reviews, lectures, poems, hymns, and a monograph titled *The Culdee Church*, which was a reprinting of a series of articles he had written for a religious newspaper. He not only kept his pen busy, but was also a pastor and churchman respected by his fellow church leaders—he finished with the second most votes in the election for the Chair of Pastoral Theology and Rhetoric in Allegheny Seminary at the General Assembly of the P.C.U.S.A. in 1853,[2] and in his later years in the P.C.U.S. he was elected moderator of the 1867 General Assembly. In addition to Moore's pastoral work in Richmond, he owned and operated with the pastor of the Second Church, Moses Drury Hoge, the *Central Presbyterian*, and he served for some time as the chairman of the Richmond Ministerial Association. In 1850, Moore turned down an offer of the presidency of Lafayette College in his home state of Pennsylvania. T. V. Moore was known, respected, and honored in his own era, and if he had not suffered an extended period of declining health leading to his death at the age of fifty-three, he would have left a greater legacy of ministry and service to Christ.

It is the purpose of this article to provide some biographical information regarding T. V. Moore and through examining his winning contribution to *Prize Essays on Juvenile Delinquency* (Philadelphia: 1855) understand more about his thought.[3] Through comparison of his essay to those of the other two prize winners, Moore's teaching will be seen in its historical and intellectual context.

T. V. Moore's Earlier Years

Thomas Verner Moore was born February 1, 1818 in Newville, Pennsylvania.[4] His father, John, was an immigrant from Ireland who is believed to have owned and/or operated a local water powered mill; his mother, Rachel McCullough, served her family in the many duties required of a wife and mother laboring in rural south central Pennsylvania. His early education was received at the feet of a Presbyterian minister, and he is known to have owned an 1834 edition of the *Constitution of the Presbyterian Church*, which if purchased new, would mean the book was obtained in his sixteenth year.[5]

His formal education began at Hanover College, Indiana, where he remained for only one year. Despite the brevity of his stay, his freshman encounter with the Hoosier state gave him enough time to become acquainted with the woman he would marry in 1842, Sarah Blythe, who was the daughter of the first president of Hanover,

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1. T. V. Moore, *The Last Days of Jesus: The Appearances of Our Lord During the Forty Days between the Resurrection and Ascension* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1981); *A Commentary on Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1958, 1960; 1 volume, 1993).

2. John Hall of Trenton, New Jersey, received 101 votes; Moore, 42; James Hoge, 2; and 1 for M. B. Hope.

3. The author of this article has not provided source documentation for most of Moore's biographical information. It is his hope to find a publisher interested in commissioning a book about Moore. The information here is a small part of what the author has collected over the last eight years of research.

4. Some sources have his middle name as "Vernor," but "Verner" is the correct spelling.

5. This book is currently in the possession of the writer of this article. It is known to be Moore's due to his inscription on the title page.

James Blythe.[6] Moore transferred to Dickenson College in Carlisle to complete his college education and be near his family in Newville. Following Dickenson, Moore headed east to receive his divinity education across the Delaware River at Princeton Theological Seminary, where he was taught by Samuel Miller, Archibald Alexander, and Charles Hodge.[7] For a brief time after his seminary training, he worked as an agent with the American Colonization Society in Pennsylvania.[8] Moore's family roots in Pennsylvania and ministerial education at Princeton provided him with the foundation required for his early pastoral ministry in Carlisle Presbytery.

T. V. Moore became disenchanted with his colonization work, which combined with his sense of calling to the gospel ministry contributed to his accepting the pastoral call offered to him by the Second Presbyterian Church, Carlisle. After a difficult four year ministry in which schism created by some of the church elders discouraged Moore, he sought to demit the ministry. He was encouraged to continue as a pastor and left his troubled history at Carlisle to serve the Greencastle Church, which was in the same presbytery. During his brief stay in Greencastle, Moore was offered and accepted a call to the First Presbyterian Church of Rochester, New York, but the presbytery would not release him. Shortly thereafter, T. V. Moore was invited to candidate at the First Presbyterian Church, Richmond, Virginia, to fill the pastorate vacated by William Swan Plumer (1802–1880) when he accepted a call to the Franklin Street Church of Baltimore, Maryland.[9] The pastoral search by the Richmond church had already considered for its pulpit, without success, both Stuart Robinson and B. M. Smith.[10] Moore accepted the call and crossed the Mason-Dixon Line to minister in Richmond where he would remain for twenty-one years. The move South was beneficial because it removed him from the area where he had endured schism and doubted his ministerial calling, while giving him an opportunity to leave Pennsylvania and minister among those with greater appreciation of the virtues of republican government.[11]

After some adjusting to some of the differences of the Southern way of life, Sarah and Thomas increasingly appreciated their new home and the milder weather. The transplanted Yankee family was enjoying a growing ministry and a quiver filling with children. However, the birth of his third son and fourth child, Francis, led to tragedy when the nemesis of Victorian childbirth, "complications," claimed Sarah shortly after the infant's delivery in March 1849. Within a few years of Sarah's death, the First Church congregation, which had more than twice as many women members as men, provided Moore with his second wife, Matilda Gwathmey,

6. James Blythe (1765–1842) was a graduate of Hampden-Sidney College. He was licensed by Orange Presbytery, 1791, and then ordained by Transylvania Presbytery, 1793. He was the minister of the Pisgah Church in Kentucky, 1793–1832. In 1794, he founded Kentucky Academy at Pisgah, which united with Lexington Academy to become Transylvania University the same year (Jefferson Davis went to Transylvania). He occupied the chair of mathematics at Transylvania, 1794–1804, served as its president, 1804–1817, and professor of chemistry in the medical department, 1822–1830. Hanover's theology program became the basis for McCormick Seminary. Rev. Blythe died at Hanover on May 20, 1842. ("Blythe, James," vol. 2, *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography* [New York: James T. White, 1921]).

7. There are some indications in some of Moore's writings that he and Dr. Hodge did not see eye to eye.

8. Moore completed studies at Princeton Seminary in 1842. Archibald Alexander would publish his book, *A History of the Colonization of the Western Coast of Africa* (Philadelphia: William S. Martien, 1846), wherein he details the history of the colonization movement and attributes some of its origins to the New England Theology (Samuel Hopkins). Through the establishment of special colonies on the continent of Africa colonization proponents returned slaves to the continent where they could re-establish their lives in freedom. The country of Liberia has its roots as a colonization movement community.

9. Dr. Plumer was born in Pennsylvania in 1826. He was trained in divinity at Princeton Theological Seminary. He was the organizing pastor for two churches in Virginia, served as a stated supply at Briery Church (1829–1830), pastor of the Tabb Street Church in Petersburg (1831–1834), then went to First Church, Richmond (1834–1846), and when Moore went to Richmond, Plumer went to Franklin Street Church to serve (1847–1854). Dr. Plumer was a seminary professor, churchman, and prolific, though currently neglected, author. (E. C. Scott, *Ministerial Directory of the Presbyterian Church U. S. 1861–1941*, Published by Order of the General Assembly [n.p., 1942]). Plumer died in 1880 and is buried beneath an obelisk at least fifteen feet tall in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond. The Franklin Street Church was the home church of J. Gresham Machen (1881–1937). Gresham's father, Arthur Webster Machen, was a Ruling Elder in the P.C.U.S. congregation. A helpful book for information regarding the Franklin Street Church after 1901 is, D. G. Miller, *The Scent of Eternity: A Life of Harris Elliott Kirk of Baltimore* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1989). Kirk was the senior minister of the Franklin Street Church, 1901–1953. He was at odds theologically with the work of J. G. Machen.

10. Stuart Robinson (1814–1881) was at the time at the Kanawha Salinas Church, Malden, W.V., or in Frankfort, Ky. B. M. (Benjamin Mosby) Smith (1811–1893) received his education at Hampden-Sidney College and Union Seminary in Virginia. He was the pastor of churches in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, and at the time of his being sought for First Church, Richmond, he had only recently been installed in the Staunton, Va., Church where he served, 1845–1854. Smith was succeeded in Staunton by Joseph Ruggles Wilson, father of President Woodrow Wilson. (E. C. Scott, *Ministerial Directory of the Presbyterian Church U. S. 1861–1941*).

11. Moore hints at his dissatisfaction with Pennsylvania in some of his correspondence. He commented about his concerns regarding the Quaker dominated state. However, one has to wonder how much of his desire for geographic relocation was due to the troubles he had with the Carlisle congregation and a desire for a fresh start.

who was the daughter of a church elder.[12] Thomas and Matilda were united in marriage by William Swan Plumer, May 20, 1852. T. V. and Matilda would go on to have two children together, a boy and a girl. T. V. Moore, now with a Virginian wife, adapted to his new home and re-structured family as he continued to serve the First Presbyterian Church in Richmond.

During Moore's first two pastorates and his early years at First Church, Richmond, he was a busy writer. He kept his pen moving as he composed articles and reviews on Presbyterian government, the inspiration of the Bible, Thomas Chalmers, and other theological and historical personalities. When Rev. Moore decided to contribute an essay to the competition sponsored by the House of Refuge in Philadelphia on the topic of juvenile delinquency in 1853, he was an accomplished writer.

House of Refuge, Philadelphia, Prize Essays on Juvenile Delinquency, 1855 [13]

As children approach adulthood they sometimes break the law and come face-to-face with the sword of the civil magistrate. Though some might look to the antebellum era as an irenic time with the American family riding in its quaint carriages down daisy bordered roads and ladies dancing down the sidewalks with their flowing dresses, the nineteenth century had its problems like any other era in this fallen world. In the Victorian era, Charles Dickens used plots exemplifying the problems of English youth as seen in *Oliver Twist,* which presented the young being schooled in pick-pocketing by the corrupting ne'er-do-well named Fagan. Though considering the problem in a post Civil War context, Otto Bettmann's book, *The Good Old Days, They were Terrible*, quoted *Harper's Weekly* commenting that juvenile delinquents "have no occupation and learn no art but to steal," which was exacerbated by the fact that delinquents were often incarcerated with adult criminals where they could be schooled in crime by "experts in thievery."[14] In Moore's era social, psychological, economic, and especially domestic factors, contributed to the growth of the juvenile delinquency problem, and the House of Refuge's essay contest sought solutions.

When the essay contest was announced by the Philadelphia House of Refuge in February 1853, there were two prizes of 100.00 and 50.00 offered for the best entries (6).[15] When the contest was decided, *The New York Times* of November 24, 1853, reported that the winners were Edward Everett Hale, who was awarded the 100.00 prize, and Moore, who received the 50.00 amount.[16] The third essay included in *Prize Essays* was by Arthur Harper Grimshaw and is not mentioned as a prize winner in the *Times* article. Moore's essay on the importance of the Christian family for directing children's behavior is sandwiched between the entries from Hale and Grimshaw in *Prize Essays*.[17] The three essays were selected by the House of Refuge from forty-four submissions (6).

Edward Everett Hale Essay

Bearing the ancestral pedigree of colonial and revolutionary New England, Edward Everett Hale was born in Boston, April 3, 1822, the son of Nathan Hale (1784–1863), the nephew of the statesman and orator Edward Everett, and the grand nephew of the man who had "but one life to give for his country," Nathan Hale (1755–1776). His education was a thoroughly Massachusetts one with him graduating Harvard in 1839. He served as the minister of the Church of the Unity, Worcester, Massachusetts, 1846–1856, and the South Congregational (Unitarian) Church, Boston, 1856–1899. Hale was against slavery and was particularly interested in the debate regarding the bill that became the *Kansas Nebraska Act* in 1854; in August of 1854, he published a history of the two states that included a copy of the text of the act. Education of the common man and improving the

12. At the time of Moore's acceptance of the call to First Church, the women members outnumbered the men by more than two to one. In the sources, "Gwathmey" is sometimes spelled "Gwathmay."

13. The book was published in 1855 by the House of Refuge, Philadelphia, printed by Edward C. & John Biddle. The text of the book, at the time of the writing of this article, was available for free PDF download from an internet website, and hard-copies may be purchased via print on demand businesses. The copy used by the author of this article was provided by Nabu Public Domain Reprints, LaVergne, Tn., December 21, 2010.

14. Otto Bettmann, *The Good Old Days, They were Terrible* (New York: Random House, 1974), 90–91; *Harper's Weekly*, Feb. 6, 1869. If you think the "Good Ole Days" were wonderful, you might want to read this book for a look at some of the negatives of the era.

15. Since the essays are all from the same book, all citations of the source will be given parenthetically.

16. Digital Archives of *The New York Times* at http://query.nytimes.com/search/sitesearch, "Naval-Prize Essays-Madame Sontag and the Philharmonic Society." Philadelphia, Wednesday, Nov. 23."

17. The inclusion of Hale's essay is particularly odd since when he reprinted the essay in his collected works he commented that: "This essay had a curious history…The essays were confided to a committee who adjudged the first prize to me. Oddly enough, it happened that the essay did not meet the views of the managers of the institution. They had to print it, and did. But they accompanied it with their own views in contradiction, both of the details of my plan and its principles [there are several footnotes in Hale's essay disagreeing with Hale]." (*The Works of Edward Everett Hale,* Vol. VIII, *Addresses and Essays* [Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1900] 285–320).

home life of the working man were other areas that interested the Unitarian. Hale was a voluminous writer with a compelling manner and dynamic personality that contributed to his great popularity in the era, but his name may be recognized today as the author of the *Atlantic Monthly* article "The Man Without a Country" (1863).[18] As if to give a life-time achievement award and honor his revolutionary ancestral heritage, Hale was appointed the chaplain of the United States Senate at the age of 81. He died at Roxbury, on the 10th of June 1909, but not before overseeing the publication of his many writings in ten volumes of collected works, 1899–1901. E. E. Hale's interest in the plight of the working man, concern for the problems of industrial urban living, and social agenda for his Unitarian ministry would have contributed to his interest in writing about the problem of juvenile delinquency.[19]

"The State's Care of its Children Considered as a Check on Juvenile Delinquency," (11–44)

E. E. Hale deals with juvenile delinquency primarily from the perspective of the government's responsibility to alleviate and control the problem. The industrial revolution had contributed to the delinquency problem because its machinery allowed young people to learn quickly singular tasks operating a piece of specialized equipment. Where youths might have been apprenticed to a joiner and learned how to work lumber, the invention of the power driven planer reduced the opportunities lads would have to be apprenticed to a joiner for learning the trade.[20] However, says Hale, the problem with industrial employment for young people is that as machine operators they were condemned to a life of such labor because they had not learned a skilled trade or gained an educated profession (13–14). Hale summed up the problems of a youngster working in a factory as training him to be "a vagabond" (14).

At the time these essays were written, juveniles who committed crimes were generally imprisoned with adult offenders. Hale was particularly concerned that prison denied the young the exercise and fresh air necessary for physical health. He believed that putting the juvenile in prison established a pattern for life; once a young man is initiated into prison life, he is less likely to fear another imprisonment (17–19). The isolation of prison is also detrimental for a young person because it removes him from communing with his peers and separates him from the common experiences of the young growing-up together (21). For Hale, putting juvenile delinquents in prison was at best a last resort and at worst a condemnation to a life of crime and bearing the stigma of having been in prison.

In America, said Hale, the family is the most important influence on three aspects of a child's maturation—the moral, religious, and vocational; he believed that in the case of delinquents the State should control the care of their lives, rather than their parents. He commented that, "The [American] system is founded on a judicious regard for the rights of families, and for the natural affection of parents for their children" (22). One might expect the Unitarian minister then to defend the American family, but instead he said:

> It is all the while very evident, that in many instances, the State is a great sufferer, by leaving children for these three most important fields of discipline [i.e. moral, religious, and vocational], to persons wholly incompetent. It is more agreeable to a father and mother, to have their children left to their own care; but when they bring them up fit for nothing—intemperate, irreligious, or vagabonds—the State sustains a great loss from that consideration, which has treated so delicately the parents' rights. The child sustains a like loss (22).

Hale uses the word "incompetent" with reference to parents of delinquents in this quote and in other locations in the article. It is unclear in the article how Hale believed parental incompetency was to be determined, though the government would most likely be the determining body given his emphasis on government control. He goes on to express his concern regarding how much it is going to cost the State to care for these incompetently parented juveniles (22–23). Though concerned with the fiscal aspects of the children's care, he continued his essay observing that, "...wherever there are parents, incompetent to make their homes fit training places for their

18. A few years after the House of Refuge book, Robert L. Dabney commented about the *Atlantic Monthly* in his article originally published in T. V. Moore and M. D. Hoge's *Central Presbyterian*, Sept. 10, 1859, pp. 2–3, that he had "warned … readers of the poison presented to the unsuspicious, by this boastful but shallow periodical" (as reprinted in, *Discussions*, vol. 5, *Miscellaneous Writings* [Harrisonburg: Sprinkle Publications, 1999] 365). Dabney was speaking in particular in the article about Harriet Beecher Stowe's misrepresentation of New England Puritanism in some of her fiction.

19. "Edward Everett Hale (1822–1909)," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol. 12, 1911.

20. W. J. Rorabaugh, *The Craft Apprentice: From Franklin to the Machine Age in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), tells what it was like being an apprentice in America before, during, and after the early Industrial Revolution. His analysis shows that trade education through apprenticing declined with the growth of the industrial revolution.

children, the State should be glad, should be eager to undertake their care" (25). Hale related his own experience concerning a widow woman whose son was "disobedient" and "truant" (24). He compared her desire to get the boy into the Massachusetts Reform School to those parents in other walks of life who struggled to gain appointments for their sons to West Point (25). The mother resorted to what she believed was her only choice—the government operated reform school. The "State," says Hale, should rejoice that "incompetent" parents surrender their children "to its disposal" (26). However, it is most important that two aspects concerning juvenile care be remembered—first, the care rendered must be economical and as far as possible self-funding, and secondly, the training should be well done and produce capable and virtuous men and women (26).

E. E. Hale proposed a system of juvenile delinquent care that differed from the status-quo exemplified in the recently established Massachusetts Reform School. He proposed a "large Receiving school supplying various separate homes" (35). The homes would be managed by a government board of authorities (35). The dormitory type institution was detrimental to the juveniles and they should be under the care of a "Christian man and a Christian woman," instead of a superintendent, teachers, chaplains, and trustees in a dormitory situation (37). One has to wonder in what sense Hale is using the word "Christian" given his many years as a minister of a Unitarian church. One also has to wonder, given the current wedge between church and state perspective, how Hale could propose the house parents to be "Christian" in any sense of the word. The children were then to be distributed to private homes for care, and when they became old enough they were to be apprenticed to trades. Any funds earned by the apprenticing youths would be used to defray their cost to the house masters and eventually cover the costs incurred by the governmental program (27–28). A home situation is a better place for juvenile care because dormitory living teaches the youth to despise the family and fosters a selfish me-first attitude (38).

For Edward Everett Hale, the government was the key to dealing with the problem of juvenile delinquency. Family life is better than dormitory life for keeping youths from a delinquent lifestyle or correcting already criminal behavior. The homes caring for the young people should be "Christian." The parental surrogates in the homes should see to the moral, religious, and vocational education of the youths. Most importantly, the delinquent's vocational education should render income to defray the costs incurred by the couple caring for the youth and the government administration of the program. For Hale, the key word in his program for juvenile delinquency was "State."

Arthur Harper Grimshaw Essay

In 1824, Arthur Harper Grimshaw was born in Pennsylvania where he matured and went on to graduate from the University of Pennsylvania Medical School in 1845. Initially practicing medicine in Pennsylvania, he moved his office to Wilmington, Delaware in 1849. His father, William Grimshaw, had written the series of "Grimshaw" text books designed for the education of children, which included along with other titles, *History of the United States*, 1821; *History of France*, 1828; and *The History of South America*, 1830. In 1850, Arthur married Ann Elizabeth Bailey in Wilmington, Delaware. The educational apple did not fall far from the tree because Arthur served on the first New Castle County Board of Public Education, 1852, and as the board's president, 1872–73. In 1853, Arthur published a revised and updated edition of his father's *History of the United States* extending the narrative through the peace with Mexico in 1848, and he entered another essay contest in which his essay titled, *Essay on the Physical and Moral Effects of the Use of Tobacco as a Luxury* was a winner. It is believed that at the time of the essay competition for the Philadelphia House of Refuge, Grimshaw was working not only as a physician but lecturing in the Hannah More Academy for Young Ladies founded by his sisters, Charlotte and Isabella. Early in the Civil War, Grimshaw was commissioned a colonel for the Union commanding the 4th Regiment, Delaware Infantry. Grimshaw died May 17, 1891 of what was described as "congestion of the brain." Arthur Grimshaw's background as a physician and concern for children manifested in his public education interests would have contributed to his interest in the problem of juvenile delinquency.[21]

"An Essay on Juvenile Delinquency," (91–159)

By far the lengthiest of the three essays, Grimshaw begins his presentation stating that laws, prison, and

21. Sources for this information include: Ancestry.com digitized microfilm images of the *Delaware Death Records, 1811–1933*, *Delaware Marriage Records, 1744–1912*, and the *1880 United States Census*; Roger D. Hunt, *Colonels in Blue: Union Army Colonels of the Civil War. The Mid-Atlantic States: Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, and the District of Columbia* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 2007) 237, there is a photograph of Grimshaw with a lengthy beard in this book; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Delaware: 1609–1888*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: L. J. Richards and Co., 1888), pp. 693, 697.

incarceration do not improve society but instead achieve only the separation of the unlawful from the public. For juvenile delinquency to be eliminated, the "causes" that "lead to commission of crimes" must be removed, and it was his plan to present the causes of delinquency and "suggest remedies" (93–4). His suggested remedies would "require time, steady perseverance, and an unfaltering faith in their power, in order to produce the desired effect" (95).

Briefly, Grimshaw presents eight causes of juvenile delinquency and each has a section of the essay dedicated to explaining the particular cause. The causes include—lack of education, social and architectural location of the person's residence, public charities, lack of teaching morality and a positive parental example, the system of apprenticing used by employers, lack of religious instruction, parents lacking religious improvement, and children being orphaned at a young age.[22] A. H. Grimshaw expanded on each of these causes, but for this article only selected causes will be explained.

The cause of "social and architectural location" refers to the living conditions of the impoverished who often dwelt in poorly ventilated, crowded, and unsanitary conditions (109–119). Though it might be thought that congested living in New York and other large cities occurred in the later Victorian decades, the birth and continued growth of industrialization produced the need for housing, which was resolved with building structures that crammed as many residential units as possible on a city lot.

The "public charities" were intended to provide financial assistance for the needy, but Grimshaw saw the philanthropic organizations to be a part of the problem. In 1835, Alexis de Tocqueville published *An Essay on Pauperism* expressing his opinion that charity, whether public or private, created a dependent class who had no reason to work to improve their estate in life.[23] According to Gertrude Himmelfarb, Alexis de Tocqueville composed *Pauperism* immediately after completion of volume one of his well known *Democracy in America*, but the work on pauperism focused its attention on Western Europe. However, the principle of *Pauperism*, as was discovered by American political conservatives at the end of the twentieth century, could also be applied to the United States. Public charity in Grimshaw's era was more developed in England and some of the European countries than in America. E. E. Hale considered private almsgiving and giving to begging urban children "mistaken almsgiving" because it could result in removing the incentive for work (13ff). Hale, too, seems to have been influenced by de Tocqueville. The particular case Hale related was taken from the testimony of an English clergyman before the Poor Law Commission who said, "I never knew a child receive a pair of shoes from the parish, who afterward, ever earned another" (15). A. H. Grimshaw commented, with a distinctively de Tocquevillian twist, regarding charity that "the more we multiply 'charities,' the more we increase poverty" (119). He added that society should "cut off poverty by drying up the sources; in a word, prevent misery instead of making vain attempts to relieve it" (120). The irony of this perspective adopted by both Hale and Grimshaw is that given their perspectives on how government is to shoulder the burden of juvenile delinquency—via public institutions and services—why did they not develop their solution to the problem of wayward youth with a more grassroots understanding? Both affirmed the importance of a family environment, both mentioned the importance of some sort of "Christianity," but then both looked to governmental bureaucracy for a solution. If de Tocqueville was correct with his thesis, could it not also be that public care of juvenile delinquents produces a class dependent on public care for *all* of its problems just as surely as public charity creates an economically dependent class?

Grimshaw took the opposite position to E. E. Hale's perspective on regulated apprenticing as a solution to the delinquency problem. The reason for the difference is that Grimshaw had a different definition of apprenticing in mind. He believed that apprenticing was herding boys into manufacturing facilities where they did simple and unskilled tasks with machinery; Hale saw apprenticing as training the youth in a skilled and necessary trade that would, as far as possible, always provide income for the apprentice.

Grimshaw's sixth and seventh points regarding religious instruction are concerned with parents instructing their children in religious things and the parents receiving religious instruction as they learned to read in adult Sunday school programs and improved themselves (139–40; 144). He appealed to Thomas Chalmers regarding the Sunday schools of Scotland as occupying "a high point of command over the moral destinies of our cities, for the susceptibilities of childhood and of youth are what they have to deal with" (141).[24] This quotation from Chalmers raises an important question—is

22. Grimshaw calls cause number eight "early orphanage."

23. This was reprinted by Ivan R. Dee, 1997, with an introduction by Gertrude Himmelfarb. Himmelfarb's twenty page introduction is a nice presentation of the work of the French social analyst. Alexis de Tocqueville, Seymour Drescher, and Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Memoir on Pauperism* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1997).

24. Though quoting Chalmers, Grimshaw did not cite the particular work.

it the church's ministry to teach reading in a church literacy program for the improvement of society through moral teaching, or is the church to preach the gospel to redeem sinners who then become obedient to the Bible and apply its teaching about national citizenship as they grow in sanctification and thus improve society in their individual callings? One has to wonder if the social ministry of teaching reading in Sunday schools did not contribute to some formerly Christian denominations deteriorating into social and political organizations. Does not the church become merely a social welfare institution when it sees its task as improving society? Surely, Christians growing in sanctification improve society as individuals and as families, but is the local connectional church a redeemer of society, or is it the covenant community of the worshipping elect who have been redeemed from sin? Christians may run for public office, help build houses for the poor, or give of their time to assist the victims of tornadoes, but churches are not in the business of social relief, they are in the business of sin-relief.

Thus, Grimshaw has similarities to and differences from the essay by Edward Everett Hale. Both authors see the solution to the problem of juvenile delinquency as predominantly a societal and governmental problem, except for their concern for teaching morality in some ambiguously Christian sense. Grimshaw sees a religious aspect to resolving the situation, but the religion and gospel that he discusses is more one of teaching the Bible's morality than teaching the gospel of grace; Hale sees the teaching of morality and religion as separate aspects of delinquent education along with training in a trade. Both Hale and Grimshaw express the importance of families for teaching youth and keeping them from delinquency, but the emphases of their essays show their belief that resolving the problem of juvenile delinquency is primarily the responsibility of the civil government.

T. V. Moore Essay, "God's University," pages 45–89[25]

T. V. Moore's essay is prefaced with a page of Bible passages including—Ps. 68:6; Gn. 18:19; 1 Sm. 3:13; Pr. 13:24, 19:18, 22:15, 23:13,14, 29:15; Heb. 12:9; Ep. 6:4; Pr. 22:6; 1 Ch. 13:14, 16:16, 43. He then clearly defines his purpose as he addresses the problem of juvenile delinquency saying, that:

> Believing it [the family] to be the divinely appointed institute for the training of the young, and the neglect of its agencies to be the ground cause of juvenile delinquency at the present time, and the proper use of its discipline, instruction and worship to be the desired remedy, we propose to consider this great educational institute, which, as the only one that God has made universal on the earth, we have ventured to term *God's University*, or the divinely appointed means for educating the human race for time and eternity, in all these particulars, not specifically assigned to the Church (49–50).

Rev. Moore continues by setting forth his plan of attack for considering his subject by looking:

> … at its general design, and then consider it under the aspects of a government, a school, and a church; defining its province, explain its duties and pointing out some errors, prevalent in these several departments of its action (50).

A section of the essay is dedicated to each of the four main points about the family—its design, and then the family as a government, school, and church. Concluding the essay is a list of twenty hints for a happy and virtuous family. The longest single section is the family as a government with fifteen pages of text.

The family is the fundamental unit of society; and families, God's universities, must flourish for a nation's stability—without strong families, society will suffer (50). Moore's comment was not only applicable to his Victorian universe but its truth finds merit for our contemporary scene inasmuch as he wrote, "Let a skeptical and socialistic philosophy succeed in weakening, or dissolving the bonds of the family institute, and the very physical constitution of the race must degenerate" (51). Or, to express it in less elegant terms—*as the family goes, so goes society*. The best intentions of charities, and the most competent and caring of hired child care workers full of the "milk of human kindness" are poor substitutes for a proper home (51). The home has a great responsibility to care for the child not only in the short term, but the long term as well. Lads and lasses are not only to be *supervised* during their rearing, but these years are to *educate* the child for the rest of her or his life. A proper home prepares the child for life (51). Most importantly, the home not only prepares the child for life, but also for the greater issue of eternity, or as Moore puts it, the family's "scope is not arrested at old age, but stretches on to another life, and finds its

25. The complete, lengthy antebellum title is—"God's University; Or, The Family Considered as a Government, a School, and a Church, The Divinely Appointed Institute for Training the Young for the Life that is, and For that Which is to Come."

last and highest design in training the soul for heaven" (53). As Moore knew, the antebellum world was a hostile place for the young, so parental concerns for eternity were ever present. As Moore the father expressed it, the family is to "fit those who had lived and loved on earth, to live and love in heaven" (54).

The Family as a Government

T. V. Moore began this section commenting that the oldest form of government on earth is the family.[26] The Fifth Commandment has established the rule of the household instructing children to honor their parents, and in conjunction with this is Paul's instruction, "the husband is head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church" (Eph. 5:23) (55). All members of the home are to honor and obey each other, but the household members are under no more duty to disobey God when ordered to do so by the father than any citizen is to disobey God when instructed to do so by the civil magistrate (55).

For the family to be properly governed, says Rev. Moore, there should be household rules. These rules should be established by the parents in private so the children do not see the mother and father in disagreement as they work out the household legislation. There should not be over legislation—too many rules exasperate children—nor should there be so few that it leads to confusion (56–57). As the rules are applied, it should be done so with equity, love, and an understanding of the sensitivities of the particular child; one child may think a punishment more than she can bear, but another youngster receives the punishment as fair and just from his parents (57–59). Both parents must be consistent in discipline or the child will quickly discern how to divide and conquer to set parent against parent (57–59). Very important for a properly governed home is teaching the young to do *right* because it is *right*; cajoling children through enticements, money, and prizes should not be done (59).

Having established the importance of good family government, T. V. Moore then comments, as Hale and Grimshaw did to a lesser degree, that juvenile delinquency is a result of poor family government. Acknowledging that poverty, abuse, and the criminal environments of some homes contribute to juvenile delinquency, Moore then observes that rebellious children also come from prosperous families and Christian homes, points that Hale and Grimshaw missed due to their emphasizing that bad environment breeds bad people. The problem of delinquency, though it may be exacerbated and complicated by a poor environment, is essentially a problem of bad home government. It may be because the parents simply do not care to govern properly, or because the parents' difficult circumstances make for a poor situation, or due to other factors, but poor home leadership is the source of juvenile delinquency (59–60). It is the parents' responsibility to keep their children from corrupting external influences. Moore mentioned the places where youth might be tempted include—"saloons," "engine houses," "billiard halls," "bowling alleys," and "circuses" (60).[27] These were the places to tempt a young man in the era, to which Moore commented, "can it be wondered at, that, if boys are allowed to spend their evenings and their Sabbaths away from home, and beyond parental oversight, they should be corrupted" (60–61).

Poor family government can be traced to several shortcomings on the part of the parents. A mother or father sometimes postpones beginning child discipline until it is too late. Some, says Moore, believed that a child should not be restrained until old enough to be reasoned with (65). Parents can be too severe in their application of discipline, so the correction needs to be fitted to the offence in a fair and equitable manner. Using the illustration of a branch and its twigs, the Richmond pastor commented that some disobedience is indicative of a deeper or more fundamental problem, so get to the "branch" of the problem and the "twigs" will also be corrected. Do not allow a child to do today what might be prohibited tomorrow, and be consistent without vacillation or caprice (66). Finally, allowing children to do as they please is simply wrong (68–69).

T. V. Moore's instruction regarding family government began by setting forth that the family was established by God in the Fifth Commandment. He summed up his teaching on this subject saying, "to fail in family government then, is to be accessory to a breach of the fifth commandment … if then juvenile depravity is to be thoroughly corrected, we must begin … by restoring family government" (69).

26. Is it the family or was it the theocratic rule of the creating God in Eden? God created the first family, but he also ruled the first family when the family was just Adam and Eve. Maybe Moore's thought here is that the earthly family was the first earthly government in God's creation.

27. An "engine house" is a firehouse. An example of the problems of hanging around engine houses may be seen in the following from *The New York Times*, Jan. 9, 1855, digital archives at http://query.nytimes.com/search/sitesearch, "LONG ISLAND—ARREST OF ENGINE HOUSE LOAFERS. The Chief of Police in Brooklyn, with Captain McCall and a posse of the Police of the Fourth District, made a descent yesterday morning upon Engine-House, No. 5, in Canton-street near Myrtle-avenue, and arrested ten persons known as Engine-House Loafers, for violating a City ordinance. They were all committed to the cells to await examination."

The Family as a School

Having written nearly half of his essay on the family as a government, T. V. Moore turns to the family as a school for his next perspective on resolving the problem of delinquency. In Moore's era, much of education was normally done in the home or privately arranged by the parents with educational contractors. Public education was on the rise, but home governed training was still common. He commented regarding the family as a school that the, "oldest seminary on earth is the family fireside" (69). He commented further that:

> … the family is a school, and education is taking place, whether we recognize it or not.… We may neglect our part, but the education will go on, and other teachers will take our place, and carry out the work, for evil, if we do not for good.… if we plant not the seeds of the right and true, *they will* plant those of bitterness, sadness and sorrow, the harvest of which is sin and perdition. Hence we can never arrest the education of a child, we can only direct it, and see that it is what it should be (71).

Not only is the home the most basic institution of society, but it is also the fundamental institution for education. Children will learn, and the key question for Rev. Moore is, *who are they going to learn from and what will be the teacher's perspective*?

Children, said Moore, are to be brought up "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord" (Eph. 6:4) (74). Christian education should use catechisms and the best formulations of truth so that children are trained to be Christians (75). The use of catechetical questioning presents opportunities for children to ask questions of concern, and questions always provide the opportunity for educational instruction (74). Moore added that:

> Christian nurture is such instruction in the great truths and duties of our holy religion as shall give a knowledge of them as full and accurate as the nature of the child will allow; and Christian admonition is such authoritative enforcement of these duties, and application of these truths in daily life, as shall bring them into vital contact with the soul, by the promised blessing of God. Christian education is educating children to be Christians, and nothing short of this will fill up this great conception (74).

He went on to warn parents that:

> If we do not educate them to the religion of God, others will to the service of Satan, and when we come at last with our seed we will find the ground pre-occupied, and the education already completed (77).

Training children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord is the responsibility of those whose children they are—the parents. The hearts and minds of children are fallow ground for the reception of whatever seeds of knowledge are sown. The choice is to grow the youngsters from the seed of the revealed will of God, or have their lives corrupted with the weeds distributed by those with a different agenda.

T.V. Moore made a forced transition in subject matter as he turned to one of the old sayings that is still heard sometimes in the twenty-first century—"the parson's children are the worst in the parish" (77). As if to vindicate his own household, he presented a statistical analysis of the children of ministers in New England. Studied were the families of 77 ministers and 257 deacons, and the data confirmed, at least to Moore's satisfaction, that the facts tell a different story regarding the disobedience of the pastor's children (77–80). He believed it hard to conceive that such a fine result could be garnered statistically if the same questions were asked of the several congregations' members. In fact, he said, the history of the church is full of examples of those who were ministers whose children were paradigms of piety (80). One cannot help but wonder if this defense of ministerial households was not prompted by his own experience at the First Presbyterian Church of Richmond. Was there a group within Moore's congregation pointing their accusing fingers at "the preacher's kids" and snubbing him and his wife due to the misbehavior of their children?

The Family as a Church

T. V. Moore's briefest section deals with the family as a church, which may seem odd given that he was a minister. He caveats the idea of the family as a church commenting that technically the family is not a church "but in the general sense … a religious institution" (82). Turning to Mal. 2:15 for his source, Moore said that the training of a righteous seed is the great object of a family institution (82). The family as a church is an *ecclesia*, which is a collective organization called out from the mass, and then united together for a religious purpose. Family religion is the root of all correct family education and government (83). The purpose of family religion returns to one of Moore's earlier emphases, which was parental preparation of children for not only this life but the one to come. He commented that:

> … family religion involves more than family worship. As all religion is included in love, so all family religion is contained in family love; and where there is this genuine love to God and one another, the family is not only a church, but an earthly type of heaven (87).

The purpose of the gospel is to redeem the elect and through the gracious work of sanctification prepare them for their ultimate perfection in heaven. It is necessary that a higher idea of the family and its responsibilities be developed, which will result in a greater understanding of the importance of family training that will "correct juvenile delinquency at its very source" (87). Rev. Moore's final pages conclude with a list of twenty "hints" for having "a happy home and a virtuous family" (87).

Thoughts Regarding the Prize Essays

It might be thought that comparison of the articles of Hale and Grimshaw with that of T.V. Moore is inequitable because Hale and Grimshaw address solutions for dealing with the *existing* delinquents in society, while Moore's solution looks to affect delinquency by early training and years of parental guidance. Moore saw the source of the problem as poorly governed, poorly educated, and poorly churched homes. Both Hale and Grimshaw include the importance of family and home in their essays, but for Hale the family is an institutional element of the state, and as reflected in his article title, children are in some sense "State" property. Hale's proposal for establishing institutions that distribute delinquents to state governed households, and his desire that "incompetent parents" look to the government institutions to deposit their troublesome children, diminishes if not demeans the family. Though Grimshaw saw the home as a place of moral teaching based on what he described as "Christian" and "Biblical" principles, the key to his delinquency solution was mostly rectifying the social and environmental problems contributing to delinquency. Again, in the cases of both of these men, the family was important, but the family was servant to the State and the civil magistrate bore the responsibility of correcting parental failings resulting in juvenile delinquency.

Given that the Philadelphia House of Refuge was a reform school type of dormitory institution, some would contend that Moore should have addressed the problem as it existed with respect to handling the criminal youths whose parents did not care about their children. However, despite the fact that Moore is dealing mostly with the issue from one end of the stick, and Hale and Grimshaw have grasped it predominantly from the other, it can be seen that the underlying philosophy of Moore differs from that of his fellow essay contest winners. For Moore, the problem of delinquency was mostly a theological and family issue—the reason why there was delinquency was the failure of parents, whether due to indifference or incompetence, to deal with their own children. He placed the burden on the divinely instituted family, which ideally is a covenantal home wrapped in the grace of God.

T. V. Moore's Later Life

Dr. Moore would continue to serve the First Presbyterian Church of Richmond for several more years, including the trying times of the War Between the States. Moore and his household suffered through the difficulties of living in the Confederate capital during the food shortages, rampant crime, the naval blockade of the South, hospitals overflowing with both Union and Confederate wounded, city fires, economic inflation, and many prisons containing multitudes of Union soldiers.[28] Due to his Pennsylvania connections, Moore was asked to intercede for the parole of Union prisoners so they could return home. He would spend many hours each week visiting the wounded—both Northern and Southern—in the Richmond hospitals. For example, Moore went to one of the Richmond hospitals at the request of Samuel Miller's son, John, to visit a friend of his who was a lieutenant named Paxton.[29] However, Moore was too late to make contact because Paxton had been moved to Lynchburg.[30] He "loaned" funds to paroled soldiers so they could return to their homes across the Mason-Dixon Line. At one point he commented that due to his charity to the wounded and

28. Remember the scene in Zanuck's *Gone with the Wind* with the Atlanta streets full of wounded, and imagine a worse situation. Wartime Richmond was the definition of catastrophe, especially during the confusion of the last months of conflict as the Confederate government was dismantled to be removed to another location.

29. The handwriting is difficult to decipher and the spelling of this name may not be correct.

30. John Miller (1819–1895) studied at Princeton Seminary and was for a brief time assistant to William Swan Plumer in Richmond. During the Civil War he was the pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, Petersburg, Virginia, beginning in 1863, after having served as a chaplain with the Confederacy under Gen. Johnston. He continued at the Petersburg church until he resigned in 1871 to return to Princeton, where he wrote in 1877, *Questions Awakened by the Bible*, which led to his being tried for and convicted of heresy (John Miller, *Questions Awakened by the Bible. I. Are Souls Immortal? II. Was Christ in Adam? III. Is God a Trinity?* [Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1877]).

imprisoned of both North and South he thought he might become a pauper. His two oldest sons born to Sarah, John and James, would serve in the Confederate army. James made it to the rank of lieutenant serving with the Richmond Howitzers, and Private John Moore served with the Confederacy having abandoned his education at Washington College, Lexington, Va., to enter the war. Both sons were captured, with James being held at Johnson's Island and John at Elmira. In a letter from James Hamilton to Secretary of War E. M. Stanton, it was suggested that the two Moores be released or swapped for the son of "Reverend Doctor Breckinridge" (Robert Jefferson), though the results of this suggestion are unknown.[31] James Henley Thornwell was indebted to Matilda and T. V. Moore due to their housing the Thornwells' convalescing son, Gillespie, in their home when he was wounded in 1862. Their open home saved the boy from the poor conditions found in the Richmond hospitals, but it did not save him from dying later in the war.[32] The war years were difficult for Moore as he labored ministering to the soldiers of both sides, but needless to say there were those in the First Church and the city who were not thrilled with his applying the spirituality of the church to maimed, imprisoned, and dying Yankees.

Following the war, Moore remained in Richmond a few years, but he left to receive a call to the First Presbyterian Church, Nashville, Tennessee, in 1869. The years between Appomattox and Moore's death in 1871 saw little literary output from him. During his last few years of life Moore published an article on the fellowship and unity of the church, a memorial to Robert E. Lee, and discourses concerned with young men and women wasting their lives. The milder weather that T. V. had enjoyed so much when he and Sarah first moved to Richmond from Pennsylvania had become too harsh for him, and the move to Nashville was intended to provide a milder climate for T. V. and Matilda; but even in Nashville during the winter, Moore had to find haven in Florida at the home of Dr. T. M. Palmer in Quincy. T. V. Moore died August 5, 1871 and was buried in Nashville. Despite his instructions to his survivors to purchase a simple and small marker with a brief inscription, an obelisk roughly twelve feet high marks the grave site, located beneath the drooping branches of a large tree. The committee of Nashville ministers gathered to conduct his funeral commented regarding Dr. Moore that:

> The death of Dr. Moore will be felt through the length and breadth of our church as the loss of one of its most accomplished ministers. He was a ripe scholar, a well trained theologian, a constant, systematic student, an eloquent preacher, an assiduous, devoted pastor, an able ecclesiastic, a charming companion, an esteemed and valued member of society. A sincere, ardent piety crowned the whole. In short, everything—his mental, moral and physical characteristics, down to the form of his person and the fashion of his countenance, combined to make him, as he will long live in the memory of the many who knew and loved him, *a good minister of Jesus Christ.*

What minister would not delight in having his life and ministry described in such wonderful terms?▪

In Brief: T. V. Moore's Twenty Hints for a Happy Family (88–89)

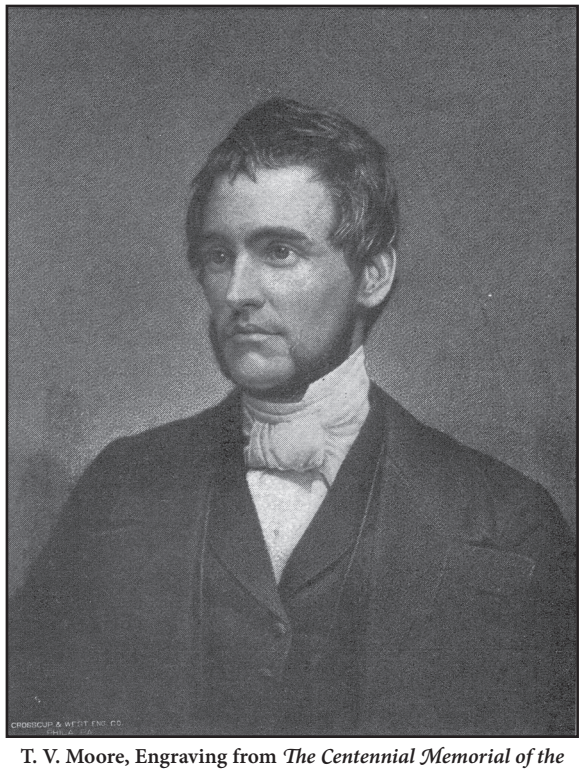
Maud C. Cooke published a book in 1896 titled, *Social Life or, The Manners and Customs of Polite Society*. In that book, she used a de-Christianized version of Moore's hints as advice for etiquette. The list in *Social Life* does not include hints 16-20; hint 3 has removed the words "until you have prayed … Christ would have done so, in your place"; and hint 5 has deleted "but remember that all have an evil nature … should forbear and forgive." Cooke said that the hints as she used them were originally written for the guidance of a woman in etiquette, which means that she must have "borrowed" them from a source who "borrowed" them from Moore. It could well be that Moore composed the twenty points originally, but he too might have "borrowed" them without crediting his source.

He appealed to the General Assembly with no success. He joined the Cumberland Church in 1892. It was fortunate that his father and T. V. Moore did not live to see John's later years ("Miller, John," vol. 10, *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography* [New York: James T. White, 1921]).

31. *War of the Rebellion*, Series 2, Vol. 7, 849–50; R. J. Breckinridge was a Kentuckian. Breckinridge taught at Danville Seminary and was a leader of the movement to eject the New School from the Old School in 1837. He was the maternal grandfather of B. B. Warfield.

32. B. M. Palmer, *The Life and Letters of James Henley Thornwell* (1875; repr. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1986) 515. Gillespie died May 4, 1863 and his grave is in the Thornwell family plot at Elmwood Cemetery, Columbia, S.C. On his grave marker is written, "He gave his life for his country in his nineteenth year."

1. Learn to govern yourselves, and to be gentle and patient.
2. Guard your tempers, especially in seasons of ill-health, irritation, and trouble, and soften them by prayer, penitence, and a sense of your own short comings and errors.
3. Never speak or act in anger, until you have prayed over your words or acts, and concluded that Christ would have done so, in your place.
4. Remember that valuable as is the gift of speech, the gift of silence is often much more so.
5. Do not expect too much from others, but remember that all have an evil nature, whose developments we must expect, and which we should forbear and forgive, as we often desire forbearance and forgiveness ourselves.
6. Never retort a sharp or angry word. It is the second word that makes the quarrel.
7. Beware of the first disagreement.
8. Learn to speak in a gentle tone of voice.
9. Learn to say kind and pleasant things whenever an opportunity offers.
10. Study the character of each one, and sympathize with them in their troubles, however small.
11. Do not neglect little things, if they can affect the comfort of others in the smallest degree.
12. Avoid moods and pets, and fits of sulkiness.
13. Learn to deny yourself, and to prefer others.
14. Beware of meddlers and tale-bearers.
15. Never charge a bad motive, if a good one is conceivable.
16. Be gentle but firm with children.
17. Do not allow your children to be away from home at night, without knowing where they are.
18. Do not allow them to go where they please on the Sabbath.
19. Do not furnish them much spending money.
20. Remember the grave, the judgment seat, and the scenes of eternity, and so order your home on earth, that you shall have a home in heaven.▪



T. V. Moore, Engraving from *The Centennial Memorial of the Presbytery of Carlisle*, volume 2 (Harrisburg: 1889) 233.

The Basis and Practice of Christian Mission to Jews 1520–1860

By Rowland S. Ward

In this essay I want to address the Scriptural basis of Jewish mission as it developed historically and trace, at least in outline, the way in which it led to specific Jewish mission work through organised societies. Our chief focus will be the developments from the 16th century onwards.

In the period we are looking at, large scale conversion of the Jews was commonly associated with end-time events, and this remains the case for many today. Differing understandings of the future prospects for the church of God affected attitudes to the Jews. While perhaps a majority were post-millenial, believing Christ would return after the millenial period, from 1600 on there was an increased interest in Christ inaugurating a millenial reign on earth, so his coming was perceived as pre-millenial. But whether pre- or post- these terms did not necessarily mean what is commonly meant by them today. Given that millennial hopes of one kind or another kept Jewish mission and evangelism alive, it seems appropriate to outline the four basic views of the Book of Revelation as we begin. One should keep in mind that there may be aspects of one view that are included in forms of another, and that there are varieties within each view.

Millennial Views

1. The ***futurist*** view places everything after Revelation chapter 4 in the future, so that it describes trouble and tribulation belonging to the end times preceding a 1000 year reign of Christ on earth with his saints before the final resurrection. In Justin Martyr (103–165) about AD 150, we see belief in Christians as the true Israel, and while Jews are to be evangelised, it is not evident that large-scale conversion is envisaged. Justin advocates a form of pre-millennial teaching in which antichrist proper was equivalent to the man of sin and was an individual —possibly a Jew—destined to overthrow the Roman Empire and establish a wicked and tyrannical rule for three and a half years based on a rebuilt Jerusalem. He would quickly be overthrown by the return of Christ, and an earthly millennial reign would follow. Justin states many held this millennial or *chiliastic* view, but also admits that many true Christians believed otherwise.[1] The Alexandrian school, for example, took a more allegorical approach. The literalist approach of Justin and others probably owes a great deal to pre-Christian Jewish belief in the earthly restoration of ethnic Israel, modified by Justin's recognition that spiritual Israel is the true Israel of God. The eloquent Lactantius (ca 240–320) in Asia Minor was another who taught a future literal 1000 years of the reign of Christ.[2]

2. The ***praeterist*** view sees Revelation as fulfilled in the early period, either in the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70 or in the collapse of the Roman Empire in the 5th century. This view had little currency beyond these events. The Jesuit scholar Luis Alcazar (1554–1613) revived it,[3] and of course it was a useful counter to the general Protestant historicist interpretation which saw the Papacy as the antichrist.

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1. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*, 80.
2. *The Divine Institutes*, Book 7, Chapter 24.
3. In his *Vestigatio arcane sensus in Apocalypsi* [An Investigation into the Hidden Sense of the Apocalypse] (Antwerp, 1614).

3. As time went on without Christ's return the ***historicist*** view developed, which saw Revelation as an unfolding of history in advance so that each symbol could be identified with a specific historical event, usually taking it in chronological sequence, but sometimes recognising a structure involving recapitulation. Lactantius was neglected in the Middle Ages until his literal millennium was taken up by others influenced by Joachim of Fiore (1135–1202), such as the Franciscan Alexander Minorita who wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse around 1240. Alexander regarded the millennium as running from 326 to 1326 or soon after.[4] Another Franciscan, Nicholas of Lyra was influenced by Alexander, as well as by Jewish exegetes such as Rashi, and issued his lectures on Revelation in 1329. Nicholas in turn influenced Luther and Protestant approaches to interpreting Revelation in an historicist way.

4. The ***idealist*** view, which I regard as the substantially correct position, regards Revelation as giving the history behind history using symbolic language to describe the spiritual factors operating in every age. Augustine (354–430) at one time accepted the chiliastic futurist position. However, in his *City of God* (ca 420) he sufficiently confuted it[5] for it to gradually die away, although, contrary to some recent claims, it was never condemned by any of the early councils of the Church.[6] Tyconius, the dissident Donatist (fl. 375), and Augustine, later followed by such as the Venerable Bede (673–735), viewed the visions of the Book of Revelation as a kind of recapitulative treatment of the basic problems faced by the church in every age.[7] The millennium was generally seen as the whole period of church history until Christ returned. It was not necessarily a literal 1000 years. Belief in the general conversion of the Jews near the end of history was common, based on Romans 11, but the idea that 'the first resurrection' of Revelation was literal, rather than spiritual, was firmly rejected. Interestingly, it is Augustine who develops a more positive attitude to the Jews than had previously existed. He considered that they should not be persecuted for they were a witness to the truth of Scripture.[8]

Sixteenth Century

The early Protestants considered the millennium of Revelation 20 to be a period of 1000 literal years beginning either in the first century or with Constantine in the beginning of the 4th century. The more or less universal conviction of the Protestants of the 16th and 17th centuries was that the predicted antichrist or man of sin was most fully and clearly expressed in the papal system as represented in the Pope, and most thought this tyranny had existed since about the time of Hildebrand who became Pope Gregory VII in 1073. They believed the Reformation to be a decisive blow against the man of sin, and in general did not think the end of the world and the return of Christ were far away. In common with much of the church of earlier ages they thought that Romans 11 indicated a mass conversion of the Jews would also occur near the end of history.

Martin Luther (1483–1545), who thought the end was near but didn't set dates, initially had high hopes for the mass conversion of the Jews. Later his optimism changed to bitter invective due to their general refusal to believe. Luther thought 'all Israel' in Romans 11:26 was an ethnic description but remained puzzled over how the Jews could be saved given their stubborn rejection of Christ. He certainly did not accept that every individual Jew was included in the 'all'. Luther's initially dismissive view of Revelation began to change to a more positive one in 1528.

A few radicals in Luther's time thought of a future millennium, usually in the near future, and involving the earthly reign of the saints, and date setting was not infrequent among them. The first creedal condemnation of this chiliasm in its more extravagant form, as in Thomas Müntzer (1488–1525), occurs in the Lutheran *Augsburg Confession* of 1530, Article 17:

> They condemn others also, who now scatter Jewish opinions, that, before the resurrection of the dead, the godly shall occupy the kingdom of the world, the wicked being every where suppressed [the saints alone, the pious, shall have a worldly kingdom, and shall exterminate all the godless].[9]

4. Robert E. Lerner, "The Medieval Return to the Thousand-Year Sabbath," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages,* ed. R. K. Emmerson and B. McGinn (New York: Cornell University Press, 1992) 60.

5. Augustine, *The City of God*, Book 20, Chapter 7.

6. Contra e.g., *Puritans, The Millennium and the Future of Israel,* ed. Peter Toon (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1970, 2002) 14. Compare Francis X. Gumerlock, "Millennialism and the Early Church Councils: Was Chiliasm Condemned at Constantinople?" *Fides et Historia* 36:2 (Summer/Fall 2004): 83–95.

7. Philip D. W. Krey, "The Apocalypse Commentary of 1329: Problems in Church History," in *Nicholas Lyra: The Senses of Scripture,* ed. Philip D. W. Krey and Lesley Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000) 268; Paula Fredriksen, "Tyconius and the End of the World," *Revue des études augustiniennes* XXVIII (1982) 59–75.

8. See this fully argued in Paula Fredriksen, *Augustine and the Jews: A Christian Defense of Jews and Judaism* (New York: Doubleday, 2008).

9. *The Creeds of Christendom with A History and Critical Notes,* ed. Philip Schaff, David S. Schaff, vol. 3, *The Evangelical Protestant Creeds, with Translations,* 6th ed. rev. and enlarged (1931; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1983) 18. The bracketed words appear in the German text.

Views expressed in the Peasants' Revolt of 1524/25 are in the background.

Article 41 of the *Forty Two Articles of the Church of England* (1552/53) stated similarly: "They that go about to renew the fable of heretics called Millenarii, are repugnant to Holy Scripture, and cast themselves headlong into a Jewish dotage."

Doubtless the horror of the rebellion of radical Anabaptists, who set up the New Jerusalem at Münster in Germany in 1534/35, was also part of the background.

John Calvin (1509–64) thought of the expression 'all Israel' as describing all believers in Christ whether Jew or Gentile. Although he seems to be in the minority today there are good reasons for this position, not least that it is difficult to see how the conversion of a particular generation of Jews can be described as 'all Israel'. This is especially so given Paul's stress in the preceding sections on the Gentile mission as a means to provoke some Jews to faith, his emphasis on an elect remnant, and his appropriation of the Abrahamic promises to those who are true believers (cf. Romans 9:6). Calvin does not exclude significant conversion of Jews in the course of history. He writes in 1540 in his Romans Commentary:

> Many understand this of the Jewish people, as if Paul was saying that religion was to be restored to them again as before. But I extend the word *Israel* to include all the people of God, in this sense, 'When the Gentiles have come in, the Jews will at the same time return from their defection to the obedience of faith. The salvation of the whole Israel of God, which must be drawn from both, will thus be completed, and yet in such a way that the Jews, as the first born in the family of God, may obtain the first place.'[10]

Although Calvin did not comment on the Book of Revelation as such, he viewed the millennium as referring to the trials of the church as she toiled on earth, and he dismisses futurism.[11] In other words the theology of the cross is not eclipsed in his thinking, and it looks as if he is basically Augustinian. He does recognise the Papacy as the predicted antichrist. He does not tie the millennium of Revelation 20 to a past or future age, but he does write in a very positive vein of the *present* kingly reign of Christ. Thus, in the Preface to the *Institutes* written in 1536 he states:

> We, indeed, are perfectly conscious how poor and abject we are: in the presence of God we are miserable sinners, and in the sight of men most despised…. But our doctrine must stand sublime above all the glory of the world, and invincible by all its power, because it is not ours, but that of the living God and his Anointed, whom the Father has appointed King, that he may rule from sea to sea, and from the rivers even to the ends of the earth; and so rule as to smite the whole earth and its strength of iron and brass, its splendour of gold and silver, with the mere rod of his mouth, and break them in pieces like a potter's vessel; according to the magnificent predictions of the prophets respecting his kingdom (Dan. 2:34; Isaiah 11:4; Psalm 2:9).[12]

If the notion of a future millennium had some following it was certainly not the view of the vast majority of Protestants in the 16th century. The Roman Church argued for a future antichrist—an individual who would harass the church for three and a half years at the close of the millennium which spanned Christian history.[13] This approach was elaborated by two Jesuit scholars, Francisco Ribera (1537–91) and Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621). Bellarmine thought of the antichrist as a Jew who would reign in Jerusalem for three and a half years.

In summary, in the 16th century Reformed community there was an historicist interpretation of Revelation with special reference to the Papacy and the Turk (i.e., Islam). The millennium, in so far as it is expounded, is in the past, and the first resurrection of Revelation 20 is taken in a spiritual sense not a literal one. There is a rather common belief in the future conversion of many Jews, usually as a prelude to further gospel blessing among Gentiles, and date setting is avoided. One can see all this in the notes to the very influential Geneva Bible (1557/1560), in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (1563) and in writers like Heinrich Bullinger (1557), Peter Martyr Vermigli (1558), Andrew Willet (1590) and his famous contemporary William Perkins.

Seventeenth Century

The virtually universal Protestant reading of things to come in terms of a past millennium ending around 1070

10. Calvin, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* at 11.26 (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd 1961) 255.

11. Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Book 3, Chapter 25, Section 5. This appears to be the only reference to the millennium in Calvin. For a neat summary of Calvin's eschatology see the closing sentences of *Institutes*, 3.20.42 in commenting on the petition 'thy kingdom come'.

12. Beveridge's translation. Many passages in Calvin's comments on the Prophets and the Psalms are to similar effect.

13. Note Calvin's negative comment on this view at 1 John 2:18, *Commentary on 1 John* (1556).

or 1300, or of a millennium equating to the whole church period to the return of Christ, broke down somewhat in the seventeenth century. The historicist view was always subject to reinterpretation, particularly when social or political upheaval and change was present.

The tumultuous times undoubtedly contributed to shifts in Protestant views about the future. The execution of Mary Queen of Scots in 1587 and the defeat of the Armada of Catholic Spain in 1588 furthered a new mood in England under Elizabeth I. Nor did the union of the crowns in 1603 dampen the interest in Britain's role in bringing about a brighter future. James VI of Scotland and I of England had written against the papal Antichrist as early as 1588, even predicting its overthrow. Perhaps the latter-day glory was at hand.

In Scotland John Napier (1550–1617), the mathematician generally regarded as the inventor of logarithms, published a commentary on Revelation in 1593. He gives detailed dates and employs the principle that a day in prophecy equates to a year. He predicted the fall of the Papacy in 1639 and the return of Christ and the end of the age between 1688 and 1700. He does not appear to have a place for the future conversion of the Jews as he refers the 144,000 in Revelation 7, whom he takes to be converted Jews, to the period around AD 70. He calculates the millennium as running from 300–1300. His significance is that he starts to predict the future with his detailed calculations.

Writing in 1602 John Welch (1570–1622) of Ayr, John Knox's son-in-law, acknowledged that Romans 11 foretold the general conversion of the Jews, and he noted that the annotations to the Roman Catholic Rheims Bible agreed. He then turned this against his opponent's view that antichrist was a Jew who would appear in the last three and a half years of history and deceive his fellow Jews for rejecting Christ. His grounds were that such is not indicated in Scripture nor is it credible given that shortly previous the Jews had been converted.[14]

In 1602 Thomas Brightman (1562–1607), a minister in Bedfordshire, wrote a very large book published posthumously in Holland [Latin 1609; English 1611, 1615, 1616], in which he contrived to derive two millenniums from Revelation 20: (1) the period 300–1300 and, crucially, (2) a *future* period 1300–2300. About 1650 the power of Rome and the Turk would wane, the Jews would be converted, the final ruin of Antichrist would occur in 1686, and triumphs of the gospel would follow until the consummation in 2300.[15] Germany was seen as like the church of Sardis; Scotland and Holland, because more thoroughly reformed, were like Philadelphia, and England like Laodicea. This was a view hardly likely to encourage the more radical Puritans to stay in England, and the exit of many to America is not unrelated. Brightman influenced Dutch thinkers as well.[16] In his *Gravissimae Quaestionis* published in 1613, Archbishop James Ussher (1581–1656) also envisaged a second millennium beginning around 1500 with the restoration of the gospel, but it appears changing political circumstances led him to refrain from publishing his detailed position on this second millennium.[17]

In 1618 the exposition by Elnathan Parr (1577–1622) of Romans 8–11 came off the press. Parr is certain of the future calling of the mass of the Jews. Commenting on 11:26 he writes:

> … the secret is this, that when the fullness of the Gentiles is come in there shall be a famous, notorious universal calling of the Jews…. The end of this world will not be until the Jews are called, and how long yet after that none can tell.[18]

He thinks the conversion of the Jews will mean 'life from the dead' in the sense that believers will be confirmed and also increased in number and graces (Parr, 365–366). He appears to represent the mainstream Puritan view in his time and his book ran to several editions. He does not connect his view with the 1000 years of Revelation 20, but interest in a future millennium was building.

In 1604 Johannes Piscator (1546–1625), the head of the important Reformed Academy of Theology at Herborn, issued his new translation of the Bible in German

14. John Welch, *A Reply Against M[aster]. Gilbert Browne Priest* (Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1602) 288.

15. The drift of the volume can be gathered from title of the brief epitome published in 1641: *Reverend Mr. Brightmans judgement, or prophecies what shall befall Germany, Scotland, Holland, and the churches adhering to them Likewise what shall befall England, and the hierarchy therein. Collected out of his exposition on the Revelations, printed above forty yeares since. Wonderfull to see how they are fulfilled, and in fulfilling, foreseeing and foretelling what our eyes have seen, and may see, both in the past, present and future state of our times. Declaring that the reformation began in Queene Elizabeth's dayes, is not sufficient for us under greater light. Finishing the work if we now withstand as heretofore, we are to expect, God hath a sad controversie with the land. This faithfull watchman or our English prophet (as he is cald) was persecuted and banished by the bishops, and this commentary condemned by them to the fire; which they could not effect in Queen Elizabeths raigne, till King Iames. Collected for the good of those who want time or coine, to purchase so large a volume*

16. W. J. Van Asselt, "Structural Elements in the Eschatology of Johnanes Cocceius," *Calvin Theological Journal* 35 (2000) 96.

17. Crawford Gribben, *The Puritan Millennium, Literature & Theology 1550–1682* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000) 88–91.

18. Elnathan Parr, *A plaine exposition* … (1620 edition) 406, 409.

(the first since Luther), which had notes supporting a *future* millennium. In his Commentary on Revelation published in 1613 these views were elaborated,[19] but he was strongly criticised by David Pareus of Heidelberg.

Johann Alsted (1588–1638), Piscator's colleauge who succeeded him in 1625, was at first an adherent of the earlier position of a past millenium, but from 1622 onward he was moved away from this view, influenced by the upheavals of the Thirty Years War (1618–1648), the death of Piscator and a disastrous fire in Herborn itself. His quite brief and sober *Diatribe de mille annis apocalypticis* published in 1627, published in English translation in 1643 as *The Beloved City*, advocates a full future millennium beginning about 1694, with Christ in heaven but the resurrected martyrs governing for him on earth.[20] Alsted argues for the conversion of the Jews utilising 34 passages mainly from the Old Testament.[21]

In 1621 William Gouge (1575–1653), Puritan minister of St Ann Blackfriars in London, published the book by Sir Henry Finch entitled *The World's Great Restauration. Or the Calling of the Jewes and (with them) of all the Nations and Kingdoms of the earth, to the faith of Christ.* In the Preface he stated:

> Here are no Rabbinical conceits, no Jewish fables, no abrogated ceremonies, raked out of the ashes, but such a glory of the Church is here set forth as may stand with the doctrine of the Gospel, preached by the Apostles.

This book not only affirmed the general conversion of the Jews, although not every individual, but went further. The first conversion would occur 'about the time the Turkish tyrannie shall have lasted 350 years' (i.e., 1650), and the final overthrow of the Turks would occur 45 years later (1695) in a battle with the Jews at Jerusalem with heavenly assistance. The 12 tribes of the Jews would flourish again in Palestine and abound in spiritual graces; all nations would be converted and honour the Jews.

King James did not like some of the content and the author and publisher were arrested and only released after apology. Gouge was to be a leading member of the Westminster Assembly in the 1640s.

Napier and Brightman were Puritans who were critical of the half-reformed Laodicean English church. On the other hand, the quiet, irenic scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge, Joseph Mede (1586–1638), was committed to the episcopal polity and worship of the Church of England under Archbishop Laud,[22] but was not given preferment because he identified the papacy as antichrist: under Laud's ascendancy (1633–40) any books making such an identification could not be published. Mede's *Clavis Apocalyptica* [Key to Revelation] was published in Latin in 1627 and in fuller form in 1632. It drew from the earlier Protestant tradition as well as from Brightman, sought to synchronise Daniel and Revelation, and advocated a future millennial rule of the saints beginning no later than 1715. His presentation was careful and measured and appealed to people from the different sections of Protestant society in England. In 1642 an English translation of Mede's *Key* with recommendatory preface by William Twisse (1578–1646), the first chairman of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, was approved for publication by the Long Parliament. Mede's works were reprinted in the 1640s and in fuller form in 1664 and subsequently, and have impacted the more radical section of Christian thought on the last things ever since.

The same year (1642) a 59 page booklet, *The Personall Raigne of Christ Upon Earth,* by John Archer appeared, advocating essentially a pre-millennial scheme with a literal resurrection at its beginning and a general conversion of the Jews. Archer was minister of the English Independent congregation at Arnhem from 1638–42. Despite the title, Archer thought Christ would only appear briefly at the beginning of the millennium and then withdraw to heaven to rule this Fifth Monarchy (succeeding the Four World Empires of Daniel's visions) through believers who had died prior to the commencement of the millennium circa 1700.

The position of Thomas Goodwin (1600–80), co-pastor with Archer (1639–40), was the same, although who influenced whom is unclear. Goodwin's views on Revelation are derived from sermons he preached in 1639. They were posthumously published in his *Collected Works* in 1681. There is also his *Sermon on the Fifth Monarchy* published in 1654. Goodwin is generally said to be the author of the brief *A Glimpse of Zion's Glory,* published 1642, but the content, which has Christ actually reigning on earth with his saints for 1,000 years, might suggest as author another of the Independent party, such

19. Howard Hotson, *Johann Heinrich Alsted, 1588–1638: between Renaissance, Reformation, and Universal Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) 208.

20. Johann Alsted, *The Beloved City* (London, 1643) 13, 17.

21. Hotson, Ibid., 198; also Howard Hotson, *Paradise Postponed: Johann Heinrich Alsted and the Birth of Calvinist Millenarianism* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000) 135.

22. S. Hutton, "The Appropriation of Joseph Mede," in *The Millenarian Turn: Millenarian Contexts of Science, Politics and Everyday Anglo-American Life in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries Volume III*, ed. J. E. Force and R. H. Popkin (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2001) 9.

as Jeremiah Burroughs.[23] Goodwin thought antichrist would be overthrown in 1666. As already noted, Alsted's work was published in English translation in 1643 under the title *The Beloved City*: *Or the Saints' Reign on Earth a Thousand Years*.

It was powerful stuff in the context of the competing parties in the English church and the outbreak of civil war in 1640. Quoting Christopher Hill, Gribben notes:

> The collapse of censorship saw a fantastic outpouring of books, pamphlets and newspapers. Before 1640, newspapers were illegal; by 1645 there were 722. Twenty-two books were published in 1640; over 2,000 in 1642 (Gribben, *The Puritan Millennium*, 195).

Each part tended to see the future glory in terms of the elevation of their particular view of the church. Independents and Presbyterians had been allies in 1641 but this alliance had collapsed by 1649. The Independents were not impressed with the Scots' royalist sympathies and, while there was a strong optimistic streak in Scottish thinking, it was more what we would call post-millennial than pre-millennial in orientation. Further, Presbyterians looked for a national church, Independents one to which only the regenerate would belong. It is no accident that pre-millennial and extravagant views of the future belonged mostly to Independents and Baptists, and it is no accident that the Fifth Monarchy men of the 1650s, who talked of helping God bring in the reign of the saints by force, were drawn from their ranks.

One of the Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, Robert Baillie (1602–62), while perhaps more in the Augustinian mould so far as the millennium is concerned, is certainly not one who rejects the conversion of the Jews.[24] Referring to Romans 11:12 he writes:

> … we grant willingly that the nation of the Jews shall be converted to the faith of Christ; and that the fullness of the Gentiles is to come in with them to the Christian Church; also that the quickening of that dead and rotten member, shall be a matter of exceeding joy to the whole Church. But that the converted Jews shall return to Canaan to build Jerusalem, that Christ shall come from heaven to reign among them for a thousand years, there is no such thing intimated in the Scriptures in hand (Baillie, *A Dissuasive*, 243).

His fellow Scottish Commissioner George Gillespie (1613–48), in a sermon before the English Parliament in 1644, suggested 1643—the year the Assembly began—marked the beginning of the promised blessing for the church. Yet he cautions:

> That which I have said, from grounds of Scripture, concerning a more glorious, yea, more peaceable condition of the church to be yet looked for, is acknowledged by some of our sound and learned writers who have had occasion to express their judgment about it: and it hath no affinity with the opinion of an earthly or temporal kingdom of Christ, or of the Jews' building again of Jerusalem and the material temple, and their obtaining a dominion above all other nations, or the like.[25]

The influential *Commentary on Revelation* by James Durham (1622–58) appeared in 1658. Durham spoke highly of Mede[26] but differed from him in some particulars. Durham considered that the millennium had likely begun in 1560—the year of the Scottish Reformation—and that what he considered the Gentile Church would come to a flourishing condition with the overthrow of the papal antichrist and the general calling of the Jews following (Durham, 727). He was cautiously of the view that the Jews would be restored to Palestine (617–620).

None of these writers subscribe to a pre-millennial scheme and their general outlook was to be virtually universal in Scotland until the 1820s.

The *Dutch Annotations* of 1637, ordered by the Synod of Dort (translated into English and published 1657 at London), render Romans 11:26 (ungrammatically) as '*Then* all Israel shall be saved'. As regards Revelation 20 a future millennium is rejected: the church has no promise of being free from persecution at any point before the Last Day, and a literal resurrection at the beginning of the millennium is repugnant to the Bible's teaching of a general resurrection at the Last Day. This approach is found in representative Reformed writers such as Johannes Cocceius (1603–69)[27] of Franeker and Leiden,

23. Robert Baillie (*A dissuasive from the errours of the time* [London: Samuel Gellibrand, 1645] 79), identifies Goodwin as the author, a conclusion that can be otherwise established. See A. R. Dallison, "Appendix II," in *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel,* ed. Peter Toon (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1970) 131–136.

24. Contra in measure Dallison, "Contemporary Criticism of Millenarianism," in *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel*, 107.

25. George Gillespie, "A Sermon Preached Before the Honourable House of Commons at their late solemn fast, Wednesday March 27, 1644," in *The Presbyterian Armoury.* 3 vols. *Vol. 1. The Works of George Gillespie* (Edinburgh: Robert Ogle and Oliver and Boyd, 1846) 22.

26. James Durham, *A commentarie upon the book of the Revelation* (London, 1658) 333, 725.

27. W. J. Van Asselt, "Structural Elements in the Eschatology of Johannes Cocceius," *Calvin theological Journal* 35 (2000) 95, 96, 100.

and Francis Turretin (1623–87) of Geneva,[28] although the latter is uncertain as to whether the conversion of the Jews is successive through history or simultaneous.

The English *Annotations* (1645), largely the work of men who were also members of the Westminster Assembly, recognise the future calling of the Jews but do not decide between the ethnic or spiritual Israel view of 'all Israel' in Romans 11:26; and similarly in the 1658 edition. The millennium is thought to be a future period of a literal or non-literal 1000 years.

The documents of the Westminster Assembly are singularly careful in dealing with eschatology.[29] *The Directory for the Public Worship of God* (1644) outlines the matter of public prayer as including:

> … to pray for the propagation of the gospel and kingdom of Christ to all nations; for the conversion of the Jews, the fulness of the Gentiles, the fall of Antichrist, and the hastening of the second coming of our Lord; for the deliverance of the distressed churches abroad from the tyranny of the antichristian faction, and from the cruel oppressions and blasphemies of the Turk….

Similarly, in Larger Catechism 191 the petition 'thy kingdom come' is said to require prayer to the end that 'the gospel [be] spread throughout the whole world, the Jews called, the fullness of the Gentiles brought in …' but in the Confession itself (1646) there is no mention of the calling of the Jews, nor in any of the Assembly documents is Revelation 20 cited or referred to.

The *Savoy Declaration* of the English Independents (1658) does go further in its version of the Westminster Confession, stating [Ch. 26.5]:

> … so according to his promise we expect that in the latter days Antichrist being destroyed, the Jews called, and the adversaries of his dear Son broken, the churches of Christ being enlarged and edified through a plentiful communication of light and grace, shall enjoy in this world a more quiet, peaceable and glorious condition than they have enjoyed.

In all the millennial interest in the ferment of the first half of the 17th century, it is evident that the attitude to the Jews was motivated in the last analysis by religious interest. Hence their admission to England under the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell in 1656 was a means to bring them under the sound of the gospel, that their conversion might be hastened and the reign of Christ begin.[30]

Following the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660 there was a moderation of extravagant notions of things to come in England, although there remain side by side the views that Christ comes after the millennial period and that he comes before it. In 1691 the notable Richard Baxter (1615–91) published a refutation of Thomas Beverley's theories, which included the inauguration of the millennium in 1697, entitled *The glorious kingdom of Christ, described and clearly vindicated against the bold asserters of a future calling and reign of the Jews, and 1000 years before the conflagration &c.* Baxter dedicated the volume to Increase Mather (1639–1723), whose position he acknowledged was more moderate.[31] In America a generally pre-millennial position with emphasis on the Jews' future conversion was held by many Christian leaders, such as Mather, the first President of Harvard and the author of *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation* (1669).

Eighteenth Century

Deism blighted much of the first half of the 18th century, although it did serve to restrain some speculations into a more rational mould, and the idea of toleration after the religious strife of the preceding century was influential. Early free-thinker and human-rights advocate John Toland (1670–1722) published *Reasons for Naturalizing the Jews* in 1714, drawing on the recently published massive and pioneering *History of the Jews* by the French Huguenot Jacques Basnage (1653–1723). Unlike Basnage, Toland does not concern himself with or argue for the conversion of the Jews,[32] but believed the Jews should be able to retain the Mosaic law minus the sacrificial system. Isaac Newton held that the Jews would be restored to Palestine and rebuild the temple some centuries hence.[33] Prominent Unitarian preacher, scientist and philosopher Joseph Priestly (1733–1804) believed in human progress bringing about the millennium. In his *Letters to the Jews Inviting Them to an Amicable Discussion of the*

28. Francis Turretin, *Institutes of Elenctic Theology* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P & R Publishing, 1997) 3:574–589.

29. Derek Thomas, "The Eschatology of the Westminster Standards," in *The Westminster Confession into the 21st Century,* vol. 3, ed. Ligon Duncan (Fearn: Mentor, 2009) 307–379, esp. 351ff.

30. Anthony Fletcher, "Oliver Cromwell and the Godly Nation," in *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution*, ed. John Morrill (London: Longman, 1990) 211–212.

31. J. A. De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea* (Kampen: J.H.Kok, 1970) 89.

32. Pierre Lurbe, "John Toland and the Naturalization of the Jews," *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr*, vol. 14 (1999) 37–48.

33. S. Snobelen, "'The Mystery of This Restitution of All Things': Isaac Newton and the Return of the Jews," in *Millenarianism in early European Culture: The Millenarian Turn*, ed. J. E. Force and R. H. Popkin (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2001) 95–118 at 110.

Evidences of Christianity (London, 1787), he argued for his rational version of Christianity and maintained the perpetual obligation of the Jews to observe the Mosaic law. He also asserted God would restore them to Palestine when they were obedient. As late as 1819 US President John Adams expressed the wish that the Jews be again in Judea as an independent nation, but he did not operate from Trinitarian Christian principles and entertained the hope that the Jews, thus restored, would become 'liberal Unitarian Christians'.[34]

In 1700 William à Brakel (1635–1711), the Dutch Second Reformation writer, argued at length for future conversion of the Jews and their restoration to Palestine.[35] In an Appendix to his *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (1703), English clergyman Daniel Whitby (1638–1726) agreed, but specifically linked the millennium of Revelation 20 with the future period of gospel blessedness he believed would follow on the fall of antichrist and the conversion of the Jews. He was open to the possibility of Jewish return to Jerusalem but denied the temple would be rebuilt. He thus systematized the earlier post-millennial-type position which had not settled on a particular position on the Revelation 20 passage. The influential Lutheran pietist and biblical scholar J. A. Bengel (1687–1752) held pre-millennial views. He distinguished an earthly millennium followed by a heavenly one when conditions on earth would be difficult, and calculated Christ's return to occur in 1836. John Wesley (1703–91) acknowledges his debt to Bengel and in his early years appears to maintain a form of pre-millennialism, but he is not very clear or dogmatic; he certainly accepts a future calling of the Jews.

> So many prophecies refer to this grand event, that it is surprising any Christian can doubt of it. And these are greatly confirmed by the wonderful preservation of the Jews as a distinct people to this day. When it is accomplished, it will be so strong a demonstration, both of the Old and New Testament revelation, as will doubtless convince many thousand Deists, in countries nominally Christian; of whom there will, of course, be increasing multitudes among merely nominal Christians. And this will be a means of swiftly propagating the gospel among Mahometans and Pagans; who would probably have received it long ago, had they conversed only with real Christians.[36]

With a view to relieving Jews of the financial disadvantages on aliens and the prohibition of the un-naturalized owning land, the Whig English parliament passed a naturalization bill in May 1753. It was commonly called the 'Jew Bill' since Jews could not comply with existing long-standing naturalization procedures designed to exclude Roman Catholics, as there was a requirement to receive communion in the Church of England. Under pressure from certain London merchants and the Tories, the Act was repealed later that year. It is clear that the Whigs thought that the measure would stimulate trade, but also that it was a general belief among them, but not among the Tories, that the Jews' conversion as predicted in Scripture would be furthered.

Cotton Mather (1663–1728) of New England held his father Increase's views for most of his life, and even projected the return of Christ for around 1697 (De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 91), but in an unpublished essay some years before he died he rejects belief in the *en masse* conversion of the Jews. He now thought the Old Testament prophecies had been fulfilled in the return of the Jews from exile in Babylon in the 6th century BC and in the conversion of many Jews in the first century AD, and that now the only true Israel consists of those who worship Christ.[37]

The remarkable Jonathan Edwards (1703–58) was a prominent advocate of an optimistic post-millennial position, and stated: "Nothing is more certainly foretold than this national conversion of the Jews is in the 11th chapter of Romans."[38] He was particularly influential on both sides of the Atlantic through his correspondence with John Erskine (1721–1803), a leader of the evangelicals in the Church of Scotland. Indeed, Erskine maintained a strong missionary interest and even thought that the revivals associated with George Whitefield might be a precursor of the return of Christ. Erskine also corresponded with Calvinistic evangelicals like the English Baptist John Ryland (1753–1825). Edwards himself came to think of the revivals as preparatory to the latter day glory. The revivals certainly quickened hope for the better times many Protestants believed were predicted. Indeed, it has been suggested that the theology of Edwards and the example of David Brainerd

34. "John Adams Embraces A Jewish Homeland," Jewish Virtual Library. http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/US-Israel/adams.html accessed 1 July 2010.

35. Wilhemus à Brakel, *The Christian's Reasonable Service,* vol. 4 (Morgan, PA: Soli Deo Gloria, 1995) 510–534.

36. John Wesley, *Explanatory Notes on the New Testament* at Romans 11:12.

37. Mel Scult, *Millennial expectations and Jewish liberties: a study of the efforts to Convert the Jews in Britain, Up to the Mid Nineteenth Century* [Studies in Judaism in Modern Times, vol. 2] (Leiden: Brill 1978) 49–50.

38. Jonathan Edwards, *A History of the Work of Redemption* (repr. Grand Rapids: Associated Publishers & Authors, n.d.) 313.

(1718–47) were the two major forces in the missionary movement of the 19th century. John Ryland named his sons Jonathan Edwards Ryland and David Brainerd Ryland (De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 177).

With the upheavals of the American War of Independence (1776) and then the French Revolution (1789), many Protestants saw God's providence as bringing about conditions for the overthrow of the papal anti-Christ, the conversion of the Jews and widespread gospel triumphs throughout the world. While there was much unfounded speculation about unfulfilled prophecy, the major leaders stressed the preaching of the gospel as the great means used by the Spirit of God to bring about these changes. Mission organisations were formed. The first was the *Baptist Missionary Society* by Carey, Ryland and a few friends in 1792. In 1795 the interdenominational *Missionary Society* (later called the *London Missionary Society* [LMS]) followed, with the Scot Daniel Bogue (1750–1825) a driving force, but stricter Evangelical Church of England men held back until 1899 when they formed their own *Church Missionary Society*. The *Religious Tract Society* (1799) and the *Bible Society* (1804) augmented these missionary bodies.

While a common view was that the latter day glory was about to break forth, Bogue wrote: "But I beg you to consider that in aiming to propagate the gospel, we are to be guided by what God enjoins as a duty, not by what he delivered as a prediction" (De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 187).

That duty was to preach as commanded by Christ, Bogue continued. Only through preaching would the millennium be realized, and then only in God's time. There were those in the Missionary Society who thought that the conversion of some of the Jews was a necessary prelude to the widespread conversion of the heathen. In 1801 a converted German Jew, Joseph Samuel Christian Frederick Frey (1774–1850), came to London under the auspices of the Missionary Society, and continued theological studies at Daniel Bogue's Academy at Gosport. In 1805 he was set apart to preach at Aldgate (London) where a number of poor Jewish immigrants from Europe lived. The LMS encouraged this work, and a collection of essays by various leaders was published by Henry Hunter in 1806 under the title *The Rise, Fall, and Future Restoration of the Jews*. It was in this same year also that Napoleon began to change the laws that restricted Jewish freedoms and rights in Europe.

Frey was not able to persuade the Society to adopt some of his schemes for providing a boarding school and employment for Jewish converts, and in 1809 he and some others formed *The London Society for the Promotion of Christianity Amongst the Jews* on an interdenominational basis. The interest was significant at this time especially, due to the stimulus given by Claudius Buchanan (1766–1815), an evangelical minister of the Church of England. He had investigated Jewish communities in India, and fascinated many with his claims about the origin of these groups, ill founded though those claims may have been. The highly influential Anglican leader Charles Simeon (1759–1836) was a great supporter and continued so until his death.[39] William Wilberforce (1759–1833) was a member, as well as other prominent people in society. The Society soon had the patronage of the Duke of Kent, Queen Victoria's father.

However, there were tensions over how to handle the ecclesiastical status of converts given the interdenominational basis. A mutual arrangement was struck by which the non-Church of England directors withdrew and the Society became a Church of England one. Anglican supporters injected new funds to cover some £14,000 debt incurred in erecting the Episcopal Jews' Chapel and school in Bethnal Green. Lewis Way (1772–1840), a wealthy minister of the Church of England, contributed £10,000 of this.[40]

> Following the inheritance of a large legacy from John Way (who was not related, despite bearing the same surname) Lewis Way devoted his fortune, and also his home, to religious works…. In 1817–18 he made a long journey through the Netherlands, Germany, Poland, and Russia, investigating Jewish communities and worship. On reaching Moscow he had four fascinating audiences with Tsar Alexander I. In 1823 Way made a further trip, to the Holy Land, where he met Lady Hester Stanhope. On his return he established the Marboeuf (English protestant) Chapel in Paris, and devoted his

39. See Michael Eldridge, *Charles Simeon and the Jewish People 'The Warmest Place in His Heart'* at *www.cmj.org.uk/downloads/charles-simeonandthejewishpeole.doc accessed 14 July 2010.*

40. For the early history see R. H. Martin, "United Conversionist Activities Among the Jews in Great Britain 1795–1815: Pan Evangelicalism and the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews," *Church History* 46.4 (December 1977) 437–452. For early criticism of management and activities see H. H. Norris, *The Origin, Progress and Existing Circumstances of the London Society for the Promotion of Christianity Amongst the Jews* (London: J. Mawman, 1825). Norris' assessment is very negative. He was a long-time director of the SPCK and chaplain to the Earl of Shaftesbury. The story of the London Society (now known as *The Church's Ministry Among Jewish People*) is told in a recent coffee-table type book, by Kevin Crombie, *Restoring Israel: 200 Years of the CMJ Story* (Christ Church Jerusalem: Nicolayson's Ltd., 2008). In 1841 an interdenominational society based in Blackfriars was formed called the *British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Among the Jews.*

> latter years to the idea of establishing a Hebrew college (to train missionaries to the Jews) at [his property in] Stanstead. This never came to fruition….[41]

It can be seen that interest in the Jews and their conversion was not just the interest of uneducated people, but attracted strong interest from all sections of society, particularly the educated.

The London Jews' Society, as it was commonly known, reported in 1861, when Anthony Ashley-Cooper (1801–85), the 7th Earl of Shaftsbury was its President, that it maintained

> 29 ordained missionaries, 26 unordained missionary agents, 61 colporteurs, scripture readers, school-masters and mistresses etc., the greater part of them Christianized Jews, distributed among 39 stations in Europe, Asia, and Africa. The work carried on at the missionary station in London indicates the course pursued by the agents generally; the gospel is carried into the Jewish quarters, from house to house; inquirers are daily instructed; Divine service is regularly performed in the Hebrew, English, and German languages. Adjoining the chapel in Palestine Place are schools for 100 Hebrew children; 754 have been admitted. There is also a college for training Jewish missionaries. The New Testament has been translated into Hebrew, and both Old and New widely circulated among the Jews,—during the last 10 years to the extent of 27,000 of the former and 15,000 of the latter. Tracts and treatises in various languages, on Jewish controversy, have been largely circulated, with which the Jews have been most favourably impressed. The society has also published the Liturgy in Hebrew. The report states, that when the society was formed, there were not 50 Christian Jews known in the United Kingdom. Now, in the Church of England and Ireland, there are nearly 70 ordained ministers of the seed of Abraham; and there are hundreds of converts. In the society's chapel in London, 881 adults and children, of the House of Israel, have been baptized. In the society's schools at home and abroad, 1,000 children are generally under regular instruction.[42]

Lewis Way's influence impacted the wealthy London banker Henry Drummond (1786–1860), who became a Vice-President of the London Jews' Society in 1823. It appears that Way was the first to stress that the Old Testament promises had *primary* and *literal* reference to Israel.[43] The Scottish minister and orator Edward Irving (1792–1834) had begun his meteoric ministry in Hatton Garden, London the previous year. In 1826 Way and Irving were among the 20 or so guests at the first of a number of conferences on prophecy hosted by Drummond at his estate in Surrey. Out of these came a negative view of the future for the church. The glorious promises of the Old Testament could only be fulfilled by the return of Christ and the re-establishment of Israel.

The new view did not win its way overnight. Irving and Drummond ended up in the highly liturgical Catholic Apostolic Church. But the emphasis on a pre-millennial advent made some headway. In particular a strongly futurist and dispensational form advanced among some of the followers of John N. Darby (1801–82), who propounded also the idea that before what he regarded as a coming seven-year tribulation, believers would be raptured away from the earth. As evangelicalism suffered eclipse in the second half of the 19th century and lost itself in a mere social gospel, the allegedly literal interpretative method and pre-millennial dispensational approach became a very strong reaction among American evangelicals and remains so. But among others, including Bishop J. C. Ryle (1816–1900) and C. H. Spurgeon (1834–92), a moderate pre-millennial view was very commonly found.

Of course this historicist approach with a literalistic method also resulted in the specific predictions of Christ's return, as by William Miller (1782–1849), an American Baptist preacher who considered 1843 or 1844 to be the date of the second advent. The failure of the date led to some of his followers (but not Miller himself) forming groups with other peculiarities. The most significant and successful was the Seventh-day Adventist Church, dating from 1844 but organized under that name in 1860. It continues a futurist and historicist interpretation of prophecy, but regards the formation of the State of Israel as a political rather than a prophesied event. The Millerite excitement tended to polarize opinion and discredit futurism and historicism among the mainstream, leaving its advocacy to the fringe.

In Scotland there had never been great interest in a pre-millennial approach, and the fact of Irving's excesses only ensured that remained the case except for a few, such as the saintly brothers Horatius Bonar (1808–89) and Andrew Bonar (1810–92). Their friend Robert Murray McCheyne (1813–43) certainly believed that the

41. Robert Brown, "Way, Lewis (1772–1840)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online ed., Oct 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au:2048/view/article/28905, accessed 14 July 2010]

42. Samuel Low, Jr., *The Charities of London* (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1861).

43. Lewis Way, *The Latter Rain,* 2nd edition (London 1821), cited by D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989) 88.

restoration of the Jews to their own land and their conversion would occur soon,[44] but it is difficult to find specific pre-millennial teaching in his writings.

We have seen that the London Jews' Society was operated from 1809. It had many auxiliaries in other parts of the United Kingdom. From its beginning in 1810 the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor,* edited by Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson (1778–1831), regularly included articles and reports related to Jewish missionary endeavour, but it was not until 1837 that the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, now with an evangelical majority, appointed a Committee on the Conversion of the Jews to the Faith of Christ. In 1838 it was decided to send a commission of enquiry to Palestine and Eastern and Central Europe. Those sent were Rev. Dr. Alexander Keith, who had written much on prophetic subjects, Rev. Professor Alexander Black of Aberdeen, a brilliant linguist, Rev. Robert Murray M'Cheyne of St Peter's Dundee, then convalescing in Edinburgh, and his friend Rev. Andrew Bonar. McCheyne and Bonar were the only two to complete the entire missionary journey, and their very large book-length report was duly published in 1842.[45]

But already the Church had resolved on mission work to the Jews. In 1841 Rev. Daniel Edward (d. 1896) was sent to work in Iasi, now within the borders of Romania, while a few months later Rev. Dr. John "Rabbi" Duncan (1796–1870) and two assistants went to Budapest, where the first Jewish mission centre was established. There were many encouragements. Two notable converts were Alfred Edersheim (1823/4–1889) and Adolf Saphir (1831–91), the latter more in the theological line of the Brethren, although serving as a Presbyterian minister.

A meeting was held in the National Scotch Church, Regent Square, London—the church built for Edward Irving—on 7th November 1842 to form the *British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews*. Those present included Robert Murray McCheyne. It was agreed to co-operate with the Church of Scotland's Mission to the Jews. The society later became known as the *International Society for the Evangelisation of the Jews* and ultimately merged with the *Barbican Mission to the Jews* (founded 1879) to form *Christian Witness to Israel*.

Concluding Remarks

It will be seen from this review that there was significant impetus to Jewish evangelism from understandings of Scripture that are defective. However, the point to remember is that Jewish evangelism is an obligation however one reads Romans 9–11 or Revelation 20. Commitment to Jewish evangelism does not require one to believe (a) that there is a future millennial period of great peace and prosperity for the church on earth before or after Christ's return climaxed by the last judgment. After all, the millennium of Revelation 20 looks to be much more a recapitulation of the inter-advent period showing the blessedness of the departed saints reigning with Christ in heaven as conflict continues on earth.[46]

Nor is one required to believe (b) that only some future period before Christ's return is one of great tribulation for the church, rather than the whole period of the church's time on earth; or (c) that one is to understand the OT promises in a basically literalistic way so that rather than being fulfilled in and through the church as the Israel of God comprised of believing Jews and Gentiles, they are to be fulfilled in some future earthly restoration of ethnic Israel; or (d) that one should be agnostic or pessimistic about future prospects for the gospel this side of Christ's return, rather than optimistic, based on the Lordship of Jesus and the promise of a rich harvest, despite losses, from the sowing of the seed of the word of God.

In the period reviewed, the foundation of various still current positions can be found. Calvin appears to have regarded the gathering of Jews and Gentiles by gospel preaching as occurring throughout the ages according to God's gracious election, resulting in the final total Israel of God. N. T. Wright provides a recent robust argument for this position.[47] Others, particularly in the Scottish and earlier Puritan tradition, are positive for a widespread future calling of the Jews and consequent further blessing of the Gentiles, without tying this to a particular view of Revelation 20. This is the kind of position argued for in Iain Murray's popular book *The Puritan Hope,*[48] published in 1971, although I suspect a lot of sympathizers with this approach would class themselves

44. For example, note the sermon on Hosea 2:14 preached in December 1839 applied to Israel's return in R. M. McCheyne, *The Passionate Preacher* (Fearn: Christian Focus, 1999) 73–78. N. R. Needham classifies McCheyne as post-millennial (*Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, ed. N. M. de S. Cameron [Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993] 563).

45. Reprinted in slightly abbreviated form (446 pages) edited by Allan M. Harman: A. A. Bonar and R. M. McCheyne, *Mission of Discovery: The Beginnings of Modern Jewish Evangelism: The Journal of Bonar and McCheyne's Mission of Inquiry* (Fearn: Christian Focus, 1996).

46. Note the classic treatment in B. B. Warfield, "The Millennium and the Apocalypse," in *Works of Benjamin B. Warfield*, vol. 2 (repr. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003) 643–664.

47. N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991) 231–257.

48. Iain H. Murray, *The Puritan Hope: Revival and the Interpretation of Prophecy* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1971).

today as optimistic a-millennialists rather than as post-millennialists. Some think the return of many Jews to Palestine was the specific fulfillment of Biblical prophecy, while others see it merely as occurring in God's providence without claiming that it has an unequivocal Biblical warrant. There are those who are futurist in some measure, while others, such as the present writer, see the classic signs operating throughout Christian history, so that for them there are no clear chronological indicators still to occur to signal the return of Christ.

Many earnest Christians in the forefront of Jewish evangelism advocate some form of pre-millennialism. I think there are substantial objections to that approach, particularly when the basic unity of the people of God as a people saved by grace in both old covenant and new covenant times, emphasized so well by the olive tree illustration in Romans 11, is denied. I recognize that by no means do all pre-mills do so. Nevertheless, there are points for all Christians to keep in mind: the organisation of Jewish believers into distinct churches can only at best be a temporary expedient; the spotlight in Jewish evangelism must not be on prophecy and Middle East politics but on Jesus Christ; we can never claim God's special approval of Israel while she persists in unbelief, nor suppose she is beyond criticism; we must not only speak but practice the truth in love; and we need an even hand for Jew and Gentile, for Israeli and Palestinian. United in this way as the church of Jesus, and confident in the Lordship of Christ, the authority of his Word and the power of the Spirit, let us be up and doing!▪

In Brief: Robert Baillie on the Chiliasm of John Archer, Jeremiah Burroughs and Thomas Goodwin

They [the Independents at Holland, Rotterdam and Arnhem] are not content with some few little touches of Chiliasm, which yet Master *Cotton* tells us are but fleshly imaginations (AA): But they run themselves over head and ears in the deepest gulph of that old Heresie. The glimpse of *Sions* glory Preached at a Fast in *Holland* by T. G. (which commonly report without contradiction that I have heard declares to be *Thomas Goodwin*) avers, That Independency is a beginning, or at least a neer antecedent of Christs Kingdom upon Earth (BB): That within five years Christ is to come in the flesh (CC); and by a Sword of Iron, to kill with his own hand the most of his enemies (DD); and thereafter to passe over a thousand years (EE) as a worldly Monarch (FF) with his Saints: Who shall live with him all that time in all sorts of fleshly delights (GG). Master *Archer* the onely Pastor that ever they had, whose praises they sound forth so loud in their Apologetick, would perswade us of the same, and more grosse stories (HH). Master *Burrows* in his late Sermons upon *Hosea,* runs in the same way.(II).

(AA) Cottons 6. Viall, p. 9. *I dare not take up such carnall imaginations, as that Christ shall come bodily, and reigne here upon Earth.* (BB) Glimpse of Sions glory, p. 33. *If God have such an intention to glorifie his Church, and that in this world, what manner of persons ought ye to be, because ye are beginning this despised worke, gathering a Church together, which way God will honour? certainly, the Communion of Saints, and Independency of Congregations, God will honour.* (CC) Daniel 12.11. … "now reckon so many yeares according to the number of the days, it comes to 1650."... (DD) Ibid. *in the Epistle. Take this rule,* That all Texts of Scripture are to be understood literally, except they make against other Scriptures, or except the very coherence of Scripture shew it otherwise. Ibid. p. 17. *Indeed, if we put upon allegoricall senses, we may put off any Scripture; but if we take them literally, why should we not?* Ibid. p. 21. *Christ is described in the 19. of the Revelation, with his Garments dyed in blood, when he doth appeare to come and to take the Kingdome: when he appeares with many Crownes upon his head, that notes his many victories.* Ibid. p. 17. *The promise that is made,* Rev. 12. *He shall rule them with a Rod of Iron, and as the Vessels of a Potter they shall be broken to shivers. What shall we make of this?* (EE) Ibid. p. 14. 15. *The reigning with Christ 1000 years, is not meant of reigning with him in Heaven, but it must be meant of Jesus Christs comming and reigning here gloriously for 1000. yeares.* (FF) Ibid. p. 17. *What shall we make of this, except there be a glorious reign of Christ with his Saints? Christ is said to make them Kings, so as to have power and dominion in the world.* (GG) Ibid. p. 13. *There is no reason why that of the 26. of Matth. v. 29* I will drink it new with you in my Fathers kingdome, *may not be taken literally.* (HH) Archers personall reign, p. 5. *I call this last state of his, Monarchical, because he will governe as earthly Monarchs have done, that is, universally over the world in these dayes, known, and esteemed; and in a worldly, visible, earthly glory, not by tyranny, oppression, and sensually, but with honour, peace, riches, and whatsoever in and of the world is not sinfull, having all Nations and Kingdomes doing homage to him, as the great Monarches of the World had.* (II) Burrows [Burroughs] upon Hosea, p. 145. *These are the new Heavens and the new Earth that are to be created; and this meant of the Church plainly: For the Text,* Verse 12. *speaks of building houses, and inhabiting them, and of planting Vineyards, and eating the fruit of them, upon these new Heavens, and this new Earths creation.* Ibid. p. 191. *And literally we are to understand many Scriptures that tend this way, concerning the fruitfulnesse of the Earth, and the outward externall glory that then shall be in the creatures.*

Robert Baillie, *A Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time* (1645; 2nd 1646) 79, 80, 85–87.

The Benediction in Corporate Worship†

By Ryan M. McGraw

Most people know what it is like to read a book or watch a movie in which the ending seems anticlimactic. The reader or viewer has been absorbed in the story and is sitting on the edge of his seat, wondering how all of the character's problems will be resolved and expecting the story to culminate in a dramatic ending. Yet when the ending comes, he walks away confused and disappointed because what ought to have been the culmination of an exciting story fails to serve its purpose. Now, God has designed the pronouncement of a Scriptural blessing or benediction to be the conclusion or culmination of the corporate worship of his people. By it, the people who have gathered together in God's name and with his presence among them depart with the assurance that God has indeed been in their midst and that he intends to bless his people. Yet in modern worship services, the benediction is often lost by confusing it with a doxology, treating it as a prayer, or omitting it altogether. However, the regulative principle of worship demonstrates that ministers of the Word ought to close corporate worship by pronouncing a benediction upon the congregation from Scripture. This is shown by the origins and purpose of benedictions in the Old Testament, the capacity and manner in which the priests administered benedictions, the example of the apostles of Jesus Christ, and the meaning and significance of benedictions. After demonstrating these things, I shall close with some observations regarding the content and proper use of benedictions in corporate worship.

The Origins and Purpose of Benedictions in the Old Testament

If a man finds a tool lying on the floor of his garage, he will not know if he should use it for a project until he knows what the tool is and what it is intended to do. For the same reason, before arguing that benedictions should be used in corporate worship today, it is necessary to examine where benedictions originated and for what purpose they were intended. This shall be done by examining the nature of benedictions, the early usage of them in Scripture, and the meaning and importance of the Aaronic Blessing in Numbers 6:22–27. These things shall lay the groundwork for the necessity of closing corporate worship by pronouncing a Scriptural benediction.

The Origins and General Character of Benedictions in Scripture

John Owen described the nature of benedictions in this manner: "As to the nature of it, blessings in general are the means of communicating good things, according unto the power and interest in them of them that bless, Gen. xxxiii. 11."[1] In other words, a benediction is an effective means of communicating "good things" from God, who is the source of all true blessings (Owen, *Hebrews,* V, 370),through human instruments. The character and efficacy of a true benediction depends upon two things: the authority bestowed upon the person pronouncing it, and his relationship to those who are being blessed. William Plumer, however, provided a

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† This article has been adapted from chapter 5 of my ThM project completed at Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary entitled, The Consequences of Reformed Worship. This work has been submitted for publication. To my knowledge, there is very little material available providing the biblical warrant for the use of benediction in corporate worship.

1. John Owen, *An Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews with Preliminary Exercitations*, Volume V, in *The Works of John Owen*, Volume XVIII, ed. William Gould (N.p: Johnstone & Hunter, 1854; reprint, Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1991) 316.

more narrow definition of benedictions than Owen. He wrote, "A benediction is the ministerial and authoritative pronunciation of a blessing upon the people in the name of the Lord."[2] This definition limits the consideration of benedictions to those that are pronounced by ordained ministers in the church. It will be demonstrated that this definition of a benediction is most directly relevant to the question of the use of benedictions in corporate worship. However, beginning with Owen's definition makes it easier to trace the origins and use of benedictions in Scripture, and then to narrow the study to benedictions pronounced by duly appointed ministers.

Owen observed there are two general categories of benedictions in Scripture. These are what he referred to as "Paternal" benedictions and "Sacerdotal" benedictions.[3] "Paternal" benedictions are those in which blessings are communicated from parents to their children. "Sacerdotal" benedictions are not necessarily (as the term might initially suggest) blessings communicated by a priest, but by those who have been entrusted with ministerial office respecting the service of divine worship. In other words, a "Sacerdotal" benediction is a blessing pronounced by those who have been charged to administer sacred things in corporate worship, whether they are the priests and Levites who led in corporate worship under the old covenant or the elders who lead it under the new. In the Old Testament, these blessings were sometimes pronounced in the form of divinely inspired prophecy. At other times benedictions were pronounced by those holding ordinary, but divinely instituted offices. The distinctions between "Paternal" and "Sacerdotal" benedictions and between extraordinary and ordinary benedictions will become clear by examining several of the early benedictions found in Scripture.

The first recorded benediction in Scripture is the "Paternal" benediction which Noah pronounced upon his sons after the flood in Genesis 9:25–27. This proclamation was clearly prophetic in its nature and announced the respective destinies of the nations that would descend from Noah's three sons. This blessing begins, ironically, with a *curse* upon the descendents of Ham (v. 25) and concludes by pronouncing a *blessing* upon Shem, and Japheth through Shem.[4] The second instance of a benediction being pronounced in Scripture is that of Abram by Melchizedek, "priest of the Most High God," in Genesis 14:18–20. Owen argued that the use of "Sacerdotal" benedictions, or those that are communicated by virtue of bearing office in the church, originated in this instance (Owen, *Hebrews*, V, 320). This benediction is short and to the effect that Abram is and shall be blessed by the Most High God (v. 19). It was designed to be an encouragement and confirmation to Abram of the truth of the promises that he had already received from God in chapter 12. The blessing that Melchizedek pronounced upon Abram was his right simply by virtue of his office; "For," Owen wrote, "as he was appointed to act for men with God, so it is reasonable to assume that he should pronounce blessings unto them in the name of God; that as he ministerially carried their gifts, offerings, and services unto God, so in like manner he should return his acceptance and blessing unto them" (Owen, 319).By blessing Abram, Melchizedek demonstrated that he was greater even than Abram, to whom the promises belonged (Heb. 7:1, 6–7). This "greatness" was by virtue of his office, and it was his office that gave him warrant to pronounce a blessing from God upon the patriarch.

An important example of a "Paternal" benediction was when Isaac mistakenly bestowed his blessing upon Jacob instead of Esau in Genesis 27:27–29. This blessing is prophetic in its nature, yet it sheds much light on the nature and use of benedictions in general. This blessing bestowed the right of the firstborn upon Jacob instead of Esau, and thus made him heir of the blessings given

2. William S. Plumer, *The Law of God* (1864; repr., Harrisonburg: Sprinkle Publications, 1996) 258.

3. Owen, *Hebrews*, V, 316. Owen notes that commentators in his time generally recognized four types of benedictions: 1. *"benedictio potestativia*," or those which are absolute and communicated directly by God and from God. 2. "*benedictio authoritativia*," which are pronounced in God's name and by direct warrant or command from him. 3. "*benedictio charitativa*," by which a blessing comes to others by means of prayer on their behalf for things that are according to the will of God. 4. "*benedictio reverentialis*," which is a blessing directed to God by his people. See Owen, *Hebrews*, V, 370–371. However, Owen ruled out the first of these as irrelevant, since all blessings ultimately proceed from God and this category is too broad to be meaningful. The third category is also to be ruled out because prayer is not a benediction in the proper sense of the term, but the asking of God to bestow one. The fourth category should also be excluded because blessings directed towards God are, properly speaking, *doxologies* rather than *benedictions*. Hebrews 7:7 states that in the benediction bestowed upon Abram, "the lesser is blessed by the greater." In a doxology, the greater is blessed by the lesser. According to Owen, both paternal and sacerdotal blessings are included under heading number 2. This is the only category that I have chosen to take up in this chapter. Apart from the extraordinary examples cited from Genesis, I will also not discuss the ways in which God has designed parents ordinarily to bless their children, although Owen's discussion is thought provoking and practical. See pg. 372–373.

4. For an insightful exposition of the character and scope of this blessing, see Geerhardus Vos, *Biblical Theology: Old and New Testaments* (1948; repr., Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1994) 58. This blessing also includes a partial doxology, but still bears the overall characteristics of a benediction.

to Abram. The blessing emphasizes prosperity, the relation of Abraham's seed to the nations, and the blessing and curse of God resting upon others, depending upon their relation to Jacob, since he was the child of promise and had inherited the blessing of Abraham (Rom. 9:8; Gal. 3:14). Notice that the blessing was *efficacious* and actually communicated what it promised. Verse 33 states, "I have blessed him – and *he shall be blessed*." The substance of this blessing is reiterated and practically applied in 28:3–4 to encourage Jacob to have faith in the promises of God as he departed to an unknown land and an unknown future in search of a bride. That the benediction was an effective means of communicating the grace of God's promises to Jacob is shown by the dramatic way in which it served as the pivotal moment that changed the course of his destiny. Although God had predestined these events from all eternity, until this point, as far as Jacob was concerned, the blessing would be passed to Esau. The fact that Jacob would attempt to steal the benediction of his father by means of deceit demonstrates the importance that he attached to it.[5] The fact that this benediction is prophetic does not take away from the fact that it demonstrates that benedictions in general communicate the blessings of God to men authoritatively. Whether benedictions are prophetic or not, the common thread that ties them together is that the content of all benedictions must be based upon the authoritative Word and promises of God and must be pronounced by those whom God has placed in authority. In either case, a blessing is communicated through the Word of God being proclaimed and received.

The last benediction in the book of Genesis is the detailed account of the blessing of the sons of Jacob by their father in chapter 49. This blessing is predominantly prophetic in character. By it the blessings promised to Abraham were passed on, and were particularized to each of Jacob's sons and to his two grandsons. It is similar to the blessing Moses pronounced upon the children of Israel just prior to his death in Deuteronomy 33, the primary difference being that the blessing of Jacob was "Paternal" and that of Moses was "Sacerdotal." Jacob blessed his sons because he was their father; Moses blessed the descendents of Jacob because he was their prophet and pastor.

To summarize the use of these early benedictions in the book of Genesis, most of them were "Paternal" as well as prophetic. These prophetic benedictions also appeared at key moments in the administration of the Covenant of Grace. It was by means of benedictions that the promise was narrowed to one family among the descendents of Noah, to one of the descendents of Abraham in the person of Jacob, and then passed on to the descendents of Jacob who would constitute the tribes of Israel. These benedictions actually conveyed the blessings that they proclaimed to those who received them by faith. In light of these other benedictions, Melchizedek's stands out because it was not a father pronouncing a blessing upon his sons, but a minister of the Lord upon a fellow servant of the Lord. It was prophetic in the sense that it confirmed the promise of the Covenant of Grace to Abram, but it was "Sacerdotal" in that it came by virtue of office rather than bloodline. The blessing of Melchizedek paved the way for a different sort of blessing that became a standard institution in Israel. This came in the form of the Aaronic Blessing under the ministry of the Levitical Priesthood.

The Aaronic Blessing

The Aaronic Blessing or benediction is perhaps the best-known and most commonly used benediction in the history of the church. It reads: "The Lord bless you and keep you; the Lord make his face shine upon you, and be gracious to you; the Lord lift up his countenance upon you and give you peace" (Num. 6:24–27). This is one of the most important benedictions in Scripture because of the nature of the blessings that are promised in it and the frequency to which it is alluded. This benediction is important in establishing the warrant for the use of benedictions in corporate worship, since it was the first occasion on which ordained officers in the church were instructed to pronounce a blessing on the congregation of God's people on a regular basis.

God instituted the Aaronic Blessing at a pivotal point in the history of the nation of Israel. After the

5. The fact that the blessing was bestowed upon a different person than Isaac intended does not mean that benedictions somehow possess magical power or are automatically effective to those that receive them. Isaac thought he was blessing Esau, but God had predestined that the blessing should belong to Jacob (see Gen. 25:23; Mal. 1:2–5; Rom. 9:6ff.). At the time, Jacob foolishly believed that it was by his own doing that he had received the blessing, and he apparently had not yet learned to live by faith in the promises and grace of God. He demonstrated a similar way of thinking when he believed that he could cause the flocks to give birth only to speckled and spotted lambs by placing colored rods before their faces (Gen. 30:34–33). He does not seem to have truly learned to live by faith in the promises until he was faced with the fear of reunion with his brother and plead the promises of God in his prayer (Gen. 32:9–12). What he eventually learned, and what all who hear benedictions every week in local churches must also learn, is that although the promises of God will never fail, "If you will not believe, surely you shall not be established" (Is. 7:9).

inauguration of the priesthood in the book of Leviticus with its ordinances and a reiteration of the blessings and curses of the covenant, the book of Numbers begins by numbering all the males in Israel who were able to go to war (Num. 1:3). Once the number of men from the tribes had been calculated, leaders were appointed and instructions were given to the priests as to how they were to transport the tabernacle (chs. 2–4). In Numbers 5 and 6, the people among whom the Lord himself was to dwell were warned against varying forms of moral and ceremonial uncleanness. After addressing the uncleanness of the people and clearing all obstacles out of the way, the priests were given the command to bless the gathered congregation in the name of the Lord prior to setting out to war against the inhabitants of the land. Following the final preparations of the leaders, of the Levites, and the observance of the first anniversary of the Passover feast, the glory of the Lord rose above the tabernacle, the trumpets sounded, and the children of Israel marched to war (chs. 7–10). "So it was that whenever the ark set out, that Moses said: 'Rise up, O Lord! Let your enemies be scattered, and let those who hate you flee before you.' And when it rested he said: 'Return, O Lord, to the many thousands of Israel" (Num. 10:35–36).

It is significant that the proclamation of the Aaronic Blessing is the one duty of the sons of Aaron that was not prescribed with the rest of their responsibilities given at their ordination. In this respect, the command to pronounce the blessing upon the congregation almost appears to be out of place in the context of Numbers. However, the occasion upon which God chose to issue this command makes the Aaronic Blessing all the more important. As the congregation journeyed through the wilderness, God dwelt among the people in the camp, he went before them to lead them into battle, and he pronounced his blessing upon them through his priests in order to assure the people that he was the Lord of Hosts, the God of the armies of Israel (1 Sam. 17:45). It was because of the promises contained in this blessing that David could say, "Though an army encamp against me, my heart shall not fear; though war may rise against me, in this I will be confident" (Ps. 27:3). Just as it was with the "Paternal" blessings of the patriarchs, this blessing was intended to instill confidence in the people that they should be blessed just as God had promised. That this was the purpose of the Aaronic Blessing is made clear by examining some of the details of the passage.

First, God said, "Speak to Aaron and his sons, saying, 'This is the way you shall bless the children of Israel'" (v. 23). The proclamation of the benediction was a ministerial act committed to the newly formed priesthood. It was their role as ministering priests that entitled the sons of Aaron to pronounce the blessing upon the congregation. Second, although it is beyond the purpose of this article to examine the full significance of the contents of the Aaronic Blessing, yet because the language of this benediction recurs so frequently in Scripture, it is worthwhile briefly to summarize them.[6] The "face" and the "countenance" of God signify the presence of God. By his presence among his people, the Lord promised to bless and to keep them. The result of the presence and blessing of God upon his people was grace and peace. Notice the similarity to the customary greeting of the apostle Paul to the churches of the New Testament, which reads, "Grace to you and peace, from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ." The blessing contained a promise of the grace and comforts that result from the presence of God among his people.

Third, the most significant part of the Aaronic Blessing for this discussion is the promise attached to it. What does it mean when God promises, "I will set my name upon them, and I will bless them?" (Num. 6:27). The "name" of God in Scripture is synonymous with his divine glory. When God places his name upon anyone or anything, he ties their lives and destinies to the proclamation of his own glory. The people who are called by his name are created for his glory (Is. 43:7). God's promise to set his name upon the temple meant that his glory would be proclaimed there and his presence manifested there (1 Kings 8:29). The Lord performed awesome signs and wonders in bringing Israel out of the land of Egypt so that, as he says, "my name might be declared in all the earth" (Ex. 9:16). The fate of those people then became intimately connected to whether or not the glory of God's name would be recognized among the nations (Ex. 33–34; Ezek. 20:14). The quintessential way of breaking the third commandment ("you shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain") is to *bear* his name vainly. In other words, when those who ought to set the glory of the Lord on display before the nations by a living faith in his promises and by honoring him with their lives fail to do so, they tread his glory underfoot by their sin and apostasy. Centuries later, the apostle Paul sought to vindicate the name or honor of God when most of the Jewish people rejected Jesus as the Christ by demonstrating that it was not as though the word and promises of God were without

6. For a useful exposition of the content of the Aaronic Blessing, see Keil and Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Old Testament: The Pentateuch*, vol. II, 40–42.

effect (Rom. 9:6). It was the strongest indictment against Israel that God should say, "the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you" (Rom. 2:24; Is. 52:5).

Bearing the name of God brings special privileges and responsibilities as well as consequences for dishonoring his name (Ex. 15:26). Those who have the name of God set upon them are made God's "special treasure" and "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation," with access to God and all of his blessings (Ex. 19:5–6). Bearing the name of God is the basis upon which God's people plead his promises. The psalmist pleaded: "For your name's sake, O Lord, pardon my iniquity, for it is great" (Ps. 25:11; also see 1 Jn. 2:12). He also said, "He leads me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake" (Ps. 23:3). On the other hand, God insists, "I am the Lord, that is my name; and my glory I will not give to another, nor my praise to carved images" (Is. 42:8). When the people called by his name turned aside to idolatry, God told them: "Go, serve every one of you his idols – and hereafter – if you will not obey me; but profane my holy name no more with your gifts and your idols" (Ezek. 20:39). In short, when God places his name upon a people, he makes them his own. For the sake of those who are called by his name, he will just as soon deny his own glory as fail to fulfill the promises that he has made to them. And since they bear his name, they must trust in him and obey him so that they will reflect his glory to the nations. If they fail or refuse, God will ensure that his name will be made great, "For," he says, "from the rising of the sun, even to its going down, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; In every place incense shall be offered to my name, and a pure offering; for my name shall be great among the nations, says the Lord of Hosts" (Mal. 1:11).

This illuminates what it meant that God set his name upon his people when the Aaronic Blessing was pronounced. There was a very real sense in which the name of God was already resting upon the people of Israel before the Aaronic Blessing was instituted. By the blessing, God placed his name upon a people who already had his name upon them. In this sense the use of the benediction is similar to that of the Lord's Supper.[7] Those who are to partake of the Lord's Supper are those who have already received Jesus Christ by faith and live in a saving union and communion with him. They already possess the benefits that are signified in the sacrament and enjoy the status of being declared righteous before God in their justification. However, the Lord's Supper serves as a confirmation of the promises given to them in Christ as well. By it their faith in God's promises is strengthened and they are better equipped and encouraged to run the race set before them. Additionally, like the Lord's Supper, the benediction is more than simply a *reminder* of the name and blessing of God upon the people; to those who receive it by faith it is a *means of grace*. God demonstrates that the benediction communicates his blessing to his people when he says, "So they shall put my name upon the children of Israel, *and I will bless them*." By means of the benediction, the people not only received assurance of the blessing of God, but the blessing itself. In this respect, the Aaronic Blessing shares the nature of the other benedictions mentioned above. It is part of the design of a benediction to communicate the grace that is promised in it.

The Aaronic Blessing does not share the strictly "prophetic" character of some of the earlier patriarchal blessings. It is an example of a "Sacerdotal" benediction with an important addition: the priests were not only to pronounce the blessing by the right of their office as Melchizedek had done, but God ensured that the blessing would be pronounced regularly by a positive institution or command. Just as the church would have been required to remember the sacrificial death of the Lord and have fellowship with him continually without the Lord's Supper, by adding the positive institution of this sacrament, the Lord ensured that this would be done regularly and frequently. Without being prophetic in its nature, the Aaronic Blessing still bears the prophetic authority of being a word from God to his people. Just as Isaac had said concerning Jacob, "I have blessed him – and he shall be blessed" (Gen. 27:33), so when the Aaronic Blessing is proclaimed, the Lord says to his servants, "I will bless them." This blessing was pronounced by virtue of ministerial office and the commandment of God and is the model for all those who hold the office of ministering the Word.

7. Similar, but not identical. There seems to be a special blessing in the Lord's Supper that is not received anywhere else. In his characteristically profound yet carefully guarded manner, John Owen said, "The Communication of Christ herein, and our participation in him, are expressed in such a manner as to demonstrate them to be peculiar – such as are not to be obtained in any other way or divine ordinance whatever; not in praying, not in preaching, not in any other exercise of faith on the word or promises. There is in it an eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ, with a spiritual *incorporation* thence ensuing, which are peculiar unto this ordinance. But this especial and peculiar communion with Christ, and participation of him, is *spiritual* and *mystical*, by faith – not carnal or fleshly. To imagine any other participation of Christ in this life, but by faith, is to overthrow the gospel." John Owen, *The Chamber of Imagery in the Church of Rome Laid Open,* in *The Works of John Owen*, Volume VIII, ed. William Gould (1850–1853; repr., Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1998) 560.

The Importance of the Aaronic Blessing in Scripture

Before leaving the Aaronic Blessing, it should be noted that this particular benediction took on an extraordinarily significant role throughout the Scriptures. The citations of, or allusions to it, are almost too numerous to cite. Allusions to the Aaronic Blessing occur with particular frequency in the Psalms and are used to enforce the petitions and prayers of God's people. In response to many mocking God's people and wondering if any good would come to them, the Psalmist prayed, "Lord, lift up the light of your countenance upon us" (Ps. 4:6). Since the presence of God went with his people in their journeys as the Aaronic Blessing promised, David could write, "When my enemies turn back, they fall and perish at your presence" (Ps. 9:3).[8] In Psalm 31, David prayed, "Make your face shine upon your servant; save me for your mercies' sake" (Ps. 31:16). The Lord hides his people from the plots of men in the secret place of his presence (v. 20) and David remembered his hasty words and lack of faith when he said, "I am cut off from before your eyes" (v. 22). Psalm 67 is based entirely upon turning the Aaronic Blessing into a prayer to the effect that God's name would be known in the earth by the blessing of his people and that all nations would then come to praise him. When God's people cried out in distress, they pleaded repeatedly that God's face should shine upon them as the means of their restoration and salvation (Ps. 80:3, 7, 19). These examples not only demonstrate the importance of the Aaronic Blessing in Scripture, but they show how God's people are to respond in faith to the pronouncement of this benediction. By making the Aaronic Blessing the solid ground upon which petitions and prayers to God are based, these Psalms show that God's people through the ages expected God to set his name upon them and that they should be blessed through these words of promise. The blessing itself is not a prayer, but forms the basis upon which prayer is framed.

The importance of the Aaronic Blessing is not relegated to the Old Testament, but reaches up to the heights of the new heavens and new earth in which righteousness dwells. There are remarkable allusions to the Aaronic Blessing coming to its culmination and fulfillment in Revelation chapters 21 and 22. As "the Lamb's wife" (21:9), the glorified church in the form of the New Jerusalem descends from heaven, it is proclaimed, "the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them" (v. 3). The results of God's dwelling with his people are, "The city had no need of the sun or of the moon to shine in it, for the glory of God illuminated it. The Lamb is its light. And the nations of those who are saved walk in its light, and the kings of the earth bring their glory and honor into it" (v. 23–24). In the Aaronic Blessing the face of God signified the presence of God and the shining of his face meant grace and peace to his people. By this blessing God put his name upon his people. In like manner, John's picture of the glorious bliss of pure unadulterated worship and communion with God in heaven closes by saying, "They shall see his face, and his name shall be on their foreheads. There shall be no night there: they need no lamp nor light of the sun, for the glory of the Lord gives them light. And they shall reign forever" (22:4–5). The Aaronic Blessing has been received as a means of grace by the people of God for many centuries. In it is a promise of the presence of God with his people along with the grace and peace that come from his presence. In light of the teaching of the last book of the Bible, every time the people of God hear the Aaronic Blessing, they receive assurance that they shall be perfectly blessed in the full enjoyment of God to all eternity. What could more fully emphasize the importance of this blessing?

In light of the above examples, all types of Scriptural benedictions share some common characteristics: they are blessings from God, they are pronounced by those placed in authority to administer sacred things, they are a confirmation of the promises of God, and they are a means of communicating the grace they promise to those who receive them by faith. The Aaronic Blessing is particularly important due to the special institution of God, the fact that it was to be pronounced regularly by the priests as church officers, and by the importance of its place in both the Old and New Testaments. This blessing was pronounced upon the people of God as a whole when they were gathered together. The Aaronic Blessing in particular helps provide warrant for the use of benedictions in corporate worship in the New Testament.

The Continuation of Benedictions in the New Testament

Pronouncing benedictions upon God's people did not simply belong to the patriarchs or to the Aaronic

8. The presence of God that is a blessing to his people is the terror and doom of his enemies. Because the Lord blesses and keeps his people, causes his face to shine upon them to be gracious to them, and lifts up his countenance upon them to give them peace, it is his presence among them that guards them from those who seek to harm them. Is this what Paul had in mind when he wrote, "These shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his power" (2 Thess. 1:9)?

priesthood. "Prophetic" blessings have ceased and the Levitical priesthood has passed away by its fulfillment in the work of Christ on the cross. However, the responsibility of pronouncing "Sacerdotal" benedictions continues and now falls upon those entrusted with the ministry of the Word in the New Testament. That the ministers of the Word in the New Testament must continue to pronounce benedictions upon the congregation of God's people is demonstrated by examining the capacity in which the sons of Aaron pronounced the blessing, the relation of the blessing to types and shadows of Christ, the nature of ministerial authority, and the example of the apostles of Jesus Christ.

The Capacity in which the Priests Pronounced the Benediction

The first reason that benedictions are to continue under the New Testament is that the priests pronounced the blessing as ministers of the Word. In other words, the benediction was not a distinctly "priestly" act, but an act that is common to all who are appointed to proclaim the Word of God. Apart from their distinctively priestly duties, the sons of Aaron, along with the Levites as a whole, were the ordinary ministers of the Word of God in the Old Testament.[9] Although there are some aspects of the ministry of the priests and Levites that were rendered obsolete after they were fulfilled by the perfect sacrifice of Jesus Christ, the Great High Priest who passed through the heavens (Heb. 4:14), yet their duties as ministers of the Word now pertain to the eldership of the New Testament. When God ordered the sons of Aaron to pronounce the benediction upon the congregation, they did so as ministers of the Word rather than as priests. 2 Chronicles 30:27 states that the Levites as a whole as well as the priests "arose and blessed the people." This was done at the close of corporate worship when Hezekiah restored the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread. The very proclamation of the benediction was a proclamation of God's promise and was thus an act of the ministry of the Word. This ministry has passed to the teaching elders of the New Testament Church.

Relation to New Testament Fulfillment

Second, pronouncing the benediction should remain an aspect of the ministry of the Word in corporate worship, since it did not pass away by being fulfilled in Christ. This is implied by the fact that the benediction is an aspect of the ministry of the Word. The only parts of Old Testament worship that passed away with the coming of Christ were those that were types and shadows of the good things to come (Heb. 10:1). Paul set forth the nature of such things in Colossians 2:16–17 when he described the Jewish festival days as shadows of things to come, "but," he wrote, "the *body* belongs to Christ" (see Greek text). The picture that Paul intended to communicate in this passage was that just as a shadow is always cast by a solid body, so Christ was the "body" that was casting his shadow throughout the ordinances of Old Testament worship. If the two passages from Hebrews and Colossians are placed side by side (and it is clear that they are parallel passages), it is clear that none of the Jewish festivals, special days, temple services, or animal sacrifices were permissible any longer because their purpose was exhausted once the perfect sacrifice of Christ on the cross had been accomplished. In fact, the observance of the various days listed passed away, in part, because their primary significance was intimately bound up with the sacrifices.[10] The purpose of the temple, as well as that of the festival days that were to be observed, was to offer blood sacrifices as types and shadows of what Christ would accomplish once and for all in the sacrifice of himself.[11]

When the body is present, the shadows that it casts are no longer relevant. What is there in the benediction that would make it a type and shadow of the Christ who was to come? There were no sacrifices attached to it. It was instituted in a context entirely separated from the role of the priests in offering sacrifices as mediators between God and men. Since the priests declared the words that God had committed to them, does not the benediction fit into the category of the ministry of the

9. I demonstrate this further in chapter two of my ThM thesis.

10. Although Paul mentioned "sabbath days" in Colossians 2:16, I do not believe that he intended to include the principle of the fourth commandment among the things that have passed away in Christ. For the reasons why this is the case see Pipa, *Lord's Day* (Geanies House, UK: Christian Focus Publications, 1997), chapter 7.

11. The temple had the added significance of being the dwelling place of the special presence of God. While it stood, it was evident that the entrance into the most holy place was not yet made manifest (Heb. 9). Christ entered into the heavenly sanctuary and offered himself as a sacrifice for sins so that in our worship today we come "to Mount Zion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly of the church of the firstborn who are registered in heaven, to God the Judge of all, to the spirits of just men made perfect, to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling that speaks better things than that of Abel" (Heb. 12:22–24). As Van Dooren has pointed out, under the new covenant, the temple has been turned on its side and we have direct access to the heavenly sanctuary in our worship through Jesus Christ. Van Dooren, *Beauty of Reformed Liturgy* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Premier Publishing, 1980), chapter 1.

Word of God? To continue the sacrifices and the Old Testament feasts and regulations would be to proclaim that the sacrifice of Christ was incomplete or imperfect (see Hebrews 9 and 10). Although it is true that the blessings pronounced in the benediction come to believers only through Christ, yet if the benediction is a proclamation of God's Word, then it is just as lawful to continue to proclaim it as every other portion of God's Word and should still be pronounced upon the congregation by the ministers of the New Testament. In a real sense, the benediction did not come to its fruition at the first coming of Christ, but shall at his second coming. The only time that a benediction will no longer need to be pronounced shall be when Christ himself pronounces it upon the saints in glory.

The Nature of Ministerial Authority

Third, the use of benedictions carries over from the Old Testament to the New because blessing the congregation on God's behalf is an inherent part of ministerial authority. Owen's comments on the benediction that Melchizedek gave to Abraham are both powerful and instructive to this effect:

> And we may take notice in our passage, that whatever be the interest, duty, and office of any, to act in the name of others towards God, in any sacred administrations, the same proportionately is their interest, power, and duty to act towards them in the name of God in the blessing of them. And therefore ministers may authoritatively bless their congregations. It is true, they can only do it *declaratively*, but withal they do it *authoritatively*, because they do it by virtue of the authority committed to them for that purpose. Wherefore the ministerial blessing is somewhat more than the eutical, or a mere prayer. Neither is it merely doctrinal and declaratory, but that which is built on a particular especial warranty, proceeding from the nature of the ministerial office. But whereas it hath respect in all things unto other ministerial administrations, it is not to be used but with reference unto them, and that by them by whom at that season they are administered (Owen, *Hebrews*, V, 319).

In other words, ministers have the right to proclaim a benediction *by virtue of their office*. When they do so, it is more than a prayer and even more than a simple declaration of what God has revealed in his Word. It is an act of ministerial authority by which the congregation is to receive the blessing by faith as from the mouth of God himself.[12] This blessing, according to Owen, must not be detached from the official functions of the minister, since his only warrant for pronouncing it is as a minister of the Word "in sacred administrations." He cannot pronounce it at his own will and prompting, but in connection with his role in leading in corporate worship. Even within that setting, it should be pronounced only by those who took part in the ministry upon that occasion. A minister is not called to pronounce benedictions, but to administer the Word and sacraments in corporate worship. He pronounces the benediction because he is a minister of the Word, and he is not to pronounce the benediction apart from the context of ministering the Word. The positive corollary is that whenever an ordained minister of the Word exercises his ministry to the assembled people of God, he has warrant by virtue of his office authoritatively to pronounce God's blessing upon them from Scripture.[13]

Yet someone will argue that to assert these things is to treat New Testament elders as priests acting as representatives of God in order to speak to men. Is this not to act as mediating priests rather than as ministers of the Word? On the surface, this objection bears some weight. The sons of Aaron stood before the people on behalf of God and in this sense the blessing of God was "mediated" to the people through them in the benediction. Yet it is important to remember that, although there is only one Mediator between God and men (1 Tim. 2:5), this does not negate the fact that God may still appoint men to stand on his behalf and authoritatively proclaim

12. The efficacy of Scriptural benedictions has already been considered in part under the treatment of the Aaronic Blessing. Matthew 10:11–13 also sheds light up this subject. When the apostles entered into a house in the name of Christ, they were to give their greeting. If the household was worthy of the greeting, peace was imparted to them through the apostolic greeting. In the same way, benedictions are a means of imparting grace to those who receive them by faith.

13. If a minister is not available, then it is not proper that a ruling elder should proclaim the benediction upon the congregation. Even though ruling elders share the same office as teaching elders/ministers and have teaching responsibilities themselves, pronouncing the benediction appropriately falls into the same category as the public reading and preaching of the Scriptures. The one who proclaims it must be the one who is the herald of God, sent to proclaim the word of God publicly as an ambassador entrusted with authority. If there is no minister present at a worship service, I recommend that a ruling elder be appointed to pray for a blessing at the close of the service. In this way, the blessing is still sought from God with confidence, though it loses the effect of being pronounced and received as from his own lips. This is similar to the difference between a child being assured of the love of his parents and finding security and comfort in that fact even though the parents never say a word, and the reassurance of the parents telling their child that they love him. In both cases the child is blessed and secure as a matter of fact, but who can deny the added comfort that a child has in being told and reminded of the love of their parents?

If a ministerial student is exhorting and a minister is present, then the minister should pronounce the benediction.

his Word. Indeed, the proclamation of the Word by ordained ministers is always authoritative. Paul was an apostle of Christ and did not occupy the role of a priest, yet he could say, "Now then, we are ambassadors for Christ, *as though God were pleading through us*; we implore you *on Christ's behalf*, be reconciled to God" (2 Cor. 5:20). Although the apostles had an authority that was distinct from all others, Jesus did not limit the act of speaking in his name with authority to the apostles. When he sent out the seventy, he said, "He who hears you hears me, he who rejects you rejects me, and he who rejects me rejects him who sent me" (Luke 10:16). Paul went so far as to state that, if people do not hear Christ himself, they cannot believe in him and be saved (see Greek text of Rom. 10:14). Yet how are people to *hear him* and be saved? Paul answered that it is through a preacher who is sent or commissioned to preach (v. 14b-15). As the minister preaches the Word, "faith comes by hearing and hearing by the word of Christ" (Rom. 10:17).

All believers are part of a royal priesthood and have direct access to God through his Son Jesus Christ (1 Pet. 2:9). Yet it must not be denied in light of the teaching of Scripture that, with the exception of the regeneration of the soul, God does not act immediately, but mediately. In other words, he uses outward and ordinary means to communicate the benefits of his redemption. These benefits are *mediated* to men through what are commonly called the "means of grace." By the very use of the means of grace, the church confesses that they are the ordinary channels in which she expects the blessings of God to flow. The preaching of the Word of God and the administration of the sacraments are means of grace dispensed by officers appointed by God and recognized and called by the church for this service. It is one thing to set up ministers as *mediators* between God and man, which would overthrow the gospel. It is another thing to say that God works through these men *as a medium* to communicate blessings to his people. The blessing does not lie in the men, but in the ordinances of God and the promises that God has attached to them. God has ordained that these ordinances, such as the benediction, should be administered to his people by certain designated men. It should be stated emphatically, however, that the salvation of souls is never dependent upon the intercession or labors of men, but upon the grace of God in Christ alone. The role of a priest is to present men holy in the sight of God; the role of a minister of the Word is to present Christ to men, who then makes men holy in the sight of God. As types of Christ, the priests of the Old Testament occupied both of these roles at once, whereas the eldership of the New Testament occupies only the latter.

The Example of the Apostles of Christ

The final reason for pronouncing benedictions under the New Testament is the example set by the apostles of Jesus Christ. William Plumer has observed that only five of the twenty-one epistles in the New Testament do not close with a benediction (Plumer, 258). The forms of these benedictions are diverse, but they all share the character of being blessings from God to his people through his apostles. This fact lies on the surface of these epistles. One popular example of an apostolic benediction is the "Trinitarian" blessing in 2 Cor. 13:14: "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all. Amen."[14] Paul's benediction in 1 Thessalonians 5:23–24 demonstrates that these apostolic benedictions shared the same character as those of the Old Testament. He wrote: "Now may the God of peace himself sanctify you completely; and may your whole spirit, soul, and body be preserved blameless at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. He who calls you is faithful, *who also will do it*." What is not explicitly noted in the other apostolic blessings is made clear in this case: God will bless his people according to the words set forth in the blessing; he "will do it." The example of the apostles demonstrates that benedictions may take on more forms than simply that of the Aaronic Blessing. Yet it demonstrates that the long-standing practice of pronouncing benedictions upon the congregation of the church continued under the new covenant. In pronouncing benedictions the apostles exercised a right that has always been possessed by those appointed to minister the Word of God.

The apostolic benedictions were also a part of the corporate worship in the church, since their epistles were to be read publicly when the congregation of believers gathered together. For example, Paul said in Colossians 4:16, "Now when this epistle is *read publicly* among you, see that it is *read publicly* also in the church of the Laodiceans, and that you likewise *read publicly* the letter from Laodicea." The word Paul used for the reading of the epistles in the churches is a word used to indicate the public reading of Scripture in the synagogues. It is the same word that Paul employed in instructing Timothy in his duties in ministering to

14. With respect to this blessing, Donald Macleod cited George S. Stuart as saying, "When the minister comes to this last act in awe and wonder that God has commissioned him for this giving, the words will quiver and burn with the glory of their meaning – the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ – the love of God – the communion of the Holy Ghost – actually given as the supreme blessing to his worshiping people." Donald Macleod, *Presbyterian Worship: Its Meaning and Method* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1965).

the church (1 Tim 4:13. See 3:15) and it was used to describe the public reading of Scripture in the synagogues in Acts 13:15 and 2 Cor. 3:14.[15] If the epistles were to be read publicly when the congregation was gathered together, then it is clear the apostles intended their benedictions to be pronounced upon and applied to all the congregations in which they were read. The example of the apostles clearly demonstrates that pronouncing a blessing from God upon the worshiping assembly of his people continues to be a part of the ministry of the Word under the new covenant.

In summary, the ministers of the Word under the New Testament have the right and duty to pronounce the Lord's blessing from his Word upon the congregation of his people. The Levitical priests performed this duty as ministers of the Word, and this duty passed to New Testament teaching elders, who have assumed this function. This right belongs to the ministerial office, in which ministers express the desires of the people to God by corporate prayer and declare his Word to them with authority. This duty should not be detached from leading in corporate worship, and it is only upon the congregation gathered together in the name of and in the special presence of God that the blessing should be proclaimed. The example of the apostles confirms these conclusions and demonstrates that benedictions in corporate worship should not be restricted to the form of the Aaronic Blessing.

15. For the biblical use and meaning of *anaginosko* see George W. Knight III, *The Pastoral Epistles*: *The New International Greek Testament Commentary* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992) 207.

16. The first time I began to think through the nature of the benediction was the first time I attended a worship service in a Presbyterian church (OPC). To my surprise, at the close of the service the minister said, "Beloved congregation of the Lord, *look up* and *receive* the Lord's blessing."

17. Robert Rayburn asserts that since "there are many excellent benedictions in Scripture" the minister should not make up his own when the Holy Spirit has put so many at his disposal. Rayburn, *O Come Let us Worship: Corporate Worship in the Evangelical Church* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1987) 217. However, this slightly misses the point. He should not substitute his own words in place of Scripture because the nature of his office does not permit him to do so. Just as with the Call to Worship, to use a benediction not found in Scripture, however true its sentiments, would be an abuse of ministerial authority. For this reason, the recent book by Robert Vasholz on Benedictions goes beyond the proper use of benedictions in corporate worship by adding a host of man-made, though "Scripturally enriched" benedictions. This book reflects the fact that in most cases, churches have retained the use of benedictions in corporate worship, while they have lost the theological moorings upon which benedictions are founded. See Robert Vasholz, *Benedictions: A Pocket Resource* (Geanies House, UK: Christian Focus Publications, 2007).

The Use and Significance of Scriptural Benedictions

That God intended Scriptural benedictions to be used in corporate worship is clear. However, some things still remain to be considered in order to understand what benedictions truly are and how they are to be used in corporate worship. Since benedictions cannot be properly understood apart from their proper use and application, I shall close with some remarks about the proper content of the benediction and the place of the benediction in the order of service.

The Purpose of Benedictions in Worship

Benedictions serve as a confirmation that the people have met in the special presence of God in corporate worship and that they shall continue to receive its blessings. The benediction is not a prayer; it is a pronouncement. The congregation should not have bowed heads and closed eyes, but should look up to the heavens from which the Lord, the Maker of heaven and earth sends our help. They should be filled with joy and receive the blessing with faith as from the mouth of God himself.[16] Plumer reminded his readers that the benediction, "is not merely or chiefly the expression of the private wishes of the minister" (Plumer, 258). For this reason the minister is not to proclaim his own words. To do so would be to lose the force of the divine authority behind the pronouncement of the benediction. As with the call to worship, to omit Scripture would be an abuse of the use of the keys of the kingdom.[17] Not only should he use Scripture, he must use Scripture that is suited to the purpose at hand. It must be a text that pronounces a blessing from God to his people. It does not even seem appropriate to take Scriptural sentiments that are otherwise true and paraphrase them in order to turn them into a benediction. For example, "May he who knew no sin and was made sin for us, be both just and the justifier of you who have faith in Christ." This blessing is based upon two passages of Scripture and its sentiments are true and vital to our faith and salvation. Yet for a benediction truly to be an authoritative proclamation from God, should not God speak for himself through his own blessings recorded in Scripture? To embellish our own benedictions is to act as though God does not know how to bless his people and that our contrivances are better than his words. In this sense, the benediction is not like corporate prayer or the sermon. Though true prayer should be filled with petitions and praises based upon Scripture and using the language of Scripture, its

purpose is to adapt the truth of Scripture to express the desires of particular individuals and congregations. Likewise, sermons must expound Scripture and be filled with Scripture, but additionally they must wisely apply the Scriptures to the audience, "warning every man and teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ" (Col. 1:28). A benediction, however, is a direct word from God. The minister cannot add to or take away from it without distorting its meaning, purpose, and efficacy.

Which Scriptural benedictions, however, should the minister use? Robert Rayburn argued that, in order to avoid repetition, the minister should use as many of the Scriptural benedictions as possible (Rayburn, *Come Let us Worship*, 217). This is a point in which some freedom and discretion should be allowed, and the variety of Scriptural blessings certainly should not be neglected. However, in light of the importance of the Aaronic Blessing throughout the Scriptures, it does not seem inappropriate to give preference to it, so long as a word or two of reminder is given regularly to explain its significance. People often claim that the repetition of anything makes it mundane and devoid of meaning. Some churches argue in this manner with respect to how often the church should observe the Lord's Supper; but if repetition necessarily makes something mundane or devoid of meaning, then the apostle Paul was the worst offender of all. Every one of his letters begins with the words, "Grace to you and peace, from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ," with the exception of the Pastoral Epistles, in which he adds "mercy." It is not repetition but redundancy that makes a practice irrelevant. The Aaronic Blessing may be repeated often and yet never be redundant. Some things in Scripture are repeated often because of their importance. Paul's customary greeting as well as the Aaronic Blessing fits this category. The more fully the church understands the significance of the Aaronic Blessing and the more she sees Christ as the ultimate source of the blessings contained in it, the more God's people will rejoice to hear it pronounced and the more they will long for its fulfillment in the presence of Christ in heaven.

Another important point to note is that a failure to understand the purpose of the benediction often results in omitting it from worship entirely. This is particularly true in light of the frequency with which benedictions are replaced by doxologies. Doxologies are blessings directed *towards God* from his people; benedictions are blessings directed *towards the people* from God. Hebrews 7:7 describes the distinctive nature of a benediction by setting forth the following principle: "beyond all contradiction, the *lesser* is blessed by the *greater*." In a doxology, the Greater is blessed by the lesser. So, for example, a common mistake is to exchange the doxology in Jude 24–25 for a benediction. It reads, "Now to him who is able to keep you from stumbling, and to present you faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy, to God our Savior, who alone is wise, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and forever. Amen." However glorious the sentiments of this passage are, the fact that it is not a benediction is indicated by whom the word "to" is directed; it is to *him* rather than to *us*. Some benedictions, however, may have doxologies embedded in them (such as Hebrews 13:14) and yet still retain the essential elements of a benediction. The burden falls upon the discretion of the minister in selecting a passage of Scripture that is suited to the purpose at hand. Doxologies have an important place in corporate worship, but if a doxology is substituted for a Scriptural benediction, then the benediction will be unintentionally removed from corporate worship and the people denied the blessings that God intends by means of it.[18] The fact that benedictions are so readily replaced by doxologies is itself a testimony to how little benedictions are understood. The result is that the people in the church are already being denied part of the blessings of the benediction, since they are not being taught what it means and how they are to respond to it in faith.

The Place of the Benediction in the Order of Worship

It has already been implicitly asserted that the benediction should be used to conclude the worship service. The benediction is a necessary element of corporate worship, but why should it conclude the service? Why should it not be used at other points in the worship service? In a certain sense, the greetings contained in the New Testament epistles take the form of blessings from God to his people. If these epistles were read in corporate worship, then worship would actually open with a benediction from God. Yet the call to worship already serves this purpose by implication. However, as demonstrated above, most of the epistles close with benedictions as well. Closing the worship service with a benediction is most in line with the apostolic example. It leaves God with the first and last word in the worship service. As Van Dooren has expressed well:

18. For the proper use of doxologies in corporate worship, see Plumer, 254–258.

> The service started with a blessing or salutation which 'covers' the whole service. The closing benediction 'covers' our whole life till the next Lord's Day and is no less than the divine assertion or promise that his blessing and peace and grace and fellowship will accompany us through all our days. It is more than a pious wish or a bang with the gavel: the meeting is finished. All the elements of the liturgy now come to a head and are summarized in the solemn words of Numbers 6:24–26 and 2 Corinthians 13:14.[19]

It seems entirely inappropriate to place the benediction anywhere other than at the close of worship. The placement of the benediction in the order of worship comes close to being part of the essence of the benediction.

Conclusions

When the call to worship goes forth, ushering God's people into corporate worship, a benediction or blessing from God is already being implied. If the Votum and salutation are used, this is explicit. By summoning his people into corporate worship through ordained ministers, God is implicitly declaring that he is ready to accept and bless the corporate worship of his church. By closing the service with a benediction pronounced from God's own words in Scripture, the fact that this blessing has occurred is made explicit and set before the faith of God's people. The proclamation of this blessing directs us back to the importance of the regulative principle of worship in general, since God sets his blessing only upon that worship which he has appointed in his Word and he sets his name only upon the people who receive his promises by faith in Jesus Christ. As the church strives to worship the true and living God according to his Word, his people should respond to the call to worship with joyful anticipation of the special presence and blessing of God upon his ordinances; such a blessing that they do not receive in any other setting. When they hear the benediction at the close of the service, they should leave the special presence of God with their faith stirred toward his promises, knowing that they have been blessed and shall be blessed. Just as the priests proclaimed the blessing of God upon the congregation before marching out to war, so corporate worship closes with the proclamation of the blessing of God upon his people as they go forth to fight the good fight of faith with courage and boldness, knowing that their God shall never leave nor forsake them. And as Plumer pointed out, "The last thing said in the Bible is a benediction. 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen'" (Plumer, 261). So the last thing in corporate worship should be a benediction as God's people anticipate the face of God shining upon them in the new heavens and new earth.▪

19. Van Dooren, *Beauty of Reformed Liturgy*, 48. In the Dutch Reformed context in which Van Dooren ministered, the liturgy is more restricted and the minister is allowed the use of these two passages only in pronouncing the benediction. In light of what I have said above, however, it does not seem that the form of the benediction should be restricted so heavily so long as appropriate passages of Scripture are used. I also do not see why the Trinitarian blessing from 2 Cor. 13:14 should be given priority over the numerous other forms of apostolic blessings.

In Brief: Thomas Goodwin on God's Blessing His People

O Christian, see and rejoice in thy lot and portion; God himself hath but all things, and so hast thou. Let him be miserable that can be, for I cannot, may the believer say to all others in the world. For can that man be ever miserable, that is blessed with all blessings; whereof, even to be thus blessed forever, must needs be one, or he hath not all; and to whom all things are turned into blessings. Even the evils that befall thee, if men curse and revile thee, God will bless thee; as David spake when Shimei cursed him; and if men envy thee for good, this shall turn to thy salvation, as Phil. 1:19. If the devils spite thee, God will bless thee, there is no witchcraft against Israel…. That man cannot be miserable, whom all passages whatever do call, yea make blessed; and who himself is called to nothing else but blessing, and Oh, if God thus turneth all things into heavenly blessings unto us, how engaged we are to be heavenly in all things toward him." (*The Works of Thomas Goodwin,* "Exposition of Ephesians 1 and 2, Part 1" [London, 1681] 1.41–42).▪

The Abrahamic Covenant and the Kingdom of God

By Jeong Koo Jeon

Abraham's life is extensively recounted, beginning with his calling by God, his pilgrimage, and his death (Gen. 11:27–25:11). In the midst of his life, God made a covenant with Abraham that was a significant event and turning point in redemptive history.[1]

Jeffrey Niehaus argues that the recent archaeological findings and the discoveries of the ancient Near Eastern treaties should discard the classic covenant theology, formulated in the Reformed tradition of the seventeenth century:

> However, a rejection of the theologically constructed covenant established by covenant theology in its classic form (i.e. "the covenant of grace" construed out of the Noahic through the new covenants) does not make one *ipso facto* a classical dispensationalists either. Both classical covenant theology and classical dispensational theology are in fact archaic and ought to be discarded (or radically modified at least in terms of their understanding of covenants, as, to some extents, progressive dispensationalism has done with respect to classical dispensationalism) in favor of the realistic view of the Bible—that is, a view which understands Scripture in terms of its ancient Near Eastern context. It is *a priori* unlikely that systems developed in the seventeenth century (covenant theology) or in the nineteenth century (classical dispensational theology)—long before archaeological discoveries showed us what covenants actually were and how they worked in the ancient Near East—could, lacking such evidence, have arrived at a proper understanding of covenantal matters in the Bible. That both systems failed to do so can now be seen to be the case.[2]

However, we will argue that the discoveries of the ancient Near East treaties do not discard but affirm classic covenant theology. The Abrahamic covenant is a representative example. Classic covenant theology interpreted the Abrahamic covenant as the covenant

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1. For interpretation of the Abrahamic covenant from different perspectives, see John J. Collins, *Introducing to the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004), 91–98; William J. Dumbrell, *Covenant and Creation: A Theology of Old Testament Covenants* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 1984), 47–79; Jonathan Edwards, *A History of Redemption: Containing the Outlines of a Body of Divinity* (Lexington, KY: Hard Press, 2011), 54–68; Meredith G. Kline, *God, Heaven, and Har Magedon: A Covenantal Tale of Cosmos and Telos* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2006), 93–110; *Kingdom Prologue: Genesis Foundations for a Covenantal Worldview* (Overland Park, KS: Two Age Press, 2000), 292–382; Nicholas P. Lunn, "Patterns in the Old Testament Metanarrative: Human Attempts to Fulfill Divine Promises," *Westminster Theological Journal* 72/2 (2010), 237–49; John Murray, *The Covenant of Grace: Theological & Biblical Studies* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Pubishing, 1988), 16–20; O Palmer Robertson, *The Christ of the Covenants* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 1980), 127–66; Willem Vangemeren, *The Progress of Redemption: The Story of Salvation from Creation to the New Jerusalem* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1995), 100–30; Geerhardus Vos, *Biblical Theology: Old and New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1948), 66–90; Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 1–15*, in *Word Biblical Commentary*, vol. 1 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), 255–335; idem, *Genesis 16–50*, in *Word Biblical Commentary*, vol. 2 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1994), 1–161; Michael D. Williams, *Far as the Curse Is Found: The Covenant Story of Redemption* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2005), 100–30.

2. Jeffrey J. Niehaus, "Covenant and Narrative, God and Time," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 53/3 (2010), 535. Critiquing the classic covenant theology of the seventeenth century, Niehaus fails to read correctly its identity. Classic covenant theology did not construct its covenant theology, interpreting from "the Noahic through the new covenants" in light of the covenant of grace. Rather, classic covenant theology formulated and developed biblical hermeneutics and theology through the lens of the distinction between the covenant of works and covenant of grace, inaugurated in Genesis 3:15 after the first Adam's fall. In doing so, the redemptive-historical order of creation, fall, redemption, and consummation as well as law and gospel is well safeguarded in the classic covenant theology.

of grace, inaugurated in Genesis 3:15. The Abrahamic covenant, in light of the ancient Near East treaties, may be considered a covenant of royal grant, granted to the vassal king or faithful vassal by the Great King to one who had successfully accomplished a warrior's mission, defeating enemies in the name of the Great King. At this juncture, we will demonstrate that the Abrahamic covenant, as a covenant of royal grant, is harmonious and compatible with the idea of the covenant of grace.

We will see that God made promises to Abraham with his sworn oath, including a covenant people and land, both vital components of the theocratic kingdom as a type of the fully realized kingdom of God in heaven. Historically, Bible interpreters and theologians have overlooked the connection between the Abrahamic covenant and the judgment of Sodom and Gomorrah. It is my contention that God's judgment upon the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah was a redemptive judgment in the historical context of the Abrahamic covenant. In destroying these cities, God did not use a common grace war but a holy war against the wicked and corrupt cities. God demonstrated a pattern of redemptive judgment, which will be displayed once again, when he separates the elect from the non-elect with the second coming of the Son of Man.

In addition, we will demonstrate how the sacrifice of Isaac on the Mount of Moriah was a Messianic prophecy. It is important to note that God revealed in the Abrahamic covenant the coming of the Messiah as "the Son of Man," who will be sacrificed on the altar of Golgotha, to forgive all sins and to bestow all the promised redemptive blessings for the elect. Furthermore, God's promised blessings to Abraham, indicated by such expressions as "in your offspring," "in you," and "through you," were adopted and transformed later by the apostles to note the Christological designation as "in Christ Jesus," "in Christ," and "through Jesus Christ."

Finally, Bible interpreters and theologians, by and large, have traditionally ignored the relationship between Abraham's justification by faith and the Abrahamic covenant. It is my assessment that Abraham's justification by faith in Genesis 15:6, in the historical context of the Abrahamic covenant, provides a soteriological pattern that sinners are justified by faith apart from works of the law. Paul, as well as the other apostles, adopted this view of the Abrahamic covenant, and it became one of his key messages.

A. The Calling of Abraham and the Promise of the Theocratic Kingdom in Canaan

God called Abraham[3] who was a descendent of Shem in the line of the Noahic covenant family. God inaugurated redemptive history after the Fall of Adam and Eve, proclaiming the primitive gospel (Gen. 3:15). Ever since then, he sovereignly directed the history of redemption, bestowing saving grace to the elect.

God revealed his plan of redemption, calling Abraham from Ur of the Chaldeans. Through his promise to Abraham, God revealed his plan for the establishment of the theocratic kingdom in Canaan.[4] God promised Abraham that he would form "a great nation" (לְגֹוי גָּדֹול), a type of the heavenly theocratic kingdom, which will be consummated when Jesus returns:

> 1 Now the Lord said to Abram, "Go from your country and your kindred and your father's house *to the land* [אֶל־הָאָרֶץ] that I will show you. 2 And I will make of you *a great nation* [לְגֹוי גָּדֹול], and I will bless you and make your name great, so that you will be a blessing. 3 I will bless those who bless you, and him who dishonors you I will curse, *and in you all the families of the earth shall be blessed* [וְנִבְרְכוּ בְךָ כֹּל מִשְׁפְּחֹת הָאֲדָמָה:] (Gen. 12:1–3).[5]

God's promise to Abraham to form "a great nation" was in fact significant because the nation would be

3. We will use Abraham's name as Abraham consistently, although God changed Abram's name into Abraham when he was ninety-nine years old: "No longer shall your name be called Abram, but your name shall be Abraham, for I have made you the father of a multitude of nations" (Gen 17:5).

4. The three components of the theocratic kingdom as holy land, covenant people, and king, and its specific characters are insightfully summarized by Kline as follows: "Theocracy implies an external realm. It does not refer to a spiritual reign of God in the hearts of his people by itself, but included the geopolitical dimension. On the other hand, theocracy involves something more than a general providential rule of God over men and nations. It denotes a particular kingdom realm that God claims in a special way as his own…. In a theocracy the people of the realm as well as the land itself are specially consecrated to God. This special religious relationship is defined through covenants, divinely determined and instituted, in which God identifies with the kingdom-people, bestowing on them his name to be borne and confessed by them. Because the name of God is identified with the theocratic people and is at stake in their history, the covenants that govern this relationship contain guarantees of dominion and power and glory for the loyal theocratic community…. Theocracy is not a combination of church and state institutions. It is a simple unique institution, a structure *sui generis*. It is a the kingdom realm whose great king is the Lord, where all activity is performed in the name of the Great-King enthroned, confessed, and worshipped in the cultic epicenter, whence theocratic holiness radiates outward, permeating all, so that the whole realm, land and people, is a sanctuary of the Creator-Lord." Kline, *Kingdom Prologue, 49–51.*

5. All quotations from the Bible are cited from English Standard Version unless otherwise specified. In addition, all the italics within the quotation of the Bible are my emphases.

different from pagan nations under God's common grace. "A great nation" would be composed of the covenant people of Abraham's descendants, who would dwell in the holy land that God promised to give them by oath. This nation would be ruled by God, the Great King, along with the kings as vicegerent rulers in his place. In that sense, "a great nation" is a holy theocratic kingdom, a type of the everlasting kingdom of God in heaven, which will only be fully realized after the final redemptive judgment when Jesus returns.

B. The Promise of Blessings to All Nations through the Offspring of Abraham

God promised "a great nation" that will be established in Canaan as a type of the everlasting kingdom of God in heaven. At the same time, God promised blessings to all nations in Abraham. Thus, God spoke his prophetic word to Abraham saying, "In you all the families of the earth shall be blessed" (Gen. 12:3). This is an indication that God will continuously direct the grand drama of redemptive history through covenantal promises. And it will be fully realized with the coming of the Messiah which is the central fulfillment of the promises of the Abrahamic covenant.

In fact, God confirmed his original promise to Abraham later which includes the theocratic kingdom in the Promised Land and blessings to all nations *in him*:

> 17 The Lord said, "Shall I hide from Abraham what I am about to do, 18 seeing that Abraham shall surely become *a great and mighty nation*, and *all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him?* 19 For I have chosen him, that he may command his children and his household after him to keep the way of the Lord by doing righteousness and justice, so that the Lord may bring to Abraham what he has promised him" (Gen. 18:17–19).

During the earthly ministry of Jesus and the apostolic age, Jews, committed to first-century Judaism as a whole, did not understand that Jesus Christ was the fulfillment of the Abrahamic covenant. The first-century Jews did not grasp this because they did not read the OT from the perspective of redemptive history; instead, they denied Jesus as the coming Messiah despite the progressive revelation from various perspectives since Genesis 3:15.

Meanwhile, the apostles, after the crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus and the *Pentecost event*, began to proclaim that Jesus is the fulfillment of the Abrahamic covenant. One of the central elements of the covenant is the abundant soteriological blessings through faith in Jesus Christ. Accordingly, Matthew began his Gospel by stating that Jesus Christ is the descendent of Abraham who is the father of the Old Testament religion of Israel:

> 1 The book of the genealogy of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham… 16 and Jacob the father of Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom Jesus was born, who is called Christ. 17 So all the generations from Abraham to David were fourteen generations, and from David to the deportation to Babylon fourteen generations, and from the deportation to Babylon to the Christ fourteen generations (Matt. 1:1–17).

After Peter experienced the Pentecost event, he began proclaiming the good news of the gospel to the Jews. He noticed that the promised seed of Abraham in the Abrahamic covenant is Jesus Christ. Peter alludes to the Pentecost event as a turning point in redemptive history that signifies the beginning of the spread of the gospel of Jesus to all nations. In that sense, Peter interprets the Abrahamic covenant in light of Jesus Christ, who is the fulfillment of the Messianic prophecy of the OT, including the Abrahamic covenant:

> 13 The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, the God of our fathers, glorified his servant Jesus, whom you delivered over and denied in the presence of Pilate, when he decided to release him. 14 But you denied *the Holy and Righteous One* [τὸν ἅγιον καὶ δίκαιον], and asked for a murderer to be granted to you, 15 and you killed *the Author of life* [τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς], whom God raised from the dead. To this we are witnesses…. 22 Moses said, "The Lord God will raise up for you a prophet like me from your brothers. You shall listen to him in whatever he tells you. 23And it shall be that every soul who does not listen to that prophet shall be destroyed from the people. 24 And all the prophets who have spoken, from Samuel and those who came after him, also proclaimed these days. 25. You are the sons of the prophets and of the covenant that God made with your fathers, saying to Abraham, and *in your offspring shall all the families of the earth be blessed* [ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου {ἐν}ευλογηθήσονται πᾶ σαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῆς γῆς] (Acts 3:13–25).

As such, Peter sheds new light on his interpretation of the Abrahamic covenant. He interprets from the perspective of redemptive history where the blessings of the covenant apply to "all the families of the earth" in

Jesus Christ, who came as the singular figure, the offspring of Abraham. So the prophetic word in the Abrahamic covenant, "in your offspring," actually points to the covenantal blessings *in Jesus Christ* who is "the Holy and Righteous One" (τὸν ἅγιον καὶ δίκαιον) and "the Author of life" (τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς).

First-century Jews appealed to the Abrahamic covenant for their religious and national roots. Paul, before his Damascus Road conversion experience, was at the center of Pharisaic Judaism, opposing Jesus and Christianity. He thought the rejection of Jesus Christ and the persecution of Christians were the right way of life for the glory of God. However, after his Damascus Road conversion experience, Paul realized that first-century Judaism misunderstood the heart of the Abrahamic covenant. So Paul testified to the Galatians that the centerpiece of the Abrahamic covenant is indeed Jesus Christ, who is its fulfillment. Paul realized that Abraham, as the father of faith, was justified and saved by the principle of the gospel in Jesus, just as believers are under the New Covenant.

Paul notes that believers in Jesus Christ are "the sons of Abraham" (υἱοί Ἀβραάμ), regardless of their ethnic background. Paul uses the method of representative expression for the children of God to embrace Gentiles, including both males and females:

> 5 Does he who supplies the Spirit to you and works miracles among you do so by works of the law, or by hearing with faith—6 just as Abraham "believed God, and it was counted to him as righteousness"? 7 Know then that it is those of faith who are *the sons of Abraham* [υἱοί Ἀβραάμ]. 8 And the Scripture, foreseeing that *God would justify the Gentiles by faith* [ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοῖ τὰ ἔθνη ὁ θεὸς], preached the Gospel beforehand to Abraham, saying, "*In you shall all the nations be blessed*" [ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη] 9 So then, those who are of faith are blessed along with Abraham, the man of faith…. 15 To give a human example, brothers: even with a man-made covenant, no one annuls it or adds to it once it has been ratified. 16 Now the promises were made to Abraham and to his offspring. It does not say, "*And to offsprings*," [καὶ τοῖς σπέρμασιν] referring to many, but referring to one, *"And to your offspring," who is Christ* [καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου, ὅς ἐστιν Χριστός] (Gal 3:7–16).

Like Peter, Paul interprets the Abrahamic covenant from a Christocentric perspective as he endeavors to defend the good news of the gospel against the background of another gospel, spreading in different churches in the region of Galatia.

Calling out and making a covenant with Abraham was one of the most important turning points of redemptive history. God called out Abraham while he was living in the midst of a pagan culture and religion in Ur of the Chaldeans. Making a covenant with Abraham, God introduced the gospel of grace and bestowed saving grace unto Abraham. This historical episode suggests that Abraham's faith, as the father of the OT Israelites, was not originated through man's religious tradition, teaching, and proclamation, but solely through God himself. In that sense, we may identify Yahweh as the original evangelist and missionary as demonstrated through the calling of Abraham. This was also the case in the proclamation of the primitive gospel to Adam and Eve after they committed the original sin in the Garden of Eden (Gen. 3:15).[6]

Similarly, calling Paul as the apostle for the Gentile mission was a very significant turning point in redemptive history. Before his conversion, Paul did not understand that one of the key elements of the Abrahamic covenant is salvation by God's grace through faith in the coming Son of Man. As one of the representative spokesmen of Pharisaic Judaism of his time, Paul fell into the legalistic understanding of salvation and the religious traditions of Judaism which were fundamentally different from the religion of OT Israel, which was deeply rooted in the Abrahamic covenant. In the midst of confusion and struggle, Paul met Jesus at the heavenly throne and received the gospel "through a revelation of Jesus Christ" (δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστου) as he defended the authority of his apostleship and the authenticity of his proclamation of the gospel to the Galatians:

> 11 For I would have you know, brothers, that the gospel that was preached by me is not man's gospel. 12 For I did not receive it from any man, nor was I taught it, but I received it *through a revelation of Jesus Christ* [δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ]. 13 For you have heard of my former life in Judaism, how I persecuted the church of God violently and tried to destroy it. 14 But when he who had set me apart before I was born, and who called

6. Interpreting Genesis 12:1–3, Williams insightfully suggests Yahweh in the OT as "a missionary God": "Israel is elected to be God's channel of blessing to all nations. Again, the three promises given to Abraham in Genesis 12:1–3 (a seed, a land, and God's covenant blessing) are given for the sake of the fulfillment of Israel's missionary mandate. The goal of God's covenant with Abraham is that people from every nation, not just Israel, will be redeemed. The Old Testament is a missionary book because Yahweh is a missionary God." Williams, *Far As the Curse Is Found*, 118.

> me by his grace, 16 was pleased to reveal his Son to me, in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles, I did not immediately consult with anyone, 17 nor did I go up to Jerusalem to those who were apostles before me, but I went away into Arabia, and returned again to Damascus (Gal. 1:11–17).

As such, the apostolic apology for the defense of the gospel of Jesus Christ was deeply rooted in the Abrahamic covenant which was fundamentally misunderstood and misrepresented by first-century Judaism. And the apostles rightly offered this apology under the guidance and inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

Paul summarized the gospel he preached as "according to my gospel through Christ Jesus" (κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μού διὰ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, my own translation). In doing so, he emphasized that he received his gospel, not from men but "through a revelation of Jesus Christ" who was crucified, resurrected, and ascended into heaven where he was already inaugurated to rule as the exalted King in the heavenly Kingdom of God (Rom. 2:16; 16:25–27; 2 Tim. 2:8–10).

Knowing that the promised blessings of the Abrahamic covenant would be fulfilled and given in Jesus Christ, who is "the offspring of Abraham," Paul began to proclaim the good news of the gospel of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, as well as to the Jews. For example, Paul used the representative method of expression such as "in Christ Jesus" (ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησου), "in Christ" (ἐν Χριστῷ), and "through Jesus Christ" (διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριῶ του). These expressions convey all the redemptive spiritual blessings given by God in Jesus to the elect, from election to the inheritance of the heavenly kingdom of God. And this most definitely applied to the believers in Ephesus:

> 1 Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God, to the saints who are in Ephesus, and are faithful *in Christ Jesus* [ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ]: 2 Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. 3 Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us *in Christ* [ἐν Χριστῷ] with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places, 4 even as he chose us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and blameless before him. In love 5 he predestined us for adoption as sons *through Jesus Christ* [διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ], according to the purpose of his will, 6 to the praise of his glorious grace, with which he has blessed us in the Beloved…. 11 In him we have obtained all inheritance, having been predestined according to the purpose of him who works all things according to the council of his will, 12 so that we who were the first to hope *in Christ* [ἐν τῷ Χριστω] might be to the praise of his glory. 13 In him you also, when you heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation, and believed in him, were sealed with the promised Holy Spirit, 14 who is the guarantee of our inheritance until we acquire possession of it, to the praise of his glory (Eph. 1:1–14).

Accordingly, Paul, as with other apostles, adopted the Christological designations such as "in Christ," "in Christ Jesus," and "through Jesus Christ," reflecting the Abrahamic covenant designation of "in your offspring" and "in you." The apostles' use of the Christological designations through the reflection of the Abrahamic covenant in light of Jesus' life, death, resurrection, and ascension and the Pentecost event exemplifies how all the apostles read and interpreted the OT from a redemptive-historical perspective.

C. The Covenant of Royal Grant and Covenant Ratification Oath

God promised Abraham again and reassured him of the establishment of the theocratic kingdom in Canaan through the covenant community of Abraham's offspring. Throughout his pilgrimage, Abraham walked on the Promised Land where God would establish the holy theocratic kingdom. Although Abraham walked on the Promised Land, he still did not have his own covenant child that God promised. In the midst of Abraham's personal struggle with not having his own covenant child, God revealed to him "in a vision" (חֶזְוֶה בַּמַּ) that his covenant offspring would be numerous as the stars in heaven:

> 1 After these things the word of the Lord came to Abram *in a vision* [בַּמַּחֲזֶה]: "Fear not, Abram, I am your shield; your reward shall be very great." 2 But Abram said, "O Lord God, what will you give me, for I continue childless, and the heir of my house is Eliezer of Damascus?" 3 And Abram said, "Behold, you have given me no offspring, and a member of my household will be my heir." 4 And behold, the word of the Lord came to him: "This man shall not be your heir; your very own son shall be your heir." 5 And he brought him outside and said, "Look toward heaven, and number the stars, if you are able to number them." Then he said to him, "So shall your offspring be." 6 *And he believed the Lord, and he counted it to him as righteousness* [בַּיהוָה וַיַּחְשְׁבֶהָ לוֹ צְדָקָה וְהֶאֱמִן]. (Gen 15:1–6)

Interpreting Genesis 15:6, Collins fundamentally misinterprets justification by faith, which is one of the central components of the Abrahamic covenant. He argues that "there is no contrast between faith and law implied in Genesis."[7] However, this is not so. God differentiated faith and law in the depiction of Abraham's covenantal pilgrimage. God forensically declared Abraham as righteous before his circumcision. In that sense, Genesis 15:6 "And he believed the Lord, and he counted it to him righteousness" is the primal example of soteriological blessing of justification by faith. Abraham's reception of circumcision, as the sign of the covenant, clearly suggests that Abraham was justified by faith apart from obedience or works of the law. In fact, many years after Abraham was justified by faith, Abraham, his son Ishmael, and "all the men of his house" were circumcised (Gen. 17:22–27).[8]

It is important to note that Paul adopted the primal example of justification by faith, as represented in Genesis 15:6, in the historical context of the Abrahamic covenant. He quoted it in Galatians 3:6 to demonstrate that both Jews and Gentiles are justified by faith. So justification by faith for both Jews and Gentiles is one of the essential components of Paul's gospel.

After his Damascus Road conversion experience, Paul reflected on the Abrahamic covenant. He realized that Abraham as the father of faith was not justified by works, but by faith (Rom. 4: 1–25; Gal. 3:6–14). So Paul revisited Abraham to note and confirm justification by faith. Paul's unpacking of sinners' justification by faith throughout his epistles was one of the central proclamations of his message. Again, it is important to note that Paul used the primary example of justification by faith from the historical context of the Abrahamic covenant in which Yahweh declared Abraham as righteous when Abraham had faith in him before he received circumcision, the sign of the covenant. In that sense, Genesis 15:6 is a classical biblical paradigm and reference from the OT for Paul's proclamation of justification by faith in his Gentile mission and epistles, as well as for the message of the other apostles.[9]

Abraham's justification by faith apart from receiving circumcision, the sign of the covenant, signifies that believers in the OT were saved by God's grace and justified not by the obedience of the law but by faith alone, as with the believers under the New Covenant. Reflecting on Genesis 15:6, Paul expresses the classical understanding of justification by faith "apart from works of the law" (χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου): "For we hold that *one is justified by faith apart from works of the law*"[δικαιοῦσθαι πίστει ἄνθρωπον χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου] (Rom. 3:28).[10]

In general, there were two different forms of treaties in the ancient Near East. One is the form of the treaty of royal grant. It was a treaty that the Great King promised to grant land or properties to the faithful vassal who fought the victorious war on behalf of the Great King and his kingdom. And one of the characteristics of it lies in that the sworn oath to the treaty was made not by the vassal king and his servants but by the Great

7. Collins' interpretation of Genesis 15:6 by and large reflects contemporary biblical and theological scholarship which denies the contrast between law and faith or gospel in the depiction of soteriology and redemptive history: "The statement in Gen. 15:6, 'And he [Abraham] believed in the Lord, and the Lord reckoned it to him as righteousness,' has played an important and controversial role in Christian theology. It is cited by St. Paul in Gal. 3:6. Paul argues that since Abraham is also told that all the peoples of the earth will be blessed in him (Gen. 12:3), this shows that Gentiles can be justified by faith, not by the law. This argument later played a fundamental role in the theology of Martin Luther. Needless to say, there is no contrast between faith and law implied in Genesis (although it is true that there is no requirement of legal observance). Faith here is trust in the promise. In Jewish interpretation, the key element is that the promise relates to possession of the land. The promise to Abraham is seen as the original charter for possession of the land of Israel." Collins, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, 92.

8. Bruce explains very concisely and clearly that Abraham's justification by faith before the reception of circumcision is a clear biblical indication that "Gentiles as well as Jews" are justified by faith apart from obedience "in the death and resurrection of Christ": "As for Abraham, it is important to observe that his faith was reckoned to him as righteousness long before he was circumcised: this shows that the way of righteousness by faith is in no way dependent on circumcision, but is open to Gentiles as well as Jews. Abraham is thus the spiritual father of all believers, irrespective of their racial origin. And the testimony that his faith was reckoned to him righteousness means that to all who believe in God, whose saving power has been manifested in the death and resurrection of Christ, their faith will similarly be reckoned as righteousness." F. F. Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Heart Set Free* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984), 329.

9. Vos as a redemptive historical theologian, who correctly emphasizes the progressive character of divine revelation in the Bible, identifies that Genesis 15:6 is "the first explicit Biblical reference to faith." However, he is unable to read that justification by faith in Genesis 15:6 provides the primal pattern of justification by faith within the historical context of the Abrahamic covenant: "Gen. 15:6 is the first explicit Biblical reference to faith. Broadly speaking, faith bears a two-fold significance in Scriptural teaching and experience: it is, firstly, dependence on the supernatural power and grace of God; and secondly, the state or act of projection into a higher, spiritual world." Vos, *Biblical Theology, 83*.

10. For further readings on my thoughts of John Calvin's understanding of covenant and justification by faith, and other related theological and hermeneutical issues in light of contemporary discussions, see Jeong Koo Jeon, *Calvin and the Federal Vision: Calvin's Covenant Theology in Light of Contemporary Discussion* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2009), 1–42; idem, *Covenant Theology: John Murray's and Meredith G. Kline's Response to the Historical Development of Federal Theology in Reformed Thought* (Lanham, MD: University press of America, 1999), 1–29.

King. Also, an animal was slain during the treaty ratification ceremony. One of the representative examples of the treaty of royal grant has been found in the treaty between Abban and Yarimlim. This treaty reflects the treaty ratification ceremony between the Great King, Abban, and the vassal, Yarimlim of Alalakh. It goes back to the time of Abraham, reflecting the ancient Near East culture, international relationships, and religion of that time.

> … The city of Amame, the city of Aushun, the city of Zikir, the city of Murar, the city of Iriddi: Yarimlim [held them]. Zitraddu, the mayor of [Iriddi] turned against Yarimlim *and* led the [robber] MUSNADDU. He let *the robber band* enter Iriddi; his city and all its land he turned away from Abba-AN, king … With … and the mighty [weapon] … with silver, gold, lapis lazuli, *crystal* and the mighty [weapon] of Addu he captured and destroyed Iriddi, and he captured the MUSNADDU, his enemy. He returned safely to Aleppo *and said*: Can I give my brother a pile of ruins? In exchange for Iriddi [that] rebelled [against] him [and that I captured] and [destroyed, I shall give Yarimlim] the city of Alalakh, and the city of Murar over and above his portion I shall add to it. Abba-AN is under oath to Yarimlim, and also he cut the neck of a lamb. *He swore*: I shall never take back what I gave you. If in days to come Yarimlim sins against Abba-AN, [if] he repeats anything Abba-AN says to him and reveals *it* to another king, if he lets go of the hem of Abba-AN's robe and takes hold of another king's robe, he [shall forfeit] his cities and territories. Further, if a successor of Yarimlim sins against Abba-AN or a successor of Abba-AN, if he lets go of the hem of Abba-AN's robe or the hem of the robe of a successor of Abba-AN and takes hold of the hem of another king's robe, he shall forfeit his city and his territories. If successors of Yarimlim wish to sell one of his cities, then their older brother shall buy *it*; he may sell it only to a successor of Abba-AN, *but* to another king he may not sell it. If [there is] no successor to Yarimlim, *but* [there is] a successor to Abba-AN, if … his cities … [Akhi-saduq] son of … [Irpadda] … [Niqmaddu] … (*gap*) …made Yarimlim swear by the gods.[11]

The other form is the suzerainty treaty. This was a treaty in which the Great King stipulated regulations and laws upon the vassal and his kingdoms. The dual sanctions were announced and strictly applied by the principles of blessings and curses through the treaty lawsuit. When two kingdoms made the suzerainty treaty, the vassal king and his people made an oath as a means of ratifying the treaty. In the presence of the Great King and his servants, the vassal king and his people made an oath. The treaty ratification ceremony by an oath signified that the vassal king and his servants would comply with all the detailed components of the treaty, and the Great King may protect the vassal king and his kingdom from military threats and attacks from other kingdoms. However, if the vassal king and his kingdom violated the stipulations of the treaty with the Great King and his suzerain kingdom, the curses of the treaty would fall upon the former through the execution of the treaty lawsuit.[12]

The Hittite treaties around the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. were the representative paradigm of the suzerainty treaties in the ancient Near East. The treaty between Suppiluliuma, the Great King of the Hittites, and Mattiwaza of Mitanni is one of the representative examples of the suzerainty treaties in the second millennium B.C. The Hittite treaty as a suzerainty treaty makes a close parallel to the Sinaitic covenant (Exod. 19–24), the covenant renewal in Moab (Deut. 1:1–34:12), and another covenant renewal at Shechem (Josh. 24:1–33). The common distinctive characteristics of the suzerainty treaty are that the treaty oath was sworn by the vassal and his people along with the announcement and execution of dual sanctions such as blessings and curses, following the written codes of stipulations.

> A duplicate of this tablet has been deposited before the sun-goddess of Arinna, because the sun-goddess of Arinna regulates kingship and queenship. In the Mitanni land *a duplicate* has been deposited before Teshub, the lord of the KURINNU of Kahat. At regular [intervals] shall they read it in the presence of the king of the Mitanni land and in the presence of the sons of the Hurri country. Whoever will remove this tablet from before Teshub, the lord of the KURINNU of Ka-

11. Bill T. Arnold & Bryan E. Beyer eds., *Readings from the Ancient Near East* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2002), 96–97. For the different forms of the Ancient Near East treaties, similar to the covenants of the OT, see Arnold & Beyer eds., *Readings from the Ancient Near East* , 96–103; James B. Pritchard ed., *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts & Pictures* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 205–25.

12. Scholars have endeavored to formulate comparative studies from divergent theological perspectives between the ancient Near East treaties and biblical covenants. See Delbert R. Hillers, *Covenant: The History of a Biblical Idea* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969); Meredith G. Kline, *The Structure of Biblical Authority* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 1997); Dennis J. McCarthy, *Old Testament Covenant: A Survey of Current Opinions* (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1972); G. E. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh, PA: The Biblical Colloquium, 1955).

> hat, and put it in a hidden place, if he breaks it or causes anyone else to change the wording of the tablet—at the conclusion of this treaty we have called the gods to be assembled and the gods of the contracting parties to be present, to listen and to serve as witnesses…. If you, Mattiwaza, the prince, and *you* the sons of the Hurri country do not fulfill the words of this treaty, may the gods, the lords of the oath, blot you out, *you* Mattiwaza and *you* the Hurri men together with your country, your wives and all that you have…. May they overturn your throne, *yours*, of Mattiwaza. May the oaths sworn in the presence of these gods break you like reeds, you, Mattiwaza, together with your country. May they exterminate from the earth your name and your seed *born* from a second wife that you may take…. If *on the other hand* you, Mattiwaza, the prince, and *you*, the Hurrians, fulfill this treaty and *this* oath, may these gods protect you, Mattiwaza, together with your wife, the daughter of Hatti land, her children and her children's children, and also *you*, the Hurrians, together with your wives, your children, and your children's children and together with your country.[13]

The Assyrian treaties from the first millennium B.C. have a similar pattern as found in the suzerainty treaty in the Hittite treaties from the second millennium B.C. However, there was a distinctive visible ceremony during the Assyrian treaty ratification ceremony. The vassal and his servants made an oath before the Great King while an animal was torn into two pieces. The torn animal signified that the curses of the treaty would befall the vassal, his servants, and their land if they do not obey the stipulations of the treaty.

> … This spring lamb has not been brought out its fold for sacrifice, nor for a banquet, nor for a purchase, nor for (divination concerning) a sick man, nor to be slaughtered for […]: it has been brought to conclude the treaty of Assur-nerari, king of Assyria with Mati'-ilu. If Mati'-ilu [sins] against th[is] sworn treaty, then, just as this spring lamb has been brought from its fold and will not return to its fold and [not behold] its fold again, (in like manner) may, alas, Mati'-ilu, together with his sons, daughters, [magnates] and the people of his land [be ousted] from his country, and not [behold] his country again….
>
> If Mati'-ilu [should sin] against this treaty, so may, just as the head of this spring lamb is c[ut] off, and its knuckle placed in its mouth, […] the head of Mati'-ilu be cut off, and his sons [and magnates] be th[rown] into….
>
> If Mati'-ilu should sin against this [treaty], so may, just as the shou[lder of this spring lamb] is torn out and [placed in …], the shoulder of Mati'-ilu, of his sons, [his magnates] and the people of his land be torn out and [placed] in […].[14]

Strikingly, an Assyrian treaty-like pattern in the first millennium B.C. was evident in the covenant made by God with the covenant community of Judah in Jerusalem during the reign of King Zedekiah:

> 17 "Therefore, thus says the Lord: You have not obeyed me by proclaiming liberty, Every one to his brother and to his neighbor; behold, I proclaim to you liberty to the sword, to pestilence, and to famine, declares the Lord. I will make you a horror to all the kingdoms of the earth. 18 And the men who transgressed my covenant and did not keep the terms of the covenant that they made before me, I will make them *like the calf that they cut in two and passed between its parties*—19 the officials of Judah, the officials of Jerusalem, the eunuchs, the priests, and all the people of the land who passed between the parts of the calf. 20 And I will give them into the hand of their enemies and into the hand of those who seek their lives. Their dead bodies shall be food for the birds of the air and the beasts of the earth. 21 And Zedekiah king of Judah and his officials I will give into the hand of their enemies and into the hand of those who seek their lives, into the hand of the army of the king of Babylon which has withdrawn from you. 22 Behold, I will command, declares the Lord, and will bring them back to this city. And they will fight against it and take it and burn it with fire. I will make the cities of Judah a desolation without inhabitant" (Jer. 34:17–21).

Yahweh revealed that curses can befall the covenant community of Judah. He used the Babylonian kingdom to curse the covenant community because they violated the covenant before Yahweh, the Great King, although they passed "between the parts of the calf" like the vassal king and servants. Likewise, the Lord, as the Great King, cursed the covenant community when they violated the covenant by executing the covenant lawsuit.

Jeremiah's prophecy against Judah and her Babylonian exile, due to the execution of the covenant lawsuit, suggests that God's curses against the covenant

13. Arnold & Beyer eds., *Readings from the Ancient Near East*, 97–98. A close parallel between the Ancient Near East treaties and covenants in the Old Testament remarkably discards the historical critical approach to the formulation of the Old Testament canon, affirming the antiquity of the Pentateuch.

14. *Readings from the Ancient Near East*, 101.

community were not based upon the Abrahamic covenant but the Sinaitic covenant (Exod. 19–24). In the process of making the Sinaitic covenant, the covenant community of Israel made a sworn oath to the covenant before Yahweh, the Great King (Exod. 19:8; 24:3, 7).[15] That is the reason why God poured out his wrath against the covenant community of Israel when they disobeyed the law given to them through Moses, the mediator of the covenant on Mount Sinai. In that sense, we can identify the Sinaitic covenant as the covenant of law.

Having identified the Sinaitic covenant as the covenant of law, we need to explore the background of the Abrahamic covenant and why it fits to the pattern of a covenant of royal grant. Abraham fought the war to bring back his nephew "Lot with his possessions, and the women and the people" when they had been captive in Sodom. It is important to note that Abraham fought the war to bring back his nephew Lot, other people, and all the possessions in the name of Yahweh, the Great King (Gen. 14:8–24). After Abraham returned from war as a victorious warrior, Yahweh, the Great King, recognized Abraham as the faithful warrior-servant. And he promised great reward to Abraham: "*After these things* the word of the Lord came to Abram in a vision: 'Fear not Abram, I am your shield; *your reward shall be* great'" (Gen. 15:1).[16] As a reward, Yahweh promised to grant the land to Abraham's descendents through the covenant ratification ceremony in Genesis 15. In that sense, the Abrahamic covenant may be rightly identified and designated as a covenant of royal grant as demonstrated with the treaty of royal grant in the ancient Near East.[17] As a covenant of royal grant, the Abrahamic covenant is a comprehensive reflection of promissory character of the covenant which has been designated as the covenant of grace in the Reformed tradition, including the classic covenant theology of the seventeenth century. In that sense, it is remarkable to discover how the idea of the Abrahamic covenant of grace, defined in the Reformed tradition, including the classic covenant theology in the seventeenth century is harmonious with the concept of the covenant of royal grant.[18]

In the process of the covenant ratification ceremony of the Abrahamic covenant in Genesis 15, there was a distinctive phenomenon. Abraham as a vassal did not give a sworn oath before the Lord Almighty, the Great King, which was a general pattern of the suzerainty treaty in the ancient Near East:

> 17 When the sun had gone down and it was dark, behold, *a smoking fire pot and a flaming torch passed between these pieces.* 18 *On that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying, "To your offspring I give this land*, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates, 19 the land of the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, 20 the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Rephaim, 21 the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Girgashites and the Jebusites" (Gen. 15:17–21).

15. The sprinkling of the blood on the covenant people during the Sinaitic covenant ratification ceremony suggests that God's saving grace was applied to the elect not by the principle of the law but by the principle of the covenant of grace even under the Sinaitic covenant. So, the sprinkling of the blood by Moses in Exodus 24:8 may not be considered as a sworn oath made by the covenant community of Israel as suggested by Robertson: "First the law was read. The people responded with a verbal commitment to obedience (Exod. 24:7). Then Moses sprinkled the blood on the people as he declared: 'Behold, the blood of the covenant, which the Lord has made with you' (Exod. 24:8). This blood of sprinkling symbolized not only the cleansing of the people. It also consecrated them to keep the covenant on pain of death. The same pledge-to-death which played such a prominent role in the inauguration of the Abrahamic covenant manifested itself in the inauguration of the Mosaic covenant. Sheer statistical considerations may have occasioned the substitution of the blood-sprinkling ritual for the ceremony of passing between the pieces. An entire nation hardly could be paraded between the pieces of slain animals. But an equally significant ceremony of blood-sprinkling could be instituted." Robertson, *The Christ of the Covenants*, 135.

16. Italics are mine. Here, Kline's discussion is helpful and comprehensive: "Coming on the heels of this episode, the Lord's word to Abraham (Gen. 15:1) has the character of a royal grant to an officer of the king for faithful military service. God identifies himself by the military figure of a shield (cf. Deut. 33:29; Ps. 18:2), otherwise read as suzerain, and promises: 'Your reward will be very great" (also read 'who will reward you very greatly'). The term *sakar*, 'reward,' is used for the compensation due to those who have conducted a military campaign. In Ezekiel 29:19 it refers to the spoil of Egypt which the Lord gives Nebuchadnezzar as wages for his army (cf. Isa. 40:10; 62:11). The imagery of Genesis 15:1 is that of the Great King honoring Abraham's notable exhibition of compliance with covenant duty by the reward of a special grant that would more than make up for whatever enrichment he had foregone at the hand of the king of Sodom for the sake of faithfulness to Yahweh, his Lord. The broader record of the Lord's dealings with Abraham includes numerous key expressions paralleled in the ancient royal grants to loyal servants: such a servant is one who obeys, keeps the charge, serves perfectly, walks before his lord." Kline, *Kingdom Prologues*, 323–24.

17. For the discussion of the Abrahamic covenant as a covenant of royal grant in parallel to the treaty of royal grant in the ancient Near East, see Horton, *Introducing Covenant Theology*, 40–50; Kline, *God, Heaven and Har Magedon*, 102–103; idem, *Kingdom Prologue*, 323–26; Niehaus, "Covenant and Narrative, God and Time," 544–46; Moshe Weinfeld, "The Covenant of Grant in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90 (1970): 184–203; idem, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford University Press, 1972), 78–79.

18. For a comprehensive and critical analysis of the development and adaptation of covenant theology in the Reformed tradition from Calvin to Murray and Kline, including the classic covenant theology of the seventeenth century, see Jeong Koo Jeon, *Covenant Theology*, 1–334.

In the process of the covenant ratification ceremony, the distinctive visible phenomena appeared and "a smoking fire pot and a flaming torch passed" between the torn pieces of the animals. In fact, "a flaming torch" between the carcasses was the visible sign of the theophanic glory.[19] It signified that Abraham as a vassal did not make an oath to the covenant. Rather, Yahweh as the Great King made an oath to the covenant. This visible presence of the theophanic glory indicates God's oath to Abraham that he would fulfill all the covenantal promises through the execution of his mighty power and sovereign grace in redemptive history. In addition, God made an oath that the theocratic kingdom in the Promised Land would surely be established. And God provided more detailed geographic boundaries of the Promised Land where Abraham's covenant descendants would dwell. The visible presence of the theophanic glory, passing between the pieces of torn animals, suggests that saving grace, bestowed on sinners, would be possible not through men's meritorious obedience but through God's sovereign grace alone. It was also a redemptive historical event which foreshadowed the Messiah's sacrificial death at Golgotha, which in turn opened the way for the forgiveness of sins and salvation, including all the redemptive blessings.

Likewise, Genesis 15:17 can be considered the visible ceremony of the covenant ratification oath, made by Yahweh in the presence of Abraham. The visible phenomenon of a "flaming torch" was the presence of the theophanic glory, making an oath to the covenant in front of a mere creature, Abraham. Later, after Abraham passed the probation period, offering his promised son, Isaac, on Moriah, the Mount of the Lord, Yahweh confirmed his original oath to the covenant through the prophetic word:

> 15 And the angel of the Lord called to Abraham a second time from heaven 16 and said, "By myself I have sworn, declares the Lord, because you have done this and have not withheld your son, your only son, 17 I will surely bless you, and I will surely multiply your offspring as the stars of heaven and as the sand that is on the seashore. And your offspring shall possess the gate of his enemies, 18 *and in your offspring shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because you have obeyed my voice* (Gen. 22:15–18).

Likewise, Yahweh's sworn oath to the covenant with Abraham through the prophetic word is the confirmation of his oath that he already made through the visible phenomenon in Genesis 15:17. The author of the book of Hebrews confirms that Yahweh made an oath before Abraham to demonstrate that all the promises of the covenant would be fulfilled without a mistake. Abraham experienced a glimpse of the fulfillment of the covenant promises during his own lifetime:

> 13 For when God made a promise to Abraham, since he had no one greater by whom to swear, *he swore by himself* [ὤμοσεν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ], 14 saying, "Surely I will bless you and multiply you." 15 And thus Abraham, having patiently waited, obtained the promise. 16 For people swear by something greater than themselves, and in all their disputes *an oath is final for confirmation* [ἔρας εἰς βεβαίωσιν ὁ ὅρκος]. 17 So when God desired to show more convincingly to the heirs of the promise the unchangeable character of his purpose, *he guaranteed it with an oath* [ἐμεσίτευσεν ὅρκῳ], 18 so that by two unchangeable things, in which it is impossible for God to lie, we who have fled for refuge might have strong encouragement to hold fast to the hope set before us (Heb. 6:13–18).

As such, the author of Hebrews reflects upon and interprets that Yahweh made his promises to

19. The appearances of the theophanic glory in Abraham's life, culminated in Genesis 15.17 are well articulated and summarized by Vos: "To Abraham at first revelation came after the earlier indefinite fashion. In Gen. 12.4 Jehovah 'speaks' to him, but no sooner has he entered the promised land than a change of expression is introduced. In Gen. 12.7 we read that Jehovah 'appeared' unto Abraham (literally, He 'let himself be seen by Abraham'). Here is something more than mere speech. The emergence of a new element is also recognized by the building of the altar, for the altar is a shrine or house of God. In Gen. 15.13 we have again the indefinite statement that Jehovah 'said to Abraham.' But in Gen. 15.17 a visible manifestation, a theophany takes place. In the form of the smoking furnace and the flaming torch God passes by. The theophany here assumes the character of something fearful. In chapter 17.1 we read again that Jehovah let Himself be seen by Abraham; and that this was a theophany follows from the statement of vs. 22, 'And he left off talking with him, and God went up from Abraham.'" Vos, *Biblical Theology*, 69. Furthermore, Vos insightfully observes that the theophanic glory as "the walking of God (alone)" between the torn animal pieces signifies God's sworn oath to keep his promises before Abraham: "At no point of the Old Testament, the life of Moses perhaps excluded, was there such a divine condescension as during the life of Abraham. If we except Gen. 15, there was a remarkable absence of the frightful in these theophanies. There is something here somewhat resembling God's ancient walk with men in the days of paradise or the life of Enoch. In recognition of all this he was by later generations called 'the friend of God', Jas. 2.23. And even in the midst of the terror of 15.12, there was a most impressive witness to the divine condescension in the remarkable setting of the theophany itself. There is probably no case surpassing this in anthropomorphic realism within the Old Testament. The dividing of the animals and the walking of God (alone) between the pieces literally signifies that God invokes upon Himself the fate of dismemberment in case He should not keep faith with Abraham [cp. Jer. 34.18–19]." Ibid., 86.

Abraham. And Yahweh guaranteed to fulfill his promises through the prophetic voice of his angel "with an oath" (ἐμεσίτευσεν ὅρκῳ). Yahweh's verbal sworn oath to Abraham after passing the probation period on Moriah, the Mount of the Lord, is another confirmation that the visible presence of theophanic glory in Genesis 15:17 is Yahweh's sworn oath to the covenant.

D. Covenantal Obedience and the Sign of the Abrahamic Covenant

The covenant ratification oath, made by God to Abraham in Genesis 15:17, suggests that all the rich promises of the Abrahamic covenant would be completely fulfilled. One of the covenantal promises is that personal salvation, bestowed to the elect, may be applied by the mighty work of the Holy Spirit in Jesus Christ who passed through the valley of death. Nevertheless, God commanded the covenant community members to live a life of obedience and holiness. This signifies that believers should be "the salt of the earth" (τὸ ἅλας τῆς γῆς) and "the light of the world" (τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου) (Matt. 5:13–16). Whatever they do, they must live for the glory of God. So God, through his oracle, revealed the unbreakable covenantal bond between him and Abraham, emphasizing the importance of covenantal obedience in believers' lives:

> 1 When Abram was ninety-nine years old the Lord appeared to Abram and said to him, "*I am God almighty; walk before me, and be blameless* [הִתְהַלֵּךְ לְפָנַי וֶהְיֵה תָמִים אֲנִי־אֵל שַׁדָּי] 2 that I may make my covenant between me and you, and may multiply you greatly" (Gen. 17:1–2).

Yahweh revealed himself to Abraham as "I am God Almighty" (אֲנִי־אֵל שַׁדָּי). This signifies how "God Almighty" will fulfill all the promises made to Abraham through the gradual process of history slowly but surely. In return, Yahweh demanded covenantal obedience from Abraham in response to his rich covenantal promises and blessings. So he commanded Abraham to "walk before me, and be blameless" (לְפָנַי וֶהְיֵה תָמִים הִתְהַלֵּךְ). This binding relationship between Yahweh and Abraham is the pattern of the covenantal relationship under the New Covenant: God saves his people in Jesus Christ through grace alone. In response, believers should be set apart and live their lives in the present world for the glory of God as the New Covenant community of Jesus Christ.

God commanded Abraham to perform the rite of circumcision as a sign of membership in the covenant community. Receiving the sign of circumcision did not mean that the recipient was saved by means of circumcision. Rather, it meant the recipient belonged to the covenant community, making a covenantal commitment to live a holy life which represents the kingdom of God in the present sinful world:

> 9 And God said to Abraham, "As for you, you shall keep *my covenant*, you and your offspring after you throughout their generations. 10 *This is my covenant* [זֹאת בְּרִיתִי], which you shall keep, between me and you and your offspring after you: Every male among you shall be circumcised. 11 You shall be circumcised in the flesh of your foreskins, *And it shall be a sign of the covenant between me and you* [וְהָיָה לְאוֹת בְּרִית בֵּינִי וּבֵינֵיכֶם]. 12 He who is eight days old among you shall be circumcised. Every male throughout your generations, whether born in your house or bought with your money from any foreigner who is not of your offspring, 13 both he who is born in your house and he who is bought with your money, shall surely be circumcised. So shall *my covenant* be in your flesh *an everlasting covenant* [עוֹלָם לִבְרִית]. 14 Any uncircumcised male who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin shall be cut off from his people; *he has broken my covenant* [אֶת־בְּרִיתִי הֵפַר]" (Gen. 17:9–14).

Commanding circumcision as a sign of the covenant, God assured Abraham that the covenant was "an everlasting covenant" (לִבְרִית עוֹלָם). The Abrahamic covenant as "an everlasting covenant" suggests that all the rich covenantal promises will certainly be fulfilled as the history of redemption progresses, according to the divine plan. Furthermore, it signifies that the Abrahamic covenant is an unbreakable covenant because God will fulfill all the promises of the covenant although God threatened his curse on any "uncircumcised male" in the covenant community, saying that "he has broken my covenant."

When God made a covenant with Noah and the world, including the earth after the Flood judgment, he used the rainbow as a sign of the covenant not around or in the human body but in the sky. It suggests that the Postdiluvian Noahic covenant is not a covenant of grace but a covenant of common grace, which provides a stable world environment until the final redemptive judgment when Jesus Christ returns. That is why God placed the sign of the Postdiluvian Noahic covenant in the sky (Gen. 9:8–17).[20]

20. For a comprehensive biblical theological analysis of the Postdiluvian Noahic Covenant in Genesis 8:20–9:17 as the renewal or

In the Sinaitic covenant, God commanded the covenant community of Israel to keep the Sabbath holy, the fourth commandment (Exod. 20:8–11). Moreover, God established the Sabbath day as holy, as a sign of the Sinaitic covenant (Exod. 31:12–18). Keeping the Sabbath holy, as a sign of the Sinaitic covenant, indicates that the covenant is primarily the national covenant of Israel with Yahweh because he commanded the entire covenant community of Israel to keep the Sabbath holy. It was a breakable covenant although the principle of the covenant of grace, inaugurated in Genesis 3:15, confirmed and expanded through the Abrahamic covenant, was continuously applied even under the Sinaitic covenant (Gal. 3:15–29). Later, through Jeremiah's prophecy, God identifies how the Sinaitic covenant as the Old Covenant was breakable while the New Covenant is unbreakable because God will make it with his people through the Messiah, the mediator of the New Covenant as well as the fulfiller of the requirement of the covenant, bestowing all the redemptive blessings that God promised (Jer. 31:31–34).

recovery of the covenant of common grace, see Kline, *Kingdom Prologue*, 244–62; Vos, *Biblical Theology*, 51–55. The common grace character of the Post-diluvian Noahic Covenant is persuasively summarized by Vos as follows: "We now come to the Noachian Revelation which took place after the flood. In this positive constructive measures were taken for the further carrying out of the divine purpose. Here again the reminder is in place that the principles disclosed and the measures taken did not directly relate to the prosecution of redemption, although an indirect bearing upon that also must not be overlooked. That the development of natural life is proximately dealt with, follows from the following: what is ordained by God and the promise made have equal reference to the entire Noachian family. But we know that the work of redemption was carried on in the line of Shem only; the arrangement made is not even confined to the human race; it is made with every living creature, nay, with the earth herself; that the *berith* is a *berith* of nature appears from the *berith* sign; the rainbow is a phenomenon of nature, and absolutely universal in its reference. All the signs connected with redemption are bloody, sacramentally dividing signs." Ibid., 51.

21. Edwards comprehensively captures and describes the fundamental nature of judgment upon Sodom and Gomorrah as a type of the eschatological judgment: "But this was now in a great measure forgotten; now therefore God was pleased again, in a most amazing manner, to show his wrath against sin, in the destruction of these cities; which was after such a manner as to be the liveliest image of hell of any thing that ever had been; and therefore the apostle Jude says, 'They suffer the vengeance of eternal fire,' Jude 7. God rained storms of fire and brimstone upon them. The way that they were destroyed probably was by thick flashes of lightning. The streams of brimstone were so thick as to burn up all these cities; so that they perished in the flames of divine wrath. By this might be seen the dreadful wrath of God against the ungodliness and unrighteousness of men; which tended to show men the necessity of redemption, and so to promote that great work." Edwards, *A History of the Work of Redemption*, 64.

E. The Abrahamic Covenant and the Judgment upon Sodom and Gomorrah

God cursed the world through the Flood judgment due to the corruption of the people, exempting only Noah and his family. After the Flood, God promised Noah and the whole earth that there would never be "a flood to destroy the earth" again. This promise to Noah indicates that God would never curse the world by a flood again on a global scale. And it also explains how God will not use the Flood as a means of the final redemptive judgment at the *Parousia*:

> 11 I establish my covenant with you, that never again shall all flesh be cut off by the waters of the flood, and never again shall there be a flood to destroy the earth… 15 I will remember my covenant that is between me and you and every living creature of all flesh. And the waters shall never again become a flood to destroy all flesh (Gen. 9:11–15).

The post-Flood promise to Noah was fulfilled surprisingly within the historical context of the Abrahamic covenant. Certainly, God promised Noah that he would not destroy the world through the Flood judgment again. Nevertheless, God did not reveal to Noah the means or method of the final judgment. The judgment upon Sodom and Gomorrah was a type of the final eschatological judgment.[21]

The Bible identifies Sodom and Gomorrah as spiritually and morally corrupt cities where homosexuality was rampant. God sent two angels to save Lot's family, the covenant family, before the judgment of the cities. Knowing that there were male visitors in Lot's house, "the men of Sodom" surrounded the house and declared that they would like to engage in sexual activities. This episode indicates the homosexual nature of Sodom and Gomorrah:

> 4 But before they lay down, the men of the city, the men of Sodom, both young and old, all the people to the last man, surrounded the house. 5 And they called to Lot, "Where are the men who came to you tonight? *Bring them out to us, that we may know them* [אֵלֵינוּ וְנֵדְעָה אֹתָם הוֹצִיאֵם] (Gen. 19:4–5).

As such, the episode before the judgment of Sodom and Gomorrah suggests that homosexuality was common in the cities. In that sense, "bring them out to us, that we may know them" may be better translated as "bring them out to us so that we may have sexual

relations with them."[22] In addition, this episode suggests that homosexuality is against God's creation ordinance, the regulation of life, and the institution of the family in the Garden of Eden.

Against the corruption and wickedness, God completely destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, located on the east side of the edge of Canaan, with his fiery judgment. These two cities represented the sinful pattern of life near the holy land. Notably, God saved Abraham's nephew Lot and his family from the destruction of the cities through the intervention of his angels:

> 12 Then the men said to Lot, "Have you anyone else here? Sons-in-law, sons, daughters, or anyone you have in the city, bring them out of the place. 13 For we are about to destroy this place, because the outcry against its people has become great before the Lord, and the Lord has sent us to destroy it." 14 So Lot went out and said to his sons-in-law, who were to marry his daughters, "Up! Get out of this place, for the Lord is about to destroy the city." But he seemed to his sons-in-law to be jesting. 15 As morning dawned, the angels urged Lot, saying, "Up! Take your wife and your two daughters who are here, lest you be swept away in the punishment of the city." 16 But he lingered. So the men seized him and his wife and his two daughters by the hand, the Lord being merciful to him, and they brought him out and set him outside the city. 17 And as they brought them out, one said, "Escape for your life, Do not look back or stop anywhere in the valley. Escape to the hills, lest you be swept away" (Gen. 19:12–17).

Lot and his family members, as a covenant community, escaped to Zoar, a safe area. We must pay special attention to Zoar, which was a part of Canaan, the Promised Land. Zoar is described as a beautiful land; it was "like the garden of the Lord" (כְּגַן־יְהוָה) which has the image of the Paradise Land represented in the Garden of Eden before the Fall (Gen. 13:10).[23] Zoar, as the garden of the Lord, actually reflects Canaan as the Promised Land to Abraham and alludes to the everlasting Kingdom of God which will be consummated after the final redemptive judgment. After Lot's covenant community escaped the city, the judgment of fire came down from heaven. The judgment was a type of final judgment; it clearly separated the covenant community from the non-covenant community. In that sense, the judgment was a redemptive judgment, which is related to redemption and salvation:

> 23 The sun had risen on the earth when Lot came to Zoar. 24 Then the Lord rained on Sodom and Gomorrah sulfur and fire from the Lord out of heaven. 25 And he overthrew those cities, and all the valley, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and what grew on the ground. 26 But Lot's wife, behind him, looked back, and she became a pillar of salt (Gen. 19:23–26).

Jesus prophesied that the world in the last days will be similar to the days of Noah and Lot. Our present world will face the final redemptive judgment. Jesus' prophecy to his disciples reveals that the Flood judgment during the time of Noah and the fiery judgment upon Sodom and Gomorrah during the time of Lot were the OT types of the final eschatological judgment:

> 26 Just as it was *in the days of Noah* [ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Νῶε], so will it be *in the days of the Son of Man* [ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου]. 27 They were eating and drinking and marrying and being given in marriage, until the day when Noah entered the ark, and the flood came and destroyed them all. 28 Likewise, just as it was *in the days of Lot* [ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Λώτ]—they were eating and drinking, buying and selling, planting and building, 29 but on the day when Lot went out from Sodom, fire and sulfur rained from heaven and destroyed them all—30 so will it be *on the day when the Son of Man is revealed* [ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποκαλύπτεται] (Luke 17:26–30).

Jesus noted that "the days of Noah" (ταῖς ἡμέραις Νῶε) were the last days of the original world before the corrupt world faced the universal flood judgment. Similarly, "the days of the Son of Man" (ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου) are the last days of the present world which are the days between the first and second coming of the Son of Man. And "the days of the Son of Man" can also be identified as the last days or the semi-eschatological age.

God used the method of holy war when he executed redemptive judgment upon Sodom and Gomorrah. God revealed two different types of war in redemptive history. In fact, God allowed two different types of war when he commanded Israel to conquer the Promised Land. One was a common grace war which is the

22. The Septuagint adequately reflects the original Hebrew meaning and translates it as "ἐξάγαγε αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἵνα συγγενώμεθα αὐτοῖς" which may be translated in English as "bring them out to us so that we may have sexual relations with them."

23. The Septuagint translates כְּגַן־יְהוָה as "ὡς ὁ παράδεισος τοῦ θεου" which carries the meaning of "like the paradise of the Lord."

common method of war among nations as we witness in the contemporary world; it respects international law along with peace treaties. God commanded the covenant community of Israel to wage a common grace war outside of the boundaries of the Promised Land when they marched into the Promised Land (Deut. 20: 10–15). The other was a holy war: the war of "total destruction" (חרם). God commanded the covenant community of Israel to wage a holy war within the boundaries of the Promised Land when they conquered the Promised Land (Deut. 20:16–18). The holy war was the war of Yahweh, and Yahweh fought against the sinful world himself, although he commanded the covenant community of Israel to fight the holy war in his place when they conquered the Promised Land.[24]

Throughout the redemptive history of the OT, Yahweh waged holy war several times, separating the covenant community from non-covenant communities. Yahweh fought the holy war, the war of total destruction, when he executed the redemptive judgment against the corrupt world while saving the Noahic covenant community in the Ark. Similarly, Yahweh fought against the corrupt cities of Sodom and Gomorrah through the means of a holy war, separating the covenant community of Abraham's nephew, Lot, and the non-covenant community within the cities. As such, the pattern of holy war in redemptive history demonstrates the coming of the final holy war. God will execute the final redemptive judgment, separating the elect and reprobates, at the *Parousia*. The demonstration of the holy war against Sodom and Gomorrah within the context of the Abrahamic covenant is the divine demonstration that the ultimate realization of the heavenly Kingdom of God, as the ultimate fulfillment of the Abrahamic covenant, will be granted to the covenant community of the elect in Jesus Christ after the final redemptive judgment.

F. Isaac on Mount Moriah and the Son of Man

In the inauguration of redemptive history, God prophesied that the Messiah will come as "the woman's offspring" (Gen. 3:15). According to the four Gospels, Jesus, as the Messiah, revealed his own identity as "the Son of God" and "the Son of Man." Jesus, as the fulfillment of the Messianic prophecy of the OT, emphasized his sinless humanity with his self-designation as "the Son of Man." Meanwhile, Jesus emphasized his divinity and the specific nature of the Triune God against rejection by Judaism in the first century with his self-identification as "the Son of God."[25]

Isaac, as the promised son of Abraham, about to be sacrificed on the altar of Mount Moriah by his father, Abraham, can be considered and seen as a figure, alluding to the Son of Man on the altar of Golgotha as the only begotten Son.[26] In that sense, Isaac on the altar of Mount Moriah was the first divine revelation in the OT that the Messiah, "the woman's offspring," would actually come as "the Son of Man," although the specific words "the Son of Man" were not used in the context of the sacrifice (Gen. 22:9–13).

Abraham was about to sacrifice his promised son, Isaac, on the altar of Mount Moriah. Then, suddenly, the voice of the angel of the Lord intruded from heaven and told Abraham to stop. Yahweh prepared a ram to sacrifice as a burnt offering "on the Mount of the Lord" (בְּהַר יְהוָה) (Gen. 22:9–14). The dramatic transition of sacrifice from Isaac to a ram is a divine revelation about the mission of the coming of the Son of Man. Indeed, it is a Messianic prophecy that the Messiah as the Son

24. For the divergent patterns and practices of holy war in the history of Ancient Israel from different perspectives and understandings, see G. H. Jones, "'Holy War' or 'Yahweh War'?" *Vetus Testamentum* 25 (1975), 642–58; Idem, "The Concept of Holy War," in *The World of the Old Testament*, 299–322. Ed. R. E. Clements (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Sa-Moon Kang, *Divine War in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989); Tremper Longman III & Daniel G. Reid, *God Is a Warrior* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1995); Gerhard von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel*, trans. and ed. Marva J. Dawn (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991). Surprisingly, over all, the scholars, while exploring the patterns of holy war in the history of Ancient Israel, bypass and ignore the significance of Yahweh's holy war in the Flood judgment and judgment upon Sodom and Gomorrah, which are powerful historical demonstrations of the classical paradigm of Yahweh's holy war. In contemporary international wars and disputes, the radical Islamic fundamentalists have often claimed and raged holy war (*Jihad*) in the name of Allah. The radical Islamic claim on holy war, at best, is a pseudo-holy war when we examine it from the biblical concept of holy war, vividly patterned in redemptive history.

25. For Jesus as the Son of Man as well as the Son of God in light of the Pauline theology in the milieu of the four Gospels, see Herman N. Ridderbos, *Paul and Jesus*, trans. David H. Freeman (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2002), 21–130. The historical critical interpretation of Jesus as the Son of Man as well as the Son of God has been represented by Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, trans. Kendrick Grobel (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951 & 1955), I: 26–133.

26. Kline interprets Isaac's sacrifice as the intrusion of eschatological judgment: "It was the ethics of the Cross, itself an intrusion of final judgment into mid-history, that was intruded into the Old Testament age in the divine command to sacrifice Isaac. The provision of the sacrificial substitute once Abraham had manifested the obedience of faith advices us of the inadequacy of sinful human life for making atonement. God had not defined Isaac's life as the life that was actually to be sacrificed as an atonement for sin. Meanwhile, Abraham's confrontation with the Intrusion's demand had served to try the father of believers whether he was prepared to live by every word that proceeded out of the mouth of God." Kline, *The Structure of Biblical Authority*, 169.

of Man will come to sacrifice himself as "the Lamb of God" and be slaughtered as a little lamb at Golgotha, the Mount of the Lord. All the animal sacrifices on the altar of the Lord in the OT prefigured Jesus as the final and "once for all" sacrifice (Heb. 7:26–28). Hence, echoing the sacrifice of Isaac on Mount of the Lord, John the Baptist shouted that the Messiah as "the Lamb of God" will be slaughtered to atone and forgive the sins of the elect. In the same vein, a ram, prepared by Yahweh on the Mount of the Lord, alluded to "the Lamb of God" (ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ) who is Jesus Christ:

> 29 The next day he saw Jesus coming toward him, and said, "*Behold, the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world* [ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου]! 30 This is he of whom I said, 'After me comes a man who ranks before me, because he was before me.' 31 I myself did not know him, but for this purpose I am baptizing with water, that he might be revealed to Israel" (John 1:29–31; Cf. Isa. 53:7).

Abraham offered the ram as a burnt offering which was related primarily to atonement for sins. In fact, Yahweh accepted the burnt offerings as "the pleasing aroma" which signifies the soothing or appeasing of Yahweh's anger due to human sin (Gen. 8:20–22; Lev. 1:3–17).

After Abraham offered the burnt offering on the altar, he shouted that "the Lord will provide," which echoes his prophetic answer to Isaac: "God will provide for himself the lamb for a burnt offering, my son" (Gen. 22:8). Witnessing the burnt offering provided by Yahweh, Abraham shouted prophetically that "the Lord will provide" (יְהוָה יִרְאֶה). It signifies that Yahweh will provide the burnt offerings to be sacrificed on the altar. And from that time on, the oral tradition had been transmitted by saying "on the mount of the Lord it shall be provided" (Gen. 22:14). Later, Yahweh commanded that the temple be built on Mount Zion. The Chronicler identifies Mount Zion as Mount Moriah, the place of the altar, offering the burnt offering by Abraham (2 Chron. 3:1). Ultimately, Yahweh provided the Lamb of God as a once for all sacrifice, which is the ultimate fulfillment of the prophetic voice of "the Lord will provide." Fulfilling his earthly mission, Jesus as the Lamb of God offered himself to atone for the sins of the elect at Golgotha near the place of the Solomonic temple where Abraham's burnt offering was offered on Mount Moriah. After the death, resurrection, and ascension of the Lamb of God, the apostle John saw the exalted Lamb of God through a vision where he is ruling both visible and invisible realms; he is receiving honor, glory, and worship at the heavenly throne (Rev. 5: 6–14).

After Abraham passed his trial, being willing to sacrifice his only promised son on Mount Moriah, God confirmed how the Messiah as Abraham's offspring would indeed come. Abraham's obedience, displayed by his willingness to sacrifice his promised son on the altar of Mount Moriah, resembles Jesus' perfect obedience, sacrificing himself as the final sacrifice: "And *in your offspring* [בְּזַרְעֶךָ] shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because you have obeyed my voice"(Gen. 22:18).

We need to pay attention to God's promise to Abraham after he successfully passed the trial to sacrifice his promised son, Isaac, on the altar of Mount Moriah. The promise was to bless "all the nations of the earth" in the offspring of Abraham. And God used the promised designation as "in your offspring" (בְּזַרְעֶךָ).[27] The Abrahamic promise designation as "in your offspring" became an apostolic foundation using the language of "in Christ Jesus," "in Christ," and "through Christ Jesus" to indicate the promised blessings of the elect in Jesus Christ, who passed his trial through his sinless, obedient life and sacrificial death as the mediator of the New Covenant.

After Abraham died, God confirmed again to Isaac, the promised son of Abraham, that he would form the theocratic kingdom in the Promised Land. And "all the nations of the earth" shall be blessed in the offspring of the promised child of Abraham. Again, the redemptive blessings of "in your offspring" signify how God would give all the redemptive blessings to the elect *in Christ Jesus* who would come as the seed of Abraham. Once again, God reminded Isaac that he would use Abraham's obedience as the ground to bless his descendants in the Promised Land because his obedience mirrored the perfect obedience of Jesus Christ, the Son of Man:

> 1 Now there was a famine in the land, besides the former famine that was in the days of Abraham. And Isaac went to Gerar to Abimelech king of the Philistines. And the Lord appeared to him and said, "Do not go down to Egypt; dwell in the land of which I shall tell you. 3 Sojourn in this land, and I will be with you and will bless you, for to you and to your offspring I will give all these lands, and I will establish the oath that I swore to Abraham your father. 4 I will multiply your offspring as the stars of heaven and will give to your offspring all these lands. And *in your offspring all the*

27. The Septuagint translation of בְּזַרְעֶךָ as ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου is perfectly harmonious with the apostolic designation of the Abrahamic Covenant expression *in Christ, in Christ Jesus, and through Christ Jesus.*

> *nations of the earth shall be blessed* [בְּזַרְעֲךָ כֹּל גּוֹיֵי הָאָרֶץ וְהִתְבָּרֲכוּ], 5 because Abraham obeyed my voice and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws." (Gen 26:1–5)

Later, God revealed through OT prophecy that the Son of Man would come. But he also revealed that the Son of Man will come as the eschatological King who will rule the heavenly Kingdom of God. God revealed the coming Son of Man as the eschatological figure who will rule the fully realized kingdom of God through Daniel's prophetic night visions. To do so, the Messiah had to pass through a trial as the mediator of the New Covenant. Only then would the realized Kingdom of God be granted by the heavenly Father. At last, he fulfilled all the earthly missions given by God. And God would grant his realized kingdom to his son where he will rule the kingdom as the Great King, as well as "the Son of Man" (בַּר אֱנָשׁ), who was already revealed through the intended sacrifice of the promised son, Isaac, on Mount of Moriah. The ruling of the Son of Man, as well as the Kingdom of God, will be everlasting after the Son of Man returns in eschatological glory "with the clouds of heaven":

> 13 "I saw in the night visions, and behold, with the clouds of heaven there came one *like a son of man* [אֱנָשׁ כְּבַר], and he came to the Ancient of Days and was presented before him. 14 And to him was given dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom one that shall not be destroyed" (Dan. 7:13–14).

During his earthly ministry, Jesus Christ had the self-consciousness that he came to the world as "the Son of Man" as prophesied through Daniel's night visions. For example, in the discourse with Zacchaeus in Jericho, Jesus revealed his own identity as "the Son of Man" (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου). And the earthly mission of the Son of Man was to save "the lost," adopting them as "a son of Abraham" (υἱὸς Ἀβραάμ), regardless of their ethnic identities and social statuses. Thus, Jesus interprets the recipient of the blessings of the Abrahamic covenant from the perspective of the New Covenant, of which he is the mediator. He is the fulfillment of Isaac, who was sacrificed on Mount of Moriah as the promised son of Abraham:

> 8 And Zacchaeus stood and said to the Lord, "Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor. And if I have defrauded anyone of anything, I restore it fourfold. 9 And Jesus said to him, "Today salvation has come to this house, since he also is *a son of Abraham* [υἱὸς Ἀβραάμ]. 10 For *the Son of Man* [ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου] came to seek and to save the lost." (Luke 19:8–10)

As we observed, God rejoiced in seeing Abraham's obedience to sacrifice his promised child, Isaac, which established a foundation for God to grant all the promised blessings. Nevertheless, Abraham's obedience was not a meritorious obedience, although God used his obedience to make a ground to bless "all the nations of the earth" in his offspring. Abraham's obedience prophetically anticipated Jesus's perfect and meritorious obedience through his life and death, which is the foundation for the salvation of the elect in him, to whom he grants the full right to inherit the kingdom of God in heaven.[28]

Continued on Page 249.

28. Kline notes that Abraham's obedience, intending to sacrifice Isaac as the son of promise on the altar of Mount Morriah, was *meritorious*, besides the affirmation of his saving faith through his obedient life. And Abraham's meritorious obedience had redemptive historical significance, providing grounds to grant the theocratic kingdom to his descendents. In doing so, Kline carefully avoids legalism because Abraham's obedience served not to bestow personal salvation for the elect but the theocratic kingdom in the Promised Land, which is the type of the everlasting theocratic kingdom. However, I think *meritorious obedience should be limited to the first and last Adams* although the first Adam failed to display this in the Garden of Eden. From the perspective of biblical theology, meritorious obedience should be applied to only sinless and perfect obedience, demonstrated by the obedience of Jesus Christ as the last Adam through his life and death as the mediator of the New Covenant while the first Adam as the representative covenantal head failed to obey. Kline establishes his own biblical theological argument of how Abraham's obedience was meritorious, with which I disagree: "That Abraham's obedience had special historic significance as the basis for God's future favorable action towards his descendents is confirmed by the Lord's late repetition of the substance of this oracle, now to Isaac (Gen. 26:2ff.). Having restated his commitment to fulfill the covenant promises to Isaac and his line, the Lord concluded: 'because Abraham obeyed my voice and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws' (Gen. 26:5, cf. v. 24). Here the significance of Abraham's works cannot be limited to their role in validation of his own faith. His faithful performance of his covenantal duty is here clearly declared to sustain a causal relationship to the blessing of Isaac and Israel. It had a meritorious character that procured a reward enjoyed by others… Because of Abraham's obedience redemptive history would take the shape of an Abrahamite kingdom of God from which salvation's blessings would rise up and flow out to the nations. God was pleased to constitute Abraham's exemplary works as the meritorious ground for granting to Israel after the flesh the distinctive role of being formed as the typological kingdom, the matrix from which Christ should come… Though not the ground of the inheritance of heaven, Abraham's obedience was the ground for Israel's inheritance of Canaan. Salvation would not come because of Abraham's obedience, but because of Abraham's obedience salvation would come of the Abrahamites, the Jews (John 4:22)." Kline, *Kingdom Prologue*, 324–25.

On the Shoulders of Giants:
Van Til's Appropriation of Warfield and Kuyper

By Jeffrey C. Waddington

Introduction

Cornelius Van Til's presuppositionalist apologetic has often been understood as a critical rejection of the classical apologetic of Old Princeton stalwart Benjamin B. Warfield in favor of the viewpoint of Dutch statesman/theologian Abraham Kuyper. However, as Greg Bahnsen has pointed out, an accurate reading of Van Til qualifies this common assumption.[1] Of course Van Til is critical of Warfield and appreciative of Kuyper, but Van Til's assessment of both Warfield and Kuyper is much more complex than a categorical rejection of Warfield and wholesale embrace of Kuyper would suggest. Van Til attempted to build on the strengths and eschew the weaknesses of both these two Reformed giants. Van Til provides a *critical appropriation* of both Warfield and Kuyper as he seeks to explicate his presuppositional approach to apologetics. A clear understanding of Van Til's relationship to, and appropriation of, the insights of both Warfield and Kuyper is essential to grasping Van Til's method. Bahnsen has said as much:

> The second reason for examining Van Til's evaluation of the strengths *and* weaknesses in *both* Kuyper's viewpoint and Warfield's viewpoint is that we thereby gain a beneficial insight into the unique character and genius of Van Til's own conception of apologetics. He combined the strongest features of both the Amsterdam and the Princeton schools of thought and left aside features of both systems that did not comport with the best Reformed principles. A person who can explain the ways in which Van Til agreed and disagreed with both Warfield and Kuyper, is a person who understands presuppositional apologetics.[2]

Bahnsen helps with a descriptive analysis of Van Til's appropriation of Warfield and Kuyper. My goal in this article will be to offer a reading of the primary sources with the assistance of Greg Bahnsen.[3] My method will be to first note Bahnsen's schematic of Van Til's critical

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1. Greg L. Bahnsen, *Van Til's Apologetic: Readings & Analysis* (Phillipsburg: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1999) 596–97. For a critique of Bahnsen's read of Van Til, see the recent review of Bahnsen's *Presuppositional Apologetics: Stated and Defended* (Powder Springs & Nacogdoches: American Vision Press & Covenant Media Press, 2008) by W. Gary Crampton in *The Confessional Presbyterian* 6 (2010): 239–242. This writer disagrees with that review, and believes that Bahnsen has faithfully interpreted Van Til's method, even if he diverged from the Westminster professor's view of other issues such as eschatology. Nevertheless, both men affirmed the right use of logic as a handmaiden of theology.

2. Bahnsen, *Van Til's Apologetic*, 597. Italics are the author's.

3. In addition to Bahnsen's encyclopedic *Van Til's Apologetic*, I have examined the following sources, all but one of which Van Til cites in his critical appropriation of Kuyper and Warfield. For Abraham Kuyper's insights, see his *Principles of Sacred Theology,* trans. J. Hendrick De Vries (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980). This is a partial translation of Kuyper's three volume *Encyclopaedie der Heilige Godgeleerdheid* (a portion of vol. 1 and all of vol. 2 with an introduction by B. B. Warfield). For Warfield's insights into apologetics, see his "Introduction to Francis R. Beattie's *Apologetics*" in *Benjamin B. Warfield: Selected Shorter Writings,* ed. John E. Meeter (Phillipsburg: Presbyterian & Reformed Publishing, 1970) 2: 93–105. Although not cited by Van Til, Warfield includes almost verbatim remarks from his Beattie introduction about Kuyper in his "A Review of *De Zekerheid Des Geloofs*," also found in *Selected Shorter Writings,* 2: 106–123, which is an interesting evaluation of Herman Bavinck's *The Certainty of Faith.* Two further Warfield resources include his article, "Apologetics," in *The Works of Benjamin B. Warfield: Studies in Theology,* ed. Ethelbert D. Warfield (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000) 9: 3–21 and "The Real Problem of Inspiration," in *The Works of Benjamin B. Warfield: Revelation and Inspiration,* ed. Ethelbert D. Warfield (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000) 1: 169–226. For Van Til's assessment of Warfield and Kuyper, see his

appropriation of Warfield and Kuyper, then conduct a brief discussion of each point in Bahnsen's analysis after which I will conclude with my own assessment of Van Til's critical appropriation. In the end we will see that Van Til stood on the shoulders of giants, and because of that, was able to see farther and more clearly than the giants themselves.[4]

Bahnsen's Schematic

Bahnsen explains Van Til's approach in the following manner:

> According to Van Til, we find these three things in both Warfield and Kuyper: (1) a brilliant conviction of central importance which is relevant to our theory of knowledge and apologetics, (2) another notion, which is inconsistent with the first conviction, and then (3) a view of apologetics that is mistakenly inferred from that first conviction.[5]

Warfield:

- (W1) There is an objective, intelligible, and clear revelation of God to all men in nature and history.
- (W2) The evidence of Christianity only warrants the probability of its truth.
- (W3) Natural man is able to give a correct interpretation of God's natural revelation through the use of "right reason."

Kuyper:

- (K1) There is an antithesis between belief and unbelief that leads to the formation of two sciences.
- (K2) The antithesis is mitigated by areas unaffected by the fall (weighing, measuring, logic) and a limited area of neutral common ground.
- (K3) Given the antithesis, apologetics is virtually useless and so deserves only a minor place in the theological encyclopedia.

Van Til:
Accepts W1 and K1, but rejects W2, K2 and the conclusions W3 and K3.

We can now turn to a more detailed analysis of the various elements to see how Van Til critically appropriated the epistemological and apologetic insights of both Warfield and Kuyper.

Warfield

At the outset it should be mentioned that Van Til understood that both Warfield and Kuyper held to essentially the same solid, biblically based Reformed theology and that his critical appropriation of each was with the goal of formulating an apologetic more consistent with the solid theology each man embraced.[6]

As noted above in (W1), Warfield was so convinced of the objectivity, intelligibility, and clarity of revelation to all men in nature and history that it was not reasonable for anyone to reject the truth of Christianity.[7] The evidence of the truth of Christianity is available for all to assess, regardless of spiritual condition. Arguing against the notion that the validity of the faith resides in the subjective change that occurs in regeneration, Warfield notes,

> It is not true that the Christian view of the world is subjective merely, and is incapable of validation in the forum of pure reason. It is not true that the arguments adduced for the support of the foundation of the Christian religion lack objective validity. It is not even true that the minds of sinful men are inaccessible to the "evidences"….[8]

In other words, the evidence for the validity of the Christian faith was a matter of public record. It was not merely about personal predilection. Warfield readily grants that the presence of the evidence will not in and of itself convert an unbeliever to the faith, for that is the work of the Holy Spirit. But the work of the Holy Spirit in regeneration is not done in the absence of the revelation of God in nature and history.

> It is certainly not in the power of all the demonstrations in the world to make a Christian. Paul may plant and Apollos water; it is God alone who gives the increase.

A Christian Theory of Knowledge (Nutley: Presbyterian & Reformed Publishing, 1969) 229–254 and *The Defense of the Faith,* 3rd edition (Phillipsburg: Presbyterian & Reformed Publishing, 1967) 260–299.

4. Van Til has made comments to this effect, "Standing on the shoulders of Warfield and Kuyper we honor them best if we build on the main thrust of their thought rather than if we insist on carrying on what is inconsistent with their basic position. Then we are most faithful to Calvin and to St. Paul." *Defense of the Faith,* 299.

5. Bahnsen, *Van Til's Apologetic,* 597.

6. See Van Til, *Christian Theory,* 230.

7. Banhsen, *Van Til's Apologetic*, 597.

8. Warfield, "Introduction," *Writings,* 2: 103. This quotation is not without its own problems. What, for instance, is "pure reason"? However, the objectivity of evidence is the issue here. Warfield is arguing against what he perceives to be a mystical strain in the thought of Kuyper where Kuyper, according to Warfield, has fallen into the trap of attributing the validity of Christianity to the subjective change that occurs within the Christian in regeneration without consideration for the objective evidence for the truth of Christianity.

> But it does not seem to follow that Paul would as well, therefore, not plant, and Apollos as well not water. Faith is the gift of God; but it does not in the least follow that the faith God gives is an irrational faith, that is, a faith without grounds in right reason. It is beyond all question only the prepared heart that can fitly respond to the "reasons"; but how can even a prepared heart respond, when there are no "reasons" to draw out its action?[9]

God's revelation to all men in nature and history is compelling and while it by itself does not convert the unbeliever, it does need to be present for conversion to have a context in which to occur.

Given the clarity of this revelation, Warfield saw the necessity of apologetics. Christianity was in the world, Warfield said, to reason its way to preeminence.[10] There was no need to be timid or shy. Christianity was true and it was even "scientific" in the best sense of that word.[11] Apologetics for Warfield, however, was positioned at the head of the theological encyclopedia because its goal was to illuminate the grounds for the possibility of a Christian theology. Apologetics sought to show that there was a God, the possibility of revelation, the nature of man as able to communicate with God and receive revelation, and then it sought to display and assess the evidence of revelation in the Christian Scriptures.[12] Warfield practiced the classical apologetic method which usually involved a two-step method of first showing the possibility or reality of a God (often in philosophical terms) and then moved to the historical evidence found in the Christian Scriptures.[13] However, he also makes statements to the effect that Christianity should be defended as a system, in its totality, and not detail by detail.[14]

While Warfield is on solid ground to affirm the objectivity, intelligibility, and clarity of God's revelation to all men, he makes a wrong turn, so to speak, when he holds that the evidence for Christianity only yields probable certainty (W2). In his article, "The Real Problem of Inspiration," Warfield addresses the matter of biblical evidence for the trustworthiness of the teaching of Jesus and the apostles.

> Of course, this evidence is not in the strict logical sense "demonstrative;" it is "probable" evidence. It therefore leaves open the metaphysical possibility of its being mistaken. But it may be contended that it is about as great in amount and weight as "probable" evidence can be made, and that the strength of conviction which it is adapted to produce may be and should be practically equal to that produced by demonstration itself. [15]

Inductive examination of the evidence in the nature of the case, for Warfield, can never yield absolute certainty even when the evidence is absolutely clear.[16]

With regard to (W3), the natural man's ability to assess natural revelation and the evidences of the truth of Christianity in special revelation, Warfield drew the illegitimate conclusion that the unbeliever can use "right reason" to properly do this.[17] While Warfield recognized the noetic effects of sin, he does not apparently understand that to undermine the role of reason in assessing evidence of various kinds. Entering into this phase of the discussion is the concern of both Warfield and Kuyper with the scientific nature of real knowledge, especially the scientific nature of Christian theology. Science here is not limited to the natural sciences, but rather includes all disciplines that organize knowledge, including what Kuyper referred to as the "spiritual sciences" such as psychology and theology. Ideally, there is only one science to which members of the human race who are engaged in the scientific enterprise contribute. This includes both believers and unbelievers. Additionally, Warfield's approach to natural revelation at times seems to gloss over the difference between natural or general revelation which reveals God to man in nature and fallen man's formulation of a natural theology which is a response to that revelation.[18]

Kuyper

Kuyper's central epistemological insight (K1) involved the recognition of the antithesis between belief and unbelief. While ideally there is but one science that human

9. Warfield, "Introduction," *Writings,* 2: 98. See also "Apologetics," *Works,* 9: 15.

10. Warfield, "Introduction," *Writings,* 2: 99–100.

11. Science as, at a minimum, the organization of knowledge. See Warfield's discussion of theology as a science in "Theology as a Science," in *Writings,* 2: 207–212. Kuyper also discusses the nature of science in his *Principles,* 59–63.

12. Warfield, "Apologetics," *Works,* 9: 4–5, 11.

13. Warfield, "Apologetics," *Works*, 9: 3–21.

14. Warfield, "Apologetics," *Works,* 9: 8–9.

15. Warfield, "The Real Problem," *Works,* 1: 218. The reader will note that Warfield is dealing with the evidence of special revelation at this point, but I think it is safe to say that if the evidence for special revelation yields only probable certainty regarding the truth of Christianity, the same could be said for natural revelation as well.

16. See below for further discussion of abstract induction.

17. Van Til noted that Warfield's use of the expression "right reason" was somewhat opaque, but he thought it yielded the notion of neutral reason shared by both believer and unbeliever alike, *Defense,* 284.

18. Bahnsen, *Van Til's Apologetic,* 598.

consciousness adds to on an ongoing basis throughout the centuries, the fact of the matter is that the introduction of sin into the world through the fall produces an "abnormal" condition.[19] There are scientists who view the world through the lens of normality assuming that the way things are is the way they have always been. Then there are scientists who have experienced palingenesis (regeneration) that helps them to realize that the world which they explore has been ruptured by sin and is in the process of being redeemed. The antithesis between belief and unbelief leads to the development of two sciences, although Kuyper recognizes that ideally there is only one science.[20]

Kuyper talks in terms of two principles, the natural and the special principle.[21] The natural principle is the principle of unbelief, of human autonomy and normalcy. It not only leaves God and his revelation out of the picture but also adamantly opposes Christian approaches to the scientific endeavor. There are then at least two aspects to the natural principle: a truncated view of reality and a hateful disposition toward God and his revelation.[22] In opposition to the natural principle stands the special principle. The special principle is another way of talking about the *principia* of theology, although the emphasis here falls on only one aspect of these. Christian theology is understood (and Kuyper spends a fair bit of time explicating this himself) to rest upon or derive from two principia: the *principium essendi* (principle of being) which is God himself and the *principium cognoscendi* (principle of knowing). The latter principle is further subdivided into the *principium cognoscendi internum* (internal principle) which is faith wrought in the heart of the believer by the Holy Spirit, and the *principium congnoscendi externum* (external principle) which is Holy Scripture. For Kuyper, the emphasis in his discussion of the antithesis falls upon the effect of faith on the mind of the believer engaged in the task of science.[23] The unbeliever does not possess this faith or special principle and so there is an opposition between belief and unbelief in the realm of science. In addition, the special principle is, according to Kuyper, accidental. That is, it reflects God's response to the introduction of sin and abnormality into his otherwise good creation.[24]

While Kuyper describes the antithesis in absolute terms, as we see in (K2), he does allow for aspects of science that are not affected by the fall such as weighing, measuring and the use of logic.[25] And he allows for a neutral zone within the context of common grace where believers and unbelievers can meet with equality and determine common principles of knowledge. This may be related to his territorial view of common grace in which spatial analogies govern. Van Til will improve on Kuyper with his temporal or historical formulation of the doctrine of common grace. Another factor in Kuyper's apparent inconsistency here may be his discussion of a formal faith.[26] Kuyper wants to account for why we believe in the existence of ourselves ("ego") and in the trustworthiness of the delivery of the senses. He wants to explain how it is that we can know things. In other words, Kuyper is discussing the subject/object relationship and developing his epistemological theory.[27] Van Til's problem with this discussion is Kuyper's apparent failure to include in his consideration of epistemology the place of God in the whole process. Particularly Van Til notes Kuyper's failure to bring into the discussion the *sensus divinitatus* which pervades all human knowledge. There can be no awareness of ourselves without an immediate awareness of our Creator and there can be no awareness of objects outside the mind without an awareness of their Creator as well.[28] Kuyper's concern is with the fact that we cannot successfully demonstrate the existence of an "I" nor can we explain why it is we trust the deliverances of senses. We must have faith in our own existence and in our senses. However, Van Til is correct to note that this faith is not an answer to skepticism when abstracted from God and the covenantal context of creation and revelation.

As far as the exceptions to the antithesis for which Kuyper allows, the question remains: why does he allow for the exceptions of weighing, measuring, and the use of logic and why does he have a notion of common

19. Kuyper, *Principles,* 220. See also his discussion in his *Lectures on Calvinism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1931), 132–136.

20. Kuyper, *Principles,* 92, 152, 156. On the unity of truth, 155.

21. Kuyper, *Principles,* 368–389. Also noted in Van Til, *Defense,* 260–261.

22. Kuyper, *Principles,* 380–389. I should note that Warfield seems to stress the first and neglect the second aspect.

23. Kuyper does discuss a formal type of faith defined as trust in one's senses as one does science that is true for the believer and unbeliever. I will have more to say about this below. Kuyper is talking about formal faith here in his discussion of the special principle. See his *Principles,* 341–348,especially 347–348.

24. This is Kuyper's way of pointing out that the special principle is an eschatological intrusion into the fallen world. See his *Principles,* 344–348. Van Til will comment upon the accidental nature of the special principle, especially as it is contrasted with the "gradational principle" exemplified in Thomas Aquinas' approach to natural revelation, *Defense,* 262–263.

25. See Kuyper, *Principles,* 157–159.

26. This is not to be confused with the Roman Catholic doctrine of "formed faith."

27. Kuyper, *Principles,* 125–146.

28. See Van Til, *Defense,* 286–290.

grace which allows him to have a limited neutral zone? His discussion of how the physical sciences differ from the spiritual sciences may enter in here.[29] Kuyper sees the very physicality of the objects of physical science constraining how we are to understand them. Kuyper's larger discussion of the differences between the physical or natural sciences and the spiritual sciences revolves around the subject/object distinction.

In the physical sciences, the physical object constrains the notions the subject has about it to a greater extent than the object of the spiritual science. Kuyper here is neither denying the real existence of spiritual objects as over against physical objects, nor is he suggesting that there is no subjective element involved in the assessment of physical objects in the natural sciences—quite to the contrary. In both the natural (i.e., physical) and spiritual sciences, there exists both the object and the subject. The difference has to do with the physicalness of the object of the natural sciences and how that in itself somehow constrains the subjective element in the understanding of what Kuyper calls "elements" and "relations" in the human mind, with its corresponding "representations" and "conceptions." The object of the spiritual science (say, the soul in psychology) is not tangible (although no less real for that fact) and so there is greater room for the subjective element to be creative.[30]

If this is a fair and accurate reading of Kuyper's epistemology, then one can see how he might see the antithesis working itself out in greater detail in the spiritual sciences than in the natural sciences. In other words, things like weighing and measuring are very physical activities that can be checked and verified quite easily and believers and unbelievers use the same procedures. While logic would seem to be closer to the spiritual science, it is, I believe, what he would call a "mixed science" insofar that once a thought is put down on paper it becomes physical and can be checked. It would seem to be the case that Kuyper's area of limited neutrality and the practices of measuring, weighing and use of logic overlap at this point. Van Til recognizes that logic, for instance, has not been obliterated by the fall. But it has been affected nonetheless.

Given Kuyper's emphasis on the absolute nature of the antithesis, it is not surprising that he would think that apologetics had little value or that it had a minor role to play within the theological encyclopedia (K3).[31] Since belief and unbelief operate on different principles (the natural on the one hand, and the spiritual on the other), there is no point in entering into debate or dialogue. At first it might appear that Kuyper's inconsistency of recognizing areas unaffected by the fall and the limited neutral zone within common grace might make space for apologetics. But given the very specific nature of areas not affected by the fall or the limited neutral zone (assuming that these are not the same or don't overlap in some way), apologetics would seem to have no room in which to move around. Kuyper does have a place for apologetics though. He sees it as a way for Christianity to respond to philosophical challenges and within his theological encyclopedia he places it as a subdivision of the dogmatical sciences, which itself is divided from the bibliological, ecclesiological, and diaconological sciences which are all part of the theological discipline.[32]

Warfield, as we have already noted, is very critical of this placement. Warfield understands apologetics to be the discipline that precedes the other theological tasks, that clears and prepares the ground for exegesis, historical theology, systematics, and practical theology. Warfield calls theology done along the lines of this model a "grand assumption" without an apologetic that goes before them. In other words, how do we know that what we are saying bears any relationship to the truth? "Is it true?" Warfield and Kuyper are both right and wrong at this point. Kuyper is correct to note that apologetics arises from within the study of the Bible and Reformed dogmatics and is not something done apart from its content. For what God do we seek to defend or vindicate? Warfield's own understanding of apologetics leaves one in no doubt that when doing apologetics, the God defended is not, at least explicitly, the God of the Bible. He, in good classical fashion, seeks to argue for a generic deity. Once we make space for this generic deity we can then consider specific candidates for the office. However, Warfield is correct to note that apologetics needs to present the truth claims of the gospel without embarrassment.[33]

Van Til's Critical Appropriation

As I have already noted, Van Til did not reject the insights of Warfield out of hand, nor did he accept Kuyper's perspective lock, stock, and barrel. If Greg Bahnsen is correct that a proper understanding of presuppositionalism depends upon insight into how Van

29. Kuyper, *Principles,* 89–105.
30. Kuyper, *Principles,* 63–89.
31. Kuyper, *Principles,* 154 and 160.
32. See Kuyper, *Principles,* 627–639. A fuller discussion of the place of apologetics is in the untranslated volume 3 of Kuyper's *Encyclopaedie*.
33. Warfield, "Apologetics," *Works,* 9:3, 10, 17.

Til drew upon and corrected the views of Warfield and Kuyper, then it will behoove us to look closer at Van Til's agreements and disagreements with these two Reformed stalwarts.

As previously noted, Van Til accepted what Bahnsen called the "brilliant conception of central importance" of both Warfield and Kuyper.[34] Warfield's major insight was that God's revelation to all men in nature and history was objective, intelligible, and clear. The problem of sinful men rejecting the evidence for God is not, then, with the evidence, but with the sinful human heart that takes the objective, intelligible, and clear revelation of God and suppresses and twists it. The unregenerate man or woman hates God and his revelation.

Kuyper's central insight builds on what we have already noted about the sinful rejection of the clear natural revelation of God. Kuyper rightfully stressed the absolute antithesis between belief and unbelief. In other words, natural revelation is never assessed by a neutral mind. The one who interacts with natural revelation is either a believer, or an unbeliever.[35] If, as does happen, the sinner gets something right about natural and special revelation or about God's world, it is because he is not abiding by his sinful principles or worldview. It is not because his principles or worldview are correct. They aren't. When Kuyper talks about the development of two sciences, it might be better to say that there is one true science (that which conforms to God's own being and thinking about his creation) in reality or objectively and that the two sciences are a reflection of subjective states. In other words the existence of two sciences objectively considered would yield two worlds not unlike the scenario that J. Warwick Montgomery paints in his "Once Upon an A Priori" in the Van Til festschrift *Jerusalem and Athens.*[36] And the principles or worldview of the unbeliever do not reflect reality or come into contact with it on their own assessment of things. However, the unbeliever never holds his unregenerate views consistently. The two sciences are subjective states,[37] one which conforms more frequently with reality as constituted by God and one which never could conform on its principles to God's world but often does because the unbeliever is made in the image of God, exists in God's world that always reveals Him at every point, and lives within the context of common grace.

So Van Til accepted the two central insights of *both* the objectivity, intelligibility, and clarity of God's revelation to all men in nature and history, *and* that the antithesis between belief and unbelief in which the assessment of the evidence for God in history and nature differs between the two of them. There is but one true science (that which conforms to God's being and knowledge on an analogical level) objectively considered (*i.e.* as an extra-mental reality), but there are two sciences subjectively considered (the believer seeks, albeit imperfectly, to conform his scientific thinking to God's Word and world and the unbeliever seeks to deny God's Word and world, but cannot do it successfully).

Van Til, however, rejected Warfield's notion of the evidence leading only to probability[38] and his confidence in "right reason" as understood as a neutral capacity to properly assess God's natural and special revelation. With Warfield, Van Til affirmed the necessity of apologetics, although his understanding of apologetics differed significantly from that proposed by Warfield. Warfield's classical method shaped apologetics in the mold of natural theology, apparently unconstrained by Scripture. Warfield's approach was for apologetics to precede theology and so clear the field for the unfolding of the theological encyclopedia. Also, it would appear as if Warfield and Van Til are in agreement that Christianity cannot be defended on a piecemeal basis. However, while denying a detail by detail defense of the faith,[39] Warfield apparently found his two-stage classical method (what Van Til called the "block house" method) which defends a generic theism on philosophical grounds and then follows that up with an inductive examination of the historical evidences of Christianity consistent with his previous denial. Van Til, I believe, would challenge the abstract nature of both stages of this apologetic. With Kuyper, Van Til would affirm that apologetics is an integral part of the theological enterprise and cannot be carried on in abstraction from the theology it seeks to vindicate. Apologetics does not go before theology in the sense of being done in a non-committal fashion (i.e., in the sense of allowing for abstract possibility). Apologetics must seek to defend Christianity and not some generic

34. Bahnsen, *Van Til's Apologetic,* 597.

35. The unbeliever also attempts to judge the special principle according to his skewed view of natural revelation.

36. See E. R.Geehan, ed. *Jerusalem and Athens: Critical Discussions of the Theology and Apologetics of Cornelius Van Til.* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian & Reformed Publishing, 1971), 380–392.

37. By stressing the subjectivity of the two sciences, I do not intend to deny the objective nature of the scholarship produced by unregenerate scientists. In other words, this "science" is objective in an extra-mental sense, but where unbelieving science gets things right it is parasitic of God-conforming science and where it is wrong it conforms to no thing.

38. See below for further discussion of the problems of a neutral method of induction which Warfield seems to embrace which leads to an abstract notion of probability.

39. See Warfield, "Apologetics," *Works,* 9: 9.

or vague natural theology that could have just as easily been formulated by an ancient Greek philosopher.[40] However, this stress on the biblical basis and systematic theological consistency of apologetics shows that Van Til moves away from Kuyper in Kuyper's diminution of the apologetic task.[41]

Some Personal Observations

At this point in the article I would like us to reflect on some of the issues that have been raised in this survey of Van Til's critical appropriation of Benjamin B. Warfield and Abraham Kuyper. First, in considering Warfield, I have tried to be consistent in describing Warfield's apologetic method as "classical." That is, Warfield followed the two-stage method in which he first dealt with the questions of the existence of a god, the possibility of the communication between this god and man, and the nature of man to be able to receive divine communication within a philosophical context apparently divorced from any Scriptural considerations; then, after laying this groundwork, he looks at the historical evidence of Scripture to see if it is indeed such a divine communication as he showed was possible in the first stage of the method. With all due respect to Warfield, he too easily conflates natural theology with natural revelation.[42] Natural theology done in abstraction from special revelation must of necessity be skewed by the sinful mind of the unregenerate man or woman who formulates it. In other words, Warfield has attributed the objectivity, intelligibility, and clarity which properly belong to natural revelation to natural theology. This is not to reject natural theology. It is to recognize the difference between God's revelation as such and man's possibly fallible and sinful interpretation of it. I can't imagine Warfield confusing the Bible with an interpretation of it. Even the Westminster Standards, which are arguably the most faithful exposition of Scripture in confessional and catechetical form, are not infallible. We know the difference between the Bible and a theology derived from it.[43] In the end Warfield has problems with both parts of his classical method.

Not only does Warfield have problems with his approach to the first part of his classical apologetical approach, but ghosts haunt his approach to the evidence as well. Van Til has accused Warfield of operating with an abstract notion of probability.[44] What does he mean by this? I think it has to do with Warfield's notion of induction. It is generally recognized in logic textbooks that deductive logic yields certainty and inductive logic can only yield probability. Warfield moves from a defective use of natural theology to a defective understanding of induction. If induction is abstracted from the God-given covenantal context in which God intended for it to be used, it can only ever yield probabilities since the nature of induction is to form generalizations based upon the examination of evidence. Conclusions in the nature of the case can only ever be tentative. There is always the possibility that another piece of evidence will turn up that overturns or calls into question a previously formulated theory or generalization. And the unbiblical notions of possibility and probability are, of course, unconstrained by biblical realities. However, given the reality of the God of the Scriptures, we are not worried that another piece of evidence will turn up to reveal a world best described as totally naturalistic. No evidence will arise to show that Jesus wasn't raised from the dead. Warfield apparently did not recognize that he was operating with a notion of induction and possibility that denied at the outset what he was endeavoring to prove. And what about Scripture's own nature as self-authenticating? As already noted, both stages of Warfield's classical apologetic fail to live up to biblical standards of apologetic argumentation.

Before I turn to consider Abraham Kuyper, I have one final matter to consider regarding Warfield's apologetic. And that is his recurring reference to "pure reason" or "right reason." What exactly does Warfield mean by these expressions? Van Til recognizes some opaqueness to the terms but decides that it reflects the idea of a neutral reason. If Warfield meant that reason as originally created would recognize the revelation God has implanted in nature and history, this would not be a problem. If Warfield wanted to affirm that the fall has not totally obliterated reason, I would grant him his point. But what exactly are the nature and extent of the noetic effects of sin? When Warfield discusses the nature

40. See Warfield's remarks in his "Apologetics" where he suggests that apologetics is not about defending Christianity as such, at least not initially. He demonstrates his view by noting the apologetics done by Greek philosophers in pre-Christian times, *Works,* 9: 16–21.

41. Kuyper's stress on worldview thinking and the antithesis was an apologetic of sorts. Kuyper's involvement with the anti-revolutionary party in the Netherlands could surely be seen as a practical form of apologetics as well.

42. Van Til, *Christian Theory,* 231.

43. I am not suggesting that theology or doctrinal formulations cannot accurately reflect the teaching of the Bible. Indeed I think they can and do. We are able to discern more and less biblical systems of doctrine by comparison of them with Scripture itself. The fact that it is a comparison means that they are not one and the same thing. Additionally, granting the potential of human fallibility generally does not prove an error in any particular instance.

44. Van Til, *Defense,* 265.

of science, he tends to stress the incomplete nature of unbelieving science but appears to slight the reality of active rebellion. If Warfield was arguing that regenerate or restored reason would readily recognize both natural and special revelation, that's fine; there is room here for discussion. Paul Helseth has recently argued that the Old Princeton theologians were not the bald rationalists that they have been accused of being.[45] He has written on Hodge, Warfield, and Machen, making the argument that all of these men had an understanding of the soul; or human personality as an integrated whole so that "right reason" must be regenerate reason. Helseth has pointed to the article "Authority, Intellect, Heart" by Warfield to prove his point.[46] Granting that Helseth is correct in his reassessment of Warfield, what do we do with Warfield's use of the classical approach to apologetics? If Warfield understood right reason to be regenerate reason, it makes his apologetic method all the more enigmatic, not less so. It may be that Warfield's inconsistency is more complex than we have thought. Clearly there is room for further research here.

Now to Abraham Kuyper. As we come to this point in the article, we should be disabused of the idea that Van Til totally rejected Warfield and wholly accepted Kuyper. Not so. Kuyper was correct in recognizing that the antithesis between belief and unbelief is absolute in principle. However, he apparently failed to understand how the antithesis worked out in history. Kuyper works with a territorial view of the antithesis and common grace. I suspect this sets up a see-saw relationship between the two so that Kuyper has to account for what look to him like areas of neutrality or practices that are not affected by the fall. As in a war, there are zones of neutrality where enemies can meet on equal terms and come together and forge common notions of peace. I think Van Til's temporal or historical (could we not say "eschatological"?) understanding of both the antithesis and common grace are an improvement.[47] What looks to Kuyper like practices not affected by the fall (weighing, measuring, the use of logic) or like areas of neutrality are actually a reflection of our eschatological condition. That is, we have not yet reached the consummation when the principle of antithesis will be fully realized. Between the fall and the consummation, common grace is at work, and man is still made in the image of God and there is natural, not to mention special, revelation. Sin in the life of the unregenerate is restrained and so he can get some things about this world right. And the sanctification of the believer is not yet complete as well. Interestingly enough, Warfield pointed out this aspect of pre-consummation Christian life.[48] In a sense, then, Warfield was sensitive to the eschatological defect in Kuyper's territorial notions of the antithesis and common grace. It is not the case that there are neutral or unaffected areas in this fallen world. Rather, sinners recognize some true things because they can't possibly think or live consistently with their unbelief. So, the unregenerate contribute to science and other aspects of life, we might say, quite *accidentally*. In spite of themselves, and because reality in fact is as the Bible declares it to be and the Christian believes it, the unbeliever can get along in this world. On the other hand, it is impossible, given the way the world is, for the unregenerate to be correct and Christianity to be false. And so we have the beginnings of the transcendental argument.

Kuyper's discussion of a formal faith that is attributable to both the regenerate and the unregenerate is not completely mistaken. Van Til, however, is correct to note Kuyper's failure to connect our trust in the existence of our ego and the deliverances of our senses and knowledge of God. Warfield was correct to note that God's revelation in nature and history is objective, intelligible, and clear and this is given not only in creation in general but also in the very constitution of human beings. Any discussion of epistemology must include the connection between our knowledge of ourselves and our knowledge of God. It is not simply a matter of looking at the subject/object relation from a human perspective, but we must also ask what or who upholds the human epistemological situation? How do we account for our trust in our own existence and epistemological apparatus?

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45. See his "The Apologetical Tradition of the OPC: A Reconsideration" in *WTJ* 60, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 109–129 and "B. B. Warfield's Appeal to "Right Reason": Evidence of a "Rather Bald Rationalism," in *Scottish Bulletin for Evangelical Theology* 16 (August 1998): 156–177. Related articles include "Re-Imagining the Princeton Mind: Postconservative Evangelicalism, Old Princeton, and the Rise of Neo-Fundamentalism," in *JETS* 45, no. 3 (Spring 2002): 427–450; "'Right Reason' and the Princeton Mind: The Moral Context," in *Journal of Presbyterian History* 77, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 13–28 and "B. B. Warfield on the Apologetic Nature of Christian Scholarship: An Analysis of His Solution to the Problem of the Relationship Between Christianity and Culture," in *WTJ* 62, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 89–111. Many of these studies have now been compiled in the author's *"Right" Reason and the Princeton Mind: An Unorthodox Proposal* (Phillipsburg: P&R Publishing, 2010). On the narrow issue of the nature of right reason I believe Helseth has made his case.

46. Warfield, *Writings,* 2: 668–671. Cited by Helseth in his "Warfield's Appeal," 156–177.

47. Van Til, *Common Grace and the Gospel* (Phillipsburg: Presbyterian & Reformed Publishing, 1972).

48. Warfield, "Introduction," *Writings,* 2:101. Admittedly Kuyper also notes that palingenesis or sanctification is not perfect in this life, but he doesn't connect it explicitly with eschatology, *Principles,* 162.

The Modal Transcendental Argument for God's Existence

By David Reiter

The Van Tilian transcendental argument for God's existence is a daring argument which is deeply rooted in Reformed theology, and it is worthy of rigorous examination. In this paper, I carefully examine two recent discussions of the transcendental argument and I propose a new analysis of its argumentative form. Don Collett has argued for the distinctive character of transcendental reasoning, and has proposed that the transcendental argument is best understood by drawing on the twentieth-century philosopher P. F. Strawson's account of presupposition.[1] According to Collett, the essence of the transcendental argument is found in the claim that every truth-valued proposition presupposes the existence of God. Alternatively, Sean Choi has provided a detailed reconstruction and critique of the transcendental argument as advanced by Greg Bahnsen in the Bahnsen-Stein debate on the existence of God.[2] Choi concludes that Bahnsen's transcendental argument "seems too ambitious and [is] doomed to fail" (Choi, 247). While Collett and Choi's discussions are both very helpful, I argue that neither provides a fully adequate characterization of the form of the transcendental argument for God's existence. In the final section of the paper, I distinguish between *generic* and *modal* transcendental theistic arguments, and I articulate the general form of the *modal transcendental argument* for God's existence.

1. Collett on Strawson's Account of Presupposition

Collett proposes the innovative idea of using P. F. Strawson's account of presupposition to explicate the transcendental argument. Now Strawson's general thought is that one proposition, A, presupposes another, B, if the truth of B is required in order to meaningfully "raise the question" of the truth or falsity of A. Bas Van Fraassen explains Strawson's account as follows:

> The best known source for the concept of presupposition is [Strawson's] view that a property cannot be either truly or falsely attributed to what does not exist. Thus, the sentence "The King of France (in 1967) is bald" is neither true nor false, on this view, *because* the King of France does not exist. The explicit characterization of *presupposes* is therefore given by
>
> 1. *A presupposes* B if and only if A is neither true nor false unless B is true.
>
> This is equivalent to
>
> 2. A presupposes B if and only if
> (a) if A is true then B is true.
> (b) if A is false then B is true.[3]

Van Fraassen goes on to compare the relations of implication and presupposition. According to Van Fraassen, both involve "necessitation," which he defines as follows:

> 6. *A necessitates* B if and only if, whenever A is true, B is also true (Van Fraasen, 138).

Accordingly, Van Fraassen holds that the notion of

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1. Don Collett, "Van Til and Transcendental Argument," in *Revelation and Reason: New Essays in Reformed Apologetics,* ed. K. Scott Oliphint and Lane G. Tipton (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R, 2007) 258–278. Collett has reiterated his position more recently in "Van Til and Transcendental Argument Revisited," in *Speaking the Truth in Love: The Theology of John Frame,* ed. John J. Hughes (P&R, 2009) 460–488.

2. Sean Choi, "The Transcendental Argument," in *Reasons for Faith: Making a Case for the Christian Faith,* ed. Norman L. Geisler and Chad V. Meister (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2007), 231–247.

3. Bas C. Van Fraasen, "Presupposition, Implication, and Self-Reference," *The Journal of Philosophy* 65 (1968): 136–152.

presupposition can be completely explained in terms of necessitation, as follows:

> 7. *A presupposes* B if and only if:
> (a) A necessitates B, and
> (b) (not-A) necessitates B.[4]

Altogether then, the Strawson-Van Fraasen account of presupposition may be stated in terms of possible worlds semantics as follows:

> *A presupposes* B if and only if:
> (a) In any possible world where A is true, B is true,
>
> And: (b) In any possible world where A is false, B is true.

Now let us return to Strawson's example where the proposition (B) *The King of France is bald* presupposes that (E) *The King of France exists*. It follows then that for any possible world W, if the proposition *The King of France is bald* has a truth-value in W, then the proposition *There is a King of France* is true in W. (Incidentally, it follows from this account that if proposition B presupposes E in one possible world, then B presupposes E in all possible worlds. That is, if B presupposes E, then B *necessarily* presupposes E.)

Before moving forward, I want to make an important observation about Strawson's account of presupposition. In this paradigm case where (B) *The King of France is bald* presupposes (E) *The King of France exists*, both (B) and (E) are *contingent* claims. There may be many possible worlds where (E) is false (because there is no King of France), and of course the central thought of Strawson's account is that in any such possible world (where (E) is false), then (B) simply lacks a truth-value altogether—it is neither true nor false. The point I want to make here is that Strawson's account of presupposition was designed primarily for contexts where the *presupposing* and *presupposed* claims are both *contingent* propositions.[5] Having taken note of this significant point, let us move forward.

4. Van Fraasen, 138.

5. Van Fraassen points out that if p is a necessary truth, then it follows that any truth-valued claim presupposes p. Thus, if *2+2=4* is a necessary truth, it follows that *Lincoln is the capital of Nebraska* presupposes that *2+2=4*. And of course, if *God exists* is a necessary truth, then any truth-valued proposition presupposes that God exists.

6. Collett, "Van Til," 270.

7. I take it that premise 2 in argument (2) is not claiming that *there is causality in every possible world*—a claim that would be inconsistent with the fact that it was not necessary that God create.

2. Collett on Transcendental Arguments and the Presuppositionalist Claim

Drawing on Strawson's account of presupposition, Collett proposes the following as examples of transcendental arguments:

> Transcendental Argument (2):
> 1. C [i.e., There is causality] presupposes G [i.e., God's existence]
> 2. C
> So 3. G
>
> And Transcendental Argument (3):
> 1. C presupposes G.
> 2. ~C [i.e., There is no causality]
> So 3. G.[6]

The central and critical point here is that we can validly derive God's existence *as long as the causality premise* (i.e., the premise that *There is causality*) merely has a truth-value! If the presuppositional premise (the first premise in both arguments) is true and the causality claim simply has a truth-value, it follows that *at least one of these arguments is a sound theistic argument*, and thus it really isn't even necessary for the apologist to commit to one of them in particular. This is what makes the transcendental argument such a daring move in Christian apologetics.

Let me make another important point about these arguments. In addressing issues of apologetic methodology, Collett rightly emphasizes the desirability of arguing for the *necessity* of God's existence: "In short, theistic argument must bear witness to the *necessary* character of God's existence" (Collett, "Van Til," 262). But for either of the arguments Collett presents (those just above), the argument only establishes the *actual* existence of God, it does not establish the *necessity* of God's existence. For in both arguments, premise 2 is merely a claim about the actual world, and therefore a modal (necessity) conclusion cannot be validly derived.[7] Therefore, relative to the goals that Collett has specified, there is a significant weakness in these arguments as formulated above.

Let us now explore more carefully the nature of the arguments that can be generated by using Strawson's account of presupposition, and see if perhaps the weakness just identified can somehow be remedied. Van Til holds that predication is impossible apart from God's existence. Drawing on our discussion above, this predication claim amounts to the conjunction of:

(a) There is no possible world where some proposition p is true and God does not exist.

And: (b) There is no possible world where some proposition p is false and God does not exist.

Or more compactly, we can state (as I shall call it) the *presuppositionalist claim* as follows:

(P) There is no possible world where some proposition p has a truth-value and God does not exist.

The presuppositionalist claim then yields the following *basic presuppositionalist argument form*:

1. There is no possible world where some proposition p has a truth-value and God does not exist.

2. There is some proposition p that has a truth-value in the actual world (e.g., the proposition *Lincoln is the state capital of Nebraska* has the truth-value of *true*).

So 3. God exists in the actual world.

I will make two observations about this basic presuppositionalist argument form. First, this is a *maximally versatile* theistic argument form in the sense that the existence of God follows validly from the truth *or falsity* of *any proposition whatsoever*. The second observation is that this argument form still only yields the *actual* existence of God—it does *not* yield the modal claim that God exists in every possible world (i.e., that *Necessarily, God exists*). As far as the argument form itself goes, perhaps there could be a possible world where it is not the case that God exists, but this would have to be a world where no proposition whatsoever has any truth-value, and to say the least, this scenario is a bit hard to swallow! It does seem maximally plausible to suppose that in every possible world, there is *at least one proposition* which is either true or false. Incorporating this supposition then yields the following argument form:

1. There is no possible world where some proposition p has a truth-value and God does not exist. [The Presuppositionalist Claim.]

2. For any possible world W, there is some proposition p that has a truth-value in W.

So 3. For any possible world W, God exists in W.

For convenience, I will call this argument form the form of *The Transcendental Argument from Presupposition*. This argument form is perfectly valid, and it yields the modal conclusion that *God exists in every possible world*. We now move on to examine Sean Choi's recent discussion of the transcendental argument.

3. Choi on the General Form of Transcendental Arguments

According to Sean Choi, the general form of transcendental arguments (TAs) looks like this:

(TA1) q.
(TA2) It is necessary that: If not-p, then not-q.
(TA3) So, p.[8]

Choi proposes Descartes' *Cogito* argument as a "paradigm example of a sound TA":

(C1) I am thinking.
(C2) It is necessary that: if I do not exist, then I am not thinking.
(C3) So, I exist.[9]

And the general schema for the transcendental argument for God's existence (TAG) is:

(TAG1) LOGIC.
(TAG2) It is necessary that: if God does not exist, then not-LOGIC.
(TAG3) So, God exists.[10]

According to Choi, a TA has two premises, one is the "granted premise" and the other is the "transcendental premise." The granted premise simply asserts a relatively uncontroversial fact,[11] while the transcendental premise "asserts that there is a conceptual or metaphysical connection between the phenomenon mentioned in q

8. Choi, "Transcendental," 234.
9. Choi, "Transcendental," 235.
10. Choi, "Transcendental," 236.
11. More precisely, Choi states that in this argument form "q [i.e., the variable for the granted premise] is a variable that takes as its value propositions concerning some phenomenon that can be asserted, without much controversy in the philosophical context in question, to obtain and thus to be a fact" (234). One might reasonably wonder how well this understanding of a granted premise fits with the Van Tilian doctrine that every fact must be interpreted in the light of worldview presuppositions.

and the phenomenon mentioned in p such that the latter is a condition for the possibility or intelligibility of the former" (Choi, "Transcendental," 234).

Let us note that there is an important respect in which the general form of a transcendental argument (as specified by Choi) is somewhat puzzling. From a purely dialectical perspective that is concerned only with the construction of a valid argument for a given conclusion, the transcendental argument seems to represent a degree of overkill. If the desired conclusion of the TA is a mere *actuality* claim (as it certainly is in the paradigmatic Cogito example),[12] then the transcendental premise is unnecessarily strong, since a weaker (non-transcendental) version of the premise would deliver exactly the same conclusion. To illustrate my point, consider the following "non-transcendental" version of Descartes's Cogito argument:

(C1) I am thinking.

(C2*) If I do not exist, then I am not thinking.

(C3) So, I exist.

Note that this is a perfectly valid argument for the actuality claim in (C3), even though it contains no transcendental premise whatsoever. We should note that for any transcendental argument, there will be a *non-transcendental counterpart* for that argument, which differs only in having a *contingently true* conditional, rather than having a *necessarily true* conditional. And from a purely dialectical perspective, the transcendental argument offers no advantage whatsoever over the non-transcendental version. (Indeed, it might be argued that the non-transcendental argument is preferable, for it might be more difficult or challenging to argue for the necessary conditional than to argue for the mere conditional.) If the goal is to construct a valid argument for the existence of God or the truth of Christian theism, then *from the purely dialectical standpoint I have specified, a transcendental argument offers no advantage whatsoever over its non-transcendental counterpart*. We will return to explore this point a bit further below.

4. Choi on Bahnsen's Transcendental Argument

Choi offers a careful and detailed analysis of Bahnsen's TAG. In accordance with his analysis of the general form for transcendental arguments, Choi offers the following "reconstruction" of Bahnsen's main argument:

Bahnsen's Main TAG:

(1) There is a rational justification for the laws of logic. (Granted premise.)

(2) It is necessary that: if Christian theism is false, then there is no rational justification for the laws of logic. (Transcendental premise.)

So (3) Christian theism is true.

Of course, premise 2 is the critical (and controversial) premise in the argument. Choi offers the following reconstruction of Bahnsen's reasoning for P2:

(2a) If there is a non-Christian theistic way to justify the laws of logic, then it will be either the a priori way or the a posteriori way or the conventionalist way.

(2b) Neither the a priori way nor the a posteriori way nor the conventionalist way will justify the laws of logic.

(2d) Necessarily: if there is a rational justification for the laws of logic, then it will be either Christian theistic or non-Christian theistic.

So (2) It is necessary that: if Christian theism is false, then there is no rational justification for the laws of logic.

Concerning this argument, Choi correctly points out that if (2a) and (2b) are both merely *contingent* truths, then the premises do not imply the conclusion (2), which is a necessary truth. (2) is a claim about *all possible worlds*, as it must be in order to qualify as a transcendental premise (which is in turn required for a transcendental argument). But (2a) and (2b) are both claims about *the actual world only*. Thus, Choi proposes revised "modal" versions of both premises:

(2a*) It is necessary that: if there is a non-Christian theistic way to justify the laws of logic, then it will be either the a priori way or the a posteriori way or the conventionalist way.

And: (2b*) It is necessary that: neither the a priori way nor the a posteriori way nor the conventionalist way will justify the laws of logic.

12. That is, the "I exist" conclusion of the Cogito only makes a claim about the *actual* world.

Now if we substitute in (2a*) and (2b*), we then get a valid argument for premise (2) of the main argument.

The rest of Choi's discussion consists of two criticisms. First, Choi argues that Bahnsen fails to give an adequate argument for (2b*). And second, Choi argues that Bahnsen fails to adequately support (2a*). Let us consider both criticisms.

Concerning (2b*), Choi's point is that even if Bahnsen has examined and refuted all of the a priori/a posteriori/conventionalist accounts (hereafter, simply "AAC accounts") that have actually been proposed, this would not constitute a refutation of all such *possible* accounts. In short, Bahnsen simply fails to establish that *there is no possible world whatsoever* in which some AAC account of logic is correct.[13] This surely is a significant weakness (or incompleteness) in Bahnsen's argumentation.

In the final section of his paper, Choi discusses the prospects and difficulties of defending premise (2a*):

> (2a*) It is necessary that: if there is a non-Christian theistic way to justify the laws of logic, then it will be either the a priori way or the a posteriori way or the conventionalist way.

To facilitate his discussion here, Choi specifies a proposition which is the negation of (2a*), and so I shall call this proposition (Not-2a*):[14]

> (Not-2a*) It is possible that: there is a non-Christian theistic way to justify the laws of logic and it is neither the a priori way nor the a posteriori way nor the conventionalist way.

Now what exactly does (Not-2a*) mean? I take it that if (Not-2a*) is true, then there is some possible world W, where Christian theism is false and where there is a non-AAC rational justification for the laws of logic. Of course, if there is such a world W, then (2a*) is false, and even more critically, the transcendental premise (i.e., premise 2) of TAG is false. At this point, Choi argues that *It is epistemically possible that (Not-2a*)*.[15] And Choi argues for this last proposition, in turn, by arguing that the following proposition (F) is consistent with our evidence—that is, that (F) is epistemically possible:

> (F) It is possible that: there is a worldview distinct from Christian theism and which is such that if it *were* true, it would provide a *sufficient* justification for the laws of logic (Choi, "Transcendental Argument," 243).

Now Choi does not provide a detailed analysis of the exact meaning of (F), but in light of his discussion, I think it is fairly clear that if (F) is true, then there is some possible world—I shall dub this world "WF," such that: (1) some worldview F is true in WF, (2) Christian theism is false in WF, and (3) there is a rational justification for the laws of logic in WF.[16] To facilitate consideration of (F), Choi has us consider a (putative) possible world where Fristianity is true:

"As a specific illustration of such a worldview, consider Fristianity, which is a theistic worldview that holds to the doctrine of quadrinity (one God in four persons) and is otherwise identical to Christianity, or as similar to Christianity as possible (given its quadrinitarian tenet). And more relevantly for our purposes, *in whatever way* that Christian theism is supposed to account for the laws of logic, Fristian theism would account for them *in like manner*" (Choi, "Transcendental Argument," 244–245).

Let me now pause to state Choi's argument as clearly and accurately as possible. First, let us define proposition (F*):

> (F*) It is possible that (i.e., there is a possible world where) Fristianity is true and there is a non-AAC rational justification for the laws of logic.

We can now state Choi's argument as follows:

> (1) If (F*) is epistemically possible, then (2a*) has not been adequately supported (and so TAG fails).
>
> (2) (F*) is epistemically possible.

13. It seems that someone might reasonably think that the true account of logic must be *either a priori or a posteriori*. From this perspective, showing that there is no possible world in which there is a correct AAC account would be tantamount to showing that there is no possible world in which there is a true account of logic.

14. Choi uses the same designation (viz., (2a*)) for both (2a*) *and* its negation. Perhaps this is just a typographical or editing error—at any rate it is rather confusing. Thus I shall deviate from Choi's text and use the name "(Not-2a*)" for the negation of (2a*).

15. More accurately, he argues for the "iterated" claim that *It is epistemically possible that it is possible that (Not-2a*)*, but, as Choi points out, given the widely accepted system of modal logic S5, this proposition is equivalent to the simpler *It is epistemically possible that (Not-2a*)*. The reader is encouraged to consult Choi's footnote 24 to further explore the reasoning here.

16. A technical glitch in Choi's argumentation here is that the epistemic possibility of (F) does not entail the epistemic possibility of (Not-2a*), since (F) does not entail that the rational justification for logic is non-AAC, but let us overlook this point. Nevertheless, proposition (F) is still of critical importance: for if (F) is true, then the transcendental premise of Bahnsen's main TAG is false and the argument thus fails.

So (3) (2a*) has not been adequately supported (and so TAG fails).

In evaluating this argument, I will make one observation about premise (1) and then concentrate exclusively on premise (2). Setting aside a technical difficulty noted above,[17] premise 1 is correct in its claim, and even more directly, if (F*) is epistemically possible then it is epistemically possible that the transcendental premise (premise 2) of TAG is false. Let us move on to consider premise 2. Now the claim that *(F*) is epistemically possible* is precisely the claim that *(F*) is consistent with our evidence base* (i.e., *with everything we know to be true*). But there is a very significant problem in judging whether this claim is true, precisely because we have no idea (given Choi's discussion) of what is and isn't included in "our evidence base."

Epistemic possibility is a person-relative notion. If I know that *Sam has gone fishing* but my brother Paul doesn't know this, then the proposition *Sam has not gone fishing* is epistemically possible for Paul but not for me. So the claim that a given proposition is epistemically possible is a claim that is intrinsically "relativized" to a particular person's evidence-base at a given time. Thus, in order to judge whether (F*) is epistemically possible for a given person S at a given time t, we must have some idea of what S's evidence is at time t. Now, just going on Choi's discussion, we really have no idea whether "our evidence base" includes the claim that *The Triune God necessarily exists*. If our evidence base includes this claim, then, contrary to the argument, (F*) is *not* epistemically possible. Now in response it might be suggested that, *of course* our evidence base does *not* include the necessary existence of the Triune God, since this is just what the TAG argument is supposed to establish in the first place. This is a reasonable point, but on the other hand, this argument is proposed in the larger context of presuppositionalist apologetics, which insists that we must *begin* our reasoning with Christian presuppositions. The bottom line is that Choi's objection is inconclusive—it has not been shown that (F*) is epistemically possible. Whether (F*) is epistemically possible for a given individual depends on S's evidence-base, and this, in turn, may depend on S's basic presuppositions themselves.

5. Distinguishing the Modal Transcendental Argument from Generic Transcendental Arguments

Above I argued that if the desired conclusion of a TA is a mere actuality claim (as in the *Cogito* argument), then the "modal element" of the transcendental premise is dialectically unnecessary. It is interesting that while Choi strongly emphasizes the necessity of the transcendental premise (since this makes for the "essence" of the transcendental argument), he does not even address the issue of the modal status of the conclusion.[18]

On the other hand, if the goal is to construct an argument for the *necessary truth* of Christian theism, as Collett emphasizes, then the transcendental premise is indeed appropriate and necessary. But if this *is* the goal, then Choi's formulation of the general form of TAG is inadequate because it is not sensitive to the modal status of the "granted" premise. Let us at this point introduce the general form for a *Modal Transcendental Argument*, as I shall call it:

(MTA1) It is necessary that q.

(MTA2) It is necessary that if not-p, then not-q.

So, (MTA3) It is necessary that p.[19]

The important revision here (relative to Choi's analysis) is that both the granted premise and the transcendental premises are *necessary* propositions. Incidentally, a bit of reflection will reveal that our final formulation of *The Transcendental Argument from Presupposition* (found above at end of section 2) is equivalent to an instance of this general form. We can now express the *Modal Transcendental Argument Form* as follows:

MTAG1. It is necessary that there is a proposition that has a truth-value.

MTAG2. It is necessary that if God does not exist, then it is false that there is a proposition that has a truth-value.

So MTAG3. It is necessary that God exists.

Continued on Page 250.

17. See footnote 16.

18. On 236, Choi highlights the fact that, at least for Bahnsen, the desired conclusion is the truth of *Christian* theism, as opposed to "theism in general," but he does not explicitly give any indication that TAG is supposed to establish the truth of Christian theism *in all possible worlds*.

19. We may note that (by contraposition on premise 2) this is equivalent to the "cleaner" modus ponens form:

(MTA1) It is necessary that q.

(MTA2) It is necessary that: If q, then p.

(MTA3) So, It is necessary that p.

The Lord and His Messengers: Toward a Trinitarian Interpretation of Malachi 3:1–4

By Camden M. Bucey

Biblical scholars have long quarantined the discipline of biblical theology from the conclusions of systematic theologians.[1] For many, the disciplines have been viewed as distinct and, for the most part, unrelated. Yet, this has not been the case in the confessionally Presbyterian and Reformed tradition. Geerhardus Vos, generally recognized as the father of Reformed biblical theology, defined biblical theology as "that branch of Exegetical Theology which deals with the process of the self-revelation of God deposited in the Bible."[2] In accord with his definition, Vos prefers the name "history of special revelation" (Vos, 14) to "biblical theology," since for him the study deals with revelation as a divine activity that occurs as a process in time. As such, the entirety of revelation has not been given at any single point of time. Rather, it unfolds progressively and organically as God continues to reveal himself in history. Hence, biblical theology studies revelation in this historical fashion, while systematic theology studies it logically through a topical structuring of the entirety of revelation. Vos explains, "Biblical Theology draws a *line* of development. Systematic Theology draws a *circle*."[3] While the two disciplines have different methodological concerns, biblical and systematic theology each mutually serves and depends upon the other. Indeed, systematic theology without biblical theology is speculative, and biblical theology without systematic theology is misguided. But used together, both disciplines inform and regulate each other.

To demonstrate this necessary and mutual dependence, we will exegete Malachi 3:1–4 and suggest that systematic categories uniquely illuminate a particular exegetical issue for which there is no unanimous solution. There are four titles in Malachi 3:1–4: "my messenger," "the messenger of the covenant," "the Lord," and YHWH. Yet upon an initial examination, the personal references behind the first three titles are vague. Notwithstanding, we contend that only through an integrated approach of exegetical, biblical, and systematic theology can scholars add clarity and properly interpret this passage, as they better understand the trinitarian nature of this revelation.

Analysis Of Malachi 3:1–4

Introduction and Passage Boundaries

Scholars almost unanimously agree that Malachi was written during the Persian period, in which case the

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1. This sentiment began with Johann Philipp Gabler's 1787 inaugural address at the University of Altdorf titled "On the Proper Distinction Between Dogmatic and Biblical Theology, and the Specific Objectives of Each." A translation is available in Ben C. Ollenburger, ed., *Old Testament Theology: Flowering and Future*, Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 1 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 499–506. Gabler's distinction gained momentum as it came into contact with a Kantian philosophy, and developed further through the History of Religions School in such works as Wrede's "Concerning the Task and Method of So-Called New Testament Theology', in Robert Morgan, ed., *The Nature of New Testament Theology: The Contribution of William Wrede and Adolf Schlatter* (Naperville, Ill.: Alec R. Allenson Inc., 1973), 68–116. Still, the rejection of the interdependence of biblical and systematic theology remains very much in force. See for example, Krister Stendahl, "Biblical Theology, Contemporary", in George A. Buttrick, ed., *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (4 vols; New York: Abington Press, 1962), 418–32; James Barr, *The Concept of Biblical Theology: An Old Testament Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), 62–84, esp. 74–76. Nonetheless, other interpreters have recently begun to develop a positive relation between the two disciplines though they differ from a confessionally Presbyterian and Reformed approach. See for instance Craig G. Bartholemew, Mary Healy, Karl Möller, and Robin Parry, eds. *Out of Egypt: Biblical Theology and Biblical Interpretation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2004).

2. Geerhardus Vos, *Biblical Theology: Old and New Testaments* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1948; reprint, 2000), 5.

3. Vos, 16 (emphasis original unless otherwise noted).

prophet ministers between two important redemptive-historical.[4] The nation had returned from exile and had rebuilt the temple, but they were left in disappointment because they had no indication that the glory of the Lord had or would fill the temple envisioned by Ezekiel (Ezek. 43:4).[5] The promised figures of Zerubbabel and Joshua that were foretold by Haggai and Zechariah came and went. The people existed in a prophetic limbo—having experienced a typological fulfillment while looking for the eschatological fulfillment to be ushered in.

In this context Malachi 3:1–4 promises the coming of the Lord's messenger to prepare the way so that the priesthood may be purified and present acceptable offerings to the Lord. The Lord and his people must be restored to a right relationship. Malachi presents the people of Judah as those who mock God and do not recognize their own sinful behavior. In response to this sentiment, the book proceeds through a series of judgment oracles followed by blessings. Our text is part of a judgment oracle that begins in 2:17 and concludes in 3:5 with 3:6 acting as a transition to the subsequent dispute. In order to focus on the identity of the characters and the function of purification, we will center our attention on verses 1–4, excluding the oracle's introduction (2:17) and conclusion (3:5) from detailed examination. These four verses are directed at the inner renewal of the priesthood as opposed to the focus of 3:5, which is expanded to include the people generally. This section is nicely marked by the הנני in verse one and concludes with the acceptable offering of Judah and Jerusalem made possible by the purification of the priesthood in v. 3. Malachi 3:1–4 then forms a self-contained textual unit within the judgment oracle (2:17–3:5). We must now present and defend our translation of the passage before turning to exegesis.

Translation and Defense

Behold[6], I send[7] my messenger[8]
and he will clear the way before me.[9]
Suddenly[10], he will come[11] to his temple,[12]
the lord[13] whom you seek[14]
and the messenger of the covenant[15] in whom you take pleasure,[16]
behold, he is coming[17]
says the Lord of hosts.[18]

4. Tremper Longman and Raymond D. Dillard, *An Introduction to the Old Testament*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2006), 498.

5. Joyce Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi an Introduction and Commentary*, 1st ed. (Downers Grove: Inter-varsity Press, 1972), 211.

6. **Behold** (v. 1a) interjection with 1st person common singular suffix (**הנני**).

7. **I send** (v. 1a) *qal* participle masc. sing. could also be translated "I am sending" or "I will send."

8. **my messenger** (v. 1a) **מלאכי** or "my messenger" (noun common masc. sing construct with 1st person common sing suffix) is a play on the author's name. This has led some scholars to question whether an historical Malachi authored the book. See C. C. Torrey, "The Prophecy of Malachi," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 17 (1898): 1–17; Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 493; Longman and Dillard, *An Introduction to the Old Testament*, 497–98.

9. **and he will clear the way** (v. 1a) **He will clear** is a *piel* perfect 3rd person masc. sing. with *waw*-consecutive. **Road** is the object of the verb and is marked by the *maqqef* (**ופנה־דרך**). **Before me** (v. 1a) **לפני** is a masculine plural noun in construct with a 1st person common sing. ending. The construction could be translated "before me" or "before my face."

10. **Suddenly** (v. 1b) **פתאם** (ἐξαίφνη in the LXX) carries the force of "surprisingly." It is often present with unexpected or surprising events. Pieter Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi* (Grand Rapids Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1987), 288.

11. **he will come** (v. 1b) *qal* imperfect 3rd masc. sing. apocopated; appropriately translated as a future tense in English.

12. **to his temple** (v. 1b) temple includes the direct object marker linking it with the preceding "he will come" (**יבוא**). This temple is also possessed by the one who is coming as it includes the 3rd person masc. sing. suffix (**אל־היכלו**).

1313. **the lord** (v. 1b) This formulation is **אדון** and the definite article, not **יהוה** as English readers may suspect.

14. **whom you seek** (v. 1b) The lord is the one **whom you seek** (**אשר־אתם מבקשים**). **You seek** is a *piel* participle, masc. plural and is often found in the context of prayer and pleading. It carries the force of seeking after to petition (cf Dan. 9:3; Ps. 122:9). William Lee Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich., Eerdmans, 1971), 47. The relative particle **אשר** clearly refers to the preceding **האדון** and marks him as the one the people seek. The people are the immediate intended audience of this phrase as is apparent from the 2nd person masc. plural pronoun **אתם** connected to **אשר** via a *maqqef*.

15. **and the messenger of the covenant** (v. 1b) **messenger** is in construct with **the covenant** denoting who the messenger is. Messenger, then, is definite since it is in construct with **הברית**, which bears the definite article. The chain begins with a *waw*-conjunctive, connecting it to the preceding clause.

16. **in whom you take pleasure** (v. 1b) **אשר־אתם** repeats the construction earlier, though the referent is the messenger. **חפצים** is a masc. plural adjective modifying the hearers and describes them as those who take pleasure in the messenger.

17. **behold he is coming** (v. 1c) the second interjection of this verse **הנה** does not bear a suffix, but is connected with the *qal* participle masc. sing. **בא** via a *maqqef* (**הנה־בא**).

18. **says the LORD of hosts** (v. 1c) *qal* perfect 3rd person masc. sing.

But who can endure[19] the day of his coming?[20]
And who can stand[21] when he appears?[22]
For he[23]
is like a refiner's fire
and like launderer's soap.[24]
He will sit[25]
as a refiner[26]
and purifier of silver[27]
and purify the sons of Levi[28]
and refine them[29]
like gold and silver.[30]
And they will bring
offerings[31] in righteousness[32] to the LORD.[33]
Then the offering of Judah and Jerusalem[34] will be pleasing[35] to the LORD[36]
as the days of old
and as former years. [37]

The proper noun **the LORD** (יהוה) has no number and no state, but functions in construct here with **hosts** (צבאות).

19. **But who can endure** (v. 2a) *pilpel* participle masc. sing.

20. **the day of his coming** (v. 2a) *qal* infinitive construct with 3rd person masc. sing. suffix translated gerundatively as a verbal noun of sorts.

21. **and who can stand** (v. 2b) lit. "the standing one" *qal* participle masc. sing. with the definite article.

22. **when he appears?** (v. 2b) *niphal* infinitive construct with 3rd person masc. sing. suffix and a ב prepositional additive. This construction is the temporal use of the infinitive construct and is best taken as "when he appears." Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Eisenbrauns, 1990), §36.2.2b.

23. **For he** (v. 2c) (**כי־הוא**) the coordinating conjunctive particle coupled with the third person masculine singular personal pronoun.

24. **is like a refiner's fire** (v. 2c) (**כאש מצרף**) **and like launderer's soap** (v. 2c). The use of כ marks agreement in kind. Waltke and O'Connor, §11.2.9b.

25. **He will sit** (v. 3a) *qal* perfect 3rd person masc. sing. with *waw*-consecutive.

26. **as a refiner** (v. 3a) *piel* participle masc. sing. "As" is supplied to make for a readable translation.

27. **and purifier of silver** (v. 3a) *piel* participle masc. sing. Lit. "one who purifies silver."

28. **and purify the sons of Levi** (v. 3b) *piel* perfect 3rd masc. sing. with *waw*-consecutive focusing the action in the future.

29. **and refine them** (v. 3b) *piel* perfect 3rd masc. sing. with *waw*-consecutive again pointing to future action.

30. **like gold and silver** (v. 3b) As in v. 2c, the use of כ marks agreement in kind. Waltke and O'Connor, §11.2.9b.

31. … **bring offerings** (v. 3c) lit. "and they will be to the LORD ones who bring offerings." **They will** (והיו) is a *qal* perfect 3rd person common plural with a *waw*-conjunctive. **Bring** (**מגישי**) is a *hiphil* participle masc. plural in construct with **offering** (**מנחה**). For the sake of more readable English, we have translated "they will bring offerings."

32. **in righteousness** (v. 3c) common feminine singular noun with the preposition ב best taken as "in righteousness."

33. **to the LORD** (v.3c) preposition ל prefixing the proper name (ליהוה).

Internal Coherence

As was mentioned above, Malachi is organized according to a fairly uniform structure of judgment oracles in the form of a mock dialogue between YHWH and the people. Exploring this interaction helps to set the context for the activity of the shadowy figures in Malachi 3:1–4. In this dialogue, YHWH accuses the unfaithful people and they mock him. Consequently, YHWH responds and indicts them. Interestingly, the unfaithful questions follow a common pattern by beginning with a formulaic ואמרתם.[38] This phrase and its subsequent questions appears nine times throughout the book (1:2, 6, 7, 13; 2:14, 17; 3:7, 8, 13).[39] Malachi 3:1–4 falls directly after the sixth unfaithful question, which provides the immediate context for the promises found in 3:1–4. Before moving to a section regarding the failure of God's people to bring their tithes before him, he promises the

34. **Then the offering of Judah and Jerusalem** (v. 4a) מנחת is in construct with Judah and Jerusalem indicating it is their offering.

35. **will be pleasing** (v. 4b) *qal* perfect 3rd person masc. sing. with *waw*-consecutive (**וערבה**) placing this phrase as occurring subsequently to the preceding action.

36. **to the LORD** (v. 4b) as part of the parallel phrase is similar to the construction in v. 3c. The preposition specifies that the LORD will find the offering pleasing.

37. **as the days of old and as in former years** (v. 4c) both phrases include the preposition כ which compares this event with past events in **days of old** and **in former years**. **Days** is in construct with **old** (עולם), but **former** (קדמניות) modifies **years** (וכשנים) as a feminine plural adjective in agreement.

38. Malachi 1:13 is the sole exception. It does not follow the form of a question, but rather a mocking statement.

39. Mal 3:14 begins another statement/question but with אמרתם "you have said"—It is vain to serve God. What is the profit of our keeping his charge or of walking as in mourning before the LORD of hosts? (ESV).

coming of מלאכי (my messenger) to prepare the way for the LORD to refine and purify the priesthood and presumably the people.

The unit begins with the interjection הנני (behold) and begins to describe the speaker's action. The *qal* masculine singular participle שלח refers to יהוה צבאות, the one who is speaking. YHWH announces that he is sending his messenger, מלאכי, a paronomasia, or word play on the prophet's name and the first of three elusive titles in 3:1.[40] The root noun מלאך appears three times in the book of Malachi; in 3:1, 2 and earlier in 2:7, which suggests that מלאכי may be one of the Sons of Levi. But in this case, the specific function assigned to מלאכי is clearing the way before YHWH (דרך־לפני ופנה), who employs him for the particular task of removing any obstacles so the LORD may come in judgment unhindered. But מלאכי is but one of the elusive figures in Malachi 3:1–4. Verse 1 also speaks of האדון, who is described as coming פתאם (suddenly)—a word often connected with disaster and distress (Isa. 47:11; 48:3; Jer. 4:20; Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 243). Additionally, פתאם bears a time-based element, but the force of this particular use also includes the element of surprise or unexpectedness.

The ambiguity regarding the identities of the three figures in Malachi 3:1 has elicited four interpretive solutions. David M. Miller classifies the typical responses under four categories: 1) three titles for one messenger 2) God and two messengers, 3) God and one messenger and 4) God is one of the two messengers.[41] Categories 1) and 3) maintain that מלאכי has the same personal referent as מלאך הברית, the third figure in 3:1, primarily because the repetition of the noun מלאך lends force to the idea that they are the same individual.[42] But a sufficient number of textual features overcome this identification. The primary feature is the chiastic arrangement of verses 1b-1c, which is organized as follows:

A	יבוא	אל־היכלו			
B			האדון	אשר־אתם	מבקשים
B'			ומלאך	הברית	אשר־אתם חפצים
A'		הנה־בא			

The chiasm begins with a description of the manner of the Lord's (האדון) coming. The chiastic arrangement denotes that the one coming (יבוא) to his temple is not מלאכי but האדון. Verhoef argues that the parallelism and chiastic structure demands that מלאך הברית be identified with האדון and not with מלאכי (Verhoef, 289). The fact that both figures in B and B' come simultaneously is one primary reason for identifying the two.[43] The *qal* imperfect masculine singular of בוא in A parallels the *qal* masculine singular participle of בוא in A' with no change in temporal focus. The text then strongly suggests these are indeed two titles for the same figure, in which case the *waw* is functioning epexegetically. Thus, the parallelism between האדון and מלאך הברית, which also excludes מלאכי, argues against the single-person view.

A preponderance of Jewish and Christian commentators agree that האדון (the Lord) here refers to YHWH.[44] This is evident first, since he will "come to his temple."[45] Every other time היכל (temple) appears in the MTT with the 3rd person masculine singular suffix it is in explicit connection with YHWH (Jer. 50:28; 51:11). Moreover, אדון (Lord) is found seven times with the definite article (Exod. 34:23; Isa. 1:24; 3:1; 10:16, 33; 19:4; Mal. 3:1).[46] Every other occurrence of אדון with the definite article is immediately followed by יהוה, which clearly demonstrates its intended referent. Though Malachi 3:1 contains the only האדון not immediately followed by יהוה, the particular use of היכל, the general MTT use of אדון with the article, and the presence of יהוה in 1c argues that האדון in 3:1b is indeed יהוה. But as we identify האדון with יהוה, we are then prevented from identifying האדון with מלאכי since YHWH is the one who sends מלאכי. We must then conclude Miller's fourth option: God is one of the two messengers but not both.

At this point we have concluded that the Lord and the messenger of the covenant are YHWH, but the identity of מלאכי (my messenger) still remains. A look at his reception may provide helpful information for identifying "my messenger." Baldwin considers אשר־אתם מבקשים (whom you seek) to be an ironic statement (Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 243). One reason for this

40. Leland Ryken, James C. Wilhoit, and Tremper Longman III, eds., *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery* (Downers Grove Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1998), 530.

41. David M. Miller, "The Messenger, the Lord, and the Coming Judgement in the Reception History of Malachi 3," *New Testament Studies* 53, no. 1 (2007): 5.

42. R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament: His Application of Old Testament Passages to Himself and His Mission*, 1st ed. (London: Tyndale Press, 1971), 91.

43. Baldwin writes "He comes simultaneously with the Lord, if indeed he is not to be identified with Him (so AV, RV), a view encouraged by a Messianic interpretation in the light of the New Testament." Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 242–243.

44. Andrew Hill, *The Book of Malachi: Its Place in Post-Exilic Chronology Linguistically Reconsidered* (University of Michigan, 1981), 287.

45. Paul Redditt, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi: Based on the Revised Standard Version* (Grand Rapids Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1995), 176.

46. Exodus 34:23 is written defectively with a *holem* (הָאֲדֹן) rather than with a *holem waw* (הָאֲדוֹן).

interpretation stems from the phrase's location, which closely follows the introduction of the judgment oracle in 2:17. Taken alongside the need for the purification of the priesthood in 3:1–4, a sarcastic tone seems to be natural. The parallel אשר־אתם חפצים (in whom you take pleasure) would then be another sarcastic phrase—a reading congruent with the satire and ridicule found throughout the book of Malachi (cf. 1:8; *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery*, 530).

Regardless of the way we understand these phrases, the object of the people's pleasure (אשר־אתם חפצים) is either the messenger or the covenant associated with him. The antecedent of the accusative אשר is ambiguous (Waltke and M. O'Connor, §19.3b), since אתם acts as a resumptive element to the relative clause and could refer either to הברית or מלאך. The אשר found earlier in relation to האדון does not carry the same ambiguity since "his temple" (היכלו) is prefixed by the direct object marker (אל). This construction links היכלו to the preceding verb (יבוא). Nonetheless, there are at least two reasons for taking אשר to refer to the messenger and not to the covenant he is associated with. First, הברית מלאך is clearly a title for this figure. It is more natural to consider the אשר as referring to the entire construct chain since it is in reference to the person behind the title מלאך הברית. Second, the chiastic structure argues that the messenger is what the people take pleasure in, because the prior אשר refers to the figure האדון. YHWH, the Lord and messenger of the covenant, comes to his temple and the purified people delight in him. הנה־בא (behold, he is coming) repeats the emphasis of 1a (A in our chiasm). This verse concludes with the phrase צבאות אמר יהוה (says YHWH of hosts), which adds to the surety of these events. YHWH of hosts has stamped his own arrival and all its related events with his guarantee.

Verse two begins with a set of questions that further describe the force of the coming of מלאך הברית || האדון (the Lord and messenger of the covenant), and sheds light on what he will do. The verse begins, "Who can stand?" The repetition of the interrogative animate pronoun מי here further emphasizes the question and refers back to the people who are addressed in 2:17 (Waltke and M. O'Connor, §18.1d). It is a rhetorical series of questions that implies a negative response. The *pilpel* participle מכלכל gives the sense of holding in, containing or managing. Within the context of judgment, the question becomes "Who can endure the day of his coming?" The answer is an implied "no one" (Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 290). מלאך הברית || האדון is a powerful figure who comes to judge.

The temporal use of the *qal* and *niphal* infinitive constructs with ב prepositional additives specifies that they will have to endure *when* he comes/appears. The particle כי coordinates the subsequent phrase by specifying why no one will be able to stand before him, namely, because he is like a refiner's fire and launderer's soap. This comparison is described in 3:3, which introduces another chiasm.

A	וישב מצרף ומטהר כסף	He will sit as a refiner and purifier of silver
B	וטהר את־בני־לוי	and purify the sons of Levi
A'	וזקק אתם כזהב וככסף	and refine them like gold and silver

The chiastic structure emphasizes that YHWH cleanses the priesthood (A) in two actions: refining and purifying. The *piel* stems in this verse signify that the action is causing a state. YHWH comes and causes the priests to enter the state of refinement and purification (Waltke and O'Connor, §24.1i.).

The *waw*-consecutive perfect והיו in 3c describes the result that follows the purification process. The Sons of Levi will bring acceptable offerings to YHWH in his temple. This particular construction of היה with the *hiphil* participle of נגש describes a continuous action signifying that the people will bring acceptable offerings repeatedly (Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 292). Furthermore, these offerings are specifically brought to YHWH, which is evident from the quasi-allative dativ use of the preposition ל (Waltke and O'Connor, §12.2.10d). This purification leads to offerings from the hands of Judah and Jerusalem. As a result of the purification coinciding with the arrival of מלאך הברית, verse four describes that the offerings brought in righteousness will be pleasing. ערב is used in conjunction with מנחה also in Exod 29:41 and Num 28:8 to describe the YHWH's pleasure with offerings brought in faith by his people.[47] The unit concludes with the typical prophetic phrase, כימי עולם (Amos 9:11; Mic 7:14), the scope of which refers as far back as the time of the patriarchs (Mal 1:2–5; Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 292). The coming of הברית מלאך brings YHWH and his people into a relationship that recalls better days—perhaps alluding to the Mosaic administration in view as the ideal time of the past (Jer. 2:2–3; Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 244).

It is evident that much can be gathered from an internal analysis of Malachi 3:1–4 alone. First, we have been able to confidently identify the twin figures, the Lord, and the messenger of the covenant, as one figure, namely YHWH.

47. Exodus 29:41 and Numbers 28:8 focus specifically on the YHWH's pleasure with the aroma of the offering.

Second, YHWH must be distinct from "my messenger." We have also seen that he comes quickly to judge his people, and no one can withstand his judgment and purification. Yet the righteous delight in him, and they will bring offerings in righteousness to YHWH when the Lord and his people are restored. But an internal analysis is only one piece of a larger picture. So we must now expand our view to consider Malachi 3:1–4 in light of other texts.

External Coherence

In order to explore further the identities of the figures of Malachi 3:1–4, we must examine the passage's connections to other texts in Malachi and elsewhere in the Old Testament. Immediately, our attention should turn to the function of Elijah in Malachi 3:19, which is closely related to the focus of 3:1–4. The בא of 3:19 has the same scope as the parallel יבוא and בא in the chiasm of 3:1b-c. The day is coming when all the arrogant and all evildoers will be stubble. This description echoes the questions of 3:2. Who can manage? Who can stand? Elijah comes to turn the hearts of fathers to their children and the hearts of children to their fathers in order that YHWH might not strike the land with a decree of utter destruction. In that sense Elijah is preparing the way, because he comes before YHWH performing preparatory works in anticipation of YHWH's coming purification-refinement-judgment.

But in looking beyond the immediate context, Isaiah 40:3 is perhaps the text most strongly associated with Malachi 3:1. In each synoptic gospel Jesus quotes Isa 40:3 in conjunction with Malachi 3:1 and combines them as one. The intertextual connection between the לפני־דרך ופנה of 3:1 and the פנו דרך יהוה of Isaiah 40:3 is very strong and suggests that מלאכי is the "voice crying in the wilderness." Meredith G. Kline expands this connection by linking מלאך הברית with the Angel of the Presence in Isaiah 63:9.[48] As he traces the thread of YHWH's messenger through Scripture, Kline centers on the messenger of Exod 23–24, a related passage that speaks of the Angel of the Lord. By coming to an understanding of מלאך־יהוה, the Angel of the Lord, in this passage, we can understand better the role of the messenger of the covenant in Malachi 3:1–4, since their mutual relation to YHWH links these two figures. For instance, God's name was "in" the angel (Exod. 23:21) suggesting a heightened relation or even identity with YHWH. Furthermore, the Lord of the covenant is the one speaking in Exodus 23–24 and the book of the covenant (ספר הברית) is being read in Exodus 24:7. The connection between the LORD and his covenant suggests that the "messenger of the Lord" in Exodus 23:20, 23; 32:34 and 33:2 is most likely the מלאך הברית in Malachi 3:1. For Kline, Elijah's role as messenger repristinates the messenger's role in Exodus 23. Kline writes:

> In Israel's exodus march to Zion, the Angel of the covenant of Presence proceeded as king at the head of the processional way (Exod. 23:20). In the new exodus there is again the royal procession, the way prepared by prophets (and disciples, cf. the triumphal entry into Jerusalem), and it is again the Angel of the Lord, now the Lord incarnate, who is the royal leader.[49]

This "new exodus" theme provides further context for understanding the reappearance of the Elijah figure as a recapitulation of major Old Testament prophetic figures that would naturally accompany a recapitulation of one of its most significant events (cf. Mal. 4:4, 5 [3:22, 23]). "My messenger" Elijah once again appears to prepare the way for the Lord incarnate to lead his royal procession (cf. Matt. 11:10; Luke 7:27).

This expanding context also provides a richer understanding of the covenant associated with מלאך הברית, which may help to reveal the figure's identity. The covenant could refer simply to the shadowy covenant of Malachi 2:7, but it may allude to the duties given to Levi (Deut. 33:8–10).[50] Jeremiah 33:20–26 and Nehemiah 13:29 refer to more specific covenants made with Levites, and these arrangements may even be in view. Regardless, the covenant of Malachi 3:1 may simply be a general reference to the Mosaic Covenant or even the New Covenant. The close connections among Exodus 24:7–8, Jeremiah 31:31–34, and Ezekiel 36:25–28 lend support to this latter view.

The refining and purifying in Malachi 3:1–4 should be read against the backdrop of the prophetic corpus. The theme is common to Isaiah (Isa. 40:19; 41:7; 46:6; 48:10), Jeremiah (Jer. 6:29; 9:6; 10:9, 14; 51:17), Daniel (Dan. 11:35; 12:10) and Zechariah (Zech. 13:9). Jeremiah, however, is the only prophet to speak of launderer's soap in conjunction with the refinement process.[51] Jeremiah

48. Meredith G. Kline, *Images of the Spirit* (Wipf & Stock Publishers, 1999), 70.

49. Meredith G. Kline, *Glory in our Midst: A Biblical-Theological Reading of Zechariah's Night Visions* (Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2001), 56n20.

50. This covenant could perhaps refer to the covenant of peace made with Phinehas in Numbers 25:11–13. See Steven L. McKenzie and Howard N. Wallace, "Covenant Themes in Malachi," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (1983): 550. Covenant and the priesthood is a theme of Numbers 25:11–13, Nehemiah 13:29, Daniel 9:26; 11:22 and Jeremiah 33:18. See Bruce V. Malchow, "The Messenger of the Covenant in Mal 3:1," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 103 (1984): 253.

51. The linguistic connection between בֹּרִית (soap) and בְּרִית

2:22, then, is an interesting foil for understanding the work of מלאכי in conjunction with YHWH, who is הברית מלאך. There, YHWH states that the people wash themselves with much lye, but their guilt remains before them, but in Malachi 3:2–4 YHWH comes to purify and refine his people himself.

Indeed, Malachi 3:1–4 draws on several prominent prophetic themes. But as we turn to consider expanding biblical and theological connections beyond what the Lord had revealed by the time of Malachi, the depth and complexity of this passage becomes even more apparent. Many intertextual and motif connections can be identified within the prophets and the broader Old Testament canonical context, and these connections lay the foundation for the New Testament revelation regarding the identity of מלאכי as well as for understanding the eschatological significance and function of האדון and מלאך הברית.

Jesus identifies John the Baptist as both מלאכי and Elijah from Malachi 3:1 and 3:23, respectively (Matt. 11:10; Mark 1:2; Luke 1:76; 7:27).[52] However, Luke associates both Jesus and John with Elijah (Luke 1:17; 4:25; 7:11–17; cf. 7:27; David M. Miller, 2). We cannot examine the intricacies of these uses at this time, but we must agree with Jesus' own words that John is Elijah insofar as Elijah prepared the way for Jesus. Christ, however, carries on the prophetic and particularly miraculous functions of Elijah throughout his earthly ministry.[53] YHWH's activity in Malachi 3:1–4 and 4:1 is picked up further in the discussion of Jesus' baptism in Matthew 3:11 and throughout Luke-Acts. For instance, John baptizes with a preparatory baptism of repentance, but one is coming who will baptize with the Holy Spirit and with fire (ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί). This alludes to the refining and purifying role of YHWH in Malachi 3:3, and is used throughout the New Testament.[54]

Though much can be said regarding the figures of Malachi 3:1–4 strictly from the immediate context and its connections within the Old Testament, the overall canonical witness to the person of the Son of God is perhaps the most enlightening perspective on Malachi 3:1–4. Indeed, it requires that we nuance our prior view of Malachi 3:1. Recall that we argued that God, that is YHWH, is one of the two messengers, since on the basis of Malachi 3:1–4 alone, האדון appears to be הברית מלאך. The reference to YHWH in Malachi 3:1–4 specifically has the mission of the Father in view particularly because he is the one who sends his messenger. This is part of the Father's economic function. According to orthodox trinitarian theology in the West, the Son is begotten of the Father and the Spirit proceeds from both the Father and the Son. The Father, however, is unbegotten and does not proceed. Economically speaking, it is the mission of Son and Spirit to move and act while the Father decrees and sends. We then ought to identify the function of YHWH in Malachi 3:1–4 economically with the Father since he is the divine person who sends his messengers. However, doing so will create tension between our identification of YHWH with מלאך הברית, since further biblical-theological reflection will lead us to identify מלאך הברית with a figure distinct from the Father.

The connection between the messenger of the covenant in Malachi 3:1 and the Angel of the Lord of Exodus 23–24 becomes helpful for understanding the personal referent behind the messenger-angels, and the covenantal context becomes the principle vector through which we may identify the מלאך הברית of Malachi 3:1–4 with מלאך־יהוה of Exodus 23–24. Yet Exodus 23–24 is but one passage that describes the covenantal context of Malachi 3:1–4. Several other passages develop the contours of this picture, one primary example being Judges 2:1–5. In this passage the angel of the LORD delivers a judgment verdict upon the people for their failure to eradicate the inhabitants of the land and destroy their altars. As a result, the LORD will not drive the inhabitants out and the people will become snares to Israel. In response to this judgment, the people weep loudly and sacrifice to him. As with Malachi 3:1–4, the immediate context of Judges 2:1–5 does not offer enough information regarding the precise identity of the Angel of the LORD. He may be a human representative—a proto-prophetic figure—but he may be something else. The immediate context allows for several interpretations. Van der Kooij notes five major similarities between Judges 2:1–5 and the accounts of the Angel of the LORD in Exodus 23 and 34 (van der Kooij, 298).

(covenant) is intriguing. Both Jer 2 and Mal 3 draw on each word in connection with the necessary purification for covenant faithfulness.

52. The quotations in the NT consistently render "prepare the way before *you*." The LXX, however, preserves the MTT's "before *me*." Interestingly, the NT does not alter "Behold I send *my* messenger."

53. Verhoef suggests a "pyramid of forerunners" approach to the question of Elijah's return, the pinnacle of which would be John the Baptist (cf. Gen. 22:18 with Gal. 3:16; Hos. 11:1; with Matt. 2:15, etc.). Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 288.

54. This purification by fire imagery is particularly influential in the eschatological discussion of the new creation in 1 Pet. John Proctor, "Fire in God's House: Influence of Malachi 3 in the NT," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 36, no. 1 (1993): 9–14.

Angel of the LORD	Jdg 2:1, 4	מלאך־יהוה
	Exod 23:20, 23	מלאך
Make no covenant with the inhabitants of the land	Jdg 2:2	ואתם לא־תכרתו ברית ליושבי הארץ הזאת
	Exod 23:32; 34:12	לא־תכרת להם ולאלהיהם ברית
Break down their altars	Jdg 2:2	מזבחותיהם תחצון
	Exod 34:13	כי את־מזבחתם תחצון ואת־מצבתם
Use of the verb גרשׁ in the *Piel*	Jdg 2:3	לא־אגרשׁ
	Exod 23:28–31	(x2) אגרשנו // ונרשׁה // וגרשׁתמו
Their gods will be a snare to you	Jdg 2:3	יהיו לכם למוקשׁ
	Exod 23:33b cf Exod 34:12	כי־יהיה לך למוקשׁ פן־יהיה למוקשׁ בקרבך

The textual similarities demonstrate that Exodus 23:20–33 is indeed the historical-covenantal background to Judges 2:1–5, an insight that adds additional assistance in our endeavor to identify the Angel of the LORD and to connect him specifically with YHWH, the Son, and ultimately with the figures of Malachi 3:1–4. To this point we have identified מלאך־יהוה with מלאך הברית of Malachi 3:1. However, the relation of these figures to YHWH will require much more attention. The specific title מלאך־יהוה appears throughout the Old Testament (cf. Gen. 16:7–14; 21:17–21; 22:1–18; Exod. 3:2–22), and Pieter Verhoef notes that this figure is at times both identified and distinguished from God.[55] Kline makes the same observation, but also provides several insights that help to alleviate Verhoef's concern.

Kline notes that the biblical contexts, which refer to the Angel as early as Genesis, oscillate between the Angel and God (Kline, *Images of the Spirit*, 70). He sees this oscillation as evidence that the Angel is God's self-manifestation—a conclusion further evidenced by the fact that the Angel's presence coincides with the presence of holy ground (Exod. 3:5; Josh. 5:15). Because of this and the strong analogy between Isaiah 40:3, Matthew 11:10, Luke 7:27 and Malachi 3:1, we must conclude that Malachi's מלאך הברית is indeed the second person of the Trinity, the eternal Son. Therefore, equally forceful arguments can be made for seemingly competitive statements. On the one hand מלאך הברית is YHWH (referring most locally to the Father),[56] but on the other hand the external coherence suggests identifying him with the Son. The tension between identification and distinction with the Father can then be explained since the Son is the one whom YHWH's name is in (בקרבו כי שמי, Exod. 23:21), who is distinct from the Father, yet the same in substance and equal in glory and power. Therefore, we must turn to systematic theology and the doctrine of *perichoresis*, if we are to explain the tension between the figures of Malachi 3:1–4 and their respective economic missions.

A Perichoretic Understanding of the Angel of the Lord

A Reformed doctrine of Scripture presupposes the

55. Verhoef writes, "It is apparent from the parallelism and chiastic structure of the two sentences [in Mal. 3:1] that 'the Angel' is associated or identified with 'the Lord.' 'The Angel' is therefore not to be identified with the forerunner. The relationship between 'the Angel' and 'the Lord' is clearly the same as elsewhere in the OT where 'the angel of the Lord' is both identified with and distinguished from God (cf. Gen. 16:7–14; 21:17–21; 22:1–18; Exod. 3:2–22; etc.)" Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 289.

56. Indeed, YHWH is the triune God and, therefore, Father, Son, and Spirit are equally in view with reference to God's covenant name. Nonetheless, the specific economic functions of the Father mentioned above (esp. sending the messenger) are most proximately in view in Malachi 3:1–4 when it speaks of YHWH. And therefore, a textual tension remains between identifying the messenger of the covenant with YHWH or with 'another' person (e.g. the Son).

Triune God who has condescended by way of covenant to reveal himself in creation (WCF 7.1). Fundamentally, the Scriptures are the self-revelation of the Triune God. Since God cannot deceive, aspects of his being necessarily will be apparent in that revelation if he is to reveal himself truly. Consequently, Scripture bears a trinitarian character, and aspects of God's trinitarian personality will be evident when God acts in history. Since the same God has revealed himself in all ages and he is the same yesterday, today, and tomorrow, it is no less the case that trinitarian theology should assist an interpretation of Malachi 3:1–4 than a passage from the Gospel of John. Indeed, a trinitarian theology is particularly helpful for understanding the tension inherent in the use of the titles in Malachi 3:1–4. Specifically, an understanding of the doctrine of *perichoresis* is particularly fruitful, because it explains the presence of real distinctions between persons while maintaining identity among the Godhead. The person of Christ is perichoretically related to the other persons of the Godhead. While distinct from the Father and the Spirit, the Son cannot be divorced from his position within the Godhead. The three mutually indwell each other. Such a systematic perspective helps to situate the interpretive difficulties of Malachi 3:1–4 within the full canonical context. This trinitarian understanding provides a helpful perspective on the tension between identifying and distinguishing YHWH and various messenger figures throughout Scripture. האדון of Malachi 3:1 is perichoretically related to מלאך הברית of the same verse.

Perichoresis and Trinitarian Personality

Ever since the Council of Constantinople in 381, the Church has spoken of God as three persons (*hypostases*) in one essence (*ousia*). The Father is distinguished from the other persons as unbegotten, while the Son is begotten of the Father and the Spirit proceeds from both the Father and the Son. These are the distinctions between the members of the Trinity and are sometimes called their personal properties. These three persons are equally God and subsist in the same essence. Hence, there is only one God, though we speak of three persons. *Perichoresis* is the doctrine, which describes how the persons of the Godhead relate to one another. The Father, Son, and Spirit mutually exhaust and interpenetrate one another in such a way that no residue obtains yet real distinctions between the persons persists. No part of the Father exists apart from the mutual indwelling of the Son and the Spirit. Yet we can truly say that neither the Son nor the Spirit is the Father. Charles Hodge describes his understanding of *perichoresis* in volume three of his *Systematic Theology*.

> As the essence of the Godhead is common to the several persons, they have a common intelligence, will and power. There are not in God three intelligences, three wills, three efficiencies. The three are one God, and, therefore, have one mind and will. This intimate union was expressed in the Greek church by the word *perichoresis*, which the Latin words 'inextentia,' 'inhabitatio' and 'intercommunio' were used to explain.[57]

At this point, Hodge stresses the unity of the Godhead while at the same time connecting this doctrine to the trinitarian developments of the early church. Hodge further describes the inference of his statement.

> This fact—of the intimate union, communion, and inhabitation of the persons of the Trinity—is the reason why everywhere in Scripture and instinctively by all Christians, God as God is addressed as a person, in perfect consistency with the tripersonality of the Godhead (Hodge, *ST*, 1:461).

Hodge's formulation of *perichoresis* moves beyond the language of substance (Tipton, "The Triune Personal God," 52). He writes that "the three persons are one God, one not only in substance, but in knowledge, will, and power" (Hodge, *ST*, 1:462). For Hodge, the creedal formulation of the Trinity, while entirely true, is not the whole story. He saw his formulation of *perichoresis* as advancing beyond creedal trinitarian language.

But as we approach the doctrine of the Trinity with this perichoretic understanding, we must guard against blurring the distinctions in the Godhead. God's diversity is equally ultimate to his unity and all orthodox trinitarian formulations must affirm this.

In his dissertation on Van Til's trinitarian theology, Lane G. Tipton warns against a formulation of *perichoresis* that does not account for diversity in the Godhead.

> *Perichoresis* involves both an affirmation that God is one person and the differentiation of the personal sub-

57. Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 3 vols. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1988), 1:461. In his development of trinitarian personality, Cornelius Van Til consciously built upon the trinitarian theology of Charles Hodge as a theological means of protecting against an abstract *ousia*. See especially Cornelius Van Til, *Introduction to Systematic Theology*, 2nd ed. (P & R Publishing, 2007); Lane G. Tipton, "The Triune Personal God: Trinitarian Theology in the Thought of Cornelius Van Til" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Westminster Theological Seminary, 2004).

> sistencies within the Godhead. In other words, *perichoresis* helps cut a straight course between the twin heresies of Sabellianism and Tritheism. For Van Til, then, the persons of the Godhead are not artificially attached to an impersonal essence, since that would involve three distinct and *independent* centers of consciousness within the Trinity. Instead, we ought to say that God is an "absolute personality" in such a way that the genuine distinctions among the persons are not obliterated or compromised (Tipton, "The Triune Personal God," 49).

Following Tipton as he develops Van Til's thoughts, we should stress that *perichoresis* is not to be mistaken for nominalism or a form of Sabellianism. Rather, the very technical use of the word *perichoresis* exists in order to describe a mode of relation for which we have no other instance. We cannot provide an earthly example of a perichoretic relationship, though Scripture allows, and even necessitates, that we think of God in this manner. The members of the Godhead relate in such a way that they exhaustively indwell one another without losing distinction.

It is important to note that the *hypostases* do not share their personal properties with each other. To the contrary, the distinctions arise primarily from these very properties. The Father is eternally unbegotten and is distinct from the Son, who is eternally begotten from the Father. The Spirit is distinct from both the Father and the Son in that He eternally proceeds from both the Father and the Son. Our notion of *perichoresis* does not mean that each *hypostasis* loses his distinctiveness. *Perichoresis* is mutual indwelling, not mutual obliteration of distinctions. Within the Trinity, there are distinctions without separation. This is a fundamentally unique type of existence and ultimately mysterious—reminding us of God's incomprehensibility.

Gregory Nazianzus is a helpful exemplar when he wrote: "I cannot think of the one without quickly being encircled by the splendor of the three; nor can I discern the three without being straightway carried back to the one."[58] The oscillation of our thoughts from the one to the three and back again is the natural response of a finite creature to an incomprehensible God. Though this discussion inevitably reminds us of our limitations, we can and must positively say certain things about the Godhead. Divine revelation discloses *perichoresis* as the proper mode for understanding how the members of the Godhead relate, and given their mutual and exhaustive indwelling, certain concomitant truths obtain as the Godhead is revealed in Scripture. When one person of the Godhead is in view, the other two necessarily are represented in some measure. For instance, we cannot conceive rightly of the Son of God independently of his relation to the Father and the Spirit. Since they exist in perichoretic relationship from all eternity, revelation of any one divine person must also bring into view revelation of the other two.

We must ask, then, do these eternal ontic truths uncovered by systematic theology intrude upon the text of Scripture? When we allow for the systematic doctrine of *perichoresis* to have a hermeneutical function, we acknowledge that the text is not simply a collection of brute facts for systematicians to work with. Rather, because it is the self-communication of the triune God, Scripture is an organic revelation that unfolds progressively, while also lending itself to faithful systematization. So it should not be inappropriate for interpreters to invoke *perichoresis* in Malachi 3:1–4 when the figures in view are divine.

Upon an internal examination, the most natural understanding of our passage was that the Lord was indeed the messenger of the covenant. We also argued that the Lord was YHWH. Yet, a look at the external coherence argued for a distinction between YHWH and the Angel figure, who is both the messenger of the covenant of Malachi 3:1–4 and the Angel of the Lord of Exodus 23–24; Judges 2:1–5; et al. By allowing *perichoresis* to have a positive hermeneutical function, we see that in these texts, Jesus Christ is both fully God, and a figure distinct from—but also mutually indwelt by—the Father. Hodge brings this reality directly into the orbit of our discussion of the figures in Malachi 3:1–4 as he writes:

> Much more important, however, is the fact, that not only in Genesis, but also in all the early books of Scripture, we find a distinction made between Jehovah and the angel of Jehovah, who himself is God, to whom all divine titles are given, and divine worship is rendered. As the revelation is unfolded, such distinction becomes more and more manifest. This messenger of God is called the word, the wisdom, the Son of God. His personality and divinity are clearly revealed. He is of old, even from everlasting, the Mighty God, the Adonai, the Lord of David, Jehovah our Righteousness, who was to be born of a virgin, and bear the sins of many (Hodge, *ST*, 1:447).

58. Quoted in John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. (Westminster John Knox Press, 1960), §1.13.17, 141.

Conclusion

Hodge's words are insightful, and he draws our attention to the rich dependence of biblical and systematic theology. Yet Hodge's words should not be altogether new or surprising to Reformed expositors. Indeed, *perichoresis* has been presupposed if not consciously employed by numerous Reformed interpreters. For instance, John 1:1–14 presupposes a perichoretic relationship between the Father and the Son. John writes "… and we beheld his glory, glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." Consider this glory and the glory that Moses saw as he received the law from the Lord. This glory, Paul says, is just a shadow of the glory that believers will see when they see the Son in his fullness (2 Cor. 3:14–18). Moreover, this glory is not some vague concept divorced from the character of God. Since it originates with God and is a manifestation of his being, it must be a *trinitarian* glory. Though radiating from the Son, it is then substantially the same glory that shone off of Moses' face when he, most locally, experienced the glory of the Father (Exod. 34:29ff; 2 Cor. 3:7ff).[59] That glory at Sinai does not differ in substance or origin from that glory that Christ displays at his transfiguration, in revelation, or at his return. References to this trinitarian character are found throughout Scripture.

John 14:5–11 continues to demonstrate the Son's relationship with the Father. Philip came to Jesus asking for him to reveal the Father, and Jesus responded to Philip's request with a thoroughly trinitarian response. He said that whoever has seen the Son has also seen the Father, because they dwell within one another (John 14:9–10). Jesus can tell Philip that he has seen the Father because the Son is fully God represents and reveals the Trinity as he himself is revealed.[60] The Father and Son revealed to be in perichoretic relation. Elsewhere, the Spirit is also brought into view as he is described as searching the deep things of God in 1 Corinthians 2:6–16.[61] The Spirit would have no opportunity to search these deep things in the manner described other than through an exhaustive indwelling. Indeed, 2 Corinthians 3:17 declares that "the Lord is the Spirit"—another identification with the Spirit.

These are just a few passages that demand a proper hermeneutical function for *perichoresis*. For without this systematic doctrine, the full weight of these texts cannot be displayed. Likewise, Malachi 3:1–4 cannot be understood properly except in this light. By not allowing *perichoresis* a hermeneutical function in Malachi 3:1–4, we are forced to make a choice between two equally forceful arguments: 1) the messenger of the covenant is Jesus Christ and 2) the messenger of the covenant is האדון and YHWH. Yet by understanding the mutual relationship of biblical and systematic theology, a systematic reflection upon the passage allows us to recognize that both arguments may be true if understood properly. The messenger of the covenant is Jesus Christ, fully God yet distinct from the Father, who in the fullness of time has been revealed as the image of the invisible God (Col. 1:15), the radiance of the glory of God and exact imprint of his nature (Heb. 1:3), through whom the triune God's manifold glory is displayed.▪

59. Again, YHWH is the trinitarian God throughout Scripture. However, economically speaking, Exodus 34:29ff likely has the Father specifically in view. The Son is typically depicted as the Angel of the LORD, and the Spirit is identified with the Glory-Cloud. This is to speak purely in economic categories. Because of the organic nature of revelation, we must reject the notion that the God revealed to Israel was somehow a unitarian God only to be revealed as a trinitarian God in later revelation. Lane G. Tipton's work in identifying a "transtestamental Gospel" is particularly helpful in this regard. See Lane G. Tipton, "The Gospel and Redemptive-Historical Hermeneutics" in *Confident of Better Things: Essays Commemorating Seventy-five Years of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church*, John R. Muether and Danny E. Olinger, eds. (Willow Grove, PA: The Committee for the Historian of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, 2011), 185–213.

60. Cornelius Van Til called this phenomenon the "representational principle." Behind this principle is the idea that the Trinity fully represents each member of the Godhead equally. In reference to the *ousia*, no single *hypostasis* is privileged in its representation. Van Til writes "the foundation of the representational principle among men is the fact that the Trinity exists in the form of a mutually exhaustive representation of the three Persons that constitute it." Cornelius Van Til, *A Survey of Christian Epistemology*, 2nd ed. (Presbyterian and Reformed Pub. Co, 1980), 96.

Insofar as the Trinity has been revealed to men, each *hypostasis* has been equally represented. The whole of the Godhead represents each member and each member is an exhaustive representation of the whole. Van Til continues by connecting the representational principle to the problem of the one-and-many. "The emphasis should be placed upon the idea of *exhaustion*. This is important because it brings out the point of the complete equality as far as ultimacy is concerned of the principle of unity and the principle of diversity (emphasis original)." *Ibid*.

Therefore, we must not say that whenever the Trinity acts or is revealed, any single member of the Godhead is privileged. The Father is not any more represented in the Godhead's unity than the Son or the Spirit. The representational principle allows Van Til to maintain a concrete universal that is eternal in both unity and diversity. For a fuller treatment of Van Til's representational principle, see chapters five and six of Lane G. Tipton, "The Triune Personal God."

61. For a treatment of this passage in light of epistemological concerns, see Richard B. Gaffin, Jr. "Epistemological Reflections on 1 Corinthians 2:6–16" in *Revelation and Reason: New Essays in Reformed Apologetics*. K. Scott Oliphint and Lane G. Tipton, eds. (Phillipsburg: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing, 2007), 13–40.

Reviews & Responses

Review: Michael Horton, *The Christian Faith: A Systematic Theology for Pilgrims on the Way* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2011). 1056 pages. Hardcover. ISBN-13: 9780310286042. $49.99. Reviewed by Wes Bredenhof, Th.D., Providence Canadian Reformed Church, Hamilton, Ontario.

The author of this volume needs no introduction. Michael Horton is a prolific author and popular speaker. Through the White Horse Inn radio program, he has been instrumental in introducing Reformation theology to many. *The Christian Faith* has long been anticipated as a potential classic in its field. Does it live up to the hype?

At the outset, there are two noticeable features of this systematic theology. The first is its massive size. The text in this volume extends to nearly 1000 pages. Readers will therefore come to it with high expectations for depth of treatment. Generally they will not be disappointed.

The second immediately noticeable feature is that it brings together several strains of interrelated thoughts that have been percolating in Michael Horton's mind for some years. Those who have read other volumes by this author will find familiar names and themes throughout. What is new here is the way in which Horton attempts to draw these together into a coherent system.

Digging deeper into it, one discovers that *The Christian Faith* is not just another systematic theology in the vein of Hodge, Berkhof, or Reymond. Horton's unique goal is the integration of biblical theology with historical and systematic theology. The biblical theology comes to the fore more than anything else. *The Christian Faith* is what one gets when a student of Meredith Kline writes a systematic theology. In fact, as we will see further in this review, the fingerprints of Kline are all over this volume.

Each chapter is designed along the lines of the rubric of drama, doctrine, doxology, and discipleship. With this approach, Horton hopes to challenge "the modern dichotomy between doctrine and life, theology and discipleship, knowing and doing, [and] theory and practice" (14). His hope is to demonstrate concretely the relevance of systematic theology.

Covenant theology features prominently. Of course, this covenant theology is that taught by Meredith Kline. Thus, Horton continues to assert that biblical covenants have their roots in ancient near-eastern suzerainty treaties. One finds the strong distinction between a covenant of grace and a pre-fall covenant of works, and the recapitulation of this covenant of works at Sinai.

Another important feature of *The Christian Faith* is its self-consciously Trinitarian approach. For example, Horton discusses the work of the Spirit in the movement from creation to consummation. He states, "The age to come is Christ's to win; it is the Father's to give and it is the Spirit's to actually bring into the present, even in the midst of this present evil age" (553). Throughout this volume, Horton is making efforts to ensure that each person of the Trinity receives due attention individually and taken as one whole.

Also noteworthy here is the incorporation of philosophical and linguistic perspectives. Readers of his previous four-volume set of dogmatics published by Westminster John Knox will recognize his covenant ontology of "meeting a stranger," as opposed to "overcoming estrangement" and "the stranger we never meet." Once again we also find an emphasis on speech act theory and the distinction between illocutionary, locutionary, and perlocutionary acts.[1]

Strengths

Horton endeavours to be biblical and exegetical in *The Christian Faith*, and this is to be applauded. Since biblical theology is the defining feature of this systematic theology, there can be little question that the author takes Scripture seriously. His view on Scripture is orthodox and falls in line with the views found in the Reformed confessions. He affirms verbal plenary inspiration and infallibility. There is a lengthy discussion of inerrancy in chapter 4 with an eye to old Princeton and Karl Barth. Horton concludes that "the inerrancy doctrine invites legitimate questions and critiques. However, its alternatives are less satisfying. Whatever the holy, unerring and faithful Father speaks is—simply by virtue of having come from him—holy, unerring, and faithful" (184).

This volume is also commendable for its sensitivity to historical theology. Throughout, Horton engages figures from the past in meaningful ways. Most prominent amongst these figures is John Calvin, with Augustine coming a close

Responses critical of articles and reviews may be submitted for consideration for publication by sending drafts to the editorial address. Please contact the Reviews editor, Lane Keister (ReviewEditor@cpjournal.com), beforehand to obtain submission requirements and preferences. When possible, the subject of a negative or possibly controversial review may 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. "The event of one's writing, uttering, or otherwise signifying something is called the *locutionary act*. What we do through such signifying is referred to as the *illocutionary act* (or force). That which is brought about in the hearer as a result is its *perlocutionary effect*." *The Christian Faith*, 119.

second. Along these same lines, we can note with gratitude that Horton gives far more than lip service to the Reformed confessions. Especially the Three Forms of Unity and the Westminster Standards are taken seriously and used as touchstones of orthodoxy. This is a confessional theology.

Seldom (if ever) does one encounter a systematic theology with an eye fixed on Christian mission. The missionary calling of the church, however, is worked in throughout *The Christian Faith*. Some of the reflections in this regard are surprising and thought-provoking. Take this for example:

> ...a genuinely missional church should provoke a disrupting encounter with a holy and gracious God not only in its preaching and teaching, but in the regular celebration of the Supper. Why should the Supper be celebrated so infrequently and, in many cases, at an evening service where visitors are less likely to attend (and therefore, to be offended, perplexed, convicted, or intrigued)? (901)

In the field of missiology, one never encounters the idea that the sacraments also have a missionary function. This is an excellent insight.

Readers will also appreciate the fact that Horton interacts with a wide range of theologians from a variety of backgrounds. Some of his most noteworthy interlocutors include N. T. Wright, Wayne Grudem, Joseph Ratzinger, Stanley Grenz, and (especially) Karl Barth. Various theological movements are analyzed and helpfully critiqued, including Radical Orthodoxy and the New Perspective on Paul. It is remarkable, however, that the Federal Vision and associated figures are conspicuously absent throughout. Consequently there is no explicit critique of this controversial school of thought, but one could argue that it is indirectly subverted at various places.

One of my critiques of Horton's *People and Place* was that he failed to give proper attention to the marks of the church: the pure preaching of the Word, the faithful administration of the sacraments, and the exercise of church discipline. *The Christian Faith*, however, does not fail in this regard. For instance, Horton points out that there has been a tendency to make a false dilemma between the marks and mission. However, he rightly insists, the church grows by the same means through which the church is created and sustained (901).

All the Protestant Reformers were agreed that Christians are at the same time justified and sinful: *simul iustus et peccator*. This doctrine later came under attack in Protestantism, especially after the likes of Charles Finney. Today it continues to be under pressure. One of the best sections in *The Christian Faith* is found in chapter 20, where Horton defends this doctrine both against overrealized *and* underrealized eschatologies. Addressing the latter, Horton offers this valuable insight: "God's work frees us for the first time for the pursuit of the very source of truth, goodness, and beauty. Simultaneously justified and sinful, we are also simultaneously renewed and sinful. Though less complete than justification, the renewal is no less definitive" (659).

Last of all under this heading, readers will appreciate the helpful charts in this volume. For instance, chapter 8 includes a chart outlining views of the Trinity (279). Similarly, chapter 24 has a chart of eucharistic views (823). However, there are *no* charts in the part of the book treating eschatology.

Weaknesses/Criticisms

Unfortunately, some parts of *The Christian Faith* are difficult to get into. The author does not always employ the most lucid or engaging prose. It is not readily accessible to readers lacking formal training in theology. It seems to be pitched towards other scholars and pastors with a scholarly bent, but even these may find parts of this book tough going.

A moment ago, the rubric of Drama, Doctrine, Doxology, and Discipleship was mentioned. However, Horton does not consistently follow through with this rubric for each chapter. Moreover, some of the chapters also fail to follow through with their stated intentions at the beginning. One of the most glaring examples is in chapter 15. Horton states that this chapter is going to focus on Christ's three-fold office of prophet, priest, and king. However, the royal office does not receive any significant attention until the next chapter. Likely the introduction to chapter 15 should have stated that the three-fold office was going to be treated over this chapter and the next one.

Moving on to some more important concerns, as expected, Horton has some chapters dealing with creation in general and the creation of man in particular. It is peculiar that he does not take the opportunity to reject forthrightly the Darwinian theory of origins. However, Horton does state, "Whatever one's conclusions concerning the process of human origins, Christian theology stands or falls with a historical Adam and a historical fall" (424). Horton seems to be stating that one can hold to a Darwinian theory of origins so long as the historicity of Adam and the fall are affirmed. The problems here relate to Horton's acceptance of Kline's Framework Hypothesis with regard to the first chapters of Genesis. The author's church federation (the United Reformed Churches of North America) explicitly ruled in 2001 that one can hold to the Framework Hypothesis, so long as no ground is given to Darwinism. Horton is unambiguous in his endorsement of Framework, but he is less clear on where he stands with regard to Darwinism. Parts of *The Christian Faith* regurgitate previous material from the author. In *People and Place*, Horton had argued that, using Meredith Kline's "intrusion ethics" approach, it is inappropriate for Christians to sing or pray the imprecatory Psalms. This comes back in the eschatological locus:

> The imprecatory Psalms, invoking God's judgment on enemies, are appropriate on the lips of David and the martyrs in heaven. However, they are entirely out of place on the lips of Christians today, guided as we are not by the ethics of intrusion but by the ethics of common grace. Therefore, moderns are wrong for dismissing such episodes as immoral, and fundamentalists are wrong for invoking them as if they were in effect during this intermission between Christ's two advents. (961–962)

This argument fails in at least two respects. First, it fails to account for the use of imprecatory Psalms against Satan and all his host. Surely, they are not out of place on the lips of Christians today in that regard. Second, it fails to account for the varied ways in which God can eliminate his enemies. Saul of Tarsus is the most compelling example. God destroyed this enemy and raised up an apostle.

Most discomforting of all, however, is Horton's flirtation with Eastern Orthodoxy. He first introduced us to the essence/energies distinction in *Covenant and Salvation*, and here in *The Christian Faith* it is found in every locus. The distinction is between God's essence (his hidden and inaccessible being) and his energies (his revealed and gracious works). This distinction originated with the Cappadocian fathers, but became especially associated with Gregory Palamas. Horton argues that this distinction has been widely accepted and employed especially by Reformation (e.g., Calvin) and post-Reformation theologians (e.g., Turretin). However, he fails to inform readers that this distinction has been controversial in the history of theology. It has been critiqued extensively by western theologians, especially Roman Catholics, because of its subtle compromise of the simplicity of God. From the Presbyterian side, Robert Letham has critiqued this distinction too, and his words are worth quoting at length here:

> Gregory Palamas' development of the distinction between the unknowable essence (being) of God and his energies has won widespread approval. However, this drives a wedge between the immanent and economic trinities, between God in himself and God as he has revealed himself. This threatens our knowledge of God with a profound agnosticism, since we have no way of knowing whether God is as he has revealed himself in Jesus Christ. It also defies rational discourse, since we cannot say anything about who God is. The acme of the Christian life becomes mystical contemplation rather than *fides quarens intellectum* (faith seeking understanding)...The point here is that this is not merely a development from the Cappadocians, whose work led to the resolution of the trinitarian crisis. It is more than that—it is a distortion of the classic doctrine of the trinity. It introduces into God a division, not a distinction. As Dorothea Wendebourg comments, it results in the persons of the trinity having no soteriological functions. The classic doctrine affirmed that the three persons, each and together are the one God. By introducing a new level in God, the trinitarian settlement is undermined. It is the defeat of trinitarian theology.[2]

So while Horton is orthodox in his doctrine of the Trinity, his acceptance of this essence/energies distinction could potentially do damage down the road. Moreover, the acceptance of this distinction figures into his analysis and positive evaluation of the Eastern Orthodox doctrine of *theosis* or deification. He argues that *theosis* refers to humans being united to God's energies, but not to his essence.

Furthermore, it is questionable whether Reformation and post-Reformation theologians accepted or employed this distinction. For instance, Polanus stated that "God's essential attributes are really his very essence." He stated further that "there is nothing in God which is not either essence or person" (*Syntagma* 2.7). God's attributes belong to his essence. We know of God's attributes since God has revealed them to us. Clearly then, we do not know God *merely* according to his energies or outward works. Furthermore, some of his attributes are actively directed outwards towards others, so this distinction necessarily falls apart. While one can commend Horton for attempting to be catholic in his approach, the introduction of the essence/energies distinction seems to bring a foreign and incompatible element into Reformed theology.

Finally, there are various typos and other formatting and editing errors scattered throughout. Hopefully a future edition can remedy these.

Conclusion

This volume is not going to be a replacement at seminaries for Berkhof's *Systematic Theology*, nor is it really intended to be. Parts of it are more accessible than others (and it does include a helpful glossary and annotated bibliography), but generally this is not "theology for the masses." It will probably be most useful for higher level theology courses and as supplementary reading to sharpen the theological acumen of pastors and scholars.

The Christian Faith is an expansive and thorough systematic theology. Even with (or maybe even because of) his idiosyncrasies, Horton makes a good conversation partner. There is a lot here with which one can engage, and undoubtedly this book will be discussed for many years to come. It could be Horton's magnum opus, but given his prodigious writing that may be a premature judgment.▪

2. Robert Letham, *Through Western Eyes, Eastern Orthodoxy: A Reformed Perspective* (Fearn, Ross-shire: Mentor/Christian Focus, 2007), 283–284.

Review: Kevin J. Vanhoozer, *Remythologizing Theology: Divine Action, Passion, and Authorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) xix, 539 pages. $131. ISBN 9780521470124. Reviewed by James E. Dolezal (Ph.D.), Research Fellow at The Craig Center for the Study of the Westminster Standards, Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia.

Remythologizing Theology (*RT*) is Kevin Vanhoozer's delivery on a promise made more than a decade ago to write an extended treatise on the doctrine of God. Up to this point, he acknowledges, his many previous volumes have been chiefly concerned with theological methodology (e.g., *First Theology*, IVP, 2002; *The Drama of Doctrine*, Westminster John Knox Press, 2005). Now he endeavors to show what sort of theology his method yields. Vanhoozer's overarching aim is to set forth "a communicative ontology (i.e., a set of concepts with which to speak of God-in-communicative-action)" and to sketch "the contours of a theodramatic metaphysics (i.e., a biblically derived set of concepts with which to speak of the whole of created reality)" (xv). Specifically, he intends to accomplish this by focusing on "the nature of the relationship established by the dialogical interaction between God and humanity and its implications for the doctrine of God" (xvii).

The volume's nine chapters are divided into three distinct sections: (I) "God" in Scripture and theology (chs. 1–3); (II) Communicative theism and the triune God (chs. 4–5); and (III) God and the World: authorial action and interaction (chs. 6–9). I will first set out an overview of the volume and then consider some of its outstanding virtues and deficiencies.

Overview

It is of first importance that one understands what Vanhoozer means by "remythologizing." Certainly the term is meant to be provocative and create interest. The author devotes his entire introduction to explaining his terminology and its implications for Christian theologizing. He carefully distinguishes between "myths," which are merely human stories meant to explain or illustrate some universal, cosmic, or divine reality, and *mythos*, which is a story "that concerns doers (agents) and the done-to (sufferers)" (5). It is a return to the divinely-authored biblical *mythos* (i.e., the Bible as God's own spoken record of redemptive history) that Vanhoozer advocates over against Rudolph Bultmann's "soft" demythologizing (which still believes that the human "myth" of Scripture points to a God beyond the text) and Ludwig Feuerbach's "hard" demythologizing (which insists that the "myth" of Scripture points *only* back to man as the myth-maker); neither of these thoroughly modern approaches does justice to the Bible as God's own self-revelation in history. Remythologizing, then, "is a proposal for integrating exegesis, biblical theology, and systematic theology by attending to God's self-communication in the history and literature of Israel and the church and above all in the person and history of Jesus Christ" (30). It is a theological enterprise that begins with the Word of God rather than the word of man.

Part I. Vanhoozer is concerned in chapter 1 to show that God acts and reveals himself in history by speaking. Thus, in order to understand God's being ("He who is"), it is argued, one must first understand God as a dialogical agent ("He who speaks"). The categories of being are derived from God's speech-acts in Scripture, that is, from "theodrama." Vanhoozer writes, "A theodramatic metaphysics begins with the speech and acts of God, inquiring what God must *be* to have *said* and *done that*" (79). It is the author's conviction that traditional substance metaphysics is not sufficient to explain God's being and so must be displaced by a new metaphysics derived from a consideration of God's acts and speech in history. In chapter 2 Vanhoozer examines various ways in which Western theologians have sought to relate the biblical data to a theology of God's being. This is a fairly straightforward survey ranging from classical theism (which the author exonerates from overly-simplistic accusations of Hellenization) to recent versions of panentheism. In chapter 3 Vanhoozer criticizes the "new orthodoxy" of "kenotic-perichoretic relational ontology" which teaches that God's very being is caused and conditioned by his relationship to the world. "The way forward," Vanhoozer concludes, "beyond relational theism or panentheism and back to something more like classical theism, is to think through God's love and being, in terms of neither impersonal causality nor personal mutuality alone but rather in terms of communicative and self-communicative action" (176–177).

Part II. Vanhoozer begins in chapter 4 to set down some of his positive proposals, perhaps best summed up in the chapter's title: God's being is in communicating. "To remythologize theology (and metaphysics in general)," he explains, "is to put our discourse of *what is* under the discipline of the biblical accounts of God's speaking and acting" (181–182). In order to achieve this he weaves various strands of classical theism (notably, Aquinas's insistence that God is pure act) together with certain elements of Karl Barth's understanding of God's being as rooted in his self-communication in Christ (198–222). Between Aquinas and Barth, it is clearly Barth whom Vanhoozer finds most useful. "As Thomas corrects Aristotle by attending to the implicit metaphysics of the Exodus (and the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo*)," he writes, "so Barth corrects Aquinas by attending to the implicit metaphysics of the Incarnation and resurrection" (217). He advises "returning to Aquinas via Barth" (217). In chapter 5 the author turns from his discussion of God's being in relation to the world to the "communicative agency of the three divine persons" (241). His basic thrust is to argue that God who is light, life, and love

in se communicates that light, life, and love *ad extra* to the world. The God who shows his being via communication in history is the one who communicates *essentially*, within his eternal three-personed existence. Thus, Vanhoozer concludes, dialogical communication is the very being and essence of God: "the economic Trinity is, or rather *communicates*, the immanent Trinity" (294).

Part III. Chapter 6 examines God's action and interaction with the world, what Vanhoozer calls God's *dialogical* authorship. "My thesis," he writes, "is that triune authorship is best viewed in terms of communicative rather than strategic action, and that communicative action is best understood in conjunction with [Mikhail] Bakhtin's dialogical conception of authorship" (317). Chapter 7 enlarges upon the authorship thesis by exploring its potential effects upon such traditional concerns as God's sovereignty, human freedom, evil, and prayer. A central component of the chapter is Vanhoozer's insistence that the older paradigm of "instrumental" causation be replaced by a model of "communicative" causation. He applies this to the question of God's agency in effectual calling and concludes that God effects internal change through perlocutionary force that works in and through the personhood of the one called, rather than by a mechanical force that operates upon or against the person (372). In chapters 8 and 9 Vanhoozer applies his remythologizing method to divine suffering and compassion respectively. He plainly rejects the notion of divine passibility that depicts God as being acted upon passively by agents beyond his control. Interestingly, though, he is agreeable in some sense to the notion of divine suffering so long as God is the one controlling it, the one *authoring* it. So, for example, he can write, "The incarnation and cross alike indicate that God is the one who freely pours out his own life for others" Moreover, "If the cross is indeed the paradigm instance of divine suffering, then we must conclude that God never suffers because he is overtaken by worldly events, but only because he uses them for his own authorial purposes" (430).

As for God's compassion, Vanhoozer frames his discussion with the question: "Is God unmoved (Anselm), moved (relational theists and panentheists), or self-moved (Barth) by human suffering?" (434) He takes the Barthian explanation to be most faithful to the divine metaphysics he derives from the biblical narrative. As with suffering, his main concern is to say that God is *free* and in *control* of his feelings of compassion and empathy: "It is a commanding compassion, first, because it is *self-moved*" (446). In Vanhoozer's hands, divine impassibility and immobility do not strictly mean that God cannot suffer and is somehow immobile; rather, those doctrines simply mean that no one other than God himself can author his suffering and movement. In his conclusion Vanhoozer affirms that God is ontologically self-authored: "'Author' approximates God's self-designation: 'I am who I am' means 'I am my own author,' or 'I author, therefore I am,' or perhaps simply 'I, author.' In any case authorship is the remythologized equivalent for expressing the so-called sovereignty-aseity conviction" (485).

Remythologizing Theology is a mixed bag of classical Reformed affirmations blended together with elements of Barthianism and panentheism. As such, it invites a number of criticisms from a classical Reformed perspective. Before offering such criticisms I will set out two of the volume's strong points.

Virtues

Two notable virtues of *RT* deserve consideration: (1) Vanhoozer's emphasis upon the primacy of divine revelation for the theological enterprise; and (2) his many sound criticisms leveled against various modern relational theologies.

The Primacy of Divine Revelation

Throughout *RT* Vanhoozer alerts readers to the danger of "Feuerbachian slips" (17–23). It was the view of Feuerbach that the primary speaker in theology is man. Indeed, he insisted that man is the only speaker and all theology is really anthropology, man projecting *himself* in a myth about God. Vanhoozer warns, "The temptation to project one's own interests, values, and categories onto God is a dangerous toxin in the bloodstream of theology" (388). The author reckons this to be one of the great failures in many recent theological systems such as panentheism, open theism, social trinitarianism, and other such relational theologies. These systems presuppose humans and their particular concerns (e.g., about relationality, friendship, suffering, and love) should direct and shape theological discourse. Vanhoozer counters with sound advice: "Those who deign to speak of God, whether metaphysically or not, could avoid many problems if they learned not to speak until spoken to" (182). God sets the agenda for theology in his own self-disclosure. "Only God can make God known" (24). This conviction grounds the author's call for a return to the primacy of divine revelation in our theologizing.

Criticism of Modern Relational Theologies

Another related strong suit of *RT* is Vanhoozer's criticism of the modern turn toward relationality as the guiding principle in theology. He remarks, "The concept of relationality is notoriously ambiguous…covering a multitude of conceptual sins" (139). Besides its inherent ambiguity, Vanhoozer discovers that modern notions of relationality are shot through with the assumption that God and man are univocally related: "From a 'classical' vantage point…the main problem with the new relational ontotheology is not its forgetting of the question of being but its forgetting of the Creator-creature distinction" (149). Consider a few examples.

Jürgen Moltmann proposes that the cross "means that Christ's death is an inter-trinitarian event in which the Father suffers the death of his Son" (109). In view of certain modern tragedies, such as Auschwitz, Moltmann refuses to allow that God is sovereign over human suffering; the only acceptable God of love is one who is a fellow-suffer with humanity. But Vanhoozer thinks the outlay of this relational turn is too costly: "One wonders whether the cost of affirming suffering love is to abandon the notion of God's sovereign love, and whether the cost of affirming God's real relation to the world is to deny his real independence from it" (111–112). As for inter-trinitarian suffering, he observes that "the thrust of the new orthodoxy is to inflate the economic Trinity precisely in order to call into question the aseity and impassibility of God" (112).

The author also evaluates the recent emphasis upon community, in which humans are thought to commune with God in the way that God communes within himself as a Trinity, namely, by perichoresis. The orthodox sense of perichoresis states that the three persons of the Godhead interpenetrate and indwell one another. Social Trinitarians, such as Moltmann and Catherine LaCugna, want to expand that notion of mutual indwelling to include, not just the immanent Trinity, but the world as well. LaCugna's thought is that perichoresis is the model for human community, including human-to-human, human-to-God, and God-to-human. Vanhoozer rightly objects that this makes God dependent upon the world for his very identity.

The author offers a lengthy evaluation and critique of what he calls "kenotic-perichoretic relational ontology." This relational perspective on God's being understands his love to entail a mutual ontological indwelling with the world and sees his supposed suffering "as a necessary consequence of his *kenotic* relatedness" (140). Vanhoozer's rejection of this thesis is orthodox and to the point: "The problem with the perichoretic analogy is that the God-world relation is fundamentally *not* like the inter-trinitarian communion, for God and creation are not on the same plane of being" (158–159). He continues his criticism of the implicit univocism of relational ontology, writing: "God's eternal communicative activity *in se* must be distinguished from his activity *ad extra*. The kenotic-perichoretic relational view, by contrast, presupposes a single drama of suffering love that features the interplay of finite and infinite freedom, encompassing the world and God alike" (242).

Reformed readers will undoubtedly appreciate Vanhoozer's emphasis upon divine revelation and his repeated affirmations of the Creator-creature distinction. Unfortunately, the author fails consistently to apply his orthodox principles to his own proposals. In fact, at times he seems to allow the relationalists to set the theological agenda and thus answers their arguments with his own version of a divine relational ontology. For all his sound and perceptive criticism, he is ultimately unable to disentangle himself from the relationalist program. In this connection, we turn now to observe a few of the volume's noteworthy defects.

Deficiencies—*Overly-Restrictive Thesis*

While Vanhoozer's emphasis upon the priority of God's self-revelation is most welcome, his insistence upon prioritizing divine *speech-acts* and *theodrama* places undue constraints upon the multitude of ways in which God's communicates himself to creatures. It also undermines our ability to say anything about the way God is apart from his relation to creation. In this scheme all that we can know about God's being and essence is derived from our consideration of him as one *verbally* communicating with creatures. Vanhoozer's methodological parameters are clear: "[T]his work derives a doctrine of God's being from an analysis of God's speaking" (11). But certainly God is more than a talker and more than Creator. Much of his self-revelation is non-verbal and tells us something of what God is in himself, apart from his creation of the world and historic-redemptive dealings with humans.

By restricting the relevant data for all theologizing to God's dialogical speech-acts in history, one cannot but feel that Vanhoozer is rigging the rules of inquiry in order to yield the personalist brand of theology that he is bent on discovering. After his solid declaration that only God can make God known, he immediately reduces this revelatory activity to God's speech: "we could know nothing of God or his purposes at all if God were not a speech agent, for only speaking disambiguates behavior" (24). But this is not quite right. The Bible itself testifies that all men, whether or not they have been made privy to God's speech-acts, know God from the things that are made. Additional speech is not needed to disambiguate the message of creation about God's invisible attributes, eternal power and divine nature (Rom. 1:21). These are plainly revealed by God in the natural world itself. Is it true that we could know *nothing* of God without some additional speech? The apostle Paul seems to say otherwise. The same goes for the moral witness and revelation of God by way of conscience (Rom. 2:14–15). The consequence of Vanhoozer's proposal is that it seems to obviate the function and effectiveness of natural revelation, to say nothing of the natural theology that redeemed minds may articulate by contemplation of that natural revelation. Vanhoozer calls for a theology that looks only to God in the "historically and canonically concrete" (182). But the canon itself explicitly states that men know God from extra-canonical sources of revelation. *RT* seems to advocate a form of biblicism that even the Bible will not allow. In fine, it undermines natural revelation and those many things we truly know and say about God based upon that form of revelation. It also undercuts the

importance of those aspects of the biblical record that reveal God's non-verbal attributes.

Metaphysics

Another significant shortcoming of *RT* is its whole understanding of the place and function of metaphysics. Vanhoozer proposes remaking metaphysics into a special branch of theology based upon God's actions in redemptive history: "the book relocates metaphysics from its traditional home in ancient Athens to Jerusalem in order to bring reflection about God's being closer to the gospel and its theodramatic context" (25). Further on he states, "A theodramatic metaphysic provides categories for understanding what God has said and done to renew all things in Christ through the Spirit." He denominates this, "the metaphysics of the gospel" (79). Rather than study being-in-general (i.e., being as it is common among creatures), as the older conception of metaphysics proposes, Vanhoozer defines the discipline much more broadly (and vaguely) as "the study of reality beyond mere appearances" (8). The purpose of such an enlarged conception is so that God can be included as one of the *proper* objects of metaphysical inquiry. Vanhoozer believes it to be a singular failing of the older metaphysics that its categories failed to explain genuinely God's essence as well as such redemptive phenomena as Christ's incarnation and resurrection. By deriving the principles and categories of metaphysics from the inspired redemptive "drama" it is thought one can arrive at a single set of "categories for *all that is*" (183). *Prima facie* it may appear that the author rescues metaphysics from the older abstractive tendencies apparent in both the medieval and Reformed scholastics. But Vanhoozer's reconception of metaphysical categories as derived from redemptive history is not unproblematic.

First, there is the theoretical question of the propriety of redefining the purpose and scope of a lower science in order to remake it into a properly theological pursuit. Yet this is what Vanhoozer does to metaphysics. He simply declares that its proper object is no longer to be restricted to the commonness of being discovered among creatures, but must now be extended to consider God, creatures, and God's redemptive actions on behalf of creatures. But why not do this with other lower sciences? Why not insist upon a mathematics, chemistry, or biology of the gospel? Should we expect to derive the proper principles and limits for those disciplines from redemptive history as well? Probably Vanhoozer would say we should not. So why insist upon doing it with metaphysics? It may be that Vanhoozer simply rejects the traditional (pre-Enlightenment) claims that metaphysics is a legitimate lower science, in which case making it more properly theological would appear entirely harmless. It bears pointing out, though, that in relocating metaphysics within theology Vanhoozer also elevates it from its historic *ministerial* role (as philosophy serving theology) to a *magisterial* role (theology itself).

Second, and more importantly, by transforming metaphysics into a proper branch of theology Vanhoozer seems to open the door for the very ontological univocism that he rightly decries elsewhere in his volume. Predicating according to a single set of metaphysical and ontological categories for God and creatures requires one to speak univocally about God and the world. In fact, it is the older metaphysics of Thomas Aquinas and the Reformed scholastics that better preserves the Creator-creature distinction. This is because, for them, metaphysics does not study God as its proper object but as the sufficient reason for and first cause of being-in-general. Thus, their "metaphysical" talk about God is not *properly* metaphysical; they simply reason from the fact of being-in-general to God as the ultimate cause (*via causalitatis*) and exemplar (*via eminentiae*) of being, the one for whom all the limitations of categorical being must be denied (*via remotionis* and *via negationis*). Vanhoozer's metaphysical innovations abandon the carefully nuanced Creator-creature distinction found in Thomas and the Reformed by placing all within a single order of categorical being. The irony is that in attempting to be more biblical in his metaphysical talk about God he actually appears to become less so by letting univocism in the back door.

Third, if a single set of metaphysical categories can explain both God's creative and historic-redemptive activity as well as the common being and ordinary experiences of creatures, it would seem that the *uniqueness* of God's creative action and redemptive miracles is thereby undermined. One should expect, for instance, that the biological, physical, and mathematical sciences could potentially explain such phenomena as creation *ex nihilo*, the incarnation, and the resurrection. After all, it is from these miraculous dramatic events that Vanhoozer insists we must derive the categories for "all that is." Those events themselves must be classifiable within the exact same system by which we classify all other (ordinary) phenomena, thus divesting them of their truly miraculous and extraordinary character.

Effectual Calling

Vanhoozer's account of God's effectual call in salvation highlights his aversion to traditional causal explanations of God's activity in the world. The effectual call, we are told, "provides a lens for understanding how the eternal God acts in time, and thus for how God relates to the world more generally" (371). Specifically, the author notes that God's causal work in effectual calling is a "communicative action" and the result is a "properly *communicative* causal effect" (371). In itself this stress on communicative causality seems perfectly admissible. But for Vanhoozer communicative causality is sharply contrasted to instrumental causality. The effectual call works

communicatively *in* and *through* the sinner's nature and personhood, not *on* or *against* it in some instrumental sense. The author dislikes Calvin's explanation that the Spirit "causes the preached Word to dwell in their hearts" (372; citing *Institutes* III.24.8). He is concerned that such strong instrumental action on God's part "overrides human nature and freedom" (372–373). He wants to ensure that God's operation in calling "in no way bypasses human volition and cognition" (373). This is accomplished, according to Vanhoozer, by the "*communicative* force" of God's "sovereign summons to participate in the light and life of the triune God" (373). God causes a change in the sinner's heart and mind "*precisely by bringing about understanding*" (373). Speech-acts, not instrumental acts of God's Spirit, are the proper way to understand God's causal activity in the effectual call. What are we to make of this thesis?

While not entirely without merit, this account suffers from the author's insistence that one must choose between communicative and instrumental causality. This is a false antithesis. Why could not God's communicative action be identical with, or at least concomitant with, his instrumental action (presuming that instrumental does not necessarily mean mechanical)? It seems that in reality Vanhoozer does allow some measure of divine instrumental causality, even if unwittingly. Consider the following: "The effectual call is the Spirit's ministering the word in such a way that hearers freely and willingly answer God by responding with faith" (374–375). Whatever he means by "in such a way," it is precisely this "way" that apparently causes an unwilling sinner to become a freely willing and believing sinner. The sinner himself is dead in his trespasses and sins, volitionally and noetically depraved and hostile toward God, and is not sufficiently free in that condition to respond to God's sovereign summons. God must act first to *make* the sinner willing through the power of his word and Spirit. This is entirely God's doing. Vanhoozer's anti-instrumentalist characterization of the effectual call subverts the sole priority of God's operation in the production of saving faith in his elect. Moreover, as a model for God's relationship to the world more generally it suggests some sort of ontological synergism between God and his creation. Indeed, this is exactly what one discovers in Vanhoozer's discussion of God's impassibility and compassion.

Divine Impassibility

As noted above in the overview, Vanhoozer upholds divine impassibility insofar as the doctrine teaches that God is not passively moved by the coercive will and power of creatures. But he does not believe that God is impassible in an absolute sense. Indeed, as he explains it, God *does* suffer *as God* by virtue of his own free choice. God authors his own suffering. This argument effectively transforms divine impassibility from a doctrine about the divine nature into a doctrine about divine sovereignty. What motivates the author to make such a move? Is this explanation within orthodox bounds?

Vanhoozer understands the cross of Christ to be "the paradigm instance of divine suffering" (430). Thus, he writes, "what Jesus communicates in his passion is nothing less than the 'ways of God,' that is, the nature of God's being-in-self-communicative-action" (430). Surely it is appropriate to say that the cross reveals something of God's nature, such as his love, for instance. But does not Vanhoozer go too far when he further suggests that the suffering of the cross reveals the suffering of God *qua* God? He first goes wrong by applying the doctrine of *kenosis* to the whole Godhead rather than strictly to the person of the Son. What's more, he seems to conceive this divine "self-emptying" as something that occurs properly in the divine nature rather than strictly in a divine person (430). This seems dangerously close to heterodoxy. According to Vanhoozer, God allows his divine nature to be onticly acted upon and changed in the course of his historic-redemptive dealings. This seems to violate a host of classical Reformed convictions including divine immutability, simplicity, and aseity, to name a few.

The author reassures us that all is well since he still retains the doctrine of God's sovereignty. But we must ask: What sort of sovereignty is this? Apparently, it is a *self*-sovereignty in which God exercises free control over his own nature. In short, Vanhoozer's conception of divine sovereignty is nothing but a recapitulation of Karl Barth's doctrine of divine freedom. Just as Barth insists that God freely brings about his very being and essence, Vanhoozer holds that God's sovereignty enables him to "author" himself and "move" himself. God may even write himself into the theodrama as a sufferer. One wonders, though, what other roles God might author for himself. If he is sovereign over his own nature could he, for instance, cause himself to be ignorant, weak, corporeal, temporal, mutable, finite, and so on? Are there any limits to God's self-sovereignty?

I submit that this notion that God is sovereign over his own nature and essence is entirely wrongheaded. The doctrine of divine sovereignty is properly understood as God's control over things *ad extra*. God's nature grounds his sovereignty in relation to things outside himself; sovereignty does not control or cause the divine nature itself in any sense. In the end Vanhoozer's revised understanding of divine impassibility is much more Barthian than classically Reformed. Moreover, inasmuch as God becomes something in the theodrama that he was not before, it seems that Vanhoozer's God is ontologically correlative to creation and dependent upon it in some sense in order to realize the being and nature that he has authored for himself.

Conclusion

The deficiencies of this volume ultimately overwhelm its

virtues. The reader frequently gets the sense that the orthodoxy granted by the right hand is taken away by the left. Vanhoozer seems to follow not only Barth's doctrine of God, but also his dialecticism. Though we are warned against univocism, his proposal for a single set of metaphysical categories slips it back in; though we are warned against relational theologies, the author incorporates God's actions in the world into the very definition of his being (297); though divine impassibility is affirmed, we are further informed that God voluntarily allows his very Godhead to undergo suffering; though God's total sovereignty in salvation is confessed, we are also notified that humans are never passive in regeneration. The list of self-contradictions could easily be multiplied. All in all, *Remythologizing Theology* is too prolix, repetitive, vague, and from a traditional Reformed perspective, too Barthian to meet effectively the modern challenges of the various relational theologies.

Response: "On the *Scope* and *Scopus* of 'Always Reforming,' A Response to James Dolezal." By Kevin Vanhoozer.

Is the meaning of a text more a function of its author's intended meaning or of its reader's – in this case reviewer's – response? I would say the former, and I think James Dolezal would agree. How then should we explain the fact that his reader response disappointingly fails to coincide with my authorial intention? There are two possibilities: either I have miscommunicated, or Dolezal could do with a refresher course in grammatical-historical interpretation. The truth, however, may lie somewhere in the middle (proof positive, Dolezal would no doubt say, that I am indeed a dialectical, self-contradicting theologian!).

It was my *intent* to write a work of Reformed theology that would critically address several trends in contemporary theology and provide a "retooling" (not displacement) of classical theism and its implied metaphysic. I am Reformed because, among other things, I affirm *sola scriptura*, divine sovereignty (not least in the matter of grace), the soteriological centrality of union with Christ, the Lordship of Jesus Christ over all areas of life, the importance of keeping word and Spirit together, the fecundity of "covenant" as a unifying principle of biblical theology, and the importance of continually reforming the church's doctrine and practice according to the word of God written "for us." I view myself not as an innovator but rather as a translator, one who seeks new language with which to preserve what has been said in the past for the present.

The new conceptual tools I set forth in the book are ones of which I hope Calvin would have approved. He would certainly not have approved of "a mixed bag of classical Reformed affirmations blended together with elements of Barthianism and panentheism," so of course I dispute this description of my proposal. The book is the last in the series *Cambridge Studies in Christian Doctrine*. The series required me to locate and make sense of traditional Christian doctrines in a contemporary context. That was my mandate. It helps to know the historical context in order rightly to interpret the text. Knowing the context also helps to explain why I did not simply repeat what other Reformed theologians have said, but tried instead to translate it.

My aim in *Remythologizing Theology* and, indeed, as in everything I write, is to stand on the shoulders of Calvin and other Reformed giants, including the seventeenth-century Scholastics, not to desecrate their graves. The question concerns how best to honor their legacy and heritage. Rote repetition is one way, but it is not the only one, nor is it necessarily the most effective.

Dolezal is not blind to certain "virtues" in the book. He mentions two (the emphasis on the primacy of special revelation and the criticism of modern relational theologies). I only wish he had kept these in mind throughout, since he could have used these "clearer" passages to interpret those he found less clear. Instead, he reads me as consistently failing to remember in Parts Two and Three the important things I said in Part One. Enough with the authorial whining! It is time to confront the particular criticisms.

First, Dolezal laments my decision to give priority to the biblical accounts of God speaking to human beings. This is what he refers to as my "overly-restrictive thesis" (some might call it "focus"). It's true that I want the Bible's presentation of God to govern my doctrine of God. I am wary of "perfect being" theology, because it too often smuggles culturally conditioned values in through the back door. Consider, for example, the very idea of perfection. Aristotle thought that perfection implied immutability; Charles Hartshorne came to the opposite conclusion and parsed perfection in terms of God's universal relatedness. My concern is to make sure that Scripture (what I call *mythos,* the dramatic plot) rather than some other source governs our theological understanding. We know what God's love is, for example, because of what God says and *does* in the history of Israel, culminating with his definitive word and deed: the person and history of Jesus Christ (Jn. 15:13).

Remythologizing Theology is not a full-fledged doctrine of God. It is rather an attempt to work out the ontological implications of the Bible's depiction of God as a speaker: a communicative agent who says and does things with words. And, while it is true that I do focus on God's verbal communication (as does Scripture!), I also believe that God communicates his light, life, and love more broadly, not only in word but also in deed: "God communicates indirectly in the book of Nature and more directly through his living Word, Jesus Christ" (p. 475).

Furthermore, it is not clear from Dolezal's account that I see Scripture itself as God's preeminent verbal communication. The Bible is not only a record or transcript of revelation but is itself a form of divine discourse. The Bible is God's address to us in the church today. This is what I am trying to acknowledge and attend to: the living and active and powerful voice of God. I am not "bent on discovering" some "personalist brand of theology" (nor am I even sure what that means).

On the question of God's general revelation: while I do not deny that God makes himself known in the cosmos and human conscience, I do follow Calvin in insisting that we only interpret such revelation correctly when viewed through the spectacles of faith (i.e., the corrective lenses of Scripture). If "communication" includes the reception of a message, then we have to say that, while the heavens declare the glory of God, this in itself does not guarantee the reception of an undistorted message. Romans 1 should not be used as a charter for natural theology. The sinner both knows and does not know God, because the truth that is there to be known is suppressed in unrighteousness (Rom. 1:18). I am not "dialectical" about the knowledge of God available in general revelation. I am simply interpreting Romans 1 as describing the epistemic state of sinful self-deception and am concerned that even concepts of perfect being are susceptible to sinful self-distortion. In sum: *Remythologizing Theology* contends that revealed rather than natural theology is the only sure way to know the perfections of the triune God, the God of the Christian gospel. I think Calvin would agree.

Dolezal's second major area of concern is metaphysics. He defines metaphysics as the study of being-in-general, refers to it as a "lower science," and implies that theology proper (i.e., the doctrine of God) is something else, quite distinct. He seems to think that I am importing metaphysics into theology, or perhaps conflating theology with metaphysics, but in fact I am simply putting it in its place. Why does a doctrine of God have to concern itself with metaphysics in the first place? The tradition of Christian theism arose from what Etienne Gilson termed the "metaphysics of the Exodus." He was thinking of God's self-naming in Exodus 3:14: "I am that I am." The Septuagint translated this "I am the one who is," and Philo, together with most church fathers, interpreted this "is" in terms of Greek metaphysical reflection on being. Exegesis without some metaphysical presuppositions is impossible.

If metaphysics is the study of ultimate reality, then in speaking of the "metaphysics of the gospel," I am simply calling for our understanding of reality to be disciplined by God's self-revelation in Jesus Christ. My concern is that many theologians have adopted metaphysical schemes from places other than the biblical text—call them "extra-textual" metaphysics. "Ontotheology" is one such extra-textual scheme, one that reads the biblical text through a Platonic or Neo-Platonic lens (though, to be fair, the church fathers appropriate such metaphysics critically, revising them at key points in light of the revealed truth of Scripture). *Remythologizing Theology* seeks to develop what one might call "intra-textual" metaphysics (not ontotheology but "theo-ontology") by inquiring into the ontological presuppositions and implications of the biblical account of God's speaking and acting in our world, my particular focus in the book. The overall aim is to bring metaphysics—our understanding of reality or being in general—under the authority of Scripture. It is a matter of taking every metaphysical thought captive to Christ. Stated differently: I am suggesting that just as Christians adopt a special rather than a general hermeneutic for dealing with Scripture, so they ought to adopt a special rather than a general hermeneutic for dealing with the reality of God.

Dolezal is right to ask probing questions about whether this results in a leveling of the Creator-creature distinction, and I appreciate his acuteness in this regard. Much of my book is devoted consistently to maintaining the Creature-creature distinction against open theist and panentheist blurring. While Dolezal is absolutely right to worry about a univocism that applies the same categories to God and creatures in the same way, he has missed altogether my repeated emphasis on analogical predication, and on my repeated distinction of the economic and immanent Trinity (on analogy, see esp. pp. 195–96 and notes 58 and 59). With Dolezal, I explicitly affirm the ministerial role of metaphysics: "The *logos* of remythologizing theology has only a ministerial authority that takes its marching orders from the magisterially authoritative biblical *mythos* [story or plot]" (p. 477).

Dolezal criticizes me for employing a single set of metaphysics categories (e.g., communicative action) to both creatures and Creator. Of course, the tradition does this too—for example, with the category "cause"—though not without invoking analogy, as do I. In retrospect, however, I probably should have said explicitly, rather than implied, that there are some things that God does *not* communicate to his creatures, namely, his incommunicable attributes (e.g. infinity, aseity). Here I stand, corrected.

Dolezal's third and fourth "deficiencies" pertain not to theological method but to the material substance of Reformed dogmatics, namely, the doctrines of the effectual call and divine impassibility respectively. I fear he missteps on both counts.

Dolezal thinks that I have an "aversion to traditional causal explanations of God's activity in the world." The truth is that I have a stronger desire to ensure that such explanations are rooted primarily in Scripture rather than elsewhere. Dolezal says that I "dislike" Calvin's explanation that the Spirit "causes the preached Word to dwell in [sinners'] hearts" (p. 372). On the contrary, I am quoting Calvin approvingly. Indeed, the

whole purpose of my section on the effectual call (pp. 370–75) is to reclaim this important doctrine, and to do so deploying the communicative categories that I derived earlier in the book from an analysis of God's speaking. It is true that I distinguish communicative and instrumental causes. My reason for doing so, however, has nothing to do with my supposed inability to affirm God's sovereign and efficacious will (which I can and do affirm). Rather, it has everything to do with adhering to the Thomist (i.e., theistic) rule that God deals with creatures in his providence according to their natures.

Dolezal somehow concludes that I think human creatures have veto power over God's call. This is most unfortunate. Though I do speak of "soteric dialogues," I make it clear that the conversational relationship between God and human creatures is asymmetrical: God can efficaciously call us; we cannot efficaciously summon God. God's word has a communicative power that ours lacks (cf. Isa. 55:11). My book attempts conceptually to elaborate the effectual call as *the effect of a properly communicative cause* processing from God's word and Spirit—a "cause" that, far from violating the integrity of human nature, awakens and quickens it. To be a human person is to be one through whom God's word "sounds through" (*per + sonare*). God's communicative action is unlike creaturely communicative action, however, for God's call is effectual. By contrast, humans cannot control the effects of their communicative acts.

Remythologizing Theology describes and defends the doctrine of the effectual call from its modern detractors who paint it in impersonal causal terms. Is the result an "ontological synergism," according to which the efficacy of God's call depends upon the creature's response? Hardly. My position actually amounts to a divine *dialogical determinism*: God exercises his sovereign will through efficacious communication. (In the book I discuss this under the heading of authorial consummation, suggesting that God "authors" or determines the fate of his human creatures/characters, but does so communicatively, that is, by means of word and Spirit). I may have inadvertently confused Dolezal on this point by contrasting God's "instrumental" and "communicative" moving of human wills. On my view, the effectual call is a matter not of God "overriding" but rather of God *enabling* human freedom. Dolezal wants to say that God must act first to make the sinner willing and able to respond to the call of God. So do I. However, I locate this grace in the call itself. The effectual call is powerful enough literally to wake the dead. It is not that God first wakes the dead and then calls, but rather that God wakes us up by saying "Awake!" (cf. Jesus' "waking" dead Lazarus with a shout [Jn. 11:43], itself a kind of effectual call). God regenerates, just as he originally created all things from nothing, by saying things like "Let there be light." Dolezal may not agree in locating the regenerating power in the call itself, but at the very least I hope he sees that I am far from promoting some kind of ontological synergism.

This may be the appropriate place to address my take on *semper reformanda*, the idea that the Reformed tradition is reformed and "always reforming." I do not use this phrase as a license to innovate. I view it rather as an acknowledgment of the church's need constantly to refer its doctrine and practice back to its source and norm: Scripture. I do not view *semper reformanda* as a mandate to revise the material content of the Reformed tradition. Yes, we must be willing to revise if it can be shown that a particular doctrine is unbiblical, but this is not the goal of *Remythologizing Theology*. On the contrary, its purpose is to translate: to set forth Reformed doctrine in a contemporary conceptual idiom that preserves the substance of the tradition (its fundamental theological judgments) with some new conceptual tools, tools that hopefully go some way towards responding to objections to Reformed formulations like the effectual call. I have no interest in being "progressive," though I do want to be "radical," in the sense of returning to the root of Reformed faith. This is what ultimately lies behind my attention to the biblical *mythos,* and the triune economy, rather than to autonomous metaphysical schemes that set forth general accounts of being. At points it seems that Dolezal cares more about the extent (and exactitude) of my conformity to earlier doctrinal formulations than he does about my fidelity to Scripture and its *scopus*: Jesus Christ. That, at least, is the impression he gives me in his comments, in which Scripture is conspicuous by its absence (the same cannot be said for tradition!).

On to the doctrine of divine impassibility. *Remythologizing Theology* is a full-scale attempt to define and defend the doctrine of divine impassibility against its modern detractors. Indeed, the doctrine's besieged status in contemporary theology was my primary motivator in writing the book. It is most disheartening, therefore, to discover that Dolezal fails to understand that much of what I say in the book I say to challenge what I dub the "new orthodoxy" (i.e., divine passibilism).

Dolezal attributes to me the strange belief that God suffers *as God* by virtue of God's own choice. He does not mention that I spend much of Part One criticizing precisely this position, which I name "voluntary kenotic relational" theology, also known as open theism (p. 441). Does God suffer as God? Before answering, it is important (1) to define "suffering" and (2) specify whether by "as God" we mean "according to his person" or "according to his nature." Unfortunately, Dolezal gives no indication that when I speak of God suffering as God, I am referring to the *person* of the second member of the Trinity (see the discussion of the Son's suffering on pp. 420–33, the section from which Dolezal draws the offensive quote). In defending divine impassibility, I also stand with the church fathers and affirm that, in Christ, "the impassible suffers." If

this is what Dolezal finds objectionable, or self-contradictory, then we have a host of new problems to discuss elsewhere.

I also spend a fair amount of time discussing what suffering means. Most Reformed theologians agree that God does not suffer in the sense of being affected by the world in his nature, will, or knowledge. So do I. The more contentious question is whether or not God has emotions and, if so, whether this means that there is an aspect of the divine life that can be affected by what happens in the world. Dolezal does not distinguish between these various senses of divine passibility, nor does he mention that Reformed theologians like B. B. Warfield, J. I. Packer, Wayne Grudem, and John Frame, who all want to say, on the basis of Scripture, that God is emotionally affected by what happens in the world—call it emotional passibility. I am actually more reticent (I won't say "too conservative"!) to affirm this, at least until we are clearer about what it means for God to have emotions.

Accordingly, I spend several pages in the book setting forth a constructive account of divine emotions in terms of active affections rather than passive passions. I further suggest that divine emotions are less reactions-to than evaluations-of. To be precise, God's emotions are concern-based evaluations of situations or states of affairs in the world. I understand divine compassion as a matter of God's covenantal concern-based construals of situations. It follows that God is not affected by anything that happens in the world. Rather, God responds to diverse circumstances by evaluating them in light of everything that he always already is, and this includes his covenantal purposes (i.e., foreknowledge). Contra Dolezal's suggestion that I apply the doctrine of kenosis to the whole Godhead, I distinguish and affirm God's "kyriotic," lordly compassion from the kenotic versions on the contemporary marketplace (see pp. 444–48).

Finally, Dolezal speculatively attributes to me the odd view that God is sovereign over his own being. Well, yes, in a sense this is so, if "sovereign over his own being" stands in contrast to "subject in his being to something else." That is the only sense of the phrase that I find acceptable. The triune Creator is always, everywhere, and at all times fully himself. God's life is marked by perfect plenitude: God does not need the world either to be himself or to sustain his existence. He is the Author of his own being only in the sense that, to use Jesus' words, "the Father has life in himself" (Jn. 5:26). In my book, authorship is the model for the God-world relationship, not for the relationship between God and his own nature. It is clear that the author of a text exists on a wholly different ontological plane than the characters in the world of the text. Of course, divine authorship is greater than human authorship, for in Jesus Christ, God enters into the very story of which he is the also the author.

As to my alleged "Barthianism," this is overstated. I find in Barth's theology several helpful themes, as I do in many theologians. I am particularly grateful for Barth's criticism of Protestant liberal theology, and for his call to begin theology from the Word of God. Is this enough to make me a card-carrying Barthian? I doubt it. Indeed, it is not altogether clear to me what it means to be a Barthian, other than believing what Barth believed about God. I do not accept all that Barth says, however. Indeed, my most extensive treatment of Barth in *Remythologizing Theology* (pp. 199–205) is largely critical, and concludes by saying that Barth unnecessarily reduces God's being in communicative act with his revelation in Jesus Christ, whereas the Bible depicts God as acting communicatively at other points in the biblical narrative (and in Scripture throughout) as well.

To conclude: it should be obvious from the above comments that I think Dolezal has misunderstood me, both my intent (what I wanted to say) and my meaning (what I actually said), sometimes in seriously flawed ways. The Vanhoozer that he has created is so confused that he not only calls "good" "evil," but also says that it is simultaneously good (i.e., theistic) *and* evil (i.e., panentheistic)! Obviously, I do not have the communicative capacities that God has, for I cannot prevent being misread; apparently, my prose is far from effectual. I am not sure whether my finitude explains everything, however; I suspect that, for some reason, Dolezal is not letting the clearer parts of my argument—for example, things that I clearly affirm, like the Creator-creature distinction—govern his reading of those parts that are less clear. Consequently, he not only misconstrues the text, but also its author.

Still, I am grateful for Dolezal's review. For communication is not a one-way street, and even though the reader's response may not constitute meaning, it *is* a condition of successful communication (i.e., understanding). "Communication" means making common, sharing one's thoughts and feelings, in this case via language. I do not recognize my thoughts in Dolezal's account of them. I thus conclude that, at least in this case, communication has broken down. I suspect that I am at least partially to blame. Dolezal's review helpfully identifies those points where I need to work harder in order to communicate to readers of a certain Reformed persuasion. I shall try to do better next time (always reforming!). I take solace, however, in the fact that most readers and reviewers to date have rightly understood me. How do I know this? Because they typically criticize me for being too Reformed!

Surrejoinder to Kevin Vanhoozer. By James E. Dolezal.
I am grateful to Professor Vanhoozer for his response to my criticisms. As I indicated in my review, there are many features of his volume that are agreeable to Reformed orthodoxy. It was not my intent to undermine the genuineness of author's Reformed convictions or intentions, but simply to point out

that certain of his proposals do not appear consonant with these convictions. Vanhoozer disagrees. He points to the many places in his volume where he clearly opposes the very errors in which I suggest he is involved. Again, though, the question is not whether he affirms and applies sound scriptural and Reformed principles – he does – but whether he does so consistently. I do not see Vanhoozer as "consistently failing," but as failing to be consistent. Anyhow, I shall satisfy myself to offer a few responses to his rejoinder.

Method

My misgivings about the author's overly-restrictive thesis are not with his prioritizing "the Bible's presentation of God" or with his regard of Scripture as the principium for our theologizing. Rather, my concern is with the exclusivity and selectiveness of his emphasis upon God as *verbal* communicator. By insisting that we "could know nothing of God or his purposes" apart from his verbal communication (primarily located in Scripture) Vanhoozer seem to undermine the natural knowledge of God which God himself conveys (nonverbally) to every human through the things that are made. As for the problem of selectiveness, the author's thesis picks out the speech-acts of God among all the data of Scripture and grants them hegemony in delineating an ontological account of God's being and essence. My difficulty with this is that divine dialogical speech-acts and "theodrama" are among the more anthropomorphic and anthropopathic biblical data. Indeed, at times the Bible seems to disambiguate speech-acts and God's covenantal dealings by referring specifically to what God is in himself, prior to and apart from his interactions with creatures (e.g., Exod. 3:14; Mal. 3:6; James. 1:13, 17). In these places divine ontology explains God's covenantal speech and actions rather that the other way around. Vanhoozer's thesis leaves little room for this sort of inter-textual movement in which biblical statements about God's being explain the accounts of his covenantal speech and action. The deeper difficulty, of course, may be the author's tendency to think of God's very being itself as a supreme instance of communicative theodrama, located in the interactions among the three persons of the Godhead (*RT*, 244–259).

Metaphysics

So long at Vanhoozer continues to insist that metaphysics is "the study of ultimate reality" he will not be able to get clear of ontological univocism between God and creatures. My review proposes a more modest conception of metaphysics as a lower science that studies being-in-general, which I explain as "being as it is common among creatures." It should be obvious from this understanding why it is that I think the doctrine of God is quite distinct from metaphysics, though not entirely unrelated (since God's act of existence is the ultimate sufficient explanation for being-in-general). Vanhoozer's description of metaphysics presupposes that there is a realm of "ultimate reality" in which God and creatures are found together and are explained according to a single set of metaphysical categories. It is true that he opposes the notion that "God is part of a single system of being" with creatures (*RT*, 222).Yet he appears to undermine the force of this when he states that his purpose is to "set forth a full-scale theodramatic metaphysics that sets forth categories for *all that is*" (*RT*, 183; emphasis his), including, evidently, "the reality of God." "A 'theodramatic' metaphysics," he informs us, "provides a systematic account of the categories needed to describe what God has said and done to renew all things in Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit. These categories enable us to give a 'thick description' of the whole of reality" (*RT*, 222). It is a mystery to me how this metaphysical "whole of reality" could be something other than a "single system of being."

The author is conscientious that he will still need to invoke analogy in order to set God apart from creation within this orbit of ultimate reality; but this analogy can, within his proposed "theodramatic metaphysics," only be applied at the level of essences, not of existence. In this way Vanhoozer's analogy between God and creatures is similar to the horizontal analogy that Aquinas employs in his natural philosophy, which is calculated to highlight *essential* differences, but does not achieve an absolute *existential* distinction (nor is intended to do so). For this absolute existential distinction Aquinas proposes yet another sort of analogy that functions vertically and in which he insists that God is existentially beyond all categorical being (see John Wippel, "Metaphysics," in *The Cambridge Companion to Aquinas*, 86–93). By including God as a proper subject of metaphysical inquiry it is not at all clear that Vanhoozer can achieve this requisite *existential* aspect of Creator-creature distinction; not even by colonizing metaphysics with theological language and concepts. That is why I maintain his metaphysical proposal allows univocism in the back door; existential univocism, not essential univocism. Then again, perhaps these are the very sorts of older categories he intends to banish from his newer construal of metaphysics.

Divine Causation, Effectual Calling, and Human Passivity

My dissatisfaction with the author's explanation of the effectual call is not with his emphasis upon the call as "the effect of a properly communicative cause." The difficulty, rather, is with the strident anti-instrumentality of his account and its tendency to undermine the soul's passivity in regeneration. Why could we not formally distinguish between divine communicative causation and divine instrumental causation, while affirming their real identity or concomitance in God's salvific action? Vanhoozer cannot accept such an account inasmuch as instrumental causality seems to work at a subconscious

level and is therefore, in his view, entirely incongruous with the *personal* and *communicative* quality of God's effectual call. To operate upon the soul subconsciously is apparently an "impersonal" act that violates human nature. In this connection Vanhoozer is critical of Anthony Hoekema for saying that God's regenerative activity changes the heart at a *subconscious* level (*RT*, 373). But why must all of God's personal acts of salvific causation be at the level of human consciousness? The author forces a false choice between personal causation on the communicative and conscious level and impersonal coercive causation at the subconscious level. But it is not clear why God's causal activity at man's subconscious level would be necessarily impersonal or a violation of human integrity.

Vanhoozer speaks of God's enabling grace that "cooperates with" the human nature (*RT*, 368). This is fine. But his account of how the human soul – fallen, corrupted by sin, and radically unable to respond to God – is adequately outfitted to respond favorably to the call at the level of consciousness leaves little to no room for the soul's passivity. I submit that this outfitting occurs by God's power (through his Spirit) working upon the corrupt nature at the subconscious level while *at the same moment and in the same divine act* performing its persuasive and informative function through his word and Spirit in the subject's mind and affections. The salvific transformation is then both unconscious and conscious in the same man at the same moment. To remove the unconscious element from this account seems to undercut the genuine passivity of the soul in regeneration (see L. Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 491). Thus, while Vanhoozer can rightly affirm the sole priority of God in calling, his insistence upon the *exclusivity* of the conscious element in salvation cannot account for why it is that particular souls, dead in sin, are inclined to answer that call favorably. The lack of human passivity in the author's account suggests a measure of synergism between God and the creature, even if the relationship is still regarded as asymmetrical.

Impassibility

Upon reading Vanhoozer's response to my criticism of his views on impassibility, I am persuaded that he is much sounder on the kenosis doctrine than my remarks indicated. He does indeed lay great stress on the fact that any notion of divine suffering applies strictly to the *person* of the Son and not to the divine nature as such. His *ex professo* treatments of the kenosis and impassibility would indicate that my criticisms against his view are misplaced. Still, and at the risk of appearing insincere in my concession, I want to suggest that there are certain features of Vanhoozer's description of God that seem to present intractable difficulties for his stance on divine impassibility, and more broadly, divine immutability. Most outstanding in this regard are his emphases upon God as "self-moved" and "self-authored."

Consider the author's following explanation of how it is that God commands his own compassion: "He cannot be moved from outside by an extraneous power. But this does not mean that He is not capable of moving Himself. No, God is moved … and touched by Himself" (*RT*, 446; citing Karl Barth). Furthermore, compassion is not just something God possesses, it is what he *is*: "Everything that God is and does is determined and characterized by the fact that … He Himself, is this original free powerful compassion" (*RT*, 446, citing Barth). Evidently, Vanhoozer, like Barth, conceives of God as ontologically self-moved inasmuch as God moves himself to compassion and is also ontologically identical with this compassion. This explanation, expressly intended as an alternative to Anselm's "unmoved" God, raises a host of challenges. To the extent that God can be touched and made to experience compassion by virtue of his own intrinsic activity, this account seems to contradict the classical doctrine of God's simplicity. A God *moved* to compassion, even by himself, cannot be immutable or pure act in any strong sense. Some aspect of his nature (e.g., a capacity for affections) is conceived as being in passive potency toward the actualizing power of some other intrinsic divine feature (e.g., God's will). The divine activity of commanding compassion, then, seems to reduce some divine potency to actuality. In other words, God makes himself "to be" in some sense. The traditional Reformed outlook is quite different. The mystery of God's free compassion is that it is purely actual and is never caused or brought about through some sort of internal divine process in which God operates upon himself. God is not like the physician who, by virtue of operating upon himself, is both agent and patient. But in following Barth, Vanhoozer seems to suggest just such a conception. This is why I note that he seems to think of God as sovereign over himself.

As for divine self-authorship, Vanhoozer's statements appear inconsistent. His response to my review seems to back away from certain claims in his book. He asserts that in his volume authorship is not a model for the relationship between God and his own nature, but simply between God and the world. Yet he takes the divine name in Exodus 3:14, "I AM," to mean "I am my own author" or "I author, therefore I am" (*RT*, 485). It is hard to see how this is not in conflict with the declarations, "God alone is the unauthored Author" (*RT*, 486), and, "God is the author of everything other than Himself" (*RT*, 469; citing Katherin Rogers). Of course, it may be that talk of divine self-authorship is simply a case of poor wording.

Conclusion

I take Vanhoozer's repudiation of my particular criticisms of his volume to signal the soundness of his theological instincts and intentions. For this I am glad. My aim in the second half of my review was not utterly to dismiss the stronger points of

his work, but simply to highlight perceived inconsistencies in it. These deficiencies seem to me to weaken the effectiveness of the volume for meeting the challenges of the various relational theologies. It is undoubtedly a real possibility, though, that I have misunderstood him, as he says. ▪

Review: Paul Helm, *Eternal God: A Study of God Without Time*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). Paperback, xvi+302 pages. ISBN 9780199590384. $35. Reviewed by Patrick Arnold, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, Philosophy Graduate Student

Paul Helm's brilliant 1988 book *Eternal God: A Study of God without Time* is now in its second edition. Featuring four new chapters that extend Helm's defense of the classic Christian doctrine of God's eternity into new territory and more recent philosophical debates, the second edition of *Eternal God* only strengthens its place as a classic and go-to work for a consistently Reformed presentation of God's relation to time.

Eternal God is a work of analytic philosophical theology, meaning there is little exegetical or biblical theology covered in the book. Helm, of course, is building on a rich bedrock of theology in the Augustinian and Reformed traditions and defending it within the context of recent work in the philosophy of religion. On nearly every page Helm interacts with both classic and recent literature on God's relation to time in the philosophy of religion, covering the seminal work of philosophers like Richard Swinburne, Nicholas Wolterstorff, and Alvin Plantinga, while also relying heavily on Boethius, Anselm, Aquinas, Calvin, and Edwards.

The bulk of the book is devoted to critiquing specific arguments of specific philosophers. In addition, some of the chapters were originally stand-alone papers published in journals or other collections. These features are to be expected in a work of serious academic philosophical theology, but some readers may find it difficult always to keep in view how the particular argument or claim in question relates to the broader issue of God's relation to time and what that means for his relationship to the created, temporal world humans inhabit. No comprehensive work of systematic or philosophical theology that grapples with God's relation to time can afford to ignore Helm's case in *Eternal God,* but for readers new to the topic of God and time, it may be helpful first to review discussion of God's eternity in Reformed systematic theology, such as Herman Bavinck's overview in the second volume of his *Reformed Dogmatics,* or John Frame's discussion in his *Doctrine of God,* before plunging into the intricacies of the contemporary debate as covered in *Eternal God.*[1]

Chapter one introduces the issue of God's relation to time and is primarily concerned with defending the legitimacy of the debate itself within philosophical theology. Helm argues that, much like the status of many scientific theories with respect to the scriptural data, God's relation to time is undetermined by Scripture, meaning that the exact position is left open by the biblical writers. On this point most, though not all, contemporary philosophers of religion agree. Some philosophers, such as one of the ablest proponents of the temporalist theory, Nicholas Wolterstorff, hold that the eternalist view has virtually no support in Scripture despite its great precedence in the history of theology. Philosophical reflection on God's relation to time, then, has a useful supporting role to play in the debate alongside the contributions of exegesis and systematic, biblical, and historical theology.

The questions Helm sets out to discuss in the book are these: What account of God and time best coheres with the biblical narrative, with a God who creates, transcends, redeems, reveals, sustains, and interacts with his creation? Further, what view of time best fits with more firmly established doctrines in Scripture concerning God's nature, and what accounts of time are decisively ruled out by those doctrines? We might frame these questions in terms of the traditional poles of transcendence and immanence: How can God transcend time as Lord over it, yet also be immanent within time and active in human history? As Bavinck aptly puts it, "In God's eternity there exists not a moment of time; in his immensity there is not a speck of space; in his being there is no sin of becoming. Conversely, it is God who posits the creature, eternity which posits time, immensity which posits space, being which posits becoming, immutability which posits change."[2] No doubt "[i]t is a mark of God's greatness that he can condescend to the level of his creatures and that . . . while absolutely maintaining his immutability, he can enter into an infinite number of relations to his creatures."[3]

Helm's response is little different at root than the one running through the history of Christian theology, from Augustine and Anselm to Aquinas, Calvin, and the post-Reformation scholastics. The biblical data, Helm's basic argument goes, requires a strong conception of God's immutability and his distinctness from creation, and immutability and the Creator-creator distinction require God's timelessness. The eternal God, though, is the God who accommodates in his revelation and condescends in his participation in human history. This core insight is expanded, defended, and supplemented with further arguments over the next thirteen chapters.

1. Herman Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics: God and Creation,* Vol. 2, translated by John Vriend, edited by John Bolt (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2004), chapter 4. And John Frame, *Doctrinal God: A Theology of Lordship* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2002), particularly chapter 24.
2. Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics*, v.2, 158.
3. Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics*, v.2, 159.

If immutability, a strong Creator-creature distinction, as well as the fullness and perfection of divine, *a se* existence are some of the main doctrinal underpinnings motivating an eternalist theory, what then are the guiding principles behind temporalist theories of God's relation to time? A temporal God not only acts in time, but exists in his very being in time. Contemporary defenders of God's temporality like Wolterstorff often take God's history and his life as the doctrines to be preserved.[4] God lives in the past and the present, and will be present in the future—essential features that an atemporal God cannot realize. As Helm puts it, "One reason for supposing that God is in time is that it enables us to think of him as having a rich, successive mental life, a life of intentions and purposes, and for him to witness the fulfillment and frustration of his plans."[5]

For process theology, similar to pantheistic theologies, it is more than just the history of God's existence that motivates a temporal view of the divine nature, but the inevitably mutable essence of being, along with a recasting of divine fullness as reactive and risk-taking—a reversal of the Boethian and Anselmian argument that the fullness of divine existence is satisfied by immutable self-sufficiency of which there cannot, and need not, be any alteration. Picturing God as inherently temporal in processes theology is also motivated by a prior rejection of the Creator-creature distinction in exchange for an anthropocentric view of God as subject to the same changes humans experience with the passing of time, from maturing with age to remembering and missing past experiences with no possibility of making the past once again present.[6] A perhaps even stronger motivation for rejecting the eternalist view is to allow for libertarian free will, for on eternalism all future events, including human choices, are eternally "present" to and known by God. On the temporalist picture, God may indeed have (literal) *fore*knowledge, but it is open for the temporalist nonetheless to deny that included in that foreknowledge are as of yet unmade, free human decisions. God, like the rest of us, must wait for the future to see what choices free agents will make.

The temporalist tries to find support in the many scriptural passages that speak of God's interaction in time and responsive presence in human history, and they argue that these passages are not to be interpreted as anthropomorphic or accommodated language, but as literally describing a God whose very being is temporal, who existed in time even before the creation of the world. Much more difficult for the temporalist to explain, however, are the passages that speak of God as transcending time; passages that, though couched in temporal, tensed language, also imply that God cannot be measured or fully described by the language of time. God the great I AM "inhabits eternity" (Isa. 57:15), existed before the creation of the world (Gen, 1:1, John 1:1), and transcends the human experience of the passage of time since "with the Lord one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day" (2 Pet. 3:8). Perhaps unfortunately, Helm does not go into much depth in discussion of the temporalist position, and says even less about its often cited biblical proofs. Readers interested in Helm's response to temporalist theories would benefit from reviewing his contribution to the book *God and Time: Four Views*, of which he is a contributor on behalf of the eternalist theory.[7]

What, though, does it mean to say God is eternal in the first place? This question occupies Helm in chapter two. It can primarily be explained by negation: an eternal God does not exist in time, and is in no way limited by temporality. God does not have a past, and so there are no facts God can only know by remembering them. Neither does God have a future. Yet God, unlike other timeless entities like numbers or propositions, is a person who acts, wills, and speaks. He is a person who knows temporal facts, participates within human history, and even in the incarnation takes on a temporal human nature. The combination of a God who is fully personal yet also fully outside time has led some defenders of a time-bound God to conclude that the eternalist view is incoherent, and at least since Hume it has fed into a number of atheological arguments against the possibility of the existence of such a God.[8]

Further, if God is present throughout all human history, does this not make all of history simultaneous, making, for example, Christ's death simultaneous with his return? Some Reformed theologians have shared this worry. James Oliver Buswell asks, on the eternalist theory, "If there is no past or future for God, are we not still in our sins?"[9] For Christ's death is not "past" for God; it is as eternally and atemporally "present" as every other event, the objection goes. Of course, God does at once see the whole of human history from his eternal point of view, but he also knows temporally indexed facts—facts about the dates of events, about which events are earlier than or later than others, as well as facts about what is present, or "now," from the human temporal point of view.

Chapter three is devoted to solving this riddle of God's knowledge of temporal indexicals. Indexicals, such as "now," "here," today," and"I," are expressions whose content is context

4. Gregory E. Ganssle ed. *God and Time: Four Views* (Nottingham: Inter-Varsity, 2001), 211.

5. Helm, *Eternal God*, 90.

6. Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics,* v.2, 155.

7. Ganssle, *God and Time, op cit.*

8. Helm, *Eternal God*, 57. For contemporary versions of the atheological arguments, see Theodore Drange,"Incompatible Properties Arguments: A Survey," in *The Impossibility of God,* ed. Michael Martin (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2003).

9. Buswell, *A Systematic Theology of the Christian Religion* (Grand Rapids: Zondervon. 1962), 42–47.

dependent. The content of "now" depends on when it was uttered, for example. "The kettle is boiling" uttered on 19 January carries content about the present that "The kettle boils on 19 January" lacks, and one might know the latter without knowing the former. Knowing that "The kettle is *now* boiling" is true requires knowing when it was uttered, and thus, the temporalist argument goes, God must be temporal to know indexical facts.

The argument is a suspicious one, not the least because it appears to move from facts about language to facts about metaphysics and epistemology that bind even God. The argument requires that statements containing temporal indexicals cannot be reduced to tenseless statements, and that in knowing facts with indexicals one knows propositions and not, say, a type of non-propositional knowing *how*, as opposed to a propositional knowing *that*. As Helm summarizes elsewhere: "All that God needs to know in order to know that the kettle is boiling now is that the kettle is boiling on some date and for him to know that the date is now for me."[10] Helm goes on the offensive, demonstrating that the temporalist argument would prove too much if correct, for a parallel problem can be raised for space and God's knowledge of propositions using the corresponding indexical "here." Unless the temporalist is willing to concede that God is in space as well as time, there must be a way for God to know indexicals without being temporal.[11]

Chapters four and five continue to analyze the relationship between God's eternity and his other attributes, including his being a person, immutable, and omniscient. Helm's survey suggests that in many cases it is harder to construe charitable versions of the temporalist or atheological arguments that do not beg the question than it is to provide a compelling reply to them. It is in these chapters that Helm begins to develop a general model of divine action, which is a topic he returns to in some of the chapters new to the second edition, particularly concerning the act of creation. The basic eternalist model for divine action is that God timelessly but contingently decrees and produces all of creation, including its temporal sequence. "God's action existed from all eternity," writes Aquinas, "whereas its effect was not present from eternity, but existed at that time when, from all eternity, He ordained it."[12]

The only sense in which God can "change" is in terms of "merely Cambridge" changes, which are purely relational changes that do not affect the nature of a thing, and none of these "Cambridge" changes in God are spatial or temporal.[13] But here, in Helm's account of divine action and immutability, we find an intramural debate between contemporary Reformed philosophers, one we can only note in passing. In his recent work *Reasons for Faith*, Scott K. Oliphint argues that God's essential properties—those properties that amount to his identity without which God would not be God—are fully atemporal. Yet God in his condescension, in creating and interacting with the world, takes on contingent, covenantal properties which *are* temporal, and this is the only way to explain biblically God's acts such as creation and the incarnation.[14] The difference can be clearly seen in the case of God's relation to a repentant sinner: in the atonement and in the act of a sinner repeating, the change in Scripture is presented as a change in God from wrath to grace. But on Helm's view there is no actual change in God, certainly not at the temporal moment when the sinner repents, for that would make God temporal. God's actions are from eternity, to love those in Christ and to have wrath upon those outside of Christ. The change is not in God, but in the sinner who repents. It is a change "from our belief that we are under wrath to our belief that we are under grace."[15] What are the limits of what God can take upon himself that are not identical to his nature in his condescension? Clearly the starting point for addressing such questions must be the incarnation and the person of Christ, who takes on a temporal, spatial human nature while remaining exactly who he is as the Second Person of the Trinity. Much more needs to be said on both sides of this currently murky but significant issue of God's immutability.

Helm discusses what may be the most prominent reason for rejecting God's eternity in chapters five through ten. The objection is not a surprising one: If God is eternal, and if all human history, as well as all the outcomes of human choices, is eternally "present" to and known by God, then humans cannot have libertarian free will. Envisioning God as temporal is one way to safeguard indeterministic free will. Helm splits the chapters into the various branches this problem takes, from the relation of God's timelessness to his foreknowledge and the future, to worries of fatalism and the possibility of human responsibility on the eternalist picture. Helm also devotes a chapter to the question of how God himself can be free—an issue that in recent years has garnered much attention in philosophy of religion.[16]

Helm consistently and persuasively argues that "[o]nly timeless eternity prevents the degeneracy of divine omniscience and divine immutability into the idea of a God who changes with the changing world and who is surprised by what he discovers."[17] In fact, God's timeless creation seems directly

10. Ganssle, *God and Time*, 216.

11. Later, Helm considers extensions of this *reductio* to knowledge of propositions involving other types of indexicals, such as "I" and "me." See 75ff.

12. *Summa contra Gentiles,* 2.35.3

13. Helm, *Eternal God,* 86.

14. Oliphint *Reasons [for Faith]: Philosophy in the Service of Theology* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2006), chapter 12, and pp. 229–230.

15. Helm, *John Calvin's Ideas,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 395.

16. See William L. Rowe, *Can God Be Free?* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004).

17. Helm, *Eternal God,* 142.

to entail determinism, though clearly not a mechanistic determinism but an all-encompassing, providential governance of history by its Creator. In decreeing the creation of the world, God decrees the content of creation, which includes not only beings and events but their causal relations to one another throughout history. "In short what God timelessly decrees is a complete causal matrix of events and actions."[18] Along with this argument, Helm develops a compelling case for the compatibilist account of human choice, arguing for the compatibility of God's complete knowledge and determination of human history with free human choice and moral responsibility. Readers familiar with Helm's other works on this topic, such as his 1994 book *The Providence of God*, already know him as one of the best contemporary defenders of the Reformed doctrines of election, providence, and compatibilist free will, particularly within philosophy of religion, and these chapters in *Eternal God* are no exception.[19]

Humans might be free in a deterministic world created by a timeless God, but in what sense is a timeless God himself free? As the doctrine of immutability describes, God cannot and need not change in his essential attributes. Though the decree of creation and its implicit ruling out of other alternatives is eternal, it is nonetheless contingent insofar as there are many possible worlds God could have created had he so wanted. God's choices reflect his nature, and, as is the case with human free will, only by acting in according with his nature is God free. Freedom, then, has more to do with the rationality and reasons of an action than, say, the status of the act as determined or not. "But that God is sufficiently powerful that he could [have created the world differently] is not to say that he would. In fact, we know from the actual world that he would not, because he has not."[20] The sense in which God is free in, say, creation, requires a delicate, nuanced treatment, and Helm offers the beginnings of such an account in this chapter. To reinforce these distinctions he closes by comparing the free but timeless God of Christianity with the pantheistic and monistic God of Spinoza. On fundamental issues like the Creator-creature distinction and the personal nature of God the two theologies could not be further apart, though they superficially resemble one another in their determinism.

Helm turns next to consider the potential problem of referring to an eternal God. "'God,'" claims philosopher Kai Nelson, "is supposed to be some kind of referring expression standing for an infinite, non-spatiotemporal, non-indicable individual, utterly transcendental to the cosmos. When we reflect on the meanings of these terms we recognize that it would be logically impossible to verify that such an alleged individual exists."[21]

Such arguments against the possibility of referring to God seem to presuppose a now discredited and probably self-refuting theory of meaning, a type of evidential theory of meaning according to which a term is meaningful if and only if it is either a tautology or empirically verifiable. The arguments may be better rephrased as more epistemic, stemming purely from God's transcendence and not, as Helm takes it, from the nature of reference in expressions like proper names. For in light of the vast gap between Creator and creature, we can only refer to and know God in virtue of his first condescending to the level of his creatures. Helm unfortunately does not pursue this characteristically Reformed line of response, but instead offers a useful account of how the term "God" refers. The name "God," Helm argues, doesn't just refer but "expresses the individual nature of God," involving properties unique to God—as opposed to general essential properties that multiple individuals can posses. Hence properties like omniscience are not just God's necessarily, but his and his *alone* necessarily.[22] "Here we see the point of saying that God is not a god in the sense in which Smith is a man. There cannot be a divine nature which, like a natural kind [e.g., human], is sharable by more than one individual."[23] The chapter amounts to a fascinating application of work in the philosophy of language, such as that of Saul Kripke and Alvin Plantinga, but lingering worries remain that it has not addressed some of the deeper theological issues in referring to God.

The final four chapters are new to the second edition. They continue the eternalist argument in conversation with more recent discussions of the nature of time in analytic metaphysics and philosophy of religion, covering topics like the relation of atemporal time to divine creation and the trinity. Helm also adds to his presentation of eternalism a new layer of terminology borrowed from analytic metaphysics. The seminal work of J.M.E. McTaggart in the early 20th century on the nature of time divides the two ways of conceiving time into what he called the A series and the B series, or time as tensed and time as tenseless. In the A series, instances of time have objective properties like being past, present, or future, and these properties are necessary to make sense of time in addition to the tenseless relations events have. Some A theorists also embrace forms of presentism, meaning they give an ontological priority to the present. According to presentism, only present things exist. In the B series, events have fixed relations to each other, relations like earlier than, later than, and simultaneous, but do not have the objective A series properties of being future or being present, say. On a theistic view of the B series, God creates the series and all its tenseless

18. Helm, *Eternal God,* 170.
19. Helm, *The Providence of God* (Downers Grove, Ill.: IVP Academic, 1994).
20. Helm, *Eternal God,* 188.
21. Quoted in Helm, *Eternal God,* 196–197.
22. Helm, *Eternal God,* 209.
23. Helm, *Eternal God,* 209.

relations but does not exist within them. Sometimes versions of the B series are called block theories of time, for they place time as a dimension like space and give no ontological priority to the present time. Just like there is no location with the real property "here" abstracted from the location of some particular object or person, there is no point in time that has the property of an absolute "now" outside of the perspective of some object or person.

McTaggart used this framework in a number of radical arguments, primarily the claim that time is an illusion altogether insofar as the A series is necessary to characterize time but it is hopelessly contradictory. Many of his arguments are often disregarded, but the A and B series framework has since characterized much philosophical debate over the nature of time, and a good portion of philosophers have since agreed that contradictions lurk within the A series and its implications. In these last four chapters, Helm defends the eternalist theory as a form of B theory of time and against theorists like William Lane Craig who defend the A theory.

The first new chapter is devoted to analyzing Craig's hybrid proposal, which pictures God as "timeless *sans* creation and in time *avec* creation."[24] In other, perhaps even less helpful words, "before" (non-temporally before) creation God was timeless, but God since creation exists within time. God's relation to time is thus not a necessary part of his nature, but contingent upon his will, though God nonetheless necessarily loses his timelessness with creation and so is not exactly sovereign over his relation to time all told. A number of philosophers have argued that this is simply incoherent: how can an atemporal God *become* anything? Perhaps a better way to see the proposal is to frame the relation to time not as a property, but as a mode of possessing properties. Helm contends that there is still no clear sense in which God could have real "phases" in his life, one temporal and the other eternal. Further, this change in God seems to impact all other attributes and capabilities he possesses. For instance, *sans* creation God's knowledge would be tenseless, while *avec* creation it would be tensed.[25] Two of the main motivations of the theory, as opposed to a purely eternalist account, are, first, that Craig finds it nonsensical that God would acquire a new relation at the moment of creation—that of sustaining the temporal universe at each moment—but remain atemporal with respect to that temporal dimension. If God sustains all that exists at each moment it exists, then God possesses a temporal nature in virtue of that relationship. We have seen already how Helm responds to such objections in his discussion of God's immutability and omniscience in relation to his eternity. Second, and presupposed by Craig's formation of the first motivation, Craig claims that the eternalist theory requires a mistaken metaphysics of time, the B theory, while Helm argues this is not a liability of eternalism but a direct advantage consistent with the broader theory he has thus far developed in the book.[26]

In the following chapter, "The Two Standpoints," Helm, building on Augustine, offers a positive attempt at reconciling the daunting gap between the experience of time for humans and the timeless God who reigns as Lord over time. Obviously, time is fundamentally different for God compared to how it is for humans. It does not make sense to ask what is present, as opposed to past, for God, but it does make sense to say that there is a present time for you or me. So compelling is the reality of the present "now" that it seems to be like a spotlight moving across a time-line, from past to future, in which all the other parts save the immediate moment are blackened out, accessible by only memory or by prediction. From the human, creaturely standpoint, the past and future themselves seem non-existent or perhaps just not as real as the present. From the finite temporal standpoint, we seem to experience both the A and B series of time, but Helm argues that the Creator-creator distinction prevents us from inferring from our temporal experience to God's experience and nature, not to mention inferring from our experience the metaphysical nature of time for the world we inhabit. God has his own standpoint as divine, eternal, omniscient and transcendent, and it is with this in mind, and not our own standpoint, that we must approach questions of his relation to time.

In the other two new chapters, "Eternal Creation" and "Time and Trinity," Helm returns to other topics in the original edition, beginning with difficulties in the idea that God eternally decrees the world to come into existence. He defends eternal creation against arguments by Richard Swinburne which maintain that causation is necessarily temporal. Helm

24. Helm, *Eternal God*, 218.

25. Helm, *Eternal God,* 226.

26. Conversely, one of Craig's main reasons for rejecting the purely temporalist theory is that (as per his Kalam cosmological argument) Craig rejects the possibility of an actual infinite series of events, as would be required if God's life is everlasting. The Kalam argument purports to show that the universe must have had a cause, because otherwise it would entail that there is an actually infinite series of past temporal events which is shown to be metaphysically impossible by thought experiments like Hilbert's Hotel. Landon Hedrick has recently argued in a draft "Heartbreak at Hilbert's Hotel" that Craig's argument against an actually infinite series of events in fact fails if one accepts Craig's own view of time: if one were a presentist about time, as Craig has ascribed, then one would deny that past events are real in any sense, and thus deny that a beginningless universe entails an actually infinite series. Hilbert's Hotel, if successful, establishes that an actually infinite number of things cannot exist, which only serves to reinforce the presentist thesis, if one accepts a beginningless universe, that the past does not exist. So it may be the case that one of Craig's main reasons for rejecting the temporalist theory is flawed (not to mention one of his favorite arguments for the existence of God), or that his presentist theory of time is mistaken in light of what he commits himself to in the Kalam argument.

contends that eternal, timeless causation, analogically understood, is not incoherent though it does require of the eternalist a level of ignorance about the nature of such causation—for, like many of the implications of God's relation to time, "it is surely to be expected that in dealing with matters for which there exists no exact parallel in human experience an element of agnosticism will be forced upon us."[27] He also notes that the temporalist likely fares worse in accounting for the creation of the world, for the theory fails to explain how God is not a prisoner of time. The final chapter heaps one final argument for eternalism onto the by now impressive pile: only if God is eternal can the classic Christian doctrine of the eternal begetting of the Son be retained, and Arianism be avoided.

There are small weaknesses in the book, some of which we have touched on: there isn't always enough background explanation and with the additional four chapters in the second edition there is a degree of redundancy. There is no chapter on the topic of the incarnation and time, though Helm directs the reader to Brian Leftow's recent paper "A Timeless God Incarnate" and notes he has little to add to what Leftow has covered.[28] At least a chapter devoted to surveying the biblical data would have added another helpful layer to the book, as would some discussion of what is or might be still open for debate within Reformed theology specifically.

God's relation to time is no doubt one of the most difficult issues in the theological and philosophical *loci*. What makes Paul Helm unique as a Christian philosopher who is deeply involved in esoteric debates in the philosophy of religion and epistemology is not only his impressive knowledge of philosophy and his remarkable clarity when writing on issues like God and time, but his continued faithfulness to confessional Reformed theology. The past few decades, following the demise of logical positivism, have seen a renaissance of Christian philosophers within the academy. In spite of the great progress that has been made in many areas, Christians in philosophy overwhelmingly favor libertarian free will, open theism, a temporal and often mutable and impotent God, and other compromises at odds with classic Christian orthodoxy. In contemporary debates in the philosophy of religion, the positions of Reformed theology are often the antithesis to be avoided at all costs. Helm stands as one of the few defenders of the theology of the likes of Augustine, Calvin, Edwards, and Bavinck within academic philosophy, and his works like *Eternal God* will long remain monumental Reformed contributions to philosophy. ▪

Review: Willem J. Van Asselt, et al., *Scholastic Discourse: Johannes Maccovius* (1588–1644) on Theological and Philosophical Distinctions and Rules (Apeldoorn, The Netherlands: Instituut voor Reformatieonderzoek, 2009). 378 pp. Paperback. ISBN 9789079771059. € 34.95. Reviewed by Rev. Wes White, pastor of New Covenant Presbyterian Church in Spearfish, South Dakota.

This new book presents to us one of the greatest Polish Reformed theologians. I know what some readers might be thinking: for someone to be one of the greatest Polish Reformed theologians is not saying much since there are so few. That is in part true, however, in the 16th and 17th centuries, there was a Reformed Church in Poland. From this Church came several theologians who had a wide influence on theological thought. In the 16th century, the Polish noble, Johannes à Lasko came to Emden, Germany and laid the foundations for a Reformed ecclesiology (see Philip Benedict,*Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002], 68–76). In the 17th century, the most famous Polish theologian was another Polish noble, Johannes Maccovius (1588–1644), professor of theology at Franeker in the Netherlands.

Johannes Maccovius was one of the more colorful theologians of the age. He was Rembrandt's brother-in-law. Some have speculated that Rembrandt was thinking of Maccovius when he painted the blind eye of Julius Civilis in his Stockholm painting. Rembrandt may also have been thinking of Maccovius when he painted a "portrait of a Pole and his horse." Maccovius was accused of loose living (even though not convicted) which led to conflict with the strict Puritan William Ames (his fellow professor at Franeker). Among other things, he was accused of "habitual drunkenness and leading a *belluinam vitam,* defaming his colleagues, taking part in brawls, promoting clanship among the students and visiting brothels" (12–13).

In addition, scholars have often viewed Maccovius as being "hyper-scholastic," and thus, he has become the "whipping boy" of Arminian and anti-scholastic literature. This was due in part to the conflict between Maccovius and his older colleague Sibbrandus Lubbertus (1555–1625). The conflict was both personal and theological. When Maccovius became professor in 1614, Maccovius quickly became more popular than Lubbertus. Maccovius pressed the point by scheduling his lectures at the same time as the lectures of Lubbertus. Eventually, this led to Maccovius being accused of fifty errors before the classis of Franeker in 1617. The classis of Franeker actually found Maccovius guilty of heresy, but Maccovius was exonerated by the Synod of Dort with an encouragement to be careful in his speech on certain points. This controversy has led to the accusation that he was a hyper-scholastic.

27. Helm, *Eternal God,* 246.

28. In *The Incarnation,* ed. Stephen T. David, Daniel Kendall, and Gerald O'Collins (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002).

On the other hand, there have been more positive evaluations. Johannes Cocceius (1603–1669), the famous covenant theologian and colleague of Maccovius at Franeker, delivered Maccovius' funeral oration and gave a "congenial overview of Maccovius' life and works" (3). Pierre Bayle in his *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (1697) said that Maccovius was a "fearsome opponent of Jesuit and Socinian doctrines concerning God and grace" (*ibid.*). Van Asselt summarizes Bayle's entry this way: "he compared Maccovius with a guard dog that protects the house of its master by barking against all intruders …" (*ibid.*). John Owen referred to him as "the veteran leader, so well trained to the scholastic field" and "judicious" (2). In spite of his failings, Reformed theologians widely praised the theological work of Maccovius.

Another sign of their appreciation was the wide use of his book, *On Theological Distinctions and Rules.* This book was probably derived from Maccovius' lectures. Van Asselt describes the book this way: "It was a classroom book for the brand new students in theology (*novicii*) who were encountering many of these theological and philosophical distinctions for the very first time" (35). It is an introduction to the theological categories that the students would use throughout their theological education. It also provides an introduction to Maccovius' own thought. This book was printed several times in various places in Europe, and it was translated into Dutch.

Now *On Theological Distinctions and Rules* is available to modern students in a new Latin edition with an English translation and introduction under the title *Scholastic Discourse* (cited above) by Willem van Asselt, Michael D. Bell, Gert van den Brink, and Rein Ferwerda. In this new book, these men provide an introduction to Maccovius' life, introduce us to the context of the work, and provide a helpful English translation. The unique feature of this book is that it contains the Latin on one page and the English translation on the other. Thus, it is helpful not only as an introduction to Reformed theology but also to scholastic Latin.

Allow me to provide a few examples of this book's usefulness. The first chapter contains distinctions on Holy Scripture. There are forty-five rules. The forty-fifth rule is this: "Proofs taken from parables prove nothing save only something regarding the scope of the parable" (83). Maccovius explained that the Socinians had used the details of parables to prove their theology. Maccovius argued that this was an incorrect methodology. For example, he responded to their use of the parable of the unforgiving servant to prove that forgiveness could take place without satisfaction this way:

> Hence it can be seen how absurd it is to argue as the Socinians do saying that God can forgive our sins without receiving any satisfaction, because the lord [in the parable] dismissed the debts of his slave without receiving any satisfaction. This proof is not derived from the scope of the parable, for its scope is that God forgives the sins of those who forgive others. The scope is not that the lord forgives just as the lord of the parable did. (*Ibid.*)

This is an important rule, but one that has often been neglected.

Second, in regard to the preaching of the Gospel, he tells us that we should distinguish between the goal of the Gospel and the goal of its author: "The goal of the Gospel by itself is nothing else but illumination. In respect of its author, however, it is also possible that it results rather in the blinding of some people (99)." He gives as an example John 12:40 which explains that God commanded Isaiah to preach in order to increase blindness. There is a similar rule in regard to the law. According to Maccovius, there are commandments of obedience and commandments that convince. This explains the call of the Gospel to the reprobate. They are called to repent, but God does not intend to save them. He intends to convince them of their wickedness. The same can be said concerning the commands given to Pharaoh to let the people of Israel depart and to Abraham to sacrifice his son (87).

Third, Maccovius uses distinctions to explain seeming conflicts in Scripture. One example is the distinction in God's love. John describes God's love for sinners as the foundation for the accomplishment of redemption (Jn. 3:16). At the same time, Paul teaches that we are "accepted in the Beloved" (Eph. 1:6). Maccovius' thirteenth rule in the chapter on predestination is this: "Love is twofold: either it is love of benevolence (*benevolentiae*) or of good pleasure (*complacentiae*)" (161). These are two ways in which God loves, and the verses cited above provide an example of each. Thus, it is not a contradiction in Scripture but "love" used in different ways.

In this excellent new work, you will find the classic Reformed distinctions that helped many students and theologians think about God and His Word. You can find them in other sources, but *On Theoloical Distinctions* is a unique and concise guide to this world of thought. In addition, placing the Latin and English side by side makes it easy to look at the original source and to begin to get an understanding of the Latin words that these theologians used in their theological discourse.

You can order the book through the Theoologische Universiteit Apeldoorn (http://www.tua.nl, click on "Webshop," then page through the catalog to "Scholastic Discourse," and click for English). If you do order it, they will send you the copy. You must then send payment in euros to the Netherlands. I have found that the best way to do this is to simply exchange dollars for euros at your bank and then send them by registered mail to the Netherlands.▪

Review: T. V. Moore, *The Last Days of Jesus* (Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth Trust, originally published in 1859, first Banner of Truth edition 1981). ISBN 9780851513218. 216 pages, paperback. $8.99. Reviewed by Reverend Dr. C. N. Willborn, Covenant Presbyterian Church, Oak Ridge, TN, and Adjunct Professor of Church History at Greenville Presbyterian Theological Seminary.

It is unusual in these days for an "old book" to receive a review. New publications can easily consume our attention. They receive the press, and they often are dealing with matters confronting the church at the time, and so they seem to be *timely*. Therefore, we read them to the exclusion of the older tried and tested works. Certainly Augustine, Calvin, Owen, Edwards, Hodge, Warfield, and others of like stature maintain a revered place on many bookshelves and even make their way onto a number of desks. For the most part, however, bookshelves (you may include IPads and Kindles) are being filled with books that are new and often address the apparent felt needs of the church and world. From theology to practice, new books seem to be flowing from older and newer publishers at an unparalleled rate. Therefore, reviewers and journals are busy providing the reading public with reviews.

While the publishing houses are churning out new books at an extraordinary rate, there has also been an unparalleled production of reprints over the past half century. From those books we call "classics"—e.g., Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae,* Calvin's *Institutes,* Luther's *Bondage of the Will*, Edwards' *Religious Affection*—to the multi-volume works of men like John Owen and Thomas Boston, the public has easy access to both old books and new books. While new books have numerous outlets for review —from online and print journals, magazines, and blogs—republications do not enjoy the same exposure to the readers of today. *The Confessional Presbyterian* has recognized a need to point her readers to some noteworthy reproductions.

But why review "old books"? Why should we even reprint "old books"? C. S. Lewis addressed these questions many years ago when he said, "A new book is still on its trial….It has to be tested against the great body of Christian thought down the ages." You see, many old books (which may not warrant the label "classic," yet are worthy of rereading) and the classics have passed the test of time and theology. New books have not! Lewis challenges his readers to read one "old book" for every "modern" book they imbibe. R. C. Sproul goes so far as to say he has never written anything that hasn't been said before and often said better. I think you get the gist of what these "modern" authors are saying—read the old books or you will not be as educated as you think you are!

But there is another reason one ought to read the old books—they are often so much more enriching. We live in an age of "how-to" books that often leave one feeling like a laboratory rat (or whatever the animal rights folks let you experiment on these days). So much of Christian literature has a bent toward the psychological behavioralist genre of literature. Much, if not most, of the old writings were oriented toward the soul. That is, the writers were attempting to touch the intellect, emotion, and will, i.e., the whole being of man. The old writers understood that the heart of man must be changed in order for the behavior to be effected. Take a book like Thomas Watson's *The Art of Divine Contentment.* Now there is a little book that works on all the senses of man with an aim to change man from the inside out *with the substance of divine theology.*

With this introduction to the present review, it should be no surprise that a previously published older book is under consideration. On top of that, the author of the book is not one of the most important names in the history of the church. In fact, the author is not one of the most prominent persons of his generation. He was, however, one of the leading pastor-scholars in the Southern United States during the second half of the 19th century. In the midst of a busy pastoral ministry, with a very uncivil war thrown into the middle of it all, Thomas V. Moore (1818–71) produced a number of fine works for the church of his day. Included among his works were biblical commentaries on Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi. Moore was trained for the gospel ministry, like so many others in the United States, at Princeton Theological Seminary under Charles Hodge, *et al.* He served as the shepherd-teacher to churches in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Richmond, Virginia, and Nashville, Tennessee. Two years after the War Between the States ended, T. V. Moore was elected by his peers as Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. (commonly called The Southern Presbyterian Church). He is buried in Mt. Olivet Cemetery, Nashville, Tennessee (also the burial place of the eminent Southern theologian, Robert A. Webb).

In 1859, Moore published a delightful little book called *The Last Days of Jesus.* The purpose of this book is very simply to draw attention "to this wonderful and rather neglected portion of the earthly life of Jesus, and of throwing some light on the various points included in it." The author carefully deals with the biblical material that concerns the forty days between the resurrection and ascension of our dear Savior. This is a most interesting and sometimes complicated period for us (e.g., the sojourners on the road to Emmaus didn't recognize Christ) and Moore walks his readers through these pivotal days with a thorough command of the biblical texts. He explains in the introduction that he does not pretend to take up all the "critical" matters of the various texts, although his comments reflect his knowledge and mastery of them. He also apologizes for not attempting to harmonize the various events. While

apologizing, he explains his rationale. He does not attempt a harmony of the various events because of his conviction that they need no such harmonization. Moore contends that the "four forms of [the] commission," for example, were never intended "to be clipped and mosaicked [sic] into one." He continues by saying, "The advantage of taking the facts as they stand, rather than trying to make a harmony of them, as is usually done, will appear in the sequel. The gospel is a harp with four strings, and the attempts to twist them all into one string really destroy the harmony, instead of creating it," (xi).

As early as the introductory material, Moore draws the reader's attention to the "forty days." He reminds us of the significance of the number in Scripture. The first forty days of Noah introduced God's wrath, while the second forty days "ushered in the second great chapter of human history." Then there were the forty days of Moses on Mount Sinai in preparation for the establishment of "the Divine Institute." Forty days Israel spent on the banks of Jordan preparing for "their entrance into the promised land." Elijah spent forty days as a "prelude to the solemn scenes of Horeb." Ninevah was given forty days to repent and avert God's wrath. And, of course, our Savior's forty days in the wilderness meeting the assaults of Satan, upholding his probation as the second Adam, and setting the stage for his public work as Mediator of a better covenant. Finally, the forty days of his preparation "for the glories of the ascension, and the return to heaven, when the everlasting doors were lifted up, to let the King of glory in." During these forty days our LORD rehearsed "the things pertaining to the kingdom of God," (x). Here Moore eschews the "extravagant fancies of recent German writers" and their "mystical conjectures" and sets the readers on a grammatical-historical-theological approach to the forty days motif.

It shouldn't surprise any reader that nineteenth century men of theological acumen and pastoral devotion held unswervingly to a high view of Holy Scripture. Moore points out the testimony to the divine nature of Scripture—πᾶσα γραφη. θεο,πνευστὸ—in the absence of a witness to the resurrection. The death of Christ is witnessed. The empty tomb is witnessed, "but that mysterious and stupendous event by which the grave was emptied is not recorded." "Had these writers been inventing a fiction," continues Moore, "such an omission would have been incredible. This fact being the main fact of the story, it would have been narrated with details of time and attendant circumstances in the most careful manner, so that all cavil should be excluded. But inasmuch as there was really no eyewitness to the fact itself, in its actual occurrence, they refrain from recording that occurrence, with a strict and scrupulous regard to historical accuracy that is very striking; and that is one of those minute marks of absolute veracity that would never occur to an inventor…" (18).

In establishing the divine nature of Scripture, Moore tips his hat to his commitment to the supernatural nature of Christianity as a religion. It is a religion of a supernaturally-given revelation—the Holy Bible. It is a religion also of the resurrection. The resurrection of Jesus Christ is "the main fact of the story," according to Moore (18). The resurrection vindicated the redemptive work of Christ. Furthermore, the resurrection "confirms and connects the great doctrines of the Christian system." "The new life of Noah from the ark and the deluge, the wonderful offering and deliverance of Isaac, the living bird in the purification of the leper, the living goat on the great day of atonement, and other facts of the Old Testament—all receive their full illumination, only by connecting them with the resurrection of our Lord" (27).

"There are few doctrines in the New Testament," Moore explains, "that do not come legitimately under the scope of this period of the life of Jesus" (xi). Therefore, much of the author's narrated exposition of the events is given to the doctrine that is imbedded in the various events of the forty days. History is full of doctrine, and the last forty days of Christ walking the earth is marked by doctrine. There is no "What would Jesus do?" in this venerable father's teaching; it is all about what Jesus accomplished and taught. Yet, there is no dryness to Moore's expositions. He makes the encounters with Jesus breathe with life. Here we can learn from our nineteenth-century fathers. They made the English language work for the gospel. Listen to a sampling of the soul-searching interrogatives that mark his writings (and his preaching). "How shall we know that he who died on the cross did not die, as all others die, for his own sin? How shall we know that he can carry us through the dark valley, and present us faultless before the throne, on the ground of his atoning work?" Now listen to the simple elegance of his answer: "Only by his returning from the presence of the Judge, and assuring us that the debt of sin is cancelled; by his returning from behind the veil in the Holiest of all, and assuring us that the sacrifice is accepted; by his returning from the dark valley, and assuring us that the monster is slain which made it terrible. This, Christ did in his resurrection, and hence its fundamental importance as the central fact of the Gospel" (25).

Moore assesses the needs of the disciples and shows how our Lord meets their needs. A loving address to the one grieving at the tomb (Mk 16:9; Jn 20:11–18). He rewarded the women for their obedience with his presence and entrusted them with work (Matt 28:9, 10). He came to Peter, the one who betrayed him most flagrantly (1 Cor 15:5; Luke 24:34), and restored the man. He brought challenging words of life to the doubters on the road to Emmaus (Lk 24:18–35). On and on Moore deals with each event of our Lord's resurrected days. He treats the condition of man and shows how the Redeemer proved effective and sufficient to meet the various needs. He assures his readers that our needs are the same as those first

century A.D. disciples and Christ Jesus is still answering the needs.

In addition to the very personal encounters between Jesus and his disciples, Moore works through the "apostolic commission" in each of the four biblical texts (Matthew, Mark, Luke and Acts). In a word, we could say he proves the spirituality of the church from these portions of Scripture. Additionally, his handling of baptism is a fine example of covenantal consciousness so that the gathered nature of the church is stressed. Concerning the visible church Moore explains, "We believe, that like the family, and the state, it was designed by God to be an educational institute for the young, as well as for the old, and that this is one of its most precious features. The lambs are entrusted to the shepherd as well as the sheep, and belong to the flock as truly as they. So the children of believing parents are made disciples as truly as parents themselves, and as such have a right to the same ordinance of recognition and initiation" (144). The education the church offers is a spiritual education founded upon the Holy Scriptures, and so the didactic role of the church from corporate to family worship is stressed.

Another sterling mark of this little book is Moore's use of church history to instruct and illustrate. He introduces numerous men and women to his readers who have been saved by the amazing grace of God and who serve as examples of God's powerful work in ordinary lives. "Christianity is now itself the great standing miracle of the world, and its mighty works are not physical and bodily, but moral and spiritual. It still casts out demons, and has taken a John Newton, a Colonel Gardiner, or a savage Africaner, and transformed them into pure, gentle, and loving saints" (156). Moore takes the women who encountered our Savior near the tomb and throughout those forty days and shows how God appointed them to announce the Savior's life and how women still play such a large role in the nurture and instruction of sons and daughters. "Thomas Halyburton acknowledges his great obligation to the early religious training of his mother. The mother of Philip Doddridge, the mother of the Wesleys, have come down to us linked with the piety of their illustrious children" (43). God has done great things, he is doing great things, and he will do great things. This Moore proves over and again in the lives of saints.

Moore concludes his study of the last days of Jesus with an examination of Acts 1:10, 11 and "The Parting Promise." The author's attention to detail is exemplified here when he points out the marvelous departure of our Savior and the abiding benediction that falls upon the church of Christ. "It was a touching fact that, in the Ascension, the Saviour was taken up in the very act of blessing his disciples. The benediction was begun on earth, but not ended, for 'while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven.'" "The benediction still lingers in the air," continues Moore, "and cheers the hearts of Christ's people, and will continue to do so, until the words of the departing Saviour are swallowed up in the words that shall proclaim the coming Judge" (199). Note the eschatological emphasis suggested by the abiding benediction. We live under the good words of our Lord! Of this we are reminded when ministers of the gospel pronounce the benediction upon God's covenant people to conclude our corporate worship. We look up with expectation of God's blessings until that day.

In January 1859 a reviewer of this little volume wrote: "The combination of learning, ability, and piety, evinced in this and other publications of Dr. Moore, have secured for him ready access to the ear of the church. The peculiarly interesting and solemn nature of the occurrences which are here illustrated and unfolded, give to this his latest work a special attraction for Christians" (*The Princeton Review,* 31, no.1 [Jan 1859]: 169). Another reviewer lauded Moore for having provided the public with a work of "rare and original merit," which is "a model of Scriptural exegesis" (*Southern Literary Messenger,* 28, no.2 [February 1859]:158). We think today's readers will find the same true of this literary gem. The Banner of Truth is to be thanked for publication of this (and Dr. Moore's other works) fine book. We can only hope that this review will whet the appetite of a new generation of readers to take it up and enjoy it. C. S. Lewis encouraged a former generation to read Athanasius' *On the Incarnation,* "with a pipe in their teeth and a pencil in their hand"; so we challenge the twenty first century readers to breathe in the rich fragrance of *The Last Days of Jesus.*▪

Review: Paul C. Gutjahr, *Charles Hodge: Guardian of American Orthodoxy* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2011). xl, 477 pages, cloth. ISBN 9780199740420. $74. Reviewed by Reverend James Cassidy, Calvary Orthodox Presbyterian Church, Ringoes, New Jersey.

It is about time an updated, critical life of the great American systematician, Charles Hodge, has been written and published! The only other biography before this one was that of the Princeton theologian's son, A.A. Hodge, which—while having much to commend it—is neither updated nor critical. Gutjahr has remedied that unfortunate situation, and has done so in style.

The volume presents itself in a way that we have come to expect from Oxford University Press. In fact, it excels expectations in format, layout, design, and illustrations. The illustrations themselves are worth the price of the book. It opens up with rough, but nicely executed, sketches of "Key Figures in Hodge's Life." There are various photographs of paintings of Hodge scattered through the book, placed in

chronological order so as to give the reader a sense of his aging as his life unfolds. Also included are pictures of various people (e.g., John Witherspoon, Archibald Alexander, etc.), places (e.g., Alexander Hall, Hodge's Wharf, Nassau Hall, etc.), and things (e.g., Hodge's House, Hodge's Chair, The Cane of Orthodoxy, etc.) in Hodge's life. It also comes complete with a very helpful select bibliography and index. Really, this book is the complete package.

In terms of the content of the biography itself, the reader is treated to an even greater feast. Gutjahr claims to have taken ten years on this project. I say "claims" because one stands in wonder at how he could have researched and written so much—and as well as he has—in just one decade. It is top notch in both quantity and quality. It really is an amazing accomplishment. The prose is clear, flowing beautifully without a hitch (though I did pick up several small typos which should have been picked up by the editor). The chapters are short, which makes for brisk reading. And the impression one receives of the Princeton professor is at once both sobering and inspiring. It is sobering because no man is perfect, and neither was Charles Hodge. Gutjahr has no problems with painting a very human picture of Hodge, without besmirching his legacy. But it is also inspiring because Gutjahr highlights quite nicely his great work, accomplishments, and perseverance in the midst of difficulties and struggles. Overall, we get what appears to be an accurate and faithful picture of the man, his life, and his work.

Two chapters in particular should be highlighted for their usefulness in terms of placing Hodge in historical and cultural context—chapters 15 and 16. The former chapter addresses the nature of American Christianity in Hodge's day. It is what Gutjahr called "democratic Christianity" (borrowing from the work of Nathan O. Hatch).[1] This is the notion, still prevalent today, that leadership in the church is to be given to all without distinction. However, over against this trend stood Princeton Seminary which was "strikingly undemocratic" (96). Gutjahr attributes this phenomenon to the Princeton founder's Federalism and elitism. However, this reviewer wonders if it was more out of a biblical conviction concerning having men in the ministry who have studied to show themselves approved such that the church ought not to lay hands on men hastily.

Be that as it may, Gutjahr's next chapter is on the founding of the *Biblical Repertory* which provides the reader with a good sense of trends in media technology during Hodge's time. While Hodge rejected the democratic view of church leadership, he did make great use of the print media to make his theology as popularly available as possible. Gutjahr explains that new advances in technology from papermaking to logistics helped to make more printed works available to more people in quicker time. This was the means that Hodge would take up to counter trends in German Higher Criticism, seeking to challenge it at every point. It was also the forum in which he was challenged by one of the publication's most prolific contributors, Robert Bridges Patton. Patton explained to Hodge that the only way to be able to get into the German mind is to go and study in its universities. This was all the impetuous Hodge needed to apply for a study leave with the seminary to go and study abroad at the great places of critical European higher learning.

There are also, however, some foibles in other parts of the volume. Such range from the small and insignificant to the more important and central. This does not leave the book with fatal flaws, but it does leave it with some significant chinks, nonetheless. We have space here to highlight briefly only some of them.

Let's begin with the small and insignificant, and work our way up the range to the important and central. In chapter 22, the chapter entitled "The Imputation Controversy," Gutjahr makes reference to "Adam's choice to eat the apple" (135), which is odd, given the fact that we do not know what kind of fruit Adam ate. Also, in the same chapter, Gutjahr summarizes Princeton's position on original sin and redemption as an event in which God "was willing to forego the punishment for this initial sin" (136–7). This is not quite accurate. The Princetonians would have taught not that God forbore punishment of sin because of Christ's death, but that he laid the punishment for sin (both original and actual) on Christ. God does not "forego" punishing sin, according to Hodge, but rather pours it out upon a substitutional, vicarious sacrifice (e.g., see *Systematic Theology II,* 481). But these are just small defects, easily chalked up to the fact that our author is not a trained theologian. These small deficiencies should not detract from the overwhelming excellence of the book as a whole.

That said, however, there are two other items of concern I have about the book and how Gutjahr portrays Hodge's thought.

First, there is the matter of how Gutjahr portrays Hodge's doctrine of inspiration and inerrancy. In a parenthetical statement, he claims that Hodge—unlike his son Archie and his successor B.B. Warfield—did not "formally teach" but only implied the view that the Scriptures were inerrant (275). This is correct only if "formally teach" means to use the *word* "inerrant." It is wrong—very wrong—however if "formally teach" entails the *concept* of inerrancy. Hodge's preferred term for the concept is "infallibility." This term is what he used to describe the idea that a human author of any particular book of Bible was inspired by the Holy Spirit such that "the effect of inspiration was to preserve him from error in teaching" (*Systematic Theology I*, 155). In fact, this is the understanding

1. Nathan O Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

of the Bible grounded firmly within the Christian tradition, not only here in America during the modern period, but also throughout the world and the history of the church. From at least the Westminster Standards, down to today, to speak about the infallibility of the Scriptures is to speak of them as containing no error. In other words, one need not use the *word* "inerrancy" in order to teach the *concept* of inerrancy. And this is exactly what we see in the senior Hodge.

Secondly, Gutjahr overemphasizes and misconstrues the significance of Scottish Common Sense Realism (*hereafter,* SCSR) in Hodge's thinking. To be sure, Hodge was influenced by SCSR. But there is a noticeable gap in Gutjahr's (otherwise impeccable) research on Hodge. For instance, he seems to be working from an older school of scholarship which portrays Hodge and Old Princeton as being beholden to a form of SCSR which is rationalistic, modernistic, and overly optimistic concerning the nature and abilities of the unregenerate person. In this way, Gutjahr shows no evidence of having consulted with the newer scholarship as one might find it in the materials written by Andrew Hoffecker[2] and Paul Helseth.[3] This approach is systemic in the work, so we can only highlight some examples here.

The first example can be seen on pages 40–41 where Gutjahr pits Hodge's Calvinism against that of Jonathan Edwards, saying that the former's Calvinism "found a lighter touch" because he has a "slightly more hopeful view of the human condition" in which "every human held within themselves a moral sense capable of detecting virtue." This statement, at best, suffers from a want of greater nuance. In fact, it is quite truncated. As we will try to show presently, Hodge's view of sin and grace was in line with the Reformed and Augustinian tradition in which he stood. To say that every human being has the innate ability to detect moral virtue leaves the matter woefully retrenched.

Furthermore, it is not correct to say that "Hodge vacillated between [SCSR and Calvinism] depending on the setting and the purpose of his work" (203). Here Gutjahr argues for a putative antinomy between the earlier Hodge (exampled in *The Way of Life*) in which he advocated a more Calvinistic (read: pessimistic) view of human nature, versus a later Hodge which advanced a more Scottish Realist (read: optimistic) notion of man's abilities (exampled in the opening of his *Systematic Theology*). In fact, nothing could be further from the truth. For Hodge, as we will explain more below, there is a great difference between the regenerate and the unregenerate man with regard to how he can know. What Hodge is attempting to explain in *The Way of Life* is the notion of what man is in his natural, unregenerate state. However, in the opening of his *Systematic Theology* he is assuming that one is regenerate as the task of doing theology is undertaken. A born again believer is able to arrive at the truth of Scripture only because of the grace of God given to him. This grace serves to illuminate his mind and heart to know, understand, and love the truth of revelation. Therefore, there is no opposition in thought between the earlier and later Hodge in this regard. Gutjahr has simply attempted to compare apples to oranges—that is, comparing one aspect of Hodge's theology to another, different aspect. To put it another way, with regard to the natural, unregenerate state of man Hodge was very pessimistic (in both books); but with reference to the regenerate believer he was optimistic on account of his high view of God's grace in the sinner-become-saint (in both books).

Another example appears in chapter 19 where Gutjahr compares Hodge to Baron Alexander von Humboldt and concludes that both men were "products of the Enlightenment impulse" in which there "existed an optimism in human rationality" (117). What is even less accurate, however, is Gutjahr's portrayal of Hodge as one who swung back and forth between a pietistic religion of the heart, and a rationalistic religion of the mind (118). In fact, for Hodge, such a dichotomy would never have occurred to him.

While it is true that all men everywhere are products of their times, at every turn Hodge rejected the Enlightenment impulse, never placed an unconditional trust in the unregenerate person's natural rationality, nor did he raise the "heart" to a more prominent level than any other aspect of man's being as if it alone was unaffected by sin. Throughout Hodge's career he maintained the doctrine that man, by nature, is depraved in every aspect of his being and thus is unable to do good with regard to "the things of the Spirit" (See *Systematic Theology II*, 261). Nevertheless, there is what Calvin called the *sensus divinitatis* in humans which renders them without excuse for their rebellion against God. It is this sense of the divine, or the law written on the heart, that Hodge has in view when he appropriates so-called "Common Sense." Furthermore, such sense only renders man capable of performing civil righteousness, or external good, but not able to do any good with regard to the things of God (Hodge, 263). It is only by regeneration, the grace of God making sinners to be born again, that both the heart and the mind can begin to be used rightly.[4] Of course, there is God's common grace which

2. See, for instance, his *Piety and the Princeton Theologians: Archibald Alexander, Charles Hodge, and Benjamin Warfield* (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1981).

3. See, for instance, his *"Right Reason" and the Princeton Mind: An Unorthodox Proposal* (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 2010). Also, the discussion by Jeffrey C. Waddington in, "On the Shoulders of Giants: Van Til's Appropriation of Warfield and Kuyper," in this issue; especially footnote 45 and the literature cited there (see this issue, page 146).

4. *Systematic Theology III*, 16-17. Though, we should note, for Hodge there is a priority of the mind to the affections in the regenerate person's growth in the spiritual life.

enables even the unregenerate to live and be productive in this life (See *Systematic Theology II*, 670–675). But, far from being an Enlightenment or "optimistic" view of humanity, this last idea presupposes the old Reformation doctrine of original sin and total inability.

To be sure, these weaknesses are not insignificant. And other discerning readers might have more items of concern (some might want to interact with Gutjahr's evaluation of Hodge's thoughts on slavery, the civil war, and his approach to his New School counterparts). Nevertheless, these are not intended to take away from the wonderful accomplishment which is this overdue biography of a great minister, theologian, educator, and mind. The volume ought to be celebrated, read, and read again. It is well written, well researched, and beautifully presented. Readers of this journal, especially, should delight in learning more about the man who was, and continues to be, a guardian of American—nay, confessionally Reformed—orthodoxy. ▪

Review: J. Knox Chamblin, *Matthew: A Mentor Commentary*, 2 volumes (Ross-shire, Great Britain: Christian Focus Publications, 2010). 1592 pages (continuous pagination). ISBN 9781845503642 and 9781845503796. $39.99 (cloth) and $39.99 (cloth). Review by W. Gary Crampton, Th.D.

J. Knox Chamblin is an ordained minister in the Orthodox Presbyterian Church. He did graduate work at Cambridge University and has a Doctorate of Theology from Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia. He taught for some thirty-four years in Jackson, Mississippi, first at Belhaven College and then at Reformed Theological Seminary. He retired from the ministry in 2001. Chamblin's two volume commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, a much smaller version of which was published in the *Evangelical Commentary of the Bible*, is very well done. We will proceed mostly by way of summarizing Chamblin's findings.

After a brief Preface, the commentary is divided into 17 "Sections," followed by three Appendices, a Bibliography, Scripture Index, and Subject Index.

SECTION 1: "Approaching the Gospel of Matthew" (17–185), discourse on "The Story," "The Apostle," "The Scribe," "The Evangelist," "The Theologian," and "The Teacher."

"The Story" (18–24): All stories necessitate characters, a plot, and a storyteller. The main character, of course, is "Jesus Christ, the Son of David, the Son of Abraham" (Matthew 1:1). All of the other characters are subservient to Christ. The plot of the story revolves around the main character, "the Christ." Who is this Jesus referred to in the very first verse of the Gospel? Why is He said to be the Son of David and the Son of Abraham? The storyteller, the Apostle Matthew, rather than focusing on himself, unfolds the plot for us through the use of the characters—especially the main one: Christ Himself.

"The Apostle" (25–48): This Gospel, like the other three, remains anonymous. Perhaps this is so because it is really preferable to speak of "one" fourfold Gospel of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, than to refer to "the four Gospels." Nevertheless, when it comes to the Gospel under study it is without serious question that Matthew the former tax collector (Matthew 9:9; 10:3), as confirmed by the witness of early church history, is the writer of this Gospel.

"The Scribe" (49–103): In Matthew 13:52, which is the final verse of Jesus' discourse on the parables, we read: "Therefore every scribe who has been disciplined for the kingdom of heaven is like a householder who brings out from his treasury things new and old." In this section Chamblin studies the fulfilling of Matthew in his "scribal role" under the headings of the design of this work, his approach to the task, his practice of drawing out "things old and new," and the direct involvement of all three members of the Trinity in the task. The word order of this verse, "things new and old," as well as Jesus' statement "from the days of John the Baptist until now" (11:12) and "for all the prophets and the law prophesied until John" (11:13), tell us that with the coming of Jesus Christ "things new" began to take place. Christ is Himself the source of all things new. But we also read "For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John" (11:13), thus telling us that the One spoken of in the Old Testament Scriptures ("things old") is being revealed in the Person and work of Jesus Christ. It is interesting to note here that Matthew's Gospel contains more Old Testament quotations than any other Gospel account. This Gospel as a whole gives us both "things new and old." It is in "the Scribe" portion of Section 1 that Chamblin overviews the relationship between Matthew, Mark, and Luke, along with the "Q source" material. Regrettably, the commentator favors the critical text rather than the majority text view of textual criticism, though this will not be a problem for some readers.

"The Evangelist" (104–119): Even though the New Testament never refers to any of the apostles as "evangelists," it is still proper to see them as just that—those who proclaim the "good news" of Jesus Christ. As noted above, there is only one gospel that is set forth by four writers, and Matthew is one of them. This being so, he is necessarily an "evangelist."

"The Theologian" (120–154): Not only is Matthew a scribe, an apostle, and an evangelist, he is also a theologian, and a master theologian at that. From beginning to end the Gospel account written by him is a message (*logos*) *par excellence* about God (*Theos*). This is seen in Matthew's teaching on "the purpose of God," "the Son of God," "the kingdom of God," "the salvation of God," and "the people of God."

"The Teacher" (155–185): Matthew often refers to his main character, Jesus Christ, as "teacher." And it is "the Teacher"

Himself who commissioned His apostles to "Go therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, *teaching* them to observe all things that I have commanded you; and lo I am with you, even to the end of the age" (Matthew 28:19–20). Teaching, then, is a primary task of the apostles. In this portion of the commentary Chamblin correctly argues for a pre-AD 70 writing of Matthew's Gospel account.

A final interesting note on Section 1 is that the commentator closes Section 1 with prayer: thanking God for the gospel message and humbly asking that "in the writing of this commentary, may I assist rather than impede Your working in the hearts of those who read" (p 185). In the opinion of the present reviewer, Section 1 of this commentary is worth the price of the volumes by itself. It is extremely well done.

The remaining sixteen Sections of these volumes comment on the Gospel narrative itself. Chamblin has divided each Section into two or more parts in his exposition of the various chapters of this Gospel account.

SECTION 2: "O Come, O Come Emmanuel" (187–211) studies Matthew 1:1–25. This Section is in twoparts: the first on verses 1–17 and the second on 1:18–25. Part I deals with the genealogy of Christ under the headings of "The Christ of God" and "The Wonders of God." Part II has to do with the miraculous birth of the Christ-child. Interestingly, in his commentary on this second part, Chamblin avers (correctly, in this reviewer's opinion) that the Isaiah 7:14 Immanuel prophesy, ultimately fulfilled with the virgin birth of Christ spoken to in Matthew 1:23, was initially "fulfilled"[1] in Isaiah's own day with the birth of his son Mahar-shalal-Hash-Baz ("quick to the plunder, swift to the spoil").

SECTION 3: "By Prophet Bards Foretold" (213–239) covers Matthew 2:1–23. The word "prophet" (*prophetes*) occurs four times in these verses. Whereas we were introduced to Isaiah in the first chapter, we now have Micah, Hosea, and Jeremiah, as well as Isaiah, in the second chapter. Part I of this Section comments on 2:1–12, wherein we encounter the Magi and the Star of Wonder along with Micah's prophecy (5:2) of Christ's birth in Bethlehem. Part II, on 2:13–23, has to do with the Christ-child's family and their flight to and return from Egypt (in fulfillment of Hosea 11:1). Also, we read of Herod's slaughter of the male children (as per Jeremiah 31:15). Finally we read of Jesus dwelling in Nazareth so that Isaiah's prophecy (11:1; 49:7; 53:2–3) would be fulfilled that "He shall be called a Nazarene." Chamblin's analysis of the Nazarene fulfillment is particularly well done.

SECTION 4: "Make Straight, Make Straight, the Highway of the King" (241–268) deals with Matthew 3:1–17. So far Matthew has traced Jesus Christ's journey from Bethlehem to Egypt to Nazareth. Now His coming from Galilee to the Jordan marks the next stage in Christ's incarnate life. In Part I of this Section (3:1–12) we read of John the Baptist, who (like Samson and Samuel before him) is a Nazarite for his entire life, and comes in fulfillment of Isaiah's (40:3) and Malachi's (3:1; 4:5) prophecies that God would send a His messenger ("in the spirit and power of Elijah"; Luke 1:17) as a herald for the coming Messianic King. In Part II (3:13–17), John baptizes Christ "to fulfill all righteousness." At His baptism Jesus is anointed by the Spirit, empowering Him to carry out His Messianic function. The Father's pronouncement, "This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased," completes the investiture.

SECTION 5: "The Savior of the World is here" (269–298) examines Matthew 4:1–25. In Part I of this Section (4:1–11) Jesus Christ "is led by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil." Having repelled all three of Satan's temptations by standing on the Rock-solid foundation of the living Word of God, Jesus is ministered to by a group of angels. In Part II (4:12–25), after hearing of John the Baptist's arrest, Jesus returns to Galilee, where He chooses to live in Capernaum in fulfillment of Isaiah 9. Here Jesus selects His first disciples and begins His preaching ministry, declaring that He is ushering in the long awaited kingdom of heaven.

SECTION 6: "Go Tell it on the Mountain" (299–490) comments on Matthew 5:1–7:29. The Sermon on the Mount, which is discussed in eight parts, is the first of Jesus' five great Matthean discourses. According to Chamblin, even thought there are some differences, this sermon and that of Luke 6:17–49 are likely the same. Part I (5:1–2) introduces the Sermon. Part II (5:3–12) explains the nine beatitudes, all of which are rooted in Old Testament teaching. These verses, along with the "salt and light" verses of Part III (5:13–16), lay the foundation for "the righteousness of the kingdom" taught in 5:17–7:12. Part IV (5:17–48) deals with "the good works" in accordance with God's law. The introductory verses 17–20 are foundational for all that follows in verses 18–48. Verses 17–20 relate the Old Testament to the New, and verses 21–48 "expound the way of righteousness," the kind of righteousness that surpasses that of the Pharisees (5:20). We are to be "perfect, just as [our] heavenly Father is perfect." The verses studied in Part V (6:1–18), as verse 1 teaches, are about "doing righteousness." Here Jesus is still expounding that form of God-honoring righteousness which exceeds that of the Pharisees: it is a righteousness which involves almsgiving (6:2–4), prayer (6:5–15), and fasting (6:16–18). The concluding verses of chapter 6 are discussed in Part VI (6:19–34). Like the earlier verses of the same chapter, these verses reveal that the "surpassing righteousness" that the Lord says is required for entering heaven (5:20) is "devoted not to advancing oneself

1. "Fulfilled" is this reviewer's word, as Chamblin is somewhat uncomfortable with stating that the promise was "fulfilled" in the birth of Isaiah's son. According to him the "fulfillment" of Isaiah's prophesy may only be applied to the virgin birth of Christ.

but to pleasing, obeying, and honoring the heavenly Father." God's people are to "seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness" (verse 33). The verses expounded in Part VII (7:1–12) conclude "the long middle section [5:17–7:12] of the Sermon on the Mount." They have to do with making proper judgments (7:1–6), seeking good gifts in prayer (7:7–11), and doing righteousness (7:12). Part VIII (7:13–29) brings us to the conclusion of the Sermon on the Mount. Jesus has proclaimed the blessings of the kingdom (5:3–16), He has spoken of the righteousness of the kingdom (5:17–7:12), and now He tells us about the "two alternatives," the way of the wide road or the way of the narrow road (7:13–14). There is no *tertium quid*. There are those who make true professions and those who make false professions of faith in Christ (7:15–23). There are those who build wisely and those who build falsely (7:24–27). And there are two kinds of teachers: those who teach with authority and those who teach falsely (7:28–29).

SECTION 7: "All Authority and Power" (491–560) looks at Matthew 8:1–9:38. In this Section we read about the continuing manifestation of Christ's authority both in His teaching ministry and His "mighty works." In Part I (8:1–17) "Christ, the Healer" manifests His power by healing a leper (8:1–4), the centurion's servant (8:5–13), Peter's mother-in-law (8:14–15), and demon-possessed individuals (8:16–17). In Part II (8:18–34), the sovereign authority of Christ is revealed in His authority over the disciples (8:18–22), a storm (8:23–27), and demons (8:28–34). Part III (9:1–17) reveals Jesus as a "friend for sinners." After He returns to Capernaum, He heals a paralytic and forgive his sins (9:1–8), He brings "good news" to Matthew the tax collector and his friends (9:9–13), and He explains the proper view of fasting (9:14–17). Part IV (9:18–38) teaches us about Christ's ministry to persons who are suffering and in distress. First there are a grieving father, an afflicted woman, and a dead child (9:18–26). Then there are two blind men and a mute demoniac (9:27–34). And finally there is the need of laborers for God's harvest (9:35–38).

SECTION 8: "Publish Glad Tidings" (561–600) explains Matthew 10:1–42. In chapter 10 of this Gospel account we have Jesus' second great discourse. In Part I (10:1–15) we have Jesus choosing His twelve apostles (10:1–4) and commissioning them for their labor in His kingdom (10:5–15). In Part II (10:16–42) we have the major portion of the discourse itself, which in some sense anticipates the Great Commission of 28:18–20. In 10:16–25 the Lord gives a charge to His "vulnerable missionaries" (they are being sent as sheep into the midst of wolves), gives them encouragement for their journey (10:26–33), warns them against "double-mindedness" (10:34–39), and grants His promise to those who receive the witness of His missionaries (10:40–42).

SECTION 9: "Who is on the Lord's Side?" (601–679) develops Matthew 11:1–12:50. In this Section we come to the question of "who is on the Lord's side?" In Part I (11:1–15), we have the inquiry of John the Baptist regarding Christ's identity along with Christ's response to John. This is followed by Jesus' address to the crowd regarding John. Part II (11:16–24) covers the Lord's parable to "the dissatisfied generation" (11:16–19) and His reproach of certain unrepentant cities. Part III (11:25–12:21) "celebrates the glorious splendor of Jesus' majesty." In 11:25–30 He is declared to be the "Son of God." In 12:1–14 He is the "Son of Man" who is "Lord over the Sabbath." And in 12:15–21 He is seen as the "Servant of the Lord" (in fulfillment of Isaiah 42:1–4). Finally, in Part IV (12:22–50), Jesus casts out a demon by the Spirit of God to reveal that "the kingdom of God has come upon you," after which He is accused of performing this miracle by the power of Beelzebub. Christ's response is that His accusers have committed the unpardonable sin (12:22–37). The Lord then has dealings with "the evil and adulterous generation" of His day, warning them against rejecting His Lordship over them, and defining His "new family" as those who do the will of His Father in heaven (12:38–50).

SECTION 10: "My People, Give Ear, Attend to My Word" (681–729) clarifies Matthew 13:1–58. The thirteenth chapter of the Gospel according to Matthew gives us the third great discourse. It consists of seven parables concerning the "kingdom of heaven" (which is one and the same with the "kingdom of God"). Chamblin begins this chapter by explaining that a "parable" (*parabole*) is somewhat similar to an Old Testament proverb (*mashal*). In fact, "almost every instance of *parabole*" in the Septuagint (the Greek translation of the Hebrew Old Testament) "translates the noun *mashal* or the verb *mashal*." Parables are meant both to "conceal and reveal truth." Chamblin also explains the difference between a parable and an allegory. The former is an extended simile, whereas the latter is an extended metaphor. As expounded in Parts I-III, the parables of Matthew 13 are those of the "soils" (13:3–23), the "wheat and the weeds" (13:24–30, 36–43), the "mustard seed" (13:31–32), the "yeast" (13:33), the "hidden treasure" (13:44), the "pearl" (13:45–46), and the "net" (13:47–50). In 13:34–35 Jesus gives a brief commentary on parables, in fulfillment of Psalm 78:2. And in 13:51–58 we read of "two opposing responses." In 13:51–52 we have positive reply of "the school of disciples" and in 13:53–58 we have the negative reply of "the people of Nazareth." These typify the groups distinguished by Jesus in 13:10–17.

SECTION 11: "Comes the Moment to Decide" (745–827) exegetes Matthew 14:1–16:20. The Section under study, bracketed by 14:1–2 (Herod Antipas' response) and 16:15–16 (Peter's question), has the question "Who is Jesus?" as its major theme. Part I (14:1–12) deals with Herod Antipas' execution of John the Baptist. Part II (14:13–36) studies Jesus as the Great Provider in the feeding of the five thousand (14:13–21), in His mastering of the waves of the sea and calming a storm (14:22–33), and in His

miraculous healing ministry (14:34–36). In Part III (15:1–20) Jesus is confronted by a delegation of Scribes and Pharisees who accuse Him of transgressing the "tradition of the elders" (15:1–2). First, He refutes His accusers telling them that they are the ones who have violated the Word of God by holding to man-made traditions (15:3–9). Jesus then teaches the crowd and His disciples concerning the proper understanding of the law (15:10–20). As stated by Chamblin, "the objects of Jesus' assault in this passage are the commandments of men (15:9), not the revealed laws of God, including those ceremonial in character. Jesus does not here demean or diminish the rulings of [the ceremonial law], but declares that their purpose in redemptive history is now fulfilled" (791). Part IV (15:21–39) deals with Jesus in the region of Tyre and Sidon (15:1). Here we find Jesus among the Gentiles. His initial encounter is with a Canaanite woman who is saved by her "great faith" (15:22–28). His second meeting is with a crowd where He heals the infirm and feeds the four thousand (15:29–39). Finally, in Part V (16:1–20) we see the obscuring of the truth concerning "who is Jesus?" by the Pharisees and Sadducees (16:1–12) and the embracing of truth concerning "who is Jesus?" by the disciples (16:13–20). Simon Peter's confession, "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God," is central.

SECTION 12: "Your Last and Fiercest Strife is Nigh" (829–869) elucidates Matthew 16:21–7:27. Part I (16:21–28) marks the beginning of the final year of Jesus' earthly ministry. Jesus tells His disciples that He must go to Jerusalem where He will suffer death and be raised again from the dead. Jesus assures His apostles that the way of His Messiahship necessitates His suffering. It will be the same for those who would be His disciples. The good news, however, is that His victory over the forces of darkness in His suffering guarantees His triumphant return in glory. Part II (17:1–13) relates the Transfiguration of Christ in the presence of the "two earthly witnesses" Moses and Elijah, along with the "heavenly witness" of the Father. The mountaintop experience of His apostles includes their understanding that the promised coming of Elijah "before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the LORD" (Malachi 4:5–6) has been fulfilled in the person and work of John the Baptist. Part III (17:14–27) concludes this Section, with Jesus healing a demon-possessed epileptic boy, foretelling His death and resurrection, and providing the Temple tax.

SECTION 13: "I Love Thy Church, O God" (871–911) explicates Matthew 18:1–35. In this chapter we have the fourth great discourse, which focuses attention on the relationships that exist in the New Testament church. In Part I (18:1–14), the disciples' question "who then is greatest in the kingdom of heaven?" (18:1) leads into the Lord's teaching on the "little child" (18:2–5), the "peril of offenses" (18:6–9), and the "loving Father" (18:10–14). In Part II (18:15–20) Jesus discourses on the proper function of biblical church discipline. And in Part III (18:21–35), using the parable of "the king and his servants," He speaks on the necessity of forgiving one's brother "seventy times seven" if need be.

SECTION 14: "Who in the Lord's Name Cometh" (913–1115) expounds Matthew 19:1–22:46. Matthew 19:1–2 finds Jesus departing Galilee and coming to "the region of Judea beyond the Jordan." This is the Lord's final journey to Judea and Jerusalem, which will climax in His death and resurrection. In Part I (19:3–12) the Pharisees question Jesus on the subject of divorce, and He answers with the biblical view of divorce based on passages from the Old Testament: Genesis (1:27; 5:1; 2:24) and Deuteronomy (24:1–4) (19:3–9). He then responds to the disciples' question on the same subject (19:10–12). Part II (19:13–15) has to do with Jesus and little children. Part III (19:16–30) studies Jesus and the rich young ruler, followed by His teaching the disciples on the proper view of riches and the kingdom. Part IV (20:1–16) examines Jesus' parable about the workers in the vineyard. It is meant to teach both the "goodness of the Master" as well as the "equality of the workers." In the eyes of God all of His chosen ones are objects of His "great generosity." Part V (20:17–28) has Jesus giving His third prophecy of His impending death and triumph (20:17–19), followed by His teaching on the biblical view of "honor here and hereafter," the main lesson being that "whoever desires to be great among you, let him be your servant" (20:20–28). Part VI (20:29–34) once again reveals the grace and miracle-working power of the God-man in healing two blind men. Part VII (21:1–11) is on "the triumphal entry." It is expounded in three sections: "the commands of the Lord" regarding the donkey He will ride (21:1–3), the fulfillment of the prophecy of Zechariah (21:4–5), and the crowd's responsive acclaim for the Son of David in accordance with Psalm 118 (21:6–11). Part VIII (21:12–17) is on "great David's greater Son." Like the persons on pilgrim journey as per Psalm 118, Jesus Himself, as the Lord of the Temple, enters the Temple where He finds people desecrating the house of God. This house that was to be a "house of prayer" has become a "den of thieves." There in the Temple, the Lord performs works of mercy on the infirm and receives the laudatory cries of the children in fulfillment of Psalm 8. Leaving the Temple Jesus goes to Bethany. In Part IX (21:18–22) Jesus returns to the city of Jerusalem and curses a fruitless fig tree as a sign against fruitless Israel, after which He gives the disciples a lesson on prayer. Part X (21:23–32) finds Jesus back in the Temple where He is challenged by the chief priests and the elders of the Jews as to the authority level vested in Him to execute judgment on things taking place in the Temple. Jesus responds by asking them a question about John the Baptist and preaching the parable of the "two sons." As they refuse to answer Christ's question, He refuses to answer their question. Part XI (21:33–46) studies the parable of the "wicked tenants." Although this parable is

spoken to the people in general, its real focus is on the chief priests and Pharisees, who understood this. The message is clear: God's judgment is coming upon Israel. The kingdom will be taken from Israel and "given to a nation [the church] bearing the fruits of it." Part XII (22:1–14) expounds another parable, i.e., that of the "wedding feast." It, too, is directed to the leaders and is a parable of judgment—both national (Israel) and individually. In Part XIII (22:15–22) the Pharisees and the Herodians connive to trap Jesus with a question about the lawfulness of paying taxes to Caesar. Once again the Lord overturns the plots of His enemies and left His audience "marveling" over His answers. Part XIV (22:23–33) deals with the Sadducees and their deceitful intentions as they interrogate Jesus regarding the Levirate law (see Deuteronomy 25:5–10). Jesus overturns His inquisitors pointing out that their problem is that they do not understand the Scriptures, or the power of God. Part XV (22:34–40) has to do with a lawyer's question concerning "which is the great commandment in the law?" In retort Jesus quotes Deuteronomy 6:5 and Leviticus 19:18 and concludes that "on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." Finally we come to Part XVI (22:41–46) which concludes this Section. In these verses Jesus asks the Pharisees, "the Christ,"… "whose Son is He?" Their answer, "the Son of David," is correct, but their understanding is faulty. The Lord quotes Psalm 110:1 to show that David can rightly call his Son "Lord" (*Kurios*) because Christ is David's greater Son. The result: "No one was able to answer Him a word, nor from that day on did anyone dare question Him anymore." Here we see, comments Chamblin, "the Teacher who never attended the right schools (John 7:15–18) confound[ing] the greatest theologians in the land" (1114).

SECTION 15: "See the Judge, our Nature Wearing" (1117–1263) considers Matthew 23:1–25:46. This is the fifth and final of Jesus' great discourses. In Part I (23:1–39) Jesus is speaking to the multitudes and His disciples in the Temple area. He begins by discussing "the ways of pride and of humility" (23:1–12). He then pronounces seven oracles of woe on the scribes and Pharisees concluding with a strong warning concerning "the condemnation of hell" (23:13–33). And in the final verses Jesus speaks about the soon-to-come judgment on Jerusalem (23:34–39). Part II (24:1–51) opens with Jesus moving from the Temple area to the Mount of Olives. The chapter opens by giving us the setting (24:1–3). Next the Lord speaks of the "signs of the times" (24:4–14) and the tribulation that will come upon the Jewish nation (24:15–21). Jesus then reveals "the prospect of the end" (24:22–28), the "imposter's coming deceptions" (24:23–26), and "the coming of the Son of Man" (24:29–31). The chapter concludes with the Lord's teaching on "the way of wisdom" (24:32–51). Sadly, Chamblin does not see verse 34 of this chapter ("Assuredly I say to you, this generation will by no means pass away till all these things are fulfilled") as governing all that has preceded it. The clear implication of this verse is that those things said in verses 1–33 of this chapter will all take place prior to the "passing away" of Jesus' own generation. This mistaken exegesis necessitates an unnatural flow of the chapter's import. Part III (25:1–13) is on the parable of the "ten virgins." Part IV (25:14–30) follows with the parable of "talents." Part V (25:31–46) concludes the chapter with Jesus speaking about His second coming and the judgment which will occur at that time.

SECTION 16: "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross" (1265–1453) reflects on Matthew 26:1–27:66. As stated by Chamblin: "Now begins the long narrative that concludes the book, the series of events for which Matthew has been preparing readers since his gospel began." Part I (26:1–16), having finished His Olivet discourse, Jesus returns to "the most poignant of all His prophesies," i.e., His soon-coming cross work, which will now take place within a matter of days. In this part we have a plot to kill the Lord (26:1–5), His anointing at Bethany (26:6–13), and Judas Iscariot and the chief priests (26:14–16). Part II (26:17–35) covers the preparations for the Passover meal (26:17–20), Jesus' prophecy of His betrayal (26:21–25), the institution of the Lord's Supper (26:26–30), and the prophecies concerning the Shepherd and His sheep (26:31–35). In Part III (26:36–46) we read of "the suffering Savior praying alone" in three "scenes." Part IV (26:47–75) overviews the betrayal of Christ (26:47–56), Jesus' appearance before the Jewish authorities (26:57–68), and Peter's denials of Christ (26:69–75). Part V (27:1–26) is on the verdict of the Jewish authorities (27:1–2), Judas' suicide and the field of blood (27:3–10), and Jesus in the presence of Pontius Pilate (27:11–26). Finally, in Part VI (27:27–66) we study the Savior being mocked (27:27–31), the crucifixion of Christ (27:32–44), the death of the Savior (27:45–50), the effects of the death of Christ (27:51–54), the vigil of the women (27:55–56), the burial of Christ (27:57–61), and the guarding of the tomb (27:62–66).

SECTION 17: "Thine Be the Glory, Risen, Conquering Son" (1455–1501) gives insight into Matthew 28:1–20.This is the final chapter of the Gospel according to Matthew. In Part I of this Section Chamblin first considers the five accounts (Matthew 28:1–20; Mark 16:1–8 [the commentator's errant "critical text" view is obvious here]; Luke 24:1–53; John 20:1–31; 21:1–25; and 1 Corinthians 15) of the resurrection of Christ and the effects of this event on various individuals. In Part II (28:1–10) he then proceeds to study Matthew's version of the women and the angels (28:1–7) and the women and Jesus (28:8–10). This is followed in Part III (28:11–20) by a consideration of the "propagation of lies" by the chief priests (28:11–15) and the giving of the Great Commission (28:16–20).

Appendix A: "Jewish Authorities at the Time of Jesus" (1502–1517) addresses the priesthood (the high priest and chief priests), the parties (the Pharisees, Sadducees, and the

Herodians), the scholars (the scribes, lawyers, teachers, and rabbis), and the councils (local and supreme) of Jesus' time.

Appendix B: "Chronological Matters" (1518–1521) covers suggested chronologies for Jesus' ministry and for Passion Week.

Appendix C: "Old Testament Quotations in Matthew" (1522–1523) cites the various quotes from the books of the Old Testament canon.

Conclusion:

Chamblin's commentary on the Gospel according to Matthew is a good work. The organization is striking; the exegesis is impressive; the lucidity is imposing; and the devotional aspect (immediately recognizable in the commentator's use of hymnody in the title of each section), which draws us closer to the Savior, is arresting. Particularly noteworthy is his interaction with the original language in each passage of the Gospel account. This reviewer also found the commentator's studies on the five Matthean dominical discourses to be very helpful. There are weaknesses, some of which have been mentioned in the review. The major criticism is that the author's use of the critical text rather than the majority text view of textual criticism has negative repercussions. Overall, this is a very fine work. It is highly recommended.

Review: Eric L. Johnson, *Foundations for Soul Care: A Christian Psychology Proposal* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press Academic, 2007). 715 pages. ISBN 9780830825677. $40.00 (cloth). Reviewed by Rev. Daniel F. Patterson, Pastor of Second Parish Orthodox Presbyterian Church, Portland, Maine.

It is hard, if not impossible, to overestimate the importance of Eric Johnson's book for the fields of psychology and Christian counseling. The topic of the relationship between psychology and theology has been a dividing topic for the past five decades. This makes his goal of proposing a Christian psychology no small task. Johnson, who holds a Ph.D from Michigan State University, is a psychologist and associate professor of pastoral theology at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky. In this massive, scholarly volume he proposes a comprehensive matrix for counseling that flows from a Christian understanding of human beings as those made in the image of God and meant to reflect His glory.

This review will consist of two parts. The first will set forth a substantial, chapter by chapter summary of the book, detailing its most important contributions. This is not always necessary in a review and sometimes even inappropriate. However, the size of this book may cause some readers to hesitate to purchase it. The outline strives to whet the reader's appetite and remove any such reservations. The second, and substantially shorter part, hopes to provide several observations that ultimately commend this book for serious students of psychology and theology.

Summary

Foundations for Soul Care consists of eighteen chapters, divided into four parts. In addition, there is a helpful epilogue and two intriguing appendices that every reader will want to read.

In Part I, entitled "Background to the Predicament," Johnson provides us with three chapters that detail a biblical and historical perspective on the place the Scriptures have held in Christian soul care. In chapter one, Johnson argues that the "central underlying thrust of the whole Bible is an articulation of the glory of the Triune God" (pg. 28). This goal is realized, however, through human participation. The Bible's agenda, therefore, must be understood to promote (though in a secondary sense) the well- being of humans. Though the genres of the Bible reflect this in varying degrees, Johnson believes that the Bible provides a pervasive soul-care agenda. From here Johnson provides us with a brief biblical theology of soul-care in Old and New Testaments, describing them as having an "aretegenic," that is, a virtue-shaping, function (pg. 33). He then surveys passages in the Scriptures which reveal this aretegenic function.

Chapter two provides the reader with a helpful survey of how the Scriptures have been used in the history of soul-care. Here Johnson pulls from the literature of the early church fathers, Augustine, and medieval and Reformation theologians, particularly noting the vast impact of the Reformation on soul-care (pg. 50). Special mention is made of the Puritans as they "bequeathed the greatest treasury of soul-care literature written in the English language" (pg. 60). The rest of chapter two surveys Christianity's interaction with science and the reign of modernism, including Barth's impact on soul care in the twentieth century. Here Johnson shows how modernism and postmodernism have ruled in the arena of soul care, while the church has, sadly, abdicated its role.

Chapter three outlines how this has led to what Johnson calls, at the beginning of Part One, the "Christian Counseling wars" (pg. 25). This chapter is one of the most helpful in all the book as it surveys the place of the Bible in current Christian soul-care paradigms. The current reviewer knows of no other more comprehensive survey. Of particular interest to pastors and seminary professors will be Johnson's survey (and critique) of the Biblical Counseling Movement (BCM), founded and defended by Jay Adams. This movement has argued that the Bible should be the counselor's *sole and sufficient* textbook for counseling, with a heavy emphasis on the principle of the antithesis. Over the years, however, the BCM has developed a varied geography. This leads Johnson

to distinguish different approaches within the BCM. "Traditional Biblical Counseling" (TBC) adheres very closely to the emphases of its founder, Jay Adams, with its emphasis on the antithesis. However, out of the BCM has also grown what Johnson describes as "Progressive Biblical Counseling" (pg. 109) or PBC. This approach is embodied in the views of many at the *Christian Counseling and Education Foundation* located across the street from Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

In critiquing the BCM, Johnson notes that it has "come to define itself implicitly almost entirely in terms of the antithesis principle" (pg. 111) and because of this has "tended toward an isolationist, 'against culture' mindset" (pg. 111). However, common grace and the antithesis, Johnson argues, are corollaries, both of which must be affirmed (pg. 115). "Creation grace" Johnson believes, "particularly God's goodness to those who oppose him, gives God tremendous glory, and if *Christians* minimize or neglect it, who will give glory to God for that grace? Non-Christians will not" (pg. 115, emphasis Johnson).

Johnson does note, however, that this mindset against culture is seen much less in PBC. In closing the chapter Johnson notes that it was by far the most difficult chapter for him to write (pg. 124), but he concludes that it is an important and necessary part of scholarship.

In Part II, which consists of chapter four through seven, Johnson studies the major practices required for a scientific discipline. Christians must, he argues, develop a hermeneutic that enables them to read and interpret the most important texts available to them regarding the description of human beings (pg. 130). These texts are Scripture, the Christian tradition, and modern psychology.

Johnson begins Part II with what he describes as a brief "archeology" (pg. 131) of the disciplines of psychology and theology and their respective objects. This is meant to be a sociohistorical study of both of these disciplines in order to highlight what Johnson believes to be a faulty dualism in which theology and psychology are viewed as competing, if not warring disciplines. What we need, Johnson argues, "is a single, comprehensive, holistic discipline that seeks to understand individual human beings, using all of the available and relevant sources" (pg. 143) For the Christian, this would include the Scripture as its supreme, or controlling, text. Johnson presents the philosophical warrant for using the Bible within a Christian psychology, arguing that many epistemologists have concluded that modernist standards for what counts as knowledge are far too high for most of our beliefs. If this is the case, then human knowing, in general, is quite different than modernism supposes and belief in God is fundamentally no different from any other basic belief (pg. 147). Referencing Calvin, Johnson argues, "the *clear truths* of Scripture are self-authenticating; ultimately they are as worthy of being considered knowledge as any other clear truth, like the proposition 'George Washington was the first president of the United States,' and my recollection that I visited Texas in 2003" (pg. 147, emphasis Johnson).

Christians in psychology should be able, then, to use the Bible as part of their own version of a science of human beings and soul care and, in fact, should use all the means at their disposal. But lest one believe that Johnson is arguing that the Bible is just one text among many that the Christian psychologist studies and is not essentially different, Johnson argues, "Until biblical study is seen to be an integral and pervasive part of a Christian psychology/counseling program, the integration project will be fundamentally flawed" (pg. 151). Johnson goes as far as to argue that all the faculty in Christian departments of psychology should have training in and a working knowledge of biblical and theological studies, and that they should employ what he describes as a doctrine expert who is able to teach the application of Scripture to the study of human beings.

In the rest of chapter four, Johnson engages in a rigorous and academic polemic for a Christian philosophy of psychology. Here he defines what a science is, outlines the epistemological context of human knowledge, and the epistemological context of scientific knowledge, and also shows how one's foundational worldview is relevant to the study of human beings. Here Johnson displays a strong grasp of philosophy, particularly the area of epistemology. His reading (and appreciation) of Van Til is evident as he exposes the folly of modernism and its adoption of the myth of neutrality.

In chapter five, Johnson presses home his belief that the Scripture has "ultimate authority over all of psychology and soul care and is the most significant source of knowledge about human beings and their psychospiritual problems" (pg. 171). The Bible possesses a "reorienting conceptual and aesthetic power which, when unleashed, creates new ways of seeing human beings, treating their problems and promoting their remediation."

Chapter six advances Johnson's agenda that the Bible itself must be allowed to direct us how it should be used in Christian soul care. Here Johnson engages in the topic of illocutionary and perlocutionary intent.[1] This is one of the more complex

1. Johnson explains: "Speech acts are acts that use language to accomplish things, for example to describe, motivate or express ourselves. Most statement, whether written or spoken, are a result of the intention of their speaker to communicate something. Consider, for example, Mary telling John, 'The grass needs to be mowed.' This statement has meaning, but it is not immediately clear what it is. It may be a description of the length of the grass, or it may actually be a request to mow the grass. Mary's *intended* sense is termed the *illocutionary* meaning of the speech-act, and the issuing of that statement is called an illocutionary act. However, the same statement can also be considered a perlocution, if it produces an

sections of the book, but allows the reader to understand how the various genres of Scripture can be tapped by the Christian psychologist for use in counseling.

A word should be said here about the danger that some may feel is lurking in the background: the atomistic exegesis that is found in some sectors of the BCM. Johnson takes great care in encouraging his readers to understand the various genres and passages in the Scriptures in light of their redemptive-historical context so as to guard against misapplication of Scripture. There is not even a hint in Johnson's writing that the Bible is to be used as a sort of Chilton's manual for psychology and counseling. The "redemptive-historical metanarrative" of creation, fall, redemption, and consummation must frame the Christian psychologist's understanding of human beings, with Christ as the central focus of the Christian life (pg. 213).

Chapter seven provides the Christian counselor and psychologist with a framework by which to understand and interpret the "texts" of modern psychologies in a way that enhances and strengthens the Christian tradition, without compromising its most foundational commitments to the Scriptures. This includes, according to Johnson, the task of learning to read critically and Christianly. The six guidelines for Christian reading on pages 222–223 are phenomenal and are worth the price of the book. These guidelines are meant to aid the Christian soul-care provider in "translating" the modern texts of psychology. The rest of chapter seven addresses what is meant by translation, what are the prerequisites for becoming a good translator and what steps are involved in translating the text of another community of psychology as well as the difficulties in engaging in the task of translation. The brevity of this summary of chapter seven is not meant to take away from the weightiness of this subject or the skill with which Johnson presents his arguments. There is, perhaps, no better explanation available today of how the Christian psychologist/counselor can rightly use modern psychology in his or her field.

Part III of *Foundations for Soul Care* is entitled "Let There Be Humans: The Semiodiscursive Constitution of Human Beings." This is, without a doubt, the most important section in the entire book. Here Johnson explores humans as those creatures made in the image of God, who as creatures made in God's image, humans, through discourse and relationship, develop into "signs" of God (pg. 261). Semiotics is the discipline that deals with the representation of meaning. The most basic type of representation is a sign, but a sign is anything that points to something else. Johnson argues, "While almost anything can be a sign of something else, soul care is interested in the referential function of various aspects of human life: language, emotions, mental images, actions and other people, and texts in general, including narratives" (pg. 13). Humans, being made in the image of God, have a relatively high degree of semiotic correspondence, meant to reflect the glory of God.

In chapter eight, Johnson begins this section of the book not with a word about man, but about God who is the ground and source of the created order. God is infinitely glorious and God's creation is a stage on which his glory is be displayed (pg. 263). Pulling from theological giants such as Jonathan Edwards, Herman Bavinck, John Calvin, John Murray and others, Johnson outlines the progressive revelation of God throughout the Scriptures. Here he outlines various divine modes of the Word of God: the eternal Son of God as the word of God, and the eternal Son made man, Jesus Christ. It is Christ who "has truly loved God the way humans were supposed to" (pg. 269). It is in Jesus Christ that the glory of God is revealed (Jn. 1:14; Col. 1:15, 2:9; Heb. 1:1–3). Jesus is *the* sign of God on earth. "As a result," Johnson argues, "Christ's form is the fundamental form toward which all human development is moving. For Christians, there can be no psychology without reference to Jesus Christ" (pg. 269).

Johnson then goes on to outline how creation (and its constituent modes of nature, personal agency, and sociocultural reality) is a sign of the Word of God, meant to glorify God. Here Johnson is keen to remind the reader that the study of signs is not something new in the history of soul-care or even in the church. Augustine wrote about signs at length as did other theologians throughout history.

Not only are there divine modes of the Word of God in creation, but also discursive modes of the Word of God in creation. This includes the Scriptures in general, and the gospel in particular. Though Johnson's way of speaking here may seem peculiar as he speaks of signs and modes, perlocution and illocution, there can be no doubt that Johnson seeks to ground his view of human beings and human nature in the biblical teaching about the image of God in man.

Chapter nine provides us with analysis of human life grounded in Scriptures, positing that the Scripture teaches a fundamentally relational orientation for human life. This is so because created reality originates from a God who himself exists in perfected and unending interpersonal relationship with himself. God therefore, not self, is ultimate in human life and life only has meaning in relationship to God (pg. 297). The task of this chapter, then, is "to describe the basic semiodiscursive meaning-structures and intertextuality of human life" (pg. 299). Here Johnson provides some of the most insightful analysis of human meaning, from memory to mental imagery, to human actions, that this reviewer has ever read.

effect in its hearer/reader. When a statement causes such an effect, it is also called a perlocutionary act. Speakers usually have desired effects they wish to be realized through their speech. These desired outcomes are termed 'perlocutionary intentions' or the 'perlocutionary trajectory…" (pg. 198, emphases Johnson).

Chapter ten strives to present to the reader the complexity of human nature, once again describing the semiodiscursive essence of human life. Johnson helpfully reminds us that human nature is a very complex puzzle that has challenged not just psychologists and philosophers, but theologians as well. From a dualistic ontology, to strict materialism, to phenomenology, human nature has puzzled humanity.

Johnson identifies four orders of meaning with respect to human beings: the biological, psychosocial, ethical, and spiritual. Meaning, according to Johnson, "is all that is conveyed through some means of communication" (pg. 334). All of these orders consist of semiodiscursive meanings that are taken from the Word of God. In the first three orders, the relationship of the orders to Christ is only implicit, while in the fourth it is explicit. Furthermore, these orders can be rightly understood and interpreted only through the lens of the spiritual order. The goal for Christians is to develop a complex, comprehensive view of human beings for soul care.

Chapter eleven describes how these orders are related to one another and how they influence one another. Relations among these orders can be ontological or epistemological. Here, among many other good things, Johnson warns us against the error of religious dualism. "Religious dualists," Johnson asserts, "focus on the highest order of human life—the spiritual—and see it as *so* much more important than the other orders of creation that the latter are neglected or seen as unworthy of serious attention, or, in the most extreme versions, are interpreted as being antithetical to the spiritual realm" (pg. 357, emphasis Johnson). Gnosticism is an example of this religious dualism gone awry. Johnson argues that Christian models of counseling that focus exclusively on God and sin and downplay biological and psychosocial influences run the danger of falling under the influence of Gnosticism.

God-glorifying soul care, Johnson asserts, can be exercised while working with all of the orders of human life, and one should prioritize one's approach accordingly. Proper functioning at the lower orders does bring glory to God, but God's glory is put on display in greater degree to the extent that his involvement is recognized by his creatures and made explicit. Johnson claims, "Drawing one another into praise is the movement of the manifestation of God's glory. As a result of this doxological *telos*, proper functioning of brain and soul, *if achieved in God's name*, intensifies the luminescence of the divine glory they put forth" (pg. 374, emphasis Johnson).

Part IV represents the last section of the book and everything that has come before should be seen as preparation for it. This section addresses what is at the center of soul care. This is the transformation of people as they understand more and more the glory of God. This is what Johnson calls "inwardness." That glory is then expressed in the way one lives. This is what Johnson calls "outwardness."

In chapter twelve Johnson revisits the topic of the Trinity and delves a little more deeply into some of the works of the Trinity in the growth of Christians. Here he lays out the importance of understanding God to be our Father, of union with Christ, and of the Holy Spirit in the believer's growth. In closing this chapter, Johnson says this: "The Trinity is the center of Christian soul healing and maturity—by means of the Word and Spirit, the triune God is bringing his rebellious image bearers into his own glorious love and communion: the Father's paternal affection, union with the Son of God and his work, and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. Through a communal dialogue with believers, the Father, Son and Spirit are drawing them into increasing conformity to the likeness of Christ through faith—so that individually and corporately they might manifest the greatest divine glory possible" (pg. 413).

The topic of inwardness occupies chapters thirteen through sixteen. Johnson argues that the call to inwardness is a call which comes from the Scriptures themselves, both Old and New Testaments. Inwardness includes three aspects: self-examination, the identification and destruction of barriers to God's glory, and the internalization of the signs of Gods' glory. Johnson explores these aspects with skill and insight, devoting over one hundred pages to them.

Outwardness occupies only one chapter but focuses intensely on Christlikeness in the life of the believer. Inwardness cannot be the end of Christian soul care, according to Johnson. God desires his glory to be manifested, and that is done as humans reflect the glory of God by the way they live. As Johnson says, "Since believers have been raised with Christ (Eph 2:6; Col 3:1–4) and have become part of the new creation themselves (Gal 6:15), they too participate in and foster new creation glory. God has declared believers to be new selves (Eph 4:22–24; Col 3:9–10), so that, insofar as their new selves are realized in this age, they signify that a new era has dawned, a time in which God is receiving more of the glory due his name, from a growing proportion of his image-bearers on earth" (pg. 541).

Chapter eighteen ends the main body of the book by seeking to set forth the most important modalities that are to be used by soul care providers in helping those under their care. Johnson quickly surveys school of psychotherapy and suggests that the best way for Christians to appreciate and use contributions from these various schools is to boil them down to their most justifiable contributions, which Johnson describes as modalities. A modality, according to Johnson, "is a *God established means or pathway by which Christian soul care is facilitated*" (pg. 567, emphasis Johnson). "Legitimate counseling modalities," Johnson states, "are those that address some significant dynamic structural feature (or set of features) of human nature, interpreted from the standpoints of the

Christian ground-motive (creation, fall, redemption, consummation)" (pg. 569). A metasystem of modalities, Johnson then goes on to argue, is the best approach by which to set forth a holistic framework for soul-care. The rest of the chapter outlines various modalities and how they can contribute to this framework.

Observations

Having set forth an admittedly lengthy summary of the book, this reviewer makes several observations.

First, Johnson's book is *comprehensive in its scope*. As one reads *Foundations for Soul Care*, he cannot help but notice Johnson's broad yet deep understanding of the disciplines of psychology, philosophy, and theology. The reference section of the book spans almost fifty pages and its content is every bit as impressive as its length. Those theologians that Reformed and Presbyterian folk value and trust fill these pages. Johnson also displays a depth of understanding of the Reformed faith that is unparalleled among Christian psychologists today, and his appreciation for the reformers is evident. Likewise, Johnson displays a knowledge and discernment of Christian and secular psychology and philosophy that is, quite frankly, encyclopedic. He shows a command in these disciplines that leads him to fair and balanced assessments of the strengths and the weaknesses of the various views represented in them. Many volumes of this size could be rightly accused of being long on argumentation, but short on substance. This most definitely is not the case with Johnson's work.

Second, Johnson's book is *complex in its argumentation*. This is the greatest strength, but also greatest challenge (and *potential* weakness) of the book. By complex, we mean carefully reasoned and argued. Johnson shows himself to be an academician of very high caliber as he expertly argues for Christian psychology as a *bone fide* discipline. He masterfully assesses what is needed to constitute such a discipline, measuring it against the standard by which scientific disciplines are accepted today. Johnson intricately weaves together his understanding of psychology and theology, and what each have to say about human nature, then brilliantly builds a Christian edification framework from this. Johnson does all of this while remaining unapologetic at the supreme place that the Scriptures are to hold in his proposal.

The complexity of Johnson's argumentation, however, has the potential to be the greatest weakness of this book. This book is not for the faint of heart. The language and arguments found in *Foundations for Soul Care* are highly nuanced. This will, no doubt, make the book inaccessible to a substantial number of Christian soul care providers who, though interested in the topic of a Christian discipline of psychology, will simply not be able to assimilate the arguments set forth. The current reviewer confesses that even with an undergraduate degree in psychology and a seminary degree in theology, there were substantial portions of the book that he needed to reread several times in order to assimilate the information. This can be a difficult task given the sheer length of Johnson's volume. In order to offset this liability, Johnson may find it worthwhile to produce another volume that would be more accessible to Christian soul care providers who may not be able to assimilate easily the arguments presented in the larger volume. This is not to fault Johnson. His book is clearly an academic treatise meant for the academy. However, his arguments for a proper use of secularized psychology are so cogent and helpful, we fear they will never gain traction unless they are couched in terms that are a bit more accessible. This is not a call to dumb down, but a call to reach out to those who most desire a holistic approach to the care of those made in the image of God.

Third and most importantly, Johnson's book is *corrective in its approach*. Since the birth of the BCM, the Christian church has been in a civil war. On the one side are those who claim that since psychology is a discipline that seeks to explain what ails mankind apart from God, it should not be utilized in any substantial way within the Christian counseling community. They stress the antithesis. The Bible, according to the most extreme versions of this movement, should be the sole and sufficient text for the Christian counselor in his quest to understand those he counsels.

On the other side are those practitioners who, while generally agreeing that the basic foundations of modern psychology and psychiatry are anti-theistic, believe that God does allow the non-Christian psychologist to grasp truth in his observation of God's creation. They believe that since Christians have access to this truth, it would be a functional rejection of the image of God in man if we did not use it where it is to be found. A danger of this approach is an overemphasizing of common grace at the expense of the antithesis. This is the practice of what Johnson terms, "soft integrationism." Johnson does not easily adopt catch phrases of much of the integration movement as he finds them to be vague and easily misunderstood. For example, in speaking about the declaration, "all truth is God's truth," Johnson argues that this must be qualified when interacting with secularized psychology so as not to fall into the error of accepting all that secularized psychology has to offer. He states that the phrase should be, "All truth is God's truth, but not all texts express God's truth" (pg. 101). Johnson admits this is not as catchy, but since not all assertions of modern psychology are true, it is necessary.

Johnson's care in conceptualizing a Christian edification framework avoids the extremes of both the BCM and integrationist movements, providing a middle road in which special revelation is the controlling text, while common grace is given its proper due. In fact, since the Christian counseling wars

began, there has been no better treatment of how Christians can carefully use the insights of secularized psychology. This makes *Foundations for Soul Care* the most important book to come along in decades to help those who are serious about exploring how theology and psychology can be used to provide a holistic, edifying framework for use in Christian counseling circles. Simply to commend this book would not be enough. If one is serious about the idea of a discipline of Christian psychology, this book must be read.▪

Review: J.V. Fesko, *Last Things First: Unlocking Genesis 1–3 with the Christ of Eschatology* (Fearn Ross-Shire: Christian Focus Publications, 2007). 222 pages. ISBN 9781845502294. $19.99 (paper). Review by Ryan McGraw, pastor of Grace Presbyterian Church (PCA) in Conway, SC.

This is a very important book that helps bridge the gap between Biblical Theology and Systematic Theology. The original title of *Last Things First* was supposed to be *Protology* (11). Protology refers to the theological study of "beginnings" in light of Eschatology. The primary thesis of this book is that Protology and Eschatology should permeate and inform every *loci* of traditional Reformed Systematic Theology, in light of the parallels between Christ and Adam as rooted in Genesis 1–3 (38). J. V. Fesko's books are always valuable and thought-provoking. This book has helped this reviewer to develop a more self-consciously eschatological approach to the reading of Scripture. It presents a refreshing defense of the classic Adam/Christ parallel in Reformed Federal Theology. However, there are several points at which its arguments could be strengthened and improved, and some points on which this reviewer cannot agree. The importance of the subject matter deserves detailed analysis. Therefore, after noting some general features of the book, this reviewer will examine each chapter individually.

General Remarks

After establishing the scope, purpose, and thesis of the book, Fesko divides his material into six chapters. These chapters address man as the image of God, "the Garden-Temple of Eden," the Covenant of Works, shadows of the "Second Adam" in the first three chapters of the Bible, "the Work of the Second Adam," and the eschatological significance of the Sabbath. Throughout the work, Fesko treats the data in Genesis 1–3 in light of the rest of the Bible, particularly the New Testament. He then draws the reader to view each topic in light of Jesus Christ as the eschatological Second Adam. The book is very well-organized, with a clear thesis statement and plan at the beginning of each chapter. This feature enables readers to follow the author's arguments more easily.

This volume raises valuable questions. Protology is an important subject that is often neglected. Fesko states that he desires to "permanently alter" the traditional *loci* of Systematic Theology by including this subject (31). While many use Genesis 1–3 merely to address scientific or historical questions, Protology examines the text in light of theological questions. If we do not have a proper view of the significance of these early chapters of the Bible, then our view of the work of Christ shall be altered considerably. Protology is "embossed" across the pages of redemptive history (131). In contrast to many modern approaches to hermeneutics, Fesko seeks to recover a proper use of Biblical Theology, including sober typology.[1] Moreover, he paves the way for achieving greater harmony between the disciplines of Biblical Theology and Systematic Theology. This is greatly needed at a time when these two disciplines are often set in opposition to one another (see esp. pp. 10, 206). He employs a wide range of sources, including ancient, Reformational, and contemporary. He includes a very able defense of the Covenant of Works, contra authors such as John Murray (104–112). Finally, in light of recent discussions, he states clearly that under the Mosaic economy, Israel was under the Covenant of Grace (190).

Chapter by Chapter Analysis

Fesko's material is important and it is worthy of careful analysis. Much of the criticism below does not reflect upon the conclusions or the theology of this book, but upon the details of the arguments. These criticisms should not be seen as detracting from its overall value.

Introduction

The introduction argues that Genesis 1–3 has been used improperly in scientific discussions of the origins of the universe. Consequently, the theological import of these chapters has been neglected. This chapter criticizes both the Princeton approach to creation as well as modern "creation science." The reason is that both approaches have asked scientific questions rather than theological ones. Or, as in the case of Charles Hodge, ontological questions from Systematic Theology have been imported into Genesis 1–3 instead of treating the relationship between the first and Second Adams. In general, this criticism is valid, but the chapter suffers from a few limitations. First, at the end of the chapter, the book (as it is currently structured) leaves readers with the impression that the question regarding the length of the days of creation is irrelevant.[2] Princeton was wrong for trying to harmonize

1. "Typology" is my own language rather than Dr. Fesko's. My point is to emphasize some degree of (healthy) continuity with elements of what is called pre-critical exegesis.

2. In personal conversation with the author, I discovered that this was not his fault. The original manuscript of *Last Things First* was

Genesis 1 with evolutionary science, and "creation science" is off base for trying to harmonize science with its presupposed interpretation of Scripture. The reason is that Genesis is not about general history, but about redemptive history (27). While Fesko does not deny that the book of Genesis is historically accurate (26), his assertions are overstated. Fesko has identified a genuine problem, but he has swung the pendulum too far in the opposite direction. The publisher has (unintentionally) exaggerated this impression by cutting Fesko's exegetical material on Genesis 1:1–26. Including the original material would have made this chapter sound less radical in its conclusions.

Second, Fesko's historical analysis of recent debates over Genesis 1 is somewhat imbalanced. He argues that "creation science" is "antithetical" to Reformed hermeneutics (18) because its primary proponents—such as Henry Morris—have utilized a Dispensationalist hermeneutic (19). This is liable to the charge of the root or genetic fallacy in which one rejects a position on the basis of its source. Ironically, he defends other writers against charges of Neo-Orthodoxy in their views of creation by appealing to this very fallacy (28). Moreover, he treats the Princeton position as representative of nineteenth century American Presbyterian theology. This ignores the fact that the Southern Presbyterians in America generally rejected the findings of modern science in favor of literal twenty-four hour days. He cites R. L. Dabney (as cited by T. C. Johnson) for the proper relationship between science and exegesis (28–29). However, Dabney originally wrote his article on "Geology" in order to argue in favor of twenty-four hour days. Dabney based his arguments primarily upon the doctrine of the sufficiency of Scripture and the idea that all Scripture is profitable. If God's people needed to wait thousands of years before gaining the scientific knowledge necessary to understand the days of creation, then that portion of Scripture was essentially useless to the Church prior to that point. In the *The Sensualistic Philosophy*, Dabney argued that the primary reason for rejecting Darwinism was that it was based upon pagan philosophical and theological grounds. This is important because Dabney at least offers a Reformed alternative to Fesko's complaint concerning the hermeneutics of "creation science," since similar conclusions have been obtained via a Reformed hermeneutic. However, Fesko's warning against uncritical adoption of a movement that has often been rooted in Dispensational hermeneutics is well taken.

Chapter One—Man in the Image of God[3]

When Fesko treats the significance of the image of God, he argues that the primary seat of the image was dominion over the creatures (47). He does not deny that the image consists in knowledge, righteousness, and holiness. However, he adds that his position on the image being seated in dominion "basically" represents the history of the Reformed tradition (48). This is not nuanced enough to be historically accurate. For instance, seventeenth century Dutch theologian Herman Witsius argued that the image consisted "improperly" in the rational faculties of man, "properly" in righteousness and true holiness, and "consequently" in dominion of the creation. Dominion was regarded primarily as a result of creation in the image of God rather than the central part of the image itself. Whether or not this is biblical is a separate question, yet it is important to recognize that Witsius' view was not atypical for Reformed Orthodoxy. Fesko cites Calvin to support his position, yet in the text cited, Calvin explicitly states that "the chief seat of the Divine image was in his mind and heart where it was eminent" (50). In addition, though he interacts with Karl Barth periodically, when he argues that both men and women bear the image of God, he does not mention Barth's view that being male and female constituted part of the image. In light of contemporary discussions, this should at least receive some attention.

He next argues that our definition of the image of God in man is incomplete without reference to Christ, who both is the image of God and who restores that image in redeemed humanity (52). This is an important piece for building the Adam/Christ parallel in the gospel. However, statement such as "Christology defines Anthropology" and that Christ is the "true man" (52–53) have sometimes been developed in radically different directions. In historic Reformed theology, Christ was regarded as the image of God in a twofold sense. On the one hand, He represents true humanity as it was designed by God. On the other hand, as the eternal Son of God, He is the "express image" of God's person (Heb. 1:3).[4] In the first sense, Christ is a true man in the same sense as Adam. In the second sense, He is the unique revealer of the Godhead by virtue of His personal subsistence within the Godhead. When Fesko states that Adam and Christ are not the image of God "in the same manner" (52), we need to ask, "In what sense?" Barth regarded Christ as the essential image of God prior to the creation of Adam, so that man as the image of God was made in Christ. This has led some to accuse Barth of tacit universalism. Fesko's conclusions are generally accurate, yet greater precision would strengthen his case further.

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nearly twice the size and it included extensive exegetical sections as well as a treatment of the length of the days of creation. The material was cut due to an editorial decision.

3. The image of God is an awkward place to begin a work on Protology. Once again, this reflects the decision by the publisher to omit the exegetical material on Genesis one.

4. John Owen argued for both of these ideas as connected yet distinct concepts in his commentary on Heb. 1:3. John Owen, *The Works of John Owen*, ed. William Goold (Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1854), XX, 89–91.

Chapter Two—The Garden-Temple of Eden

In this chapter, Fesko criticizes sharply authors such as John Murray for treating the continuing relevance of creation ordinances in the first two chapters of the Bible while neglecting the theological import of the Garden of Eden. This criticism is not entirely invalid, yet we get the impression that the pendulum has swung too far in the opposite direction. The introduction to this chapter begins with a false dichotomy, leaving readers with the impression either that they must regard Adam as "merely a farmer" in Eden, or as a priest who lived in communion with God (58–57). This is a "straw man" argument. Believers should adopt what Murray and others have written concerning the continuing relevance of creation ordinances. Simultaneously, they should view the Garden of Eden as a place of worship and communion with God. Moreover, it is questionable whether Murray neglects both of these emphases. His writings on the Sabbath and on the "Adamic Administration" indicate otherwise. Is it a fair criterion to judge his views by examining a book on Christian ethics in isolation from works in which he addressed different questions? Fesko has not denied explicitly the continuing validity of creation ordinances, yet he has marginalized their importance. He is right, however, in concluding that Adam's primary functions in the Garden of Eden were "priestly rather than agricultural" (71).

Chapter Three—The Covenant of Works

This chapter contains a capable defense of the classic Reformed doctrine of the Covenant of Works. Fesko gives substantial exegetical evidence in favor of this covenant, including a useful exposition of Hosea 6:7 (69–90) and Romans 5:12–19 (91–92). He has interacted thoroughly with John Murray, who denied the "Covenant of Works" on the grounds that the term does not appear in Genesis 2–3, and that all divine-human covenants are based upon a gracious promise (104–112). The overall thrust of this chapter is that the Covenant of Works is essential to understanding the work of Jesus Christ as the Second Adam. This is a much needed corrective in light of contemporary discussions.

In spite of the tremendous usefulness of this chapter, some of its content suffers from a lack of precision. This is particularly true with regard to the creation covenant in relation to the Covenant of Works and the Noahic Covenant, as well as with respect to his treatment of merit in the Covenant of Works. With regard to the former, Fesko argues for the existence of a creation covenant on the basis of Jeremiah 33:20–21 (82). This covenant was made with the inanimate parts of the creation. Later he cites Genesis 6:18 (the covenant with Noah) as confirmation of a previously existing creation covenant (88). Following Dumbrell, he argues that this covenant was constituted in Genesis 1:1. However, he argues that this creation covenant was made with Adam and that it is identical to the Covenant of Works: "If this analysis of Genesis 6:18 is correct, then it means that God established a covenant with Adam and that the covenant concept does not arrive *de novo* in God's dealings with Noah" (88, 94–95). On page 95, he refers to the covenant with "day and night" as "unilateral," whereas God's covenants with man are always "bilateral" in some fashion. This distinguishes the covenant with day and night from the Covenant of Works. However, on page 113, he asserts that Genesis 1–3, Genesis 6:18, Jeremiah 33:20, and Hosea 6:7 all demonstrate that Adam was in a "covenant of works." At first glance, this is an implicit assertion that the Covenant of Works was reaffirmed under or equated with the Noahic Covenant. In the next chapter, Fesko argues that the Covenant of Grace restores what was promised in the Covenant of Works through Christ as the Second Adam (139). This means that there are echoes of the promises given under the Covenant of Works in all subsequent covenants, without importing the idea of the Covenant of Works into them. In this manner, he tacitly reconciles the apparent difficulties involved in using the Noahic Covenant as a proof for the Covenant of Works. The intention in citing Genesis 6 and Jeremiah 33 seems to be simply to demonstrate that the notion of a covenant pre-dated Noah.[5] In chapter 3, however, lack of precision on this point runs the risk of confusing readers. Additionally, he leaves several important questions unanswered, such as how a covenant made with the inanimate creation translates into a covenant made with Adam containing stipulations, promises, and threats.

Fesko's discussion of merit in the Covenant of Works is historically deficient. While rightly affirming that the concept of merit within this covenant is necessary to understand the imputed merit of the Second Adam in the Covenant of Grace, he denies that Adam's obedience was disproportionate to the promised reward (109). However, Reformed Orthodox theologians such as Francis Turretin argued that Adam would have merited the promise by covenantal merit. The idea was that the means of obtaining the promise was Adam's obedience to the Law, while the promise that God gave to him was disproportionate to his obedience. The condition of the covenant was legal, but the promised reward was gracious. Fesko's discussion gives the impression of being couched too strongly in terms of a choice between John Murray (grace without merit) and Meredith Kline (merit without grace). In other words, we must either affirm that God's covenant promises are always in the context of the Covenant of Grace, or we must accept the idea that Adam's merit was in exact proportion to the promised reward. However, to affirm that the promise of the Covenant of Works was gracious is not inconsistent with

5. In personal conversation, the author has confirmed that this interpretation is correct.

believing that the means of obtaining that promise was merit in a way of "justice." A more robust historic approach would have presented readers with more options. This is helpful in answering proponents of Federal Vision Theology, who have appealed to classic Reformed Orthodox writers for proof of the gracious nature of the covenant between God and Adam. While these older authors affirmed a gracious element within the Covenant of Works, they did not do so in a manner that supports the positions for which they are often cited at the present day.

Chapter Four—Shadows and Types of the Second Adam

Here Fesko traces the work of Christ as the Second Adam through God's covenantal dealings with His people in redemptive history. The basic argument is that there is a "theological reincarnation" of Adam at each stage of the Covenant of Grace (137). What this means is that all of God's covenants with man relate to Protology, but that each stage of the Covenant of Grace looks forward to Christ as their fulfillment (142). This does not imply that the Covenant of Works was republished at every stage of the Covenant of Grace as much as that Christ would come to obtain the promises of the Covenant of Works for His people by means of the Covenant of Grace. This chapter simultaneously roots Covenant theology in Protology and in Eschatology.

Chapter Five—The Work of the Second Adam

This chapter sets forth the work of Christ in His offices of prophet, priest, and king (145). Christ's work was to restore what humanity lost in the first Adam. New Testament Christology is rooted in Protology via the Adam/Christ relationship. Fesko includes an excellent defense of the imputation of Christ's righteousness to believers against the claims of the New Perspectives on Paul (158). By His work, Christ as the Second Adam restores dominion to man. Dominion is no longer a command in the Covenant of Grace, but it is a promise given to the Church as fulfilled by Christ (172). This serves as the basis for the Great Commission. The weakness of this chapter lies in the implicit undermining of creation ordinances. Fesko appears to present a dichotomy between accepting creation ordinances as a rule for human conduct and as a promised reward of the Covenant of Grace (172, 175). This chapter implicitly raises the question as to whether creation ordinances (i.e., marriage, labor, and the Sabbath) are binding upon those outside of the Church as well as within the Church. If they are not, then how can the Church denounce the breaking of them as sins among the unbelieving world? While not denying explicitly the validity of creation ordinances for ethics, Fesko unintentionally undermines them by criticizing too sharply those who use them for this purpose. It would have been sufficient simply to assert that creation ordinances are relevant for ethical discussions, while stating that the present discussion is intended to fill a theological vacuum on this issue.

Chapter Six—The Sabbath

Last Things First concludes with the Sabbath as embodying the "eschatological goal" of redeemed humanity (184). The reason why the Sabbath was referred to as a sign of the covenant in the Old Testament was due to the fact that the weekly Sabbath pointed to the fact that God's people would one day enter into God's eternal rest through Jesus Christ. This is why working on the Sabbath was punished by death under the Law of Moses. Working on the Sabbath tramples upon the rest promised in the Covenant of Grace (195). Fesko argues that the day of the Sabbath has changed to the first day of the week (the Lord's Day) under the New Testament in order to make the connection to the finished work of the resurrected Christ clearer. Sabbath keeping continues under the New Testament as God's people look forward to entering into God's eternal rest through Jesus Christ. This chapter is particularly valuable at a time when the Sabbath is neglected or attacked on a large scale.

Conclusion

In spite of the above criticisms, the more this reviewer has reflected upon this book, the more convinced he has become of its importance. *Last Things First* represents a significant step in the direction of harmonizing the methods of Biblical Theology and Systematic Theology. This volume stimulates thought with respect to reading the entire Bible in light of Protology and Eschatology. This leads to a more robust view of the Covenant of Grace in Reformed Theology. However, lack of precision at some points as well as inadequate interaction with the Reformed tradition illustrates an important point. As many contemporary authors strive after new methods for doing theology, it is wise to be rooted more strongly in the past. Contemporary discussions often cloud our thinking in modern theology and lead us to extremes. Read *Last Things First* with discretion and you shall read it profitably.▪

Review: W. Gary Crampton, *From Paedobaptism to Credobaptism: A Critique of the Westminster Standards on the Subjects of Baptism* (Owensboro, KY: Reformed Baptist Academic Press, 2010). Paperback, 126 pages. ISBN 978-09802179-6-4. $22. Reviewed by J. V. Fesko, Associate Professor of Systematic and Historical Theology at Westminster Seminary California.

The perennial debate between paedobaptists and credobaptists shows no signs of abatement, and Dr. Crampton's book

is evidence of this trend. Crampton offers his book as a critique of the Westminster Standards' understanding of baptism, which focuses primarily, though not exclusively, on the question of whether infants are the proper recipients of baptism. In many ways Crampton's book is a helpful contribution to the debate because it sets forth a summary of Particular Baptist opposition to the Reformed position set forth in the Westminster Standards. But at the same time, the greatest strength of Crampton's book is also its greatest weakness. Crampton offers nothing new or helpful to advance the discussion. To illustrate this point, I once had a discussion with a young man who said he could not make up his mind on the question of infant baptism. He told me, "If I presuppose Baptist assumptions, I arrive at Baptist conclusions. If I presuppose Presbyterian assumptions, I arrive at Presbyterian conclusions." What the young man failed to consider was that all presuppositions are not created equal. Crampton's book never gets into the deeper presuppositional issues that divide Particular Baptists and the Reformed on this issue.

For example, one of the things that Crampton repeatedly emphasizes is that the subject of the debate must be determined on the basis of the New Testament alone. Crampton bases this presupposition on the fact that the Westminster Standards define baptism as a New Testament sacrament. Therefore, "It should be studied from a New Testament perspective" (18). Crampton's subsequent analysis focuses upon Christ's baptism, baptism in the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. Such a New-Testament-only methodology is certainly commonplace, but what would advance the discussion is making a case for why this New-Testament-only approach is a proper presupposition. In the construction of doctrine, why is three-fourths of the canon of Scripture deemed irrelevant? Moreover, in the light of recent developments in the field of biblical studies, intra-canonical exegesis is all the rage. In other words, how do New Testament authors explain Old Testament texts when they allude to, echo, or cite them?[1]

Crampton claims, "There is not a single example of infant baptism in the whole of Scripture" (4). Yet one text that Crampton does not treat is 1 Corinthians 10.1–4, a text which, if taken at face value, states that in some sense, infants were baptized into Moses, the cloud, and the Red Sea. This text represents a New Testament author citing and alluding to various Old Testament texts, but Crampton offers no exegesis of it. Another such text is 1 Peter 3.18–21, where the apostle identifies the Noahic flood as a *typos* of baptism. These are only two texts, but important to note is that both of them have taproots that go back to the Old Testament and the earliest portions of Scripture, Genesis 6–9 and Exodus 14. In the apostle's explanation of baptism, Peter reaches back to Genesis 6–9, which means that anyone who seeks to explain baptism must do the same—we revisit the same ground as the apostles. To avoid this Old Testament terrain will undoubtedly affect the theological accuracy of the doctrine we formulate regardless of the subject.

First Corinthians 7.14 is an illustrative example of how the presuppositional role of the Old Testament can and should affect one's exposition of a text. Crampton's main objection to the Reformed appeal to this text is that Paul uses the same word "holy," "sanctified," (*hagios*, *hagiazo*) to characterize both the children and the unbelieving spouse of a Christian. Crampton follows what he believes is the logical outcome of the Reformed position: "So if the children should be baptized because they are holy, it would seem that the unbelieving spouses should be baptized as well" (73). What ensues in Crampton's analysis is not exegesis but rather the quotation of various commentaries that side with his own understanding of the text in question. Commentaries can and should be cited but they are no replacement for exegesis.

Crampton fails to account for the source of Paul's lexicon of theological terminology, one derived from the Old Testament. When Paul invokes the term *hagios* or *hagiazo*, one must not resort only to a Greek lexicon but ultimately to the Old Testament to see how these terms are used and in what context they appear. In particular, these words are covenantal cultic terms (e.g., Lev. 7:1, 6; 10:10; 11:44–45; 20:26; 21:7; 22:2–4). What should alert the reader that Paul has the covenant in view is the contrast between the two terms, *holy* and *unclean*. To be unclean meant a person was cut off from the covenant community (e.g., Lev. 13:46). If the Old Testament is Paul's theological backdrop, then one must ask the question, What happened to the Israelite who married a Gentile? What happened to children of a mixed Jew-Gentile marriage?

According to the narrative of Ezra, the men of Israel had married "foreign women" (i.e., Gentile unbelievers) and so they were required to "put away" both their wives *and* their children, and this was done "according to the Law" (Ezra 10:3; cf. 9:1–2). The term employed for "putting away" the women and children is not one that denotes divorce as the term is applied both to the women and children. To be certain, the action would most certainly constitute a divorce between the husband and wife in accordance with Deuteronomic law (cf. Deut. 24.1–4). But the one action would constitute an expulsion from the covenant community for both the spouse and the children. The same language of "putting away" (*ekbale*) the spouse and child is used, for example, for Hagar and

1. See, e.g., G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson, eds., *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007); D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson, eds., *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992); Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1989); Craig A. Evans, ed., *From Prophecy to Testament: The Function of the Old Testament in the New* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004).

Ishmael's expulsion from the fledgling covenant community of Abraham and Sarah (Gen 21.10 LXX; cf. Gal 4.30). Under the Mosaic covenant the Gentile spouse contaminated the sanctity of the marriage and the children—both were unclean and the only way to remedy the problem was to divorce the spouse and cast both spouse and children outside the covenant community—they were both unclean. As one commentator explains Ezra's actions: "The marriage reforms must be seen as a purification of the community along priestly lines of separation from all that was unclean."[2] Under Old Testament law, Gentiles were prohibited from entering the holy assembly of the Lord down to the tenth generation (Deut. 23:3), and as is evident from Ezra's reforms, children of mixed marriages were also precluded.

When Paul gives his instruction in 1 Corinthians 7.14, these aforementioned texts undoubtedly lie beneath the surface. But what has changed is that Christ has come. Now that Christ has come the unbeliever, the "Gentile," no longer has the ability to render the marriage and children unclean. Instead, the believing spouse renders both the spouse and the children "holy." However, just as the spouse and the children under the Mosaic law were treated differently, the unbeliever divorced and cast out whereas the children were only cast out, so too Paul lays out different treatment for spouse and children. The believer is not required to divorce the unbeliever, and the marriage is therefore "holy."[3] The unbeliever may remain in the realm where the gospel is revealed in word and deed (1 Cor. 7:16). The children, on the other hand, are not unclean, as they were in the Old Testament, but they are holy and therefore part of the covenant community and hence the rightful recipients of the sign of the covenant. The unbelieving spouse cannot be coerced to receive the sign of the covenant but must make a profession of faith.[4] The children, conversely, do receive the sign because they are to be raised in the fear and admonition of the Lord (Eph. 6:4). While Baptists might disagree with such conclusions, if the debate is to move forward, they must engage in exegesis of both the Old and New Testaments.

Another example where presuppositions go unchecked occurs with Crampton's appeal to circumcision and baptism. Crampton only scratches the surface. Concerning circumcision, Crampton argues it "was a rite for the nation of Israel under the Old Testament administration. It was for the physical, male descendants of Abraham, and has no part in the New Covenant church" (25). Crampton makes much of the fact that circumcision is no longer practiced and that it was merely a "national mark" and "part of the Abrahamic covenant, which, among other things, gave them a right to their inheritance of the land of Canaan" (31). But Crampton never stops to ask the question, Why was circumcision a part of the Abraham covenant, a covenant that Paul identifies as the "gospel" (Gal. 3:7–9, 29)? Crampton does not consider the question, Why did God give Israel circumcision? Of what significance is the severing of the foreskin? Was it simply a ritual? To his credit, Crampton acknowledges that there is spiritual significance to circumcision, but he argues that for Abraham *alone* it signified "salvation already received . . . it did not signify this to his male seed" (32). "Rather," argues Crampton, "to Abraham's male seed, circumcision presented the gospel message, namely, their need for a circumcised heart" (33).

Crampton does not address the presuppositional issue of how God's revelation, through word or signs (circumcision is identified as a sign, Gen 17.11), functions. Yes, the gospel is presented in circumcision as Crampton argues, but he does not explain how circumcision presented the gospel message to Abraham's male seed but not to Ishmael. In other words, Crampton fails to recognize the double-edged nature of God's revelation—that the gospel is the aroma of death and life (2 Cor. 2.15–16). Christ is both the rock of offense and salvation. Why is circumcision only a physical rite for Ishmael and a spiritual rite for Abraham's male seed? Rather, circumcision does indeed reveal the gospel and this gospel message was applied to the flesh of Israel's sons. They were never saved by this rite but rather by faith in the message that the sign proclaimed. Ironically, Crampton admits part of this truth in his statement that "circumcision presented the gospel message" but misses its full significance.

Of what import is circumcision? Briefly, the answer is that the seed of the woman, the male descendant, hence the circumcision of the male reproductive organ, would be cut off in a bloody covenant judgment. Just as the foreskin was cut off so the uncircumcised male was cut off from the covenant community (Gen. 17.14). The Jeremiah the prophet uses the same terminology to describe the covenant curse that would fall upon Christ (Jer. 11:19). Christ would be "cut off" from the land of the living in his crucifixion. It is this covenant curse language that explains why Paul calls Christ's crucifixion a circumcision (Col. 2.11–12), and it also provides the rationale for the connection between circumcision and baptism.

Crampton operates under the assumption that Reformed theologians have equated circumcision and baptism, though he does not cite any sources to prove his contention (27). But then what he takes away with one hand he gives with

2. Mark A. Throntveit, *Ezra-Nehemiah* (Louisville: John Knox, 1992), 57.

3. Yonder Moynihan Gillihan, "Jewish Law on Illicit Marriage, The Defilement of Offspring, and the Holiness of the Temple: A New Halakic Interpretation of 1 Corinthians 7:14," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 121/4 (2002): 718-21, 730.

4. Cf. Caroline Johnson Hodge, "Married to an Unbeliever: Households, Hierarchies, and Holiness in 1 Corinthians 7.12-16," *Harvard Theological Review* 103/1 (2010): 22. I am grateful to my pastor, Zach Keele, for bringing this essay as well as the essay in the footnote above to my attention.

the other when he states: "There is then an analogy between circumcision and baptism, but not an exact identity" (35). Crampton is correct but again does not dig deep enough. Crampton contends that baptism supersedes circumcision but he never explains why. He simply appeals to the idea of new creation, which is generally correct, but never expounds the specific significance of baptism. Why water? Is water imagery in Scripture only associated with the new creation?

In a word, circumcision gives way to baptism because the water points to the reality of the baptism of the Spirit. The seed of the woman has arrived, has been cut off, suffered the curse of the covenant, and has now poured out or baptized not merely the church but the whole creation in the Spirit (Joel 2:28–30; Acts 2:33). But once again, the Scriptures make clear that this baptism of the Spirit, what John the Baptist calls the baptism of "Spirit and fire" (Matt. 3.11), is not necessarily exclusively one of blessing. The baptism of the Spirit brings both curse and blessing. What is the determining factor as to whether a person receives baptism to his blessing or curse? The answer is, faith in Christ.

The biggest weakness of Crampton's overall case is that it lacks a biblical-theological foundation. This lack of biblical theology is one of the reasons I have employed the term *Particular Baptist* to label Dr. Crampton's position and *Reformed* to label the historic paedobaptist position. The Westminster Standards, one of the chief foci of Crampton's work, inherently recognize the redemptive-historical character not only of God's revelation but also of redemption itself. In simpler terms, Reformed theologians have argued for greater continuity between the testaments. On the other hand, Particular Baptists, although bearing many Reformed characteristics, have typically argued for greater discontinuity between the testaments. The aforementioned exegetical and biblical-theological points I have raised highlight these differences. For far too long the debate has focused upon theological conclusions rather than delving into the presuppositions. If greater attention can be given to a biblical theology of baptism, we are likely to see progress in this perennial debate.

Response to Dr. Fesko's review of *From Paedobaptism to Credobaptism: A Critique of the Westminster Standards on the Subjects of Baptism*. By W. G. Crampton.

First I would like to thank Mr. Chris Coldwell and Pastor Lane Keister for the privilege of being able to enter into this written "debate" with Dr. J. V. Fesko regarding the subjects of water baptism. I also want to thank Dr. Fesko for his willingness to debate with me. Then too, I would ask all of the readers of this debate to read, please, with an attitude expressed by the Bereans of Acts 17, who "searched the Scriptures daily to find out whether these things were so." Finally, as to the debate itself, Dr. Fesko has read my book *From Paedobaptism to Credobaptism: A Critique of the Westminster Standards on the Subjects of Baptism*, and made a number of comments which I address below.

On the first page of his critique, Dr. Fesko claims that I have added nothing new to the debate on the subject of infant baptism. I thank him for the compliment. The old paths are the best paths (Jeremiah 6:16). When we start adding "new" material to the old teachings we often end up in a form of "Neo" theology which is less than orthodox. I would counter Dr. Fesko by saying that he has added nothing to dissuade the overall concerns that Reformed Baptists have raised through the years regarding the subjects of water baptism. Dr. Fesko may think he has answered the problems faced by paedobaptists in supporting their view of the baptism of infants, but this is not the case. Over a number of years the present writer has had several very fine paedobaptists scholars (who will remain unnamed) admit (and commendably so) that they do not have answers to the various questions on this subject posed by credobaptists. I admire the candor of these men even though I do not understand why they continue to practice a doctrine that they admit they cannot defend.

Dr. Fesko begins and ends his review by referring to Reformed Baptists as "Particular Baptists," believing that only paedobaptists are truly Reformed. Why? Because the paedobaptist position stresses the continuity of the Old Testament and New Testament and the credobaptists stress the discontinuities. Particular Baptists, he asserts, focus mainly on the discontinuity between the two testaments and show less concern for the continuities. Apparently, to be "Reformed" it is necessary to emphasize the continuities. In the opinion of this writer, this is inaccurate. I would remind Dr. Fesko that the *Westminster Confession of Faith* and the *London Baptist Confession of 1689* are in 90% agreement regarding the doctrines of the Reformed Faith. To deny that Baptists who hold fast to the teachings of the *London Baptist Confession* are "Reformed" is to mock these two 17th century confessions. I, however, am convinced that Dr. Fesko is a gentleman and means no offense in this issue. The fact is, though, that Reformed Baptists do adhere to the continuity between Old and New Testaments. But they also see the discontinuity as per Isaiah 54:13 (cited by Jesus Christ in John 6:45); Jeremiah 31:31–34 (cited in Hebrews 8:8–12); Ezekiel 36:25–27 (referenced in Hebrews 10:22); etc., where we read that unlike the Old Covenant era, in the New Covenant "all shall know Me [God], from the least of them to the greatest of them" (Hebrews 8:11). The New Covenant is a "better covenant" established on "better promises" (Hebrews 6:6). These Old Testament passages (and others) clearly distinguish between the Old and New Testament eras, showing us that there is

discontinuity as well as continuity between the covenants that God has sovereignly established.

Dr. Fesko criticizes my book for a lack of "biblical theological" foundations. At the end of his review he writes: "[F]ar too long the debate [on credobaptism vs. paedobaptism] has focused upon theological conclusions rather than delving into the presuppositions. If greater attention can be given to a biblical theology of baptism, we are likely to see progress in this perennial debate" (above, 166). This is potentially dangerous language; at best it is uncareful. If Dr. Fesko is suggesting that we should subordinate the system of truth in the Bible to our biblical theological presuppositions, then this is dangerous.If he is merely suggesting that we need to focus more on presuppositions, then this is another matter, and I will address it at the end of my review.

I would say, however, that I do consider systematic theology more important than biblical theology. I believe it is imperative to do so. A focus on biblical theology without the shoring of systematic theology tends to lead to all kinds of "speculative" conclusions. The present writer is convinced that one of the problems in the church today is fostered by an overemphasis on biblical theology. One problem worthy of note is that when one's biblical theology is given preference over the system of truth found in the Bible, one can speak of Pauline theology, Petrine theology, Johannine theology, etc., and, in so doing, give the impression that these men differ in the system of doctrine that underlies all such "theologies." Systematic theology must be the queen and biblical theology the handmaiden in this matter.

This being said, I do indeed address the biblical theological underpinnings of the subject of water baptism in *From Paedobaptism to Credobaptism*, but never without the foundational fence of systematic theology. As I state in my book, a properly based teaching of biblical theology within its covenantal theological settings "demands disciple or confessor baptism, because it does justice to both the continuity and discontinuity of the covenant" (Crampton, 100).

On the first page of Dr. Fesko's review he implies that I believe that the subjects of baptism must "be determined on the basis of the New Testament alone." This is not so, and on page 19 of my book I refute this accusation. I maintain that the Old Testament teaching must be studied as well as the New, which I proceed to do in the book; but I conclude that since water baptism is a New Testament sacrament (as taught in the Bible and the Westminster Standards), the main focus must be on the teaching of the New Testament. This appears to be obvious, and patently so. It is evident that paedobaptists (properly) study the doctrine of the Lord's Supper primarily from the New Testament perspective; why not the sacrament of baptism as well?

To expand on this subject, as noted, the *Westminster Confession* correctly states that water baptism is a New Testament sacrament. Hence, it should be studied primarily from a New Testament perspective. This is how Westminster Standard paedobaptists approach their study of the New Covenant sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and rightly so. Even though we are taught in Exodus 12 that Old Testament Israelite children partook of the Passover ordinance (which foreshadowed the New Testament ordinance of the Lord's Supper), we know from the teaching of the New Testament that participation in the Lord's Supper is more restrictive. First, there is no positive or direct New Testament command to include infants or small children in this covenant feast. And second, in 1 Corinthians 11:27–32 there is the clear biblical mandate that one needs to examine himself prior to partaking of the sacrament, lest he eat and drink unworthily and bring judgment on himself.

Now if the New Testament regulation is sufficient to determine the participants of the New Covenant sacrament of the Lord's Supper, why should it not also be sufficient to determine the recipients of the other New Covenant sacrament: water baptism? Again, this does not mean that we are not to bring the Old Testament teaching to bear on the subject. But it is an agreed-upon hermeneutical principle, as stated by the *Westminster Confession* (1:9), that "when there is a question about the true and full sense of any Scripture… it must be searched and known by other places that speak more clearly." The Augustinian dictum is also an accepted hermeneutic, that whereas "the New Testament is in the Old concealed, the Old is in the New revealed." Both the Old and New Testaments are equally the Word of God, but the New Testament gives us greater insight into the teachings of the Old Testament, and reveals the gospel to us more fully than does the Old.[1] Thus, greater weight should be placed on the New Testament revelation, which "speaks more clearly." And since Jesus Christ ordained baptism as a New Testament sacrament, the New Testament should be the primary determiner of the proper subjects of the ordinance of water baptism. What could be clearer?

Sadly, this is all too frequently not the practice of paedobaptists. B. B. Warfield, for example, wrote: "It is true that there is no express command to baptize infants in the New Testament, no express record of the baptism of infants, and no passages so stringently implying it that we must infer from them that infants were baptized." This in itself should make one highly suspicious of the practice of infant baptism, especially

1. Paul teaches this in 2 Corinthians 3. It is also evident in Luke 9:28-36, in the account of the Jesus' transfiguration. Here we read that Christ (representing the New Testament revelation) met with Moses and Elijah (respectively representing the law and the prophets, i.e., the Old Testament revelation). And Christ, we are told, outshines both Moses and Elijah. See also the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (7:5-6).

because, as we will see, the New Testament does command the baptism of professing believers, and it does record the baptism of such professing believers, thereby "stringently implying" that believers are the ones to receive the ordinance of water baptism. Undaunted, Warfield went on to say that "the warrant for infant baptism is not to be sought in the New Testament but in the Old Testament."[2]

Louis Berkhof was of the same opinion: "It will be observed that all these statements [regarding infant baptism] are based on the commandment of God to circumcise the children of the covenant for in the last analysis that commandment is the ground of infant baptism."[3] John Calvin likewise retreated to the Old Testament to support infant baptism: "Since the Lord, immediately after the covenant was made with Abraham, ordered it to be sealed in infants by an outward sacrament, how can it be said that Christians are not to attest it in the present day, and seal it to their children [in baptism]."[4]

Warfield, Berkhof, and Calvin all seem to agree that there is not sufficient evidence to support infant baptism from the New Testament. This being so, they teach that we must go back into the Old Testament and begin with circumcision. The Westminster divines were of the same mind here when they cited Genesis 17 as their first footnote to support the *Westminster Confession*'s statement in 28:4: "but also infants of one or both believing parents are to be baptized."

To take this a step further, if we are to determine the participants in the Lord's Supper by means of the Old Testament, then we would be obligated to bring baptized children to the Supper as well as their baptized parents. This is what took place at the Passover feast, and should also take place at the Supper of the Lord. Thankfully, "orthodox" paedobaptists do not take this position.

Contrary to what Dr. Fesko states, in dealing with the subjects of water baptism I do address both 1 Peter 3:18–21 and 1 Corinthians 10:1–4 on pages 67–69 of my book. Further, I do interact with the Old Testament setting in both cases. There I point out that both of these passages speak of Old Testament "household baptisms." But just as with the New Testament household baptisms, they are baptisms of redeemed households. In 1 Peter 3 and 1 Corinthians 10, however, the redemption is typological.

The first of these examples is Noah and his family. They were redeemed, not from sin, but from the flood. To use Peter's words, they were "saved through water" (1 Peter 3:20), thus typifying true salvation "through the resurrection of Jesus Christ," expressed through water baptism (verse 21). Note is made here that in this passage, baptism is described as a response (*eperotema*) to the God of Scripture by the recipient of water baptism (verse 21). The one being baptized makes an "appeal" to God (NASB), or a "pledge" to God (NIV), or gives an "answer" (KJV, NKJV), "of a good conscience toward God," to make that which water baptism symbolizes true in his life. Even though there is some question as to how *eperotema* should be translated, there is no question that all of the translations relate the fact that there is an active and spiritual response of the recipient of baptism. Such a response is not possible for an infant (or at least it is not possible to be expressed). As Richard Baxter reasoned, this text strongly supports confessor baptism. He wrote: "Baptism is said to save us, and therefore they that will be baptized must profess the qualification necessary to be saved." And as written by Beasley-Murray: "We should be honest enough to recognize that 1 Peter 3:21 is one example of a New Testament baptismal utterance that cannot be applied to infant baptism. The baptism of an infant is neither his prayer to God for a pure conscience nor his promise to God to maintain such."

It should also be noted, regarding the baptism of Noah and his family, that everyone involved was an adult (men and women), and they entered the ark based on God's promise to them as a family. Each one understood the promise of God, and each one went on to the ark believing that God would keep His promise.

In 1 Corinthians 10:1–2, the second of the Old Testament household baptisms, the whole household of the nation of Israel was typologically "baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea" as the people left Egypt. As we read in Hebrews 11:29, "by faith they passed through the Red Sea as by dry land." In the Exodus, a typologically redeemed nation was "baptized," as Israel was delivered from slavery in Egypt (Deuteronomy 7:8; Exodus 20:1; Jude 5). So, too, in His cross work Jesus Christ was baptized (Mark 10:38) as He redeemed His elect people from bondage to sin in the greater Exodus (Luke 9:31).[5]

Moreover, if these verses are taken literally, thereby showing that infants were baptized along with the adults, then the following verse proves too much. As John Tombes argued, if 1 Corinthians 10:2 "proves that infants were baptized, the verse following [1 Corinthians 10:3] will prove that they received the Lord's Supper." The case would then be made for paedocommunion. It would also prove that the "mixed multitude" of unbelievers (Exodus 12:38) that left Egypt with the Israelites were also baptized, and that they too participated in the Lord's Supper. Some paedobaptists believe that 1 Corinthians 11 qualifies 1 Corinthians 10:3. That is, in 1 Corinthians 11 the apostle clearly says that it is only those who are able to

2. B. B. Warfield, *Studies in Theology* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1988), 399.

3. Louis Berkhof, *Systematic Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1939, 1941), 638.

4. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960), IV:15:6.

5. The word Luke uses in 9:31 is the Greek *exodos*, translated "decease" in the NKJV, and "departure" in the NASV.

examine themselves that are to be permitted to come to the Lord's Supper. This would, therefore, eliminate the thought of paedocommunion. But this is fallacious reasoning. First Corinthians 10:1–4 has to do with a symbolic Old Testament "household" water baptism and a symbolic Old Testament partaking of the Lord's Supper. The entire Israelite community is a typologically "redeemed" community, showing that this Old Testament example of the people of God partaking of the sacraments is the same as that of the New. The sacraments are for those who belong to the Lord.

It could also be argued that the baptism being found in these verses does not have to do with the infants at all. Paul may be speaking, not about infants, but about "fathers." If this is the case, then the fathers were the ones who were baptized and took the Lord's Supper (figuratively), and they are the ones who later apostatized, whereas the children were brought into the promised land (Numbers 14:26–33). Such an interpretation, even though less likely than the one mentioned in the paragraph above, would also be against infant baptism.

In his critique, Dr. Fesko somewhat expatiates on Paul's teaching in 1 Corinthians 7:14, criticizing me for stressing the views of commentators rather than biblical exegesis. He is correct that I do not go into the details of the Old Testament background. My argument could likely have been strengthened if I had done so. But the reason I do not go there is because the text in its contextual setting has to do with marital relationships. The verse has nothing to do with water baptism. I cite three paedobaptist scholars to support my position. R. C. H. Lenski, B. B. Warfield, and Joachim Jeremias all deny that this verse has to do with water baptism (Crampton, 73–76). To see it otherwise is reading into the text what is not there. The reason I mention 1 Corinthians 7:14 in my book is because it is a favorite of paedobaptists.

In his review, Dr. Fesko cites a number of passages in Leviticus and Ezra to strengthen his claim regarding the importance of one being "clean" rather than "unclean" under the Old Testament economy (stressing the statements of four commentators, the very thing he accused me of doing above). He is correct in his analysis of these Old Testament passages. The problem with this work of exegesis on 1 Corinthians 7, however, as we have already said, is that the Pauline teaching does not reflect on water baptism at all.

Nevertheless, to argue in an *ad hominem* fashion, even if 1 Corinthians 7:14 may have some inkling of relevance to water baptism, the verse does not necessitate the baptism of an infant. As I point out in my book, the *hagios/hagizo* word usage applies equally to the infant and to the non-believing spouse (Crampton, 73–76). Should the New Testament church baptize a non-believing spouse simply because he or she is married to a believer? This is not good theology. Why then should the verse necessitate the baptism of the infant? The entirety of the paedobaptism argument falls into the area of a *non sequitur*. Some paedobaptists argue that the covenantal nature of the family makes the holiness aspect of the family work differently in the case of infants versus adults. Parents answer for the holiness of their children whereas adults answer for their own holiness. This argument is very unconvincing. First, it would mean that in contradistinction to Ephesians 4:5, which states that there is only "one baptism," now there would be two kinds of baptism—one for children with the parents answering for them (which is foreign to every water baptism recorded in the New Testament), and one for those who make a pledge of a good conscience unto God when they are baptized (1 Peter 3:21). As a side note, Dr. Fesko has pointed out in his book that a number of Reformers (Luther, Calvin, Zwingli) believed that immersion was the most appropriate mode of baptism, which does not properly apply to infants (the Greek Orthodox Church notwithstanding), hereby expressing (at least implicitly) another example of the two kinds of water baptism that would be necessitated by the paedobaptist viewpoint.[6]

As to Dr. Fesko's lengthy critique of my dealings with circumcision and its relationship with water baptism (above, 165–166), wherein I (allegedly) have not sufficiently dealt with the common ground between circumcision and water baptism, I acknowledge that I could have done more work in this area (see chapter 4 in my book). But I will note that the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (7:5) itself teaches that circumcision is an Old Testament "ceremonial" rite which is no longer "ceremonially" relevant in the New Testament age. Since this is true, as is even taught by paedobaptists such as the Westminster divines, there should be little need to enter into a lengthy discussion of the nuances of circumcision.

Yet in these same pages Dr. Fesko gives us a taste of his biblical theological presuppositions. For example, he asks "of what import is circumcision?" Briefly, the answer is that "the seed of the woman, the male descendant, hence the circumcision of the male reproductive organ, would be cut off in a bloody covenant judgment. Just as the foreskin was cut off so the uncircumcised male was cut off from the covenant community (Genesis 17:14)." This is an interesting supposition, but this is all that it is: a supposition. The Bible does not say this. Hence, to elaborate on what the Bible does not say is not a worthy endeavor. It is mere conjecture. To use a New Testament example, to argue that there are infants in the households of those whose whole families are baptized is an argument from silence. The Bible does not say anything about this. This is pure supposition and unworthy of a claim

6. J. V. Fesko, *Word, Water, and Spirit: A Reformed Perspective on Baptism* (Grand Rapids, Mich: Reformation Heritage Books, 2010).

of certainty. It is an argument from silence, and all arguments from silence are logical fallacies.

In contradistinction to what Dr. Fesko has said, however, the present writer does deal with the reason that God gave Israel circumcision. And it is not conjecture. The Bible teaches that circumcision was specifically given to Israel as a sign of her right to the promised land. That is what we read in Genesis 17. Further, I relate the circumcision of Colossians 2 to Christ's salvific work on the cross and show how this is in accordance with the prophecy of Ezekiel 40–48 and the restoration of the church under the New Covenant age. It is a prophecy that foretells the need for circumcised hearts for those who are to be in the New Testament community.

Moreover, I discuss how circumcision and water baptism relate to one another under the New Testament age, according to the Apostle Paul. Paul tells us in Colossians 2:11–13 and Philippians 3:3 that whereas all Israelite males in the Old Testament were circumcised regardless of their spiritual state, under the New Testament it is circumcision of the heart which is paramount.

Therefore, water baptism, says the apostle, is for those whose hearts are circumcised. This is about as clear a setting forth of credobaptism as one could expect. Who is it that is to receive water baptism according to the Apostle Paul? Those whose hearts have been circumcised—in other words, believers in Jesus Christ.

A paedobaptist might argue here that heart-circumcision is described as the substance of baptism itself, not as a prerequisite of baptism, thus highlighting the continuity of circumcision with baptism. But the New Testament refutes this in every incident of water baptism recorded. Further, in the Old Testament, every Israelite male was to be circumcised. In the New Testament, it is only those with circumcised hearts who are to be baptized.

As noted, in his review Dr. Fesko speaks of the need for more refined presuppositions when we come to this subject. He is careful to say that "all presuppositions are not created equal" (above, 164). He is correct in noting that our presuppositions can and do play an important role in our doctrine. But this writer's presuppositions about both continuity and discontinuity in the New Testament age are based on the teaching of the Old Testament prophecies mentioned above, such as Isaiah 54, Jeremiah 31, and Ezekiel 36. For this author to adopt new presuppositions about this element of biblical theology would necessitate a removal of these passages from the Old Testament. This writer's presuppositions are based on the teachings of the Word of God. They are not mere suppositions. Therefore, Dr. Fesko is correct to say that all presuppositions are not created equal. The paedobaptist presuppositions are without biblical foundation, and are inferior to the presuppositions of credobaptists.

Surrejoinder to Dr. Crampton's Response.

In my surrejoinder to Dr. Crampton's rejoinder to my review, I offer three observations regarding the propriety of the term ***Particular Baptist***, the importance of biblical theology for moving the debate forward, and the superiority of one's theological presuppositions.

First, regarding the proper name for adherents to the believer's-only position, Crampton takes umbrage at the fact that I label his position as ***Particular Baptist***. My use of this term is in no way intended to "mock," to use his words, the historic Particular Baptist creeds. The term ***Particular Baptist*** is simply the historically accurate label for Crampton's views.[1] By contrast, Reformed churches, identified as such by the historic Reformed confessions and catechisms, embrace both paedobaptism and believer's baptism. Popularly, one may refer to Particular Baptists as Reformed Baptists, but such a use of the adjective ***reformed*** is of recent origins. As an historical phenomenon, if the Reformation originated in the sixteenth century, then I would challenge Crampton to produce a sixteenth-century Reformed confession that advocated believer's-only baptism to justify his claim that his position is Reformed. I also employ this term to highlight the differences between the Particular Baptists and Reformed on the question of baptism. There are exegetical, hermeneutical, theological, and ecclesiological differences related to these points. Yes, Particular Baptists embrace many teachings of the Reformed faith, and for this I am grateful. I would rather have a Particular Baptist by my side promoting and preaching the gospel than an Evangelical Arminian. But this does not change the fact that Particular Baptists do not embrace the Reformed position on the biblical doctrine of infant baptism.

Second, regarding the importance of biblical theology. I am somewhat puzzled at Crampton's claim that to investigate biblical presuppositions can be "dangerous." I agree with Crampton that systematic theology is the queen and biblical theology is the handmaiden in theology. However, my contention is that Crampton's book does not give much redemptive-historically conditioned exegesis (i.e., biblical theology) that supports and undergirds his systematic theological conclusions. For example, Crampton argues that the rules for the administration of the Lord's Supper should also govern the administration of baptism. That is, if a person must examine himself in order to take the supper, why should this rule not also apply to baptism? Such a conclusion may be possible and legitimate, but Crampton does not ask more fundamental questions that are regulated and informed by biblical theology such as, "What is the difference between covenant initiation and ratification?" "What are the rites that attend covenant initiation versus covenant ratification?" One can easily show the inadequacy of Crampton's argument by

making the case for repeated baptisms. If the Lord's Supper is frequently administered and received by the same person, then why not do the same for baptism? In a word, I still want to press my point: the Particular Baptist exegesis of the Old Testament as it relates to baptism and the Lord's Supper is insufficient.

Another illustration of this point comes with Crampton's rejection of my contention regarding the theological significance of circumcision. I argue that circumcision ultimately points to the cutting-off of the seed of the woman, the Messiah, in the bloody covenantal curse of the crucifixion. Crampton brushes this argument aside, not based upon exegesis, but simply upon the claim that the "Bible does not say this." He claims that my argument is "an interesting supposition, but that is all that it is: a supposition." Crampton received a copy of my book, ***Word, Water, and Spirit***, for the purposes of facilitating this exchange. In my book I spend twenty pages setting forth the exegetical arguments to make my case. To brush away the exegesis as "supposition," further exposes his inherent aversion to biblical theology. This is why I have offered nearly sixty-five pages of biblical-theological exegesis as the penultimate step in constructing systematic theological arguments for a wholly-biblical understanding of baptism, more broadly, and infant baptism, more narrowly.

If the relationship between biblical and systematic theology can be illustrated in terms of a building (biblical theology) and the building inspector (systematic theology), then the inspector does determine whether the building is sound and inhabitable. In terms of Geerhardus Vos's explanation of the relationship between the two, systematic theology ensures that one's biblical theology logically coheres and is consistent in terms of the systematic arrangement of the parts to the whole.[2] My contention regarding Crampton's understanding of baptism is that the building inspector has nothing to inspect. There is no house—there are only a few isolated walls here and there, but no consistent structure. My challenge to explore presuppositions, therefore, is a call for Particular Baptists to build a biblical-theological house so that we can move forward in this debate. In other words, what does the Old Testament have to say about baptism?

Third, Crampton claims, "Paedobaptist presuppositions are without biblical foundation, and are inferior to the presuppositions of credobaptists." This very well may be true, but Crampton has not engaged specific elements of a number of the exegetical arguments. For example, he dismisses my offered explanation of 1 Corinthians 7:14 on the assumption that the passage "does not reflect on water baptism at all." Agreed. But the passage does not, as Crampton contends, merely deal with "marital relationships." It also deals with the covenantal status of children. The covenantal status of children is the more fundamental question when it comes to whether or not they should be baptized. Are children in or out of the covenant? If children are out, then they cannot be holy as Paul teaches. If they are in, as I contend, then this is why Paul says they are holy. If they are in, then they should receive the sign of covenant initiation and be raised in the fear and admonition of the Lord (Eph. 6:4).

These three observations, I hope, clear up a few things. For those who have doubts about the issues raised in this exchange, do obtain a copy of Dr. Crampton's book as well as my own, and then study the Scriptures, weigh the evidence, and decide for yourself. Be a good Berean.▪

Review: Douglas Bond, *The Mighty Weakness of John Knox* (Sanford, FL: Reformation Trust Publishing, 2011). xxiii+151 pages, cloth. ISBN 9781567692556. $16. D. M. Lloyd-Jones and Iain Murray, *John Knox and the Reformation* (Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth Trust, 2011). xii+130 pages, paperback. ISBN 9781848711143. $11. Reviewed by Lane Keister, pastor of Lebanon Presbyterian Church, Winnsboro, South Carolina.

In keeping with the theme of this year's journal, I thought it might be helpful to give a review of these two books on John Knox, not only because they are very helpful books in and of themselves, but also because they provide a good entry-level overview of the Scottish Reformation. There are not very many introductory books on this subject. Concentrating on the central figure of John Knox, therefore, provides an easy and simple way of understanding the issues that the Scottish church faced.

These two books are quite different in their layout and focus. The book by Douglas Bond is more biographical in nature, while the Lloyd-Jones/Murray book is more purely historical. Furthermore, the Bond book has a more directly didactic purpose in mind (he calls it "a practical biography," xxi), whereas the Lloyd-Jones/Murray volume is more theological in tone. The two books complement each other nicely, and both can be read rather quickly. Both wish to portray Knox's life and ministry in a way that will benefit modern readers. In other words, neither book simply reads history. Both read history in order to make practical points for the church today. In the practical applications, Bond's book is more focused on individuals, whereas Lloyd-Jones/Murray is more corporate.

The Bond book's title is descriptive of Bond's thesis, that

1. See, e.g., James Leo Garrett, *Baptist Theology: A Four-Century Study* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2009), 198ff.

2. Geerhardus Vos, "The Idea of Biblical Theology as a Science and as a Theological Discipline," in *Redemptive History and Biblical Interpretation: The Shorter Writings of Geerhardus Vos*, ed. Richard B. Gaffin, Jr. (Phillipsburg: P & R, 1980), 24.

the secret to Knox's power and success is his grace-reliant weakness (one is reminded here of 2 Corinthians 12:10). Bond's thesis ties in to his desire that modern Reformers would have the same "weakness." He writes:

> The life of Knox, then, is not just for people who like shortbread and bagpipes, kilts and oatcakes. Neither is it just for Presbyterians or people whose names begin with Mac (or who wish they did). Knox is a model for the ordinary Christian, especially the one who feels his own weakness but who nevertheless wants to serve Christ in a troubled world. Knox is eminently relevant to all Christians who have ever been forced to come face to face with their own littleness (xx).

This thesis provokes Steven Lawson, the series editor, to exclaim, "To this day, Knox remains the greatest of all Scots" (xv). Whether this is true or not, most Scots have not seen him in this light. As Bond notes, "for the most part, Scotland has resented the life and ministry of Knox" (xix). Whether this is due to the natural intransigence and outright stubbornness of the Scots, or due to an inbred human dissatisfaction with calling such a weak-but-grace-indued man great (or a combination of the two), we do not know. This reviewer suspects it is actually the latter.

Bond proves his thesis in a number of ways. The reasons for Knox's weakness are not difficult to find. He was physically ill much of his life: "Like John Calvin, Knox would suffer throughout his life from kidney stones, insomnia, and other ailments" (10). Knox was not exactly known as a political Machiavelli, as his *First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* proves (see p. 18 for the effect this writing had on Knox's life).

Knox's strength in weakness was due in large part to his prayer life. Bond describes prayer as "a tacit admission that we are not capable in ourselves, that we are desperately needy, that the arm of flesh is weak and ineffectual" (39). Knox understood this very well. Bond describes this understanding of prayer in these words: "perhaps chief among Knox's God-given qualities was his sanctified understanding of his complete worthlessness unless he was on *God's* side, unless he was with God. Knox never saw himself as inducing God to be on *his* side" (34, emphasis original). Perhaps it is this understanding of prayer that resulted in his prayer life being among the most famous of any Christian who ever lived. Spurgeon said that "When John Knox went upstairs to plead with God for Scotland, it was the greatest event in Scottish history" (33). Mary, Queen of Scots, said that she was "more afraid of [Knox's] prayers than of an army of 10,000 men" (quoted on p. 39). Bond's own conclusion is that "Prayer was the engine that advanced Reformation in Scotland, and Knox was the foremost prayer warrior in the realm" (36).

Concerning Knox's theology, we get a few glimpses into his theological training, which was with John Calvin in Geneva ("Knox considered Calvin his spiritual father," 17). It is not surprising, therefore that Knox considered the preaching of the Word to be of paramount importance. He modeled his own preaching after that of Calvin. Here again, however, we find Bond's thesis helpful, since "he believed that the power of a preacher comes not from inherent gifting, studied eloquence, or academic learning (Knox never completed his university studies). It comes, he was convinced, from divine anointing" (50). The power came from God, not from innate talent, or even study (as valuable as study was for him, as his sojourn in Geneva amply shows).

In Knox's writings, we find a fairly heavy emphasis on the doctrine of predestination (80). This was not because he thought of predestination as a central dogma (contrary to some evaluations), but because "it was the theological rebar in the doctrinal foundation on which alone his flock could stand with unshakable confidence in the sole sufficiency of Christ" (82). Further, unlike many Calvinists, he "never wielded predestination as a club; he tenderly uncoiled it as a lifeline for the foundering lost" (87).

One final point this reviewer would like to make concerns the evidence of Knox's character. His "weakness" was evident in his fear of God alone. We often think of Knox as the thundering preacher against Mary, Queen of Scots. He had power, yes, but it was never his own power. Bond, quoting Tyler's history of Scotland, remarks that "on no one occasion do we find him influenced by selfish or venal motives. In this respect he stands alone, and pre-eminent over all men" (22). This character trait was present because of his fear of God, a fear which also prompted him to be unmoved by any human reaction to him or his ministry (22). This book is not only a helpful introduction to the man, therefore, but also a rousingly encouraging devotional book. Bond has convincingly proven his thesis, in this reviewer's mind.

The volume by Martyn Lloyd-Jones and Iain Murray is a collection of two previously published essays by Lloyd-Jones, and one newly published essay by Iain Murray. The first essay by Lloyd-Jones is a more general reflection on the Reformation. The second essay, also by Lloyd-Jones has as its thesis that John Knox was the founder of Puritanism. The third essay, by Murray, is a biographical essay on John Knox's life.

The first essay by Lloyd-Jones has some good points, and one bad point. He rightly argues that "you simply cannot understand the history of Scotland unless you know something about the Protestant Reformation" (9). One of the key points about the Reformation that he wishes to point out, is "the way in which they (the Reformers, LK) kept on discovering that they had been rediscovering what Augustine had

Continued on Page 251.

Psallo

Psalm 116:1–9

The Psalm setting you have before you this year makes use of a new melody and metrical translation the author hopes will lend itself to ease of learning, singing, and memorization. The Psalm is an orphan Psalm, that is, it has no title ascribing historical circumstance, authorship, or other details. Further, it is one of the Hallelujah Psalms, that collection of Psalms (113–118) sung by Hebrew believers as a part of their Passover celebration, and one most probably found upon the lips of the Lord Jesus after He instituted the sacrament of the Lord's Supper (Matthew 26:30). The translation is very straightforward, with only a few very small deviations from the original in order to render this Hymn more suited to English meter. The tune is simple, sober, and yet retains some of the joy and peace of the Psalmist as he recounts the greatness of the Lord to him.

Scholarship is divided regarding the authorship and occasion of the writing of Psalm 116. Davidic authorship is held by Calvin, Henry, and others. The eminent E. W. Hengstenberg holds that it was written after the return from the exile. William Plumer, in his worthy commentary on the Psalms prefers to remain agnostic on the authorship and occasion, stating, "The character of the ode defies all attempts to fix it to any one occasion." For my part, I am inclined to understand the Psalm, as did the ancient Hebrews, as written in the days of Hezekiah, descriptive of his affliction with illness unto death, and his gracious deliverance from the Lord. In more modern times this view has been advanced by John Morison, D.D., Scottish Divine of the 18–19th century in his 8–volume commentary on the Psalms, as well as by others. If written in the days of Hezekiah, the exact author could be Isaiah, another of the school of the prophets, or even Hezekiah himself. If one compares the language of Isaiah 38:10–20 to Psalm 116, there are a number of phrases that evince a similarity in support of this view that while not rising to the level of certainty, will commend it to our consideration.

As for the Psalm itself, as has been intimated above, it is a Psalm expressing the love of the Psalmist for the Lord for hearing him, helping him, granting him rest, dealing in bounty with him, and delivering him from death. It is a Psalm of grateful and loving response to the Lord for His merciful and gracious ways of dealing with His people, and especially this individual author. It is interesting to note that as with many of the Psalms the author enjoys a blessing from the Lord that is quite personal, and yet desires to make it known, to proclaim his thanks unto the Lord in a very public sense. This public sense is seen in these expressions:

First, his expression of walking before the Lord "in the lands of the living ones" (verse 9) clearly expresses the desire of the Psalmist to involve himself in the communion of saints. In other words, his deliverance is not unto himself considered as a private individual, enjoying his deliverance from death, but as a man desiring to commune with his brethren in the life that he has been given from the Lord.

Second, he declares that he will "take the cup of salvation"—a clear reference to the Passover, which was both a communal and private meal, having aspects of both. His deliverance, according to the Psalmist, has much larger implications than those of a private man, as it frees him unto the public sacramental observance of his day.

Third, there is the fulfilling of his vows unto the Lord "in the presence of all His people" (verse 14). Here again although his deliverance from death was private in the sense that it was he who was sick, he considers his commitments and vows to the Lord in those days of affliction a matter to be consummated publicly, for the benefit and encouragement of himself, and for the Church of his day.

Fourth, verses 17–19 present the desire of the Psalmist to offer yet another public display of his thankfulness for the Lord's great deliverance, that of a sacrifice of thanksgiving, and that accompanied with the paying of vows, in the courts of the Lord's house, in the midst of Jerusalem. Surely this author was quite forward to have others in the Church of his day rejoice with him in his deliverance.

However, these expressions of public joy and praise for private deliverance speak also of the character of the Psalmist here as a public person. This has been recognized in that many of our Fathers in the faith have seen David as the author, and others even Hezekiah himself, or one of the "men of Hezekiah" (Proverbs 25.1) in behalf of the King. Seeing that the life of covenant king was bound up with the well being of the nation, deliverance of the king's life was not only a private affair, but a public one as well; hence the phrase "God save the King" (1 Samuel 10:24; 2 Samuel 16:16; 2 Kings 11:12; 2 Chronicles 23:11). In the deliverance of David, or Hezekiah, there is a deliverance of the nation; a right and joyful celebration of the blessing of the Lord upon His people to provide a wise and faithful king over His people to rule "in justice and in right." Psalm 72 also teaches this same principle in that while the Psalm is speaking in its immediate historical context of

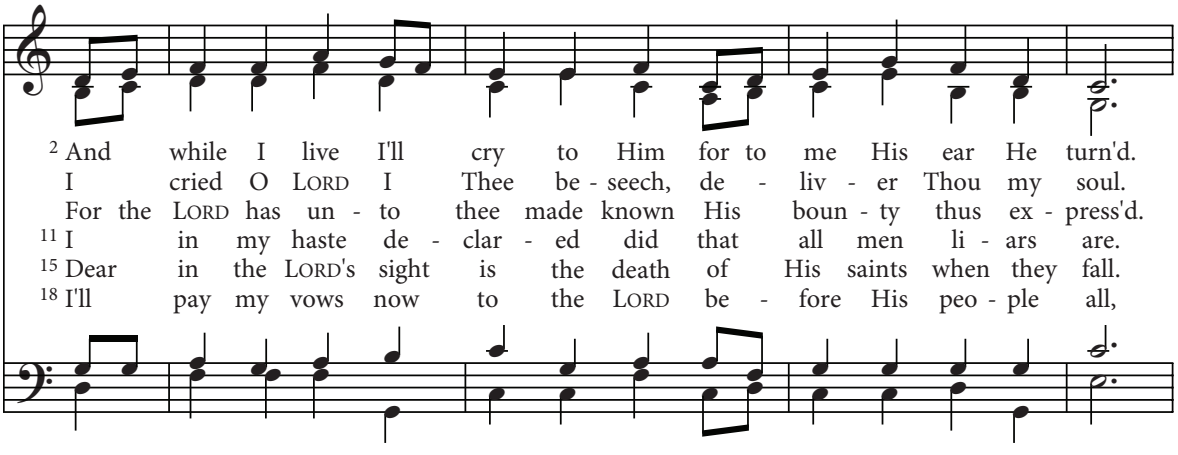
Continued on Page 251.

The Author: The Rev. Todd L. Ruddell is pastor of Christ Covenant Reformed Presbyterian Church (RPCGA) in Wylie, Texas.

Psalm 116:1–19

Ahavti-Yahveh Todd L. Ruddell






3 The fet - ters and the cords of death a - bout me com - pass - ed,
5 Gra - cious the LORD and right - eous is, and mer - ci - ful our God!
8 My soul from death, my eyes from tears, my feet from slips Thou sav'd.
12 What off - ring to the LORD re - quites His good - ness to me, all?
16 LORD I in truth Thy ser - vant am, sure - ly Thy ser - vant LORD,
19 So I with - in the dwell - ings of the LORD's house found shall be
The pains of hell got hold on me, an - guish and grief I had.
6 Sim - ple ones the LORD keeps, small I was, to me His help did come.
9 I'll walk be - fore the LORD with those in the lands of life that live.
13 I'll take sal - va - tion's cup and on the LORD's Name I will call.
Ev'n the son of thine own hand - maid, Thou hast loos - en'd all my cords.
In midst of thee Je - ru - sa - lem, praise to the Lord give ye.

In Translatione

The Preface to the Constance Hymnbook by Joannem Zwick

Introductory Essay

Dr. Hughes Oliphant Old inspired this translation of the *Constance Hymnbook* preface when he referred to the *Hymnbook* as one of the most important liturgical documents of the Reformation.[1] A cursory glance through various texts on music and theology confirmed Dr. Old's thought, and yet I could not discover any significant study of the work in English. Markus Jenny's comprehensive study in German remains the best inquiry to date, and my introduction relies heavily on his work.[2] It is followed by the first English translation of the *Constance Hymnbook* preface, Johannes Zwick's beautifully crafted and deft defense of congregational singing. I have attempted to preserve the special flavor of the original in my translation. Zwick's question and answer format relies on biblical, historical, and logical arguments to counter various objections that were raised against the inclusion of singing in corporate worship. Zwick also argues that our worship should not be limited to exclusive psalmody, and the *Constance Hymnbook* is a classical model for inclusive psalmody.

The Author/Translator: Ephraim Schäfli received his B.S. in Bible and B.M. in piano performance from Philadelphia Biblical University in 2011. He has served as research assistant to musicologist Dr. Samuel Hsu and church historian and liturgical scholar Dr. Hughes Oliphant Old. In 2009 he was a music intern at the Library of Congress.

1. From the author's conversation with Dr. Hughes Oliphant Old at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Old in Trenton, NJ, November 25, 2009. Dr. Old has also written, "The *Constance Hymn Book* of 1540 deserves to be recognized as one of the most significant monuments in the history of Reformed worship." Old, *Worship: Reformed*, 44.

2. Jenny, *Geschichte des deutschschweizerischen evangelischen Gesangbuches*, 77–139.

3. The rich musical heritage of the Moravians is well known and their influence on the music of the Reformation merits further study. Of particular interest is the presence of Michael Weisse at Luther's side beginning in 1522.

4. Thomas Blarer was a student in Wittenberg from 1520–1523. Information on Blarer and Zwick is drawn from *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed. s.v. "Blarer", and s.v. "Zwick."

5. Doctor of both Canon and Civil Law

6. Walter Blankenburg writes, "Zwick's authority was still being invoked at the end of the 16th century when congregational singing was introduced in Zurich itself." "Church Music in Reformed Europe," *Protestant Church Music: A History* (New York: Norton, 1974), 513.

7. Though the promotion of unity is not a stated goal of the Hymnbook, it is consistent with Blarer's views in general. Bruce Gordon in *The Swiss Reformation* (Manchester UP, 2002), 292–293, writes of Blarer's

History and Context

It is fitting that such a significant hymnbook was conceived in Constance, the site where Jan Hus, the founder of what was to become the Moravian church, was martyred on July 6 of 1415.[3] Its primary editors, cousins Ambrosius Blarer and Johannes Zwick, were born in Constance and became leading reformers in that city until its re-Catholization by Spanish forces in 1548.

Ambrosius Blarer (1492–1562) studied theology in Tübingen but was perhaps most influenced by his brother Thomas and his friend Philip Melanchthon. Through them Luther's teachings came to Ambrosius and led to his support of the Reformation. He left the Alpirsbach Abbey on July 5, 1522 and that same year penned the first known Protestant song, "Wies Gott gefällt, so gfällts mir auch." Ambrosius began preaching in Constance in 1525, and the city's fall sent him into exile in Switzerland. He died a broken hearted man in Winterthur in 1562.[4]

Johannes Zwick (1496–1542) was ordained in 1518 and became Doctor *utriusque iuris*[5] in 1520, returning to Constance in 1525. Zwick left Constance for Switzerland in 1542 to minister in the community of Bischofszell which had recently lost its pastor to plague. Before the end of the year his life was cut short by the same disease. Zwick married, but the marriage did not result in children. Despite this, he often focused his ministry on children and their education, and his catechetical hymns are exemplary.

The *Constance Hymnbook*, the product of Zwick and Blarer's collaboration, was printed in Zurich by Christoph Froschauer. Its presence in that city may well have eased the eventual adoption of hymn singing there in 1598.[6] The 1540 edition likely represents a third printing with earlier editions appearing in 1533/34 and 1537. Subsequent editions continued to appear through 1565.

Contents and Influence

The Reformation in Constance was heavily influenced by the ideas of the Zurich reformers but was by no means ruled by them. Though the Constance reformers did away with instrumental music, they shared Luther's love of congregational singing and adopted it in their churches. Their purpose in compiling the *Constance Hymnbook* was to promote unity in the increasingly fractured Church by providing an inclusive hymnbook drawing on the latest and best Protestant church songs, regardless of the doctrinal leanings of their authors.[7] Among the 34

names listed in the index are Huldrich Zwingli, Johannes Agricola, Justus Jonas, Ludwig Hetzer, Leo Jud, Martin Luther and Wolfgang Capito, representing Lutheran, Zwinglian and Anabaptist teaching.[8]

The format of the *Constance Hymnbook* is also significant; it was the first hymnbook to contain an alphabetical index of incipits and a list of authors. Also included under each song title are the author's initials. Such considerations were immediately imitated and are now standard practice.

The *Hymnbook's* 150 songs are divided into three sections according to the Pauline trio given in Ephesians 5:19 and Colossians 3:16 (psalms, hymns and spiritual songs). It begins with the Psalter which presents 67 settings of 55 psalms or roughly one for each Sunday of the year. The second section includes 60 hymns to be used in the church service "before or after the sermon,"[9] and the third contains 23 hymns that are "thoroughly Christian and modeled after Scripture but not used in the church."[10] The editors' intent was to replace "wanton and shameful worldly songs"[11] with Christian alternatives, a vision worthy of our emulation. Zwick and Blarer worked as both contributors and compilers, providing three of 67 settings in the Psalter and 23 of 83 texts in the subsequent two sections.

Zwick's exceptional preface is best understood in light of Zwingli's views on music as expressed in articles 44–46 of his *Auslegen und Gründe der Schlußreden* of 1523[12] and in light of Martin Bucer's view that the contents of the Church's worship should be drawn directly from Scripture. The preface was soon widely acknowledged and was so well received that Jakob Dachser, in his own hymnal preface of 1538, wrote that he found it unnecessary to counter various objections that could be raised against congregational singing, deferring instead to Zwick's arguments as presented in the *Constance Hymnbook*.[13]


Nüw gsangbüchle
von vil schönen Psalmen vnd
geistlichen liedern/ durch etliche diener
der kirchen zů Costentz vñ anderstwo merck-
lichen gemeert/gebessert vnd in gschick-
te ordnung zesamen gstellt/ zů übung
vnnd bruch jrer ouch anderer
Christlichen kirchen.
Getruckt zů Zürych by Chri-
stoffel Froschouer/ Im Jar
D. M. XL.

This translation represents the fulfillment of Dr. Old's desire to make the text readily available to the English reader. I am indebted not only to Dr. Old for his generosity and guidance but also to my friend, mentor and teacher Dr. Samuel Hsu whose encouragement and efforts on my behalf know no bounds. These are true scholars and examples of lives lived for God's glory. Mr. Kile Smith, composer and former curator of the Fleisher Collection of Orchestral Music in the Free Library of Philadelphia; my wife Kristen Schäfli; and my father Kurt Schäfli played indispensible editorial roles. This work would not have been possible without the beautiful *Constance Hymnbook* facsimile published by the Zwingli Verlag in 1946. My prayer is that Zwick's words, penned well over four hundred years ago, would once again shape the contents, purpose and practice of music in the worship of the church.

Ephraim Schäfli (Philadelphia, Pa., June, 2011)▪

refusal to firmly articulate his theology. This frustrated more doctrinally precise theologians such as Luther. Furthermore, at the end of his preface Zwick bemoans the fracturing of the church that results from bad doctrine adopted for lack of better judgment.

8. The musicians of the Constance Hymnbook should not be overlooked and Benedict Ducis, Sixt Dietrich, Matthias Greiter, Hans Sachs and Paul Speratus are numbered among them.

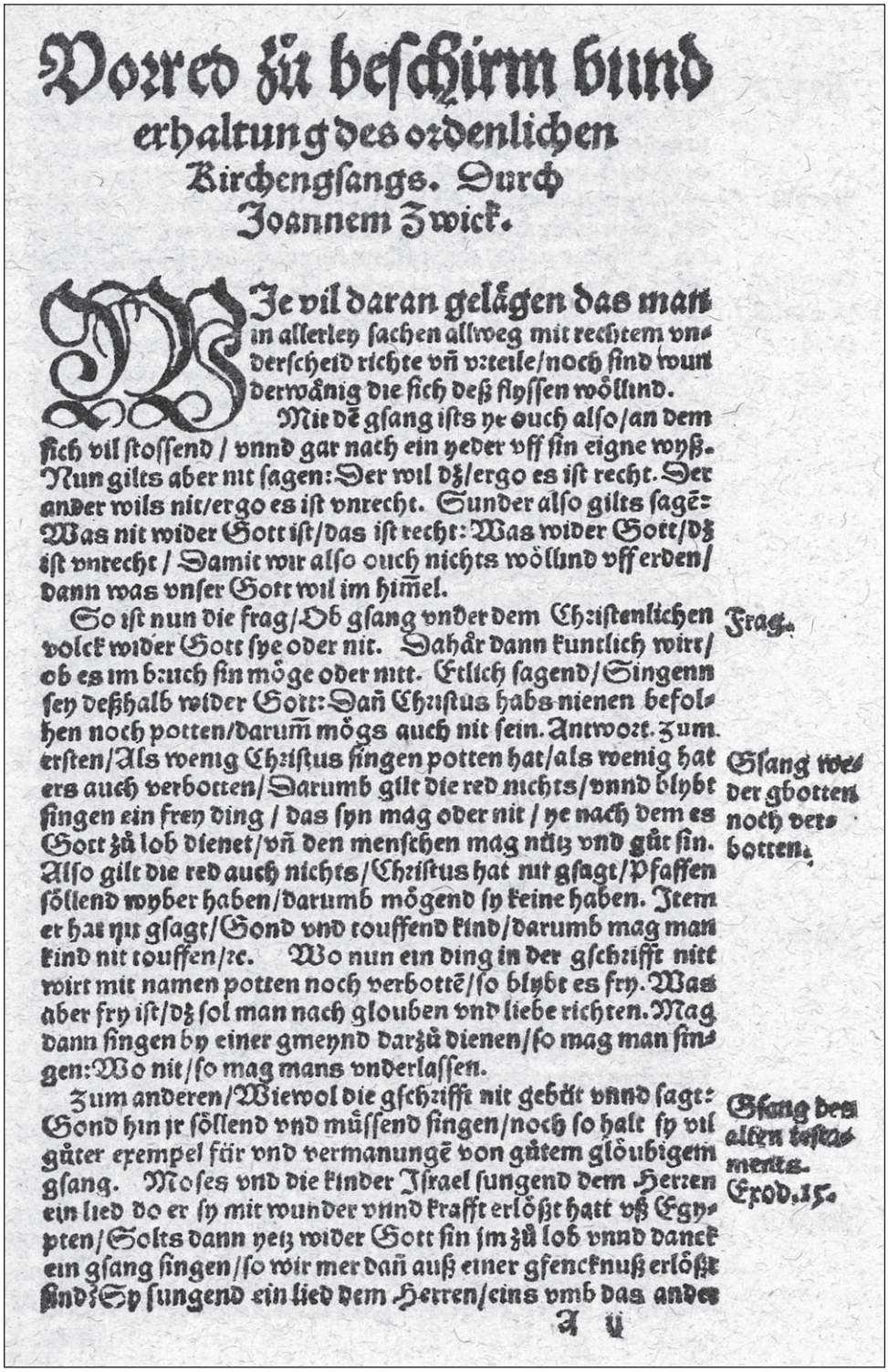
9. *Hienach volgēd die geistlichen Gsang und Christlichen lieder/ deren etliche in der kirchen vor oder nach den predigen/etliche aber allein usserthalb an statt der üppigen und schandtlichen wältliederen gesungen werdend.* Zwick, *Nüw gsangbüchle*, CX.

10. *Hienach volgend etliche gantz Christliche unnd gschrifftmässige gsang/welche doch in der kirchen nit gebrucht werdened.* ibid. CCXIII.

11. *üppigen und schandtlichen wältliederen* ibid. CX.

12. Cf. Cherbuliez "Zwingli, Zwick und der Kirchengesang."

13. Vischer, "Die erste Auflage," 316.



Vorred zů beschirm vnnd erhaltung des ordenlichen Kirchengsangs. Durch Joannem Zwick.

VIe vil daran gelägen das man in allerley sachen allweg mit rechtem vnderscheid richte vñ vrteile/noch sind wunderwänig die sich deß flyssen wöllind.

Mit dē gsang ists ye ouch also/an dem sich vil stossend / vnnd gar nach ein yeder vff sin eigne wyß. Nun gilts aber nit sagen: Der wil dz/ergo es ist recht. Der ander wils nit/ergo es ist vnrecht. Sunder also gilts sagē: Was nit wider Gott ist/das ist recht: Was wider Gott/dz ist vnrecht / Damit wir also ouch nichts wöllind vff erden/ dann was vnser Gott wil im himēl.

So ist nun die frag/Ob gsang vnder dem Christenlichen volck wider Gott sye oder nit. Dahār dann kuntlich wirt/ ob es im bruch sin möge oder nit. Etlich sagend/Singenn sey deßhalb wider Gott: Dañ Christus habs nienen befolhen noch potten/darum̄ mögs auch nit sein. Antwort. Zum. Frag.

ersten/Als wenig Christus singen potten hat/als wenig hat ers auch verbotten/Darumb gilt die red nichts/vnnd blybt singen ein frey ding / das syn mag oder nit / ye nach dem es Gott zů lob dienet/vñ den menschen mag nütz vnd gůt sin. Also gilt die red auch nichts/Christus hat nit gsagt/Pfaffen söllend wyber haben/darumb mögend sy keine haben. Item er hat nit gsagt/Gond vnd touffend kind/darumb mag man kind nit touffen/ꝛc. Wo nun ein ding in der gschrifft nitt wirt mit namen potten noch verbottē/so blybt es fry. Was aber fry ist/dz sol man nach glouben vnd liebe richten. Mag dann singen by einer gmeynd darzů dienen/so mag man singen: Wo nit/so mag mans vnderlassen. Gsang weder gbotten noch verbotten.

Zum anderen/Wiewol die gschrifft nit gebūt vnnd sagt: Gond hin jr söllend vnd müssend singen/noch so halt sy vil gůter exempel für vnd vermanungē von gůtem glöubigem gsang. Moses vnd die kinder Israel sungend dem Herren ein lied do er sy mit wunder vnnd krafft erlößt hatt vß Egypten/Solts dann yetz wider Gott sin jm zů lob vnnd danck ein gsang singen/so wir mer dañ auß einer gfencknuß erlößt sind? Sy sungend ein lied dem Herren/eins vmb das ander Gsang des alten testaments. Exod. 15.

A ij

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Preface for the Protection

& Preservation of Orderly Church Singing

By Joannem Zwick

How essential it is that we judge with discernment in all things, and yet there are remarkably few who want to do this for themselves.

It is the same with singing which is a stumbling block for many because each one goes his own way. Now it is not valid to say, "One man wants this, so it is right. Another does not want it, so it is wrong." Instead we should say, "What is not against God is right. What is against God is wrong." By this we desire nothing other on earth than what our God wants in heaven.

Question.

The question then is whether singing among Christians is against God or not; the answer will clarify whether it may be used or not. Some say that it is against God because Christ has nowhere commanded or forbidden it; therefore it must not be used. Answer: First, though Christ did not command singing, he also did not forbid it. So the argument is invalid, and singing remains a free thing that may or may not be practiced depending on whether or not it serves for God's praise and is useful and valuable to man. Likewise, the argument that clergy should not have wives because Christ did not say that they should is invalid. He also did not say, "Go and baptize children." Is it therefore forbidden to baptize them? When Scripture neither commands nor forbids something by name, then it remains a free matter. That which is free should be guided by faith and love. Does singing in a church serve this purpose? Then sing. If it does not, then let it go.

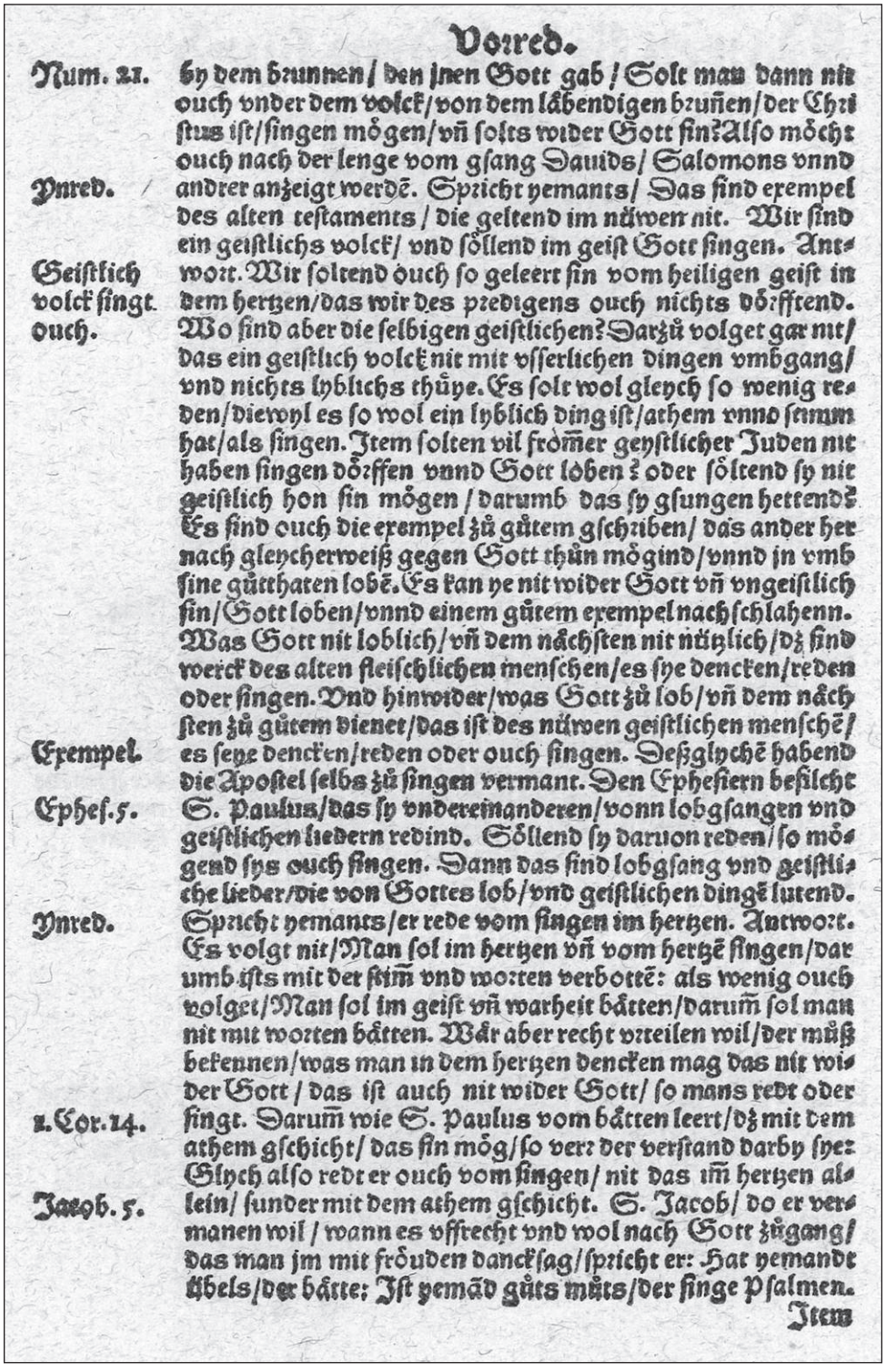
Singing is neither commanded nor forbidden.†

Singing in the Old Testament.

Exodus 15.

Furthermore, although Scripture does not command it and say, "Go hither, thou shalt and must sing," it contains many good examples of and admonitions for good, faithful singing. Moses and the children of Israel sang a song to the Lord after he rescued them with miracles and power from out of Egypt. And should it now be against God to sing to him a song of praise and thanks, though we are freed from more than captivity? One after another they sang a song to the Lord

†This argument is strikingly Lutheran in its framing.



Vorred.

Num. 21. by dem brunnen/ den jnen Gott gab/ Solt man dann nit ouch vnder dem volck/ von dem lebendigen bruñen/ der Christus ist/ singen mögen/ vñ solts wider Gott sin? Also möcht ouch nach der lenge vom gsang Dauids/ Salomons vnnd

Vnred. andrer anzeigt werdẽ. Spricht yemants/ Das sind exempel des alten testaments/ die geltend im nüwen nit. Wir sind ein geistlichs volck/ vnd söllend im geist Gott singen. Ant-

Geistlich volck singt ouch. wort. Wir soltend ouch so geleert sin vom heiligen geist in dem hertzen/ das wir des predigens ouch nichts dörfftend. Wo sind aber die selbigen geistlichen? Darzů volget gar nit/ das ein geistlich volck nit mit vsserlichen dingen vmbgang/ vnd nichts lyblichs thüye. Es solt wol gleych so wenig reden/ diewyl es so wol ein lyblich ding ist/ athem vnnd stimm hat/ als singen. Item solten vil frömer geystlicher Juden nit haben singen dörffen vnnd Gott loben? oder söltend sy nit geistlich hon sin mögen/ darumb das sy gsungen hettend? Es sind ouch die exempel zů gůtem gschriben/ das ander hernach gleycherweiß gegen Gott thůn mögind/ vnnd jn vmb sine gůtthaten lobẽ. Es kan ye nit wider Gott vñ vngeistlich sin/ Gott loben/ vnnd einem gůtem exempel nachschlahenn. Was Gott nit loblich/ vñ dem nächsten nit nützlich/ dz sind werck des alten fleischlichen menschen/ es sye dencken/ reden oder singen. Vnd hinwider/ was Gott zů lob/ vñ dem nächsten zů gůtem dienet/ das ist des nüwen geistlichen menschẽ/

Exempel. es seye dencken/ reden oder ouch singen. Deßglychẽ habend die Apostel selbs zů singen vermant. Den Ephesiern befilcht

Epheſ. 5. S. Paulus/ das sy vndereinanderen/ vonn lobgsangen vnd geistlichen liedern redind. Söllend sy daruon reden/ so mögend sys ouch singen. Dann das sind lobgsang vnd geistliche lieder/ die von Gottes lob/ vnd geistlichen dingẽ lutend.

Vnred. Spricht yemants/ er rede vom singen im hertzen. Antwort. Es volgt nit/ Man sol im hertzen vñ vom hertzẽ singen/ darumb ists mit der stim̃ vnd worten verbottẽ: als wenig ouch volget/ Man sol im geist vñ warheit bätten/ darum̃ sol man nit mit worten bätten. Wär aber recht vrteilen wil/ der můß bekennen/ was man in dem hertzen dencken mag das nit wider Gott/ das ist auch nit wider Gott/ so mans redt oder

1. Cor. 14. singt. Darum̃ wie S. Paulus vom bätten leert/ dz mit dem athem gschicht/ das sin mög/ so vert der verstand darby sye: Glych also redt er ouch vom singen/ nit das im̃ hertzen allein/ sunder mit dem athem gschicht. S. Jacob/ do er ver-

Jacob. 5. manen wil/ wann es vffrecht vnd wol nach Gott zůgang/ das man jm mit fröuden danckſag/ spricht er: Hat yemandt übels/ der bätte: Ist yemãd gůts můts/ der singe psalmen.

Item

by the well that God gave them. Should we not also desire singing among the people of the living well that is Christ? And can this be against God? One may also point to the lengths of the songs of David, Solomon, and others. Someone may say, "These are examples out of the Old Testament and are not valid in the New. We are a spiritual people and should sing to God in spirit." Answer: We should also be so thoroughly instructed by the Holy Spirit in our hearts that we have no need of preaching. But where are these holy people? Furthermore, it does not follow that a spiritual people has no interaction with external things or that it does nothing physical. Presumably this people would also speak little because speaking is a physical thing and has breath and voice like singing. Besides, should those many pious and spiritual Jews have been forbidden to praise God and to sing? Should they not have desired the uplifted spiritual mind which singing provides? These examples are recorded for the benefit of others, so that they may do the same and praise God for his blessings. It cannot be unspiritual and against God to praise Him and to imitate a good example. What is not for God's praise and profitable to one's neighbor, these are works of the old fleshly man, whether in thinking, speaking, or singing. On the other hand, what serves for God's praise and benefits one's neighbor is of the new spiritual man, whether in thought, speech, or song. Likewise, the Apostles themselves encouraged singing. St. Paul commands the Ephesians to speak to one another in songs of praise and spiritual songs. If they should speak them, they could also sing them, for these are songs of praise and spiritual songs that speak of God's praise and of spiritual things. Someone may say that Paul speaks of singing in the heart. Answer: We should sing in the heart and from the heart, but it does not follow that it is therefore forbidden to sing with the voice and with words just as it does not follow that since one should pray in spirit and in truth, therefore one should not pray with words. He who would judge properly must affirm that whatever one may ponder in the heart that is not against God is also not against God when it is spoken or sung. That is why St. Paul teaches as he does of praying aloud—that it is permitted as long as the mind is present. It is the same then when he speaks of singing, not only that which is in the heart but that which is with breath. St. James, when he admonished that one who is in communion with God should thank him with joy writes, "Is anyone among you suffering? Let him pray. Is anyone among you cheerful? Let him sing Psalms."

Numbers 21.

Objection.

A spiritual people sings as well.

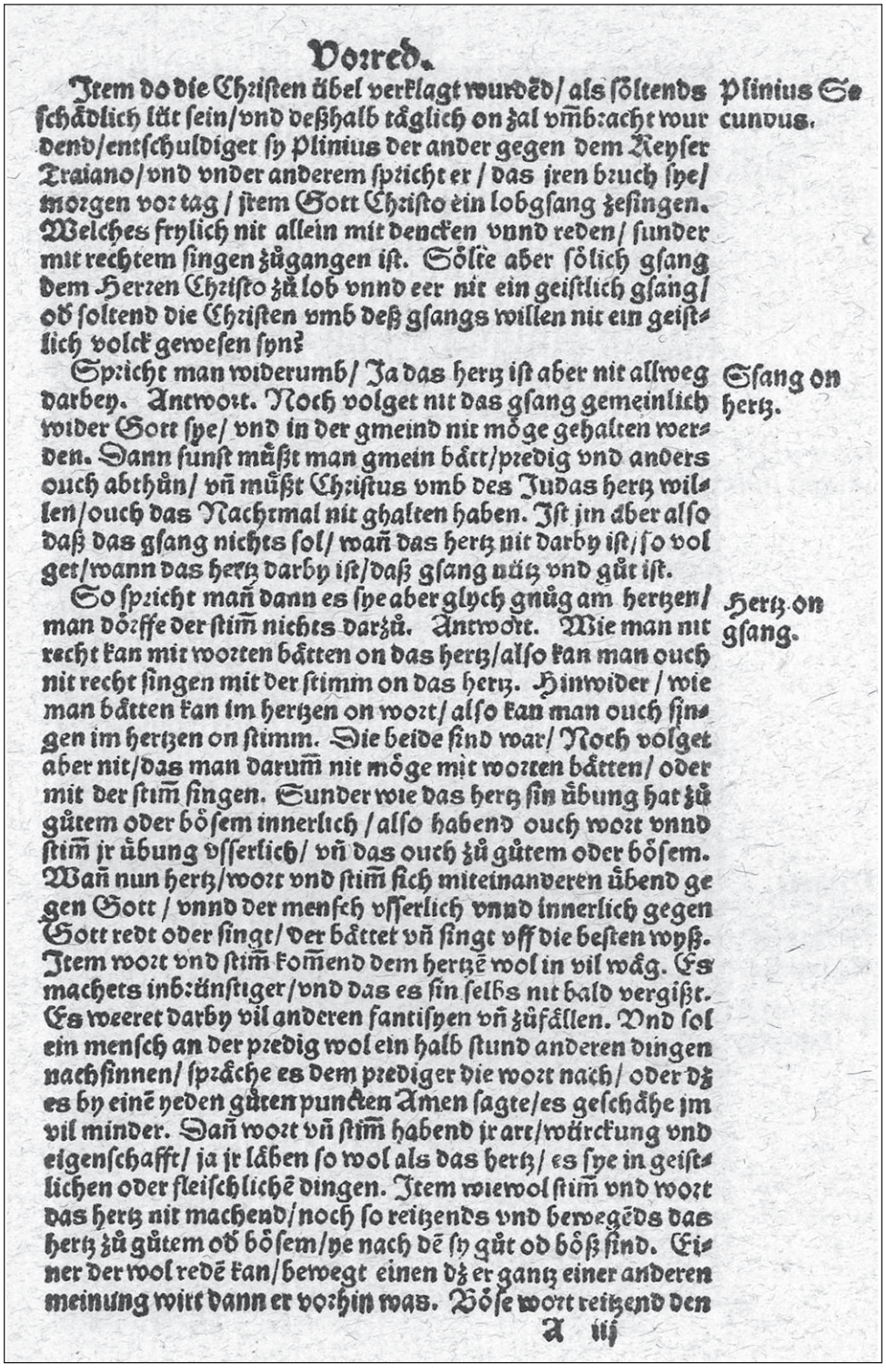
Example.

Ephesians 5.

Objection.

I. Corinthians 14.

James 5.



Vorred.

Item do die Christen übel verklagt wurdēd/ als söltends schädlich lüt sein/vnd deßhalb täglich on zal vmbracht wurdend/entschuldiget sy Plinius der ander gegen dem Keyser Traiano/vnd vnder anderem spricht er / das jren bruch sye/ morgen vor tag / jrem Gott Christo ein lobgsang zesingen. Welches frylich nit allein mit dencken vnnd reden/ sunder mit rechtem singen zůgangen ist. Sölte aber sölich gsang dem Herren Christo zů lob vnnd eer nit ein geistlich gsang/ od̄ soltend die Christen vmb deß gsangs willen nit ein geistlich volck gewesen syn? Plinius Secundus.

Spricht man widerumb/ Ja das hertz ist aber nit allweg darbey. Antwort. Noch volget nit das gsang gemeinlich wider Gott sye/ vnd in der gmeind nit möge gehalten werden. Dann sunst müßt man gmein bätt/predig vnd anders ouch abthůn/ vñ müßt Christus vmb des Judas hertz willen/ouch das Nachtmal nit ghalten haben. Ist jm aber also daß das gsang nichts sol/ wañ das hertz nit darby ist/so volget/wann das hertz darby ist/daß gsang nütz vnd gůt ist. Gsang on hertz.

So spricht mañ dann es sye aber glych gnůg am hertzen/ man dörffe der stim̄ nichts darzů. Antwort. Wie man nit recht kan mit worten bätten on das hertz/also kan man ouch nit recht singen mit der stimm on das hertz. Hinwider / wie man bätten kan im hertzen on wort/ also kan man ouch singen im hertzen on stimm. Die beide sind war/ Noch volget aber nit/das man darum̄ nit möge mit worten bätten/ oder mit der stim̄ singen. Sunder wie das hertz sin übung hat zů gůtem oder bösem innerlich / also habend ouch wort vnnd stim̄ jr übung vsserlich/ vñ das ouch zů gůtem oder bösem. Wañ nun hertz/wort vnd stim̄ sich miteinanderen übend gegen Gott / vnnd der mensch vsserlich vnnd innerlich gegen Gott redt oder singt/ der bättet vñ singt vff die besten wyß. Item wort vnd stim̄ komend dem hertzē wol in vil wäg. Es machets inbrünstiger/vnd das es sin selbs nit bald vergißt. Es weeret darby vil anderen fantisyen vñ zůfällen. Vnd sol ein mensch an der predig wol ein halb stund anderen dingen nachsinnen/ spräche es dem prediger die wort nach/ oder dz es by einē yeden gůten puncten Amen sagte/es geschähe jm vil minder. Dañ wort vñ stim̄ habend jr art/würckung vnd eigenschafft/ ja jr läben so wol als das hertz/ es sye in geistlichen oder fleischlichē dingen. Item wiewol stim̄ vnd wort das hertz nit machend/noch so reitzends vnd bewegēds das hertz zů gůtem od̄ bösem/ye nach dē sy gůt od̄ böß sind. Einer der wol redē kan/bewegt einen dz er gantz einer anderen meinung wirt dann er vorhin was. Böse wort reitzend den Hertz on gsang.

Pliny the Younger.†

Furthermore, as Christians were being wickedly accused of being harmful people and therefore daily murdered beyond number, Pliny the Younger also charged them before Emperor Trajan, and, among other things, he said that their custom was to sing to their God Christ a song of praise at dawn. Obviously this does not refer to thinking and speaking alone but concerns real singing. Can such singing – which praises and honors the heart of Christ—be unspiritual? Were those Christians unspiritual because of it?

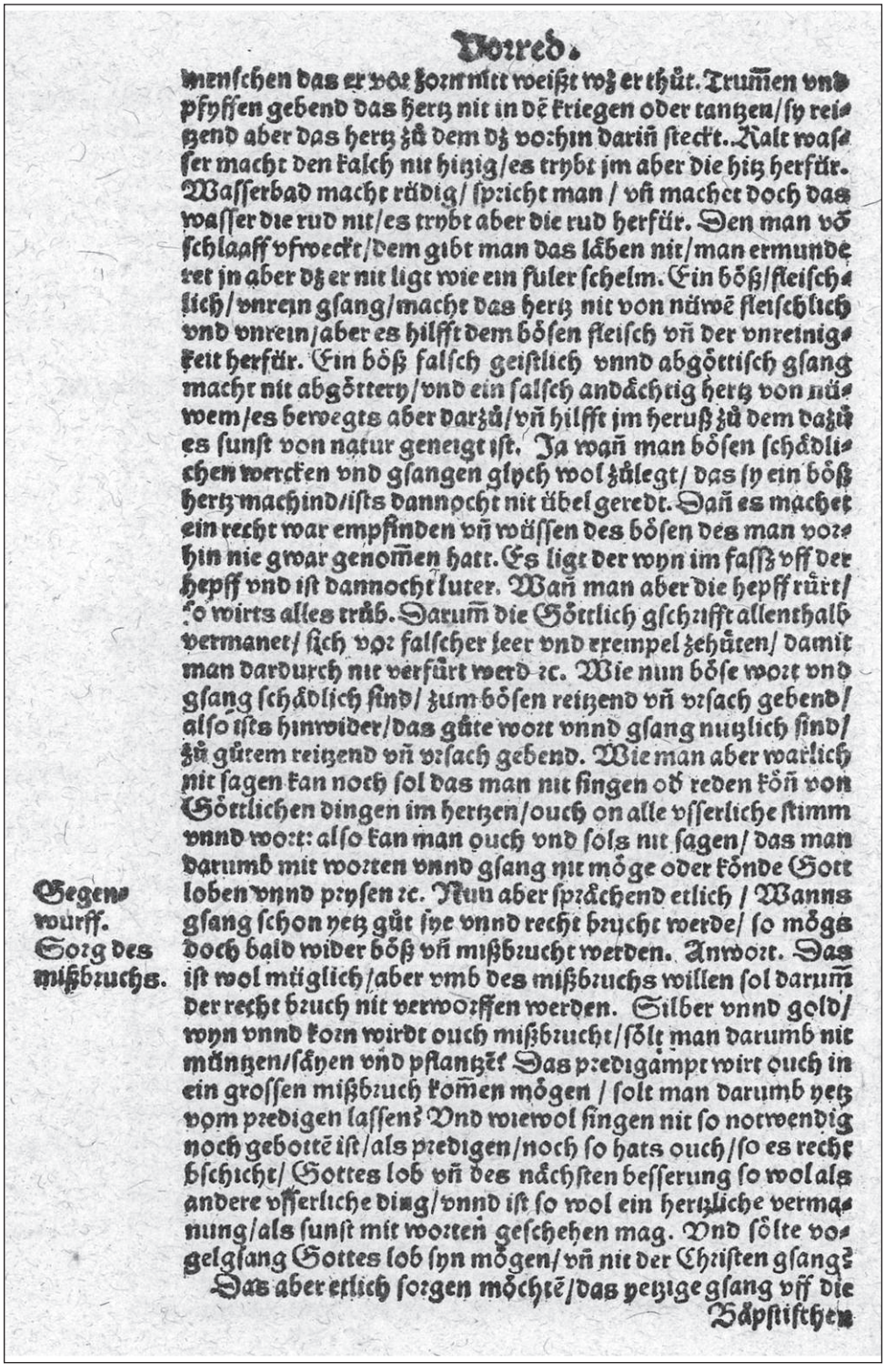
Singing without heart.

Someone may respond by saying, "Yes, but the heart is not always present." Answer: Still, it does not follow that singing in general is against God and is not to be practiced in the congregation, for then one would also have to do away with corporate prayer and preaching, among other things. Christ too, because of Judas's heart, should not have held the Last Supper. If, for the one who objects, singing accomplishes nothing when the heart is not present, then it is logical that when the heart is present, singing is useful and good.

Heart without singing.

He then says, "Still, it is enough to sing in the heart; one need not add the voice." Answer: Just as one cannot properly pray with words but without the heart, one cannot properly sing with the voice but without the heart. On the other hand, if one can pray in the heart without words one can also sing in the heart without voice. Both are true, and yet it does not follow that one should neither pray with words nor sing with the voice. However, just as the heart has its internal tendency to goodness or wickedness, so words and voice have their external tendencies to goodness or wickedness. Now, when heart, word, and voice are practiced together toward God, and man, whether externally or internally, speaks or sings to God, he prays and sings in the best way. Furthermore, words and voice benefit the heart in many ways. They make it more fervent so that it does not soon forget itself and thereby ward off many other fantasies and hazards. During a sermon, one may think about other things for a good half hour. It would have been much better for that person to repeat every word or to say "Amen" after every good point because words and voice have their ways, effects, and means—yes, their life—as does the heart, whether in spiritual or fleshly things. Though words and voice do not make the heart, still they entice and move it to goodness or wickedness depending on whether it is good or wicked. A good speaker moves a man so that he is persuaded of a completely different position than he had to start with. Wicked words provoke a man

†Cf. Pliny, Book 10, Letter 96; also Eusebius, *Church History*, NPNF2 1.165.



Vorred.

menschen das er vor zorn nit weißt wz er thůt. Trumẽten vnd pfyffen gebend das hertz nit in dẽ kriegen oder tantzen/ sy reitzend aber das hertz zů dem dz vorhin dariñ steckt. Kalt wasser macht den kalch nit hitzig/ es trybt jm aber die hitz herfür. Wasserbad macht rüdig/ spricht man/ vñ machet doch das wasser die rud nit/ es trybt aber die rud herfür. Den man vō schlaaff vfweckt/ dem gibt man das läben nit/ man ermundret jn aber dz er nit ligt wie ein fuler schelm. Ein bōß/ fleischlich/ vnrein gsang/ macht das hertz nit von nüwē fleischlich vnd vnrein/ aber es hilfft dem bösen fleisch vñ der vnreinigkeit herfür. Ein bōß falsch geistlich vnnd abgöttisch gsang macht nit abgöttery/ vnd ein falsch andächtig hertz von nüwem/ es bewegts aber darzů/ vñ hilfft jm heruß zů dem dazů es sunst von natur geneigt ist. Ja wañ man bösen schädlichen wercken vnd gsangen glych wol zůlegt/ das sy ein bōß hertz machind/ ists dannocht nit übel geredt. Dañ es machet ein recht war empfinden vñ wüssen des bösen des man vorhin nie gwar genomẽn hatt. Es ligt der wyn im fasß vff der hepff vnd ist dannocht luter. Wañ man aber die hepff rürt/ so wirts alles trüb. Darumb die Göttlich gschrifft allenthalb vermanet/ sich vor falscher leer vnd exempel zehüten/ damit man dardurch nit verfürt werd ꝛc. Wie nun böse wort vnd gsang schädlich sind/ zum bösen reitzend vñ vrsach gebend/ also ists hinwider/ das güte wort vnnd gsang nutzlich sind/ zů gütem reitzend vñ vrsach gebend. Wie man aber warlich nit sagen kan noch sol das man nit singen od̃ reden kōn von Göttlichen dingen im hertzen/ ouch on alle vsserliche stimm vnnd wort: also kan man ouch vnd sols nit sagen/ das man darumb mit worten vnnd gsang nit möge oder könde Gott loben vnnd prysen ꝛc.

Gegenwurff.

Sorg des mißbruchs.

Nun aber sprächend etlich / Wanns gsang schon yetz gůt sye vnnd recht brucht werde/ so mögs doch bald wider bōß vñ mißbrucht werden. Anwort. Das ist wol müglich/ aber vmb des mißbruchs willen sol darumb der recht bruch nit verworffen werden. Silber vnnd gold/ wyn vnnd korn wirdt ouch mißbrucht/ sölt man darumb nit müntzen/ säyen vnd pflantzē? Das predigampt wirt ouch in ein grossen mißbruch komen mögen / solt man darumb yetz vom predigen lassen? Vnd wiewol singen nit so notwendig noch gebottē ist/ als predigen/ noch so hats ouch/ so es recht bschicht/ Gottes lob vñ des nächsten besserung so wol als andere vsserliche ding/ vnnd ist so wol ein hertzliche vermanung/ als sunst mit worten geschehen mag. Vnd sölte vogelgsang Gottes lob syn mögen/ vñ nit der Christen gsang?

Das aber etlich sorgen möchtē/ das yetzige gsang vff die

Bäpstisthen

so that, on account of anger, he knows not what he does. Drumming and whistling do not give the heart over to war or dancing, but they inflame the heart to that which was already within it. Cold water does not make lime sulfurous but it drives the sulfur forth. Someone might say that a water bath makes a person dirty. However, the water does not make the dirt; it simply drives the dirt forth. One who wakes a man from sleep has not given that man life, but he encourages him not to lie there like a lazy wretch. Wicked, fleshly, and unclean singing does not make the heart fleshly and unclean again, but it does help bring the wicked flesh and uncleanliness forth. A wicked, unspiritual, and idolatrous singing does not recreate idols and a falsely reverent heart, but it helps bring them forth and moves the heart toward that to which it is naturally inclined. It is often true that wicked and detrimental works and singing make a wicked heart. These create a true sensitivity toward and knowledge of wickedness, the depth of which one could not fathom before. Wine lies on the yeast in a barrel, and yet it remains pure. But if one stirs the yeast, then everything becomes cloudy. That is why the Holy Scriptures constantly admonish us to guard ourselves from false teaching and examples and not to be led astray by them. Just as wicked words and singing are harmful and entice towards and give cause to wickedness, so it is equally true that good words and singing are useful and entice towards and give cause to good. One cannot truthfully say, nor should one say, that godly things cannot be sung or spoken of in the heart even without any external voice or words. Likewise, one cannot say, nor should one say, that one cannot and may not therefore praise and bless God with words and singing. Now some may say, "Even if singing is good and used correctly, it may quickly be misused and turned to wickedness." Answer: That is always possible, but proper use should not be discarded for the sake of the possibility of misuse. Silver and gold, wine and corn, are also misused. Should one therefore not mint coins or sow or plant? The office of preaching may also fall into great misuse. Should one therefore abstain from preaching? Though singing is not as necessary as preaching and also not commanded, when done in a right manner it effects God's praise and betters one's neighbor—as do other such things. It is at the same time as genial an exhortation as words can be. Should a bird's singing be for God's praise and not the singing of the Christian? The worries of some that the current singing is in the

Rebuttal.

Fear of misuse.



Vorred.

Bäpstischen art zickind/kan auch nit warlich gsagt werden. Diß gsang
Dañ man leert nit Welsch oder Latinisch singen vnder den dem bäpsti-
Türcken/ vñ das wed der singt noch der zühört / das gsang schen vn-
verstand/ vnd das niemants könd Amen darzů sagen/ Item glych.
dz man vil gnad vnd ablaß oder grossen verdienst darby ver
künde/ Item das allein gwycht lüt singen söllind/vnnd das
vß dem gesang ein fleischlicher lust vñ ozenweid werde/ das
man die gurgel mit gůtem starckem weyn salben müsse/das
sich in der kirchen mancherley stimmen hoch vnd nider/klein
vñ groß durch einanderen reimen müssind. Vnd vorauß hats
die meinung nit das die gsang abgöttisch sygind/vnnd das
ein hantierung darauß werde/oder einer für den andern vñ
den taglon singe.

Etlich lassend sölichs gůt vnnd waar syn/das man mög Allein p sal-
singen/vnnd das es nit wider Gott sye / habend aber ander men singen.
gegenwürff / als / das man nichts singen sölte dann allein
Psalmen/oder was sunst nach dem büchstaben in der Bibel
gschriben stand. Die selbigen habend nit ein böse meinung/
es fält jnē aber am rechten vrteilen vñ vnderscheiden. Das
man vff gschrifft dringt/ vmb viler willen die sy mißbrucht
hand/ vñ hinfür mißbruchē möchten/ist recht vñ wol thon/
doch das man darnäbend die gaaben des heiligen geists die
er vff mancherley wyß würckt/nit gar verwerffe/ vnd dz man
allweg vil mee vff den innhalt vñ verstand der gschrifft trin-
ge/ dann vff die wort. Es müssend alle menschen des ver-
stands gfangner sin/gleert vnd vngleert / der büchstab aber
vñ die wort sind fry. Wz nun dem verstand glych ist/ das ist
ouch gschrifft/wie vngleych die wort: Was dem verstand
vnglych ist/das ist wider gschrifft/wie glych die wort sin mö
gend/vnd wañ sy schon ytel guldin wärind. Darumb lies- Tertull. in
send etlich der alten Christen vff jre gastmäler/die sy mit den Apol. ca. 39
armen hieltēd/nit allein vß der gschrifft singen/sunder was
einer ouch sunst eigens kund/ doch frylich nichts das wider
Gott vnd den verstand der heyligen gschrifft wäre. Ander Das gsang
stossend sich daran das die Psalmen vnd andere gsang gery- gerymet.
met sind/ Denen ists ouch allein vmb die wort zethün. Ge-
denckend darby nit/dz/wie man ein ding zů eim gůtē grundt
lichen verstand bringē mag das es gůt ist/ doch allweg/ das
dem verstand nüts abgang. Die wort sind der glöubigenn/
vnnd nit die glöubigen der worten/wie Christus ouch von Marc. 2.
dem Sabbath sagt/vnd Sant Paulus / Es sye alles vnser/ 1. Cor 3.
wir aber syend Christi/allein das es alles dem glauben vnd
der liebe änlich sye/welchs der verstand ist der gantzen gött-
lichen gschrifft. Darnach ergerend sich etlich daran/ das die

A iiij

Papist manner are unfounded. We do not teach singing in French or Latin among Germans because then neither he who sings nor he who listens understands the song, and no one can say Amen to it. We also do not declare mercy and indulgence or great merit through singing. Furthermore, we reject that only important people should sing, or that singing will become a fleshly pleasure and ear pleaser, or that one must first anoint the throat with good strong wine, or that in the church all manner of voices, high and low, small and great, must rhyme together. In any case, we do not begin with the assumption that singing is idolatrous, or becomes a trade to be plied, or that one sings for another for his day's wages.

This singing is different from that of the Papists.

Many affirm this truth—that one may sing and it is not against God—but they have other objections, such as that one should sing nothing but Psalms or whatever else is spelled out in the Bible. They do not have a wicked view but are lacking proper judgment and discernment. To insist on Scripture, word for word, because of the many who have misused it and desire to misuse it is to do well and right, but one should not at the same time discard the gifts of the Holy Spirit which the Spirit works in so many ways. One must always insist much more on the meaning and understanding of the Scriptures than on the words. All men are prisoners of their own understanding, both the erudite and the ignorant, but the letter and the word are free. Therefore, that which is approved by reason is also Scripture however different the words may be. What is not approved by reason is contrary to Scripture however exact the words may be and even if they are already vainly gilt. That is why, in their banquets that they held with the poor, many of the old Christians allowed not only the singing of Scripture but also of songs which they brought themselves; though, to be sure, they allowed nothing that would be against God or the understanding of the Holy Scriptures. Others stumble on the fact that the Psalms and other songs are rhymed. They are also concerned solely with the words. They do not consider that if one can bring a thing to a good and thorough understanding, then it is good, although in any case nothing can be accepted apart from a proper understanding of Scripture. The words belong to the believer and not the believer to the words, as Christ also said of the Sabbath. St. Paul wrote, "It is all ours, but we are Christ's." Only let everything be according to faith and love, the understanding of which is the entirety of the Holy Scriptures. And still some are vexed

Exclusive Psalmody.

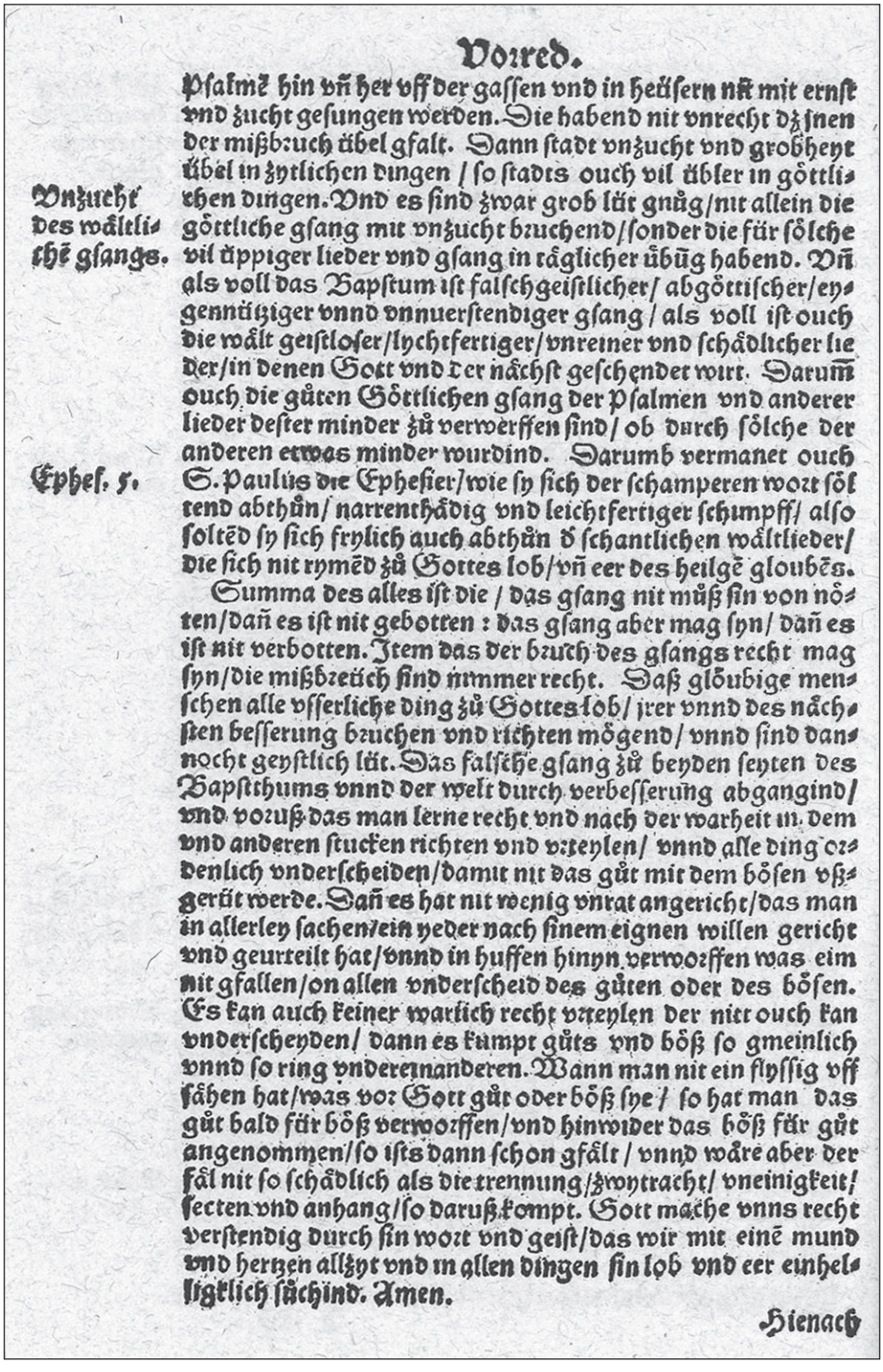
Tertullian in *Apologeticus pro Christianis* Ch. 39.†

On rhymed singing.

Mark 2.

I. Corinthians 3.

†Cf. *Apologeticus*, ed. John E. B . Mayor, trans. Alex Souter (Cambridge: 1917) 115.



Vorred.

Psalmē hin vñ her vff der gassen vnd in heüsern nit mit ernst vnd zucht gesungen werden. Die habend nit vnrecht dz jnen der mißbruch übel gfalt. Dann stadt vnzucht vnd grobheyt übel in zytlichen dingen / so stadts ouch vil übler in göttlichen dingen. Vnd es sind zwar grob lüt gnůg / nit allein die göttliche gsang mit vnzucht bruchend / sonder die für sölche vil üppiger lieder vnd gsang in täglicher übūg habend. Vñ als voll das Bapstum ist falschgeistlicher / abgöttischer / eygennütziger vnnd vnnuerstendiger gsang / als voll ist ouch die wält geistloser / lychtfertiger / vnreiner vnd schädlicher lieder / in denen Gott vnd der nächst geschendet wirt. Darum ouch die güten Göttlichen gsang der Psalmen vnd anderer lieder dester minder zů verwerffen sind / ob durch sölche der anderen etwas minder wurdind. Darumb vermanet ouch S. Paulus die Ephesier / wie sy sich der schamperen wort söltend abthůn / narrenthädig vnd leichtfertiger schimpff / also soltēd sy sich frylich auch abthůn d schantlichen wältlieder / die sich nit rymēd zů Gottes lob / vñ eer des heilgē gloubēs.

Vnzucht des wältlichē gsangs.

Epheſ. 5.

Summa des alles ist die / das gsang nit můß sin von nöten / dañ es ist nit gebotten: das gsang aber mag syn / dañ es ist nit verbotten. Item das der bruch des gsangs recht mag syn / die mißbrüch sind nimmer recht. Daß glöubige menschen alle vsserliche ding zů Gottes lob / jrer vnnd des nächsten besserung bruchen vnd richten mögend / vnnd sind dannocht geystlich lüt. Das falschē gsang zů beyden seyten des Bapstthums vnnd der welt durch verbesserung abgangind / vnd vorauß das man lerne recht vnd nach der warheit in dem vnd anderen stucken richten vnd vrteylen / vnnd alle ding ordenlich vnderscheiden / damit nit das gůt mit dem böſen vßgerüt werde. Dañ es hat nit wenig vnrat angericht / das man in allerley sachen / ein yeder nach sinem eignen willen gericht vnd geurteilt hat / vnnd in huffen hinyn verworffen was eim nit gfallen / on allen vnderscheid des güten oder des böſen. Es kan auch keiner warlich recht vrteylen der nitt ouch kan vnderscheyden / dann es kumpt güts vnd böß so gmeinlich vnnd so ring vnderenanderen. Wann man nit ein flyssig vff sähen hat / was vor Gott gůt oder böß sye / so hat man das gůt bald für böß verworffen / vnd hinwider das böß für gůt angenommen / so ists dann schon gfält / vnnd wäre aber der fäl nit so schädlich als die trennung / zwytracht / vneinigkeit / secten vnd anhang / so daruß kompt. Gott mache vns recht verstendig durch sin wort vnd geist / das wir mit einē mund vnd hertzen allzyt vnd in allen dingen sin lob vnd eer einhelligklich süchind. Amen.

Hienach

that the Psalms are sung back and forth in the alleyways and houses without seriousness and propriety. Their displeasure at this misuse is not mistaken, for, if lewdness and crassness are ill fit in temporal things, how much worse they are in godly things. There is no shortage of crass people who use not only godly singing in a lewd manner but who have much more wanton songs and singing in regular use. As full as papism is of falsely spiritual, idolatrous, self-serving, and unregenerate singing, so full is the world of unspiritual, frivolous, impure, and harmful songs in which God and one's neighbor are profaned. Therefore, let there be good and godly singing of the Psalms and other songs with which little fault can be found, so that through them the use of the others would diminish. That is why St. Paul admonishes the Ephesians that they should put away their shameful words, foolish works, and frivolous quarrels. Likewise, they should happily put away their shameful worldly songs which are not rhymed for God's praise and the honor of the holy faith.

The lewdness of wordly singing.

Ephesians 5.

The summation of all this is as follows: Singing is not a requirement or necessity for it is not commanded, but singing may take place for it is not forbidden; the use of singing may be right, but its misuse is never right; believers do all things for God's praise, using and directing all things to their own and their neighbor's betterment, and they are therefore a spiritual people; false singing, both that of papism and worldliness, would disappear through reform; and foremost, that one should learn to judge rightly, according to the truth and to discern fairly in this and in all matters, so that the good is not thrown out with the wicked. Much dross has been created because each one judges according to his own preferences in all things, casting on the rubbish heap what he did not like without distinguishing between the good and the wicked. One cannot truly judge who cannot also wisely discern, for goodness and wickedness become so easily and thoroughly confused. If one does not have an assiduous understanding of what is good or wicked before God, then good is quickly cast off for wickedness and wickedness accepted in exchange for good, and then the tragedy has already occurred. This fall would not be so devastating were it not for the division, discord, dissension, sects, and related refuse that spew from it. May God make us judicious through his word and Spirit so that we would, with one mind and heart, united at all times and in all things, seek his praise and honor. Amen.▪

Antiquary

The James Durham MSS Part II

At one time (some centuries ago now) there was quite a bit of James Durham material known to exist in manuscript. A life of Durham affixed to eighteenth century editions of the Revelation commentary and to the 1740 edition of *Concerning Scandal*, reported the following to have existed in the early eighteenth century.

> Besides his works in print, there are still preserved in the hands of the reverend Mr. Robert Wodrow, and some other private persons, his sermons upon the whole book of the Song of Solomon, and upon Eph. 5:15–20; 1 Cor. 9:24; Luke 1:6; Gal. 5:16; Ps. 119:65, 97, 113; 1 Thess. 5:19, 22; 1 Pet. 3:14; Matt. 18:7–9; Luke 10:41–42.

Howie gives a somewhat different listing:

> There are a great many of his sermons in manuscript, never yet published, viz. three sermons on resisting the Holy Ghost, from Acts 7:51; eight on quenching the Spirit; five upon grieving the Spirit; thirteen upon trusting and delighting in God; two against immoderate anxiety; eight upon the one thing needful; with a discourse upon prayer; and several sermons and discourses [and the rest of the texts as noted in the Wodrow quotation, except Howie gives Matt. 8:7–9 for Matt. 18:7–9].[1]

In the 2009 issue of *The Confessional Presbyterian* I detailed in this space the contents of the Durham manuscript materials held in private hands and by Glasgow University Library. Since then I can report on five additional MSS held by National Library of Scotland, University of Edinburgh Library, Dundee Central Library and the Free Church College Library.

Nathan Holsteen describes three of these as follows:[2]

> There are several manuscripts of Durham's work that merit at least a mention in the context of this consideration of his literary output. While none of them affects the shape of Durham's thought as revealed by the published works already considered, these manuscripts surely deserve some notice.
>
> The first manuscript is a collection of fifty-three sermons by Durham on the Song of Solomon [National Library of Scotland, MS# Wod. Mss. 17]. Dating from 1653, the manuscript appears to differ from Durham's *An Exposition of the Song of Solomon* [1668] in expression, although the basic thrust of the material seems very similar.[3] The manuscript comprises approximately 560 pages, even though the first eight sermons are missing.
>
> The second manuscript is entitled "Conscience Catechism; or a short compend of 22 sermons taught by Mr. James Durham on conscience, drawen out in one hundred questions and answers" [National Library of Scotland, MS Vol. XI, No. 15948, p. 56]. The manuscript comprises forty-eight pages, and is undoubtedly a revision of Durham's teaching in *Heaven Upon Earth* [1685] since that work comprises twenty-two sermons on conscience. The third manuscript is a very small volume containing seven of Durham's sermons on Revelation 14:13 [University of Edinburgh Library, Special Collections MS# La. III. 124]. The volume is approximately ten centimeters by seven centimeters in size, and is clearly a copy of notes written by someone who heard the sermons that were later published as *The Blessedness of the Death of These that Die in the Lord* [1681].

Of these manuscripts, the sermons on Song of Solomon should be examined thoroughly to ascertain if they contain significantly different material than the published commentary. It seems likely Durham compiled the commentary from his notes from preaching through that book. It is not clear from Holsteen's description if the "Conscience Catechism" was compiled from notes on Durham's sermons existing in MS or from the actual published sermons, nor when this compendium was penned. Whatever the case, it does not appear to be a work of Durham's. However, its length and its being in the form of a catechism, would make it a nice candidate for transcription if the text is wholly or largely legible.

The additional manuscripts are found at Dundee Central Library and the library of the Free Church College.

Dundee Central Library Durham MS

The description of this volume is as follows: "Durham, James (1622–1658) Professor of Divinity, Glasgow University. c1650: MS Sermons. NRA(S)3822. National Register of Archives catalogue reference: NRA 42626 Dundee Central Library. Dark

1. The discourse on prayer, two on anxiety and one from the eight said to exist on the one thing needful, were appended to the *An Exposition of the Whole Book of Job* (Glasgow: J. Bryce and D. Paterson, 1759).

2. "The Popularization of Federal Theology: Conscience and Covenant in the Theology of David Dickson (1583–1663) and James Durham (1622–1658)" (University of Aberdeen. Dept. of Divinity and Religious Studies, 1996), 217–218. My thanks to D. J. MacLean for this reference.

3. Holsteen notes: "Sermon 33 is dated 27 March 1653, Sermon 36 is dated 17 April 1653, and Sermon 37 is dated May 1653."

Contents of Dundee Central Library Durham MS

Sermons by Rev[d]. James Durham, M.A. minister of Barony Church, Glasgow [born 1622 died 1658]

I.	On Jeremiah L vers. 4&5. the Perpetual Covenant.	Sermon 1
II.	[On Jeremiah L vers. 4&5. the Perpetual Covenant.	Sermon] 2
III.	[On Jeremiah L vers. 4&5. the Perpetual Covenant.	Sermon] 3
IV.	[On Jeremiah L vers. 4&5. the Perpetual Covenant.	Sermon] 4 On Communion Sabbath
V.	[On Jeremiah L vers. 4&5. the Perpetual Covenant.	Sermon] 5 On Monday after Communion
VI.	[On] Matthew XXVI. ver. 29. The New Home in the Kingdom [Sermon] on the 2d. Communion Sabbath afternoon	
VII.	[On] Revel. XIV. vers. 13. "Blessed are the Dead that die in the Lord."	Sermon 1
VIII.	[On Revel. XIV. vers. 13. "Blessed are the Dead that die in the Lord."	Sermon] 2
IX.	[On Revel. XIV. vers. 13. "Blessed are the Dead that die in the Lord."	Sermon] 3
X.	[On Revel. XIV. vers. 13. "Blessed are the Dead that die in the Lord."	Sermon] 4
XI.	[On Revel. XIV. vers. 13. "Blessed are the Dead that die in the Lord."	Sermon] 5
XII.	[On Revel. XIV. vers. 13. "Blessed are the Dead that die in the Lord."	Sermon] 6
XIII.	[On Revel. XIV. vers. 13. "Blessed are the Dead that die in the Lord."	Sermon] 7

green leather bound journal, 15.5cm. x 19.5 cm., water damaged, 246 pages plus contents page. Owned by Alexander Hastie Millar (1847–1927)."[4]

This volume contains thirteen sermons, the handwritten contents page is transcribed in the table above.[5]

All of these sermons seem to represent those that were published. However, it is not clear whether or not this MS was a source for John Carstares, the editor of most of Durham's works. Sermons 1–5 on Jeremiah 50:4–5 appear to be MS of the five that appear in *The Unsearchable Riches of Christ* (1685). The sixth sermon on Matthew 16:29 appears to be MS of a sermon published in the same volume, which is described as "A Thanksgiving Sermon after the Communion, the last that ever the Author preached on such an occasion, at Glasgow." Sermons 7–13 appear to line up with the seven sermons on Revelation 14:13 published as *The Blessedness of the Death of those that die in the Lord* (1681). This would make a pair of surviving MS of these sermons with that above noted to be at the University of Edinburgh Library.[6]

Free Church College Library

The library of the Free Church College has a manuscript of Durham sermons, Record, NRA(S)2071, NRA catalogue reference, NRA 23336 Free Church College.[7]

According to the library, this MS only contains sermons on chapter five of Song of Solomon.[8] At present there is nothing in the volume documenting that the sermons are those of James Durham, so any confirming inscription or notice may have become detached or obscured. The legibility of the text is very poor and the volume was damaged by water at some point in the past. A comparison of any legible text to sermons on chapter five in the NLS volume of 53 sermons may reconfirm that these were notes of sermons preached by Durham.

There hopefully are other MS surviving to discover, since of the volumes canvassed in this and earlier in the first installment, little has been uncovered of the many sermons noted to have been in MS by Howie in his life of Durham. And given the shape that some of these MS are in at present, we should be very thankful for the labors of John Carstares, who edited and published so much of Durham's material from manuscripts in his possession in the mid to late seventeenth century.

Chris Coldwell ▪

4. Dr. Millar was City Librarian of Dundee, a scholar and writer, having written over 100 entries for the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and authored "a large number of works on Scottish history and antiquities." Obituary. *The Times*, Tuesday, Mar 01, 1927; Issue 44518; pg. 9; col c—Dr. A. H. Millar. http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_Times/1927/Obituary/Alexander_Hastie_Millar. Accessed October 4, 2011.

5. I thank Eileen Moran, Library & Information Worker and the Dundee Central Library for much of this information and a photo of the contents page transcribed here.

6. The record from the Dundee Central Library catalogue notes that three documents are inserted in this volume. "Loose insert of a 'copie: of a letter [from] Mr. Rutherfoord (Samuel Rutherford, 1600–1661, principal of St. Mary's College, St Andrews) some few dayes beffor his death'; also 'Two pious & prophetical Lers of Mr. John Welsh qch hee wrote out of his prison qhen ye sentence of death was pronounced againſt him onlie for his teſtimony againſt Eraſtianisme and prelacy, the firſt to ye Lady Fleeming'; the second is in fact 'George Wishart his prophecy'.

7. I thank Christina MacIver, Assistant Librarian, the Free Church College, for the description of this volume.

8. I would note here, and express my regret, that in my footnote affixed to the life of Durham in the Naphtali Press edition of *Christ Crucified*, I conflated the NLS manuscript of 53 sermons on Song of Solomon and those only on chapter 5 owned by the Free Church College. See John Howie, *Lives of the Scottish Covenanters* (A Press, 1981) page 216; *Christ Crucified: Or the Marrow of the Gospel in Seventy-Two Sermons on Isaiah 53*. (Naphtali Press, 2001; 2007) xxxviii.

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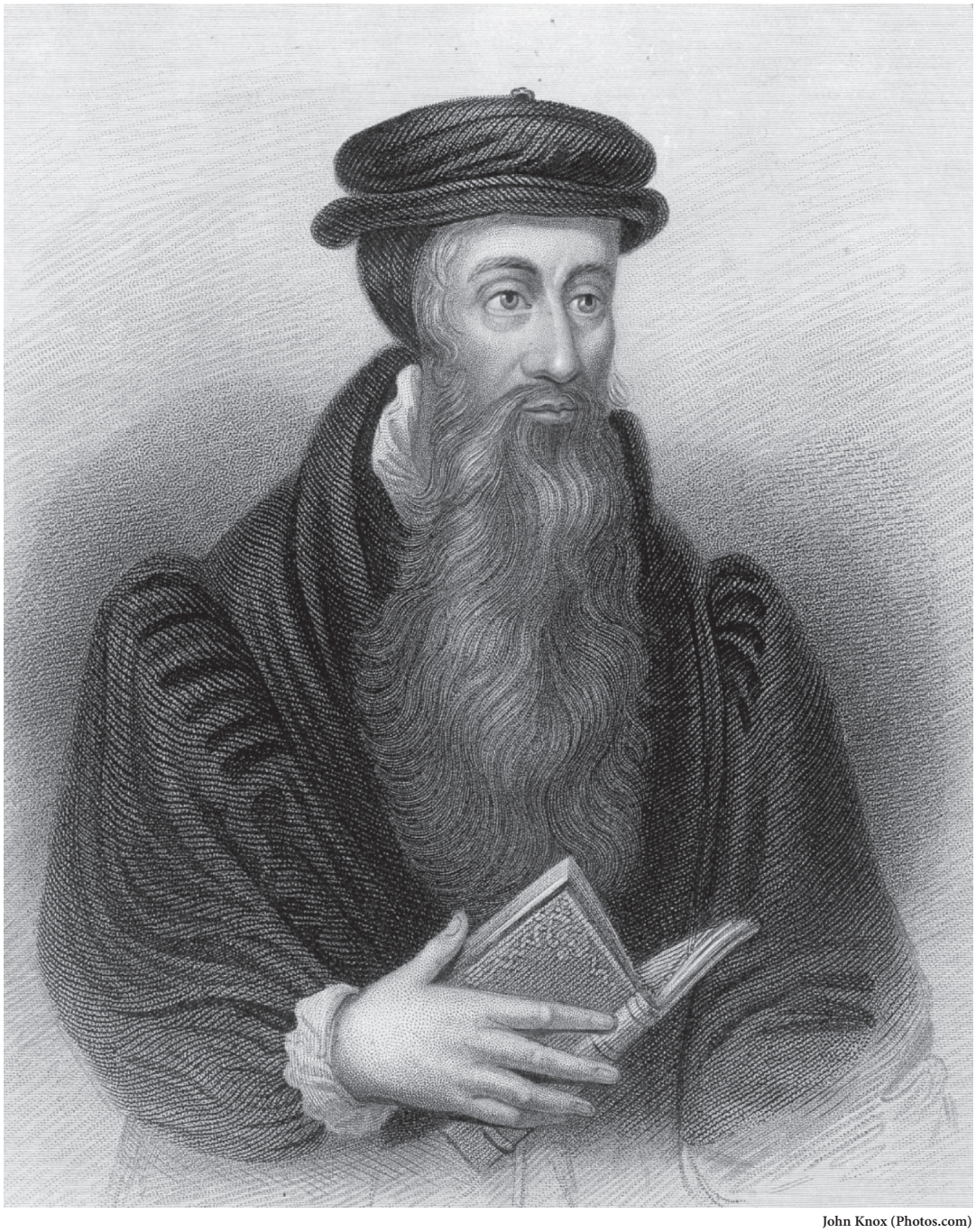
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John Knox (Photos.com)

Editorial. **Continued from Page 3.**

Duncan Rankin provides a stimulating and sweeping overview of "The Early Reformation in Scotland." Here Rankin treats his readers to the background to the 1560 events that mark the Scottish Reformation, explains the highlights of Scottish orthodoxy and orthopraxy, and introduces "the bold and battle-hardened" John Knox. In accomplishing his goal, Rankin points the reader to those luminaries who prepared the way for Knox, Melville, Bruce, and generations to come in Scotland and throughout the Reformed world. Patrick Hamilton, "the morning star of the Reformation in Scotland," was one such leading light. This man's life and death was said to have "infected as many as it blew upon." Then there was George Wishart, the mentor to Knox; who like Hamilton, was martyred for Christ's Crown and Covenant. This overview should catapult its readers toward a greater appreciation and study of the Scottish Reformation and its men.

There is a very relevant article from Daniel Ritchie that examines the effect of the 1859 Ulster Revival upon worship and church order. When one looks at the Great Awakening of the 18th century or the Finney-influenced happenings of the early 19th century, questions have to be asked as to the relation of church to revival. The Ulster Revival is no exception and Ritchie helps us critique all claims to revival through the lens of Ulster.

In anticipation of the 200th anniversary of the seminary at Princeton next year, Allen Stanton offers a history of the development of polemics among the early faculty of Old Princeton as a follow-up to his article in the 2010 issue. Stanton seeks to show that the idea of polemics did not just form the constitutional cornerstone of the founding of the seminary, but continued as an ideal over its first century of existence. Of special interest in this article are the events of the early days of the seminary and how Samuel Miller and Archibald Alexander countered threats to the Reformed Faith from within as well as from outside of the church.

Gary Steward redresses the matter of the role of Jonathan Dickinson in colonial Presbyterianism and seeks to show that his importance is greater than the current scholarship acknowledges. In particular Steward tackles the question of whether or not he was a *bona fide* Calvinist. Much of the current scholarship has argued that he equivocated on the historic position of Calvinism with regard to soteriology by adopting the rationalism of his day, seeking to mediate between Calvinism and Arminianism. Steward provides a detailed and persuasive case that the current consensus is incorrect, that Dickinson is faithful to the Calvinistic tradition, and that a new consensus should be established.

Much like Dickinson, another neglected piece of the 19th century reformed landscape is a churchman by the name of T. V. Moore. Barry Waugh brings his careful scholarship to this man's life and provides insightful access to this man. Moore was a man of Scoto-American (to borrow a term from Stuart Robinson, a contemporary of Moore) convictions and so you see how he fits into the Scottish heritage, as any good Presbyterian ought.

Many, if not all, of our readers will be familiar with Rowland Ward and his many useful contributions to the literary life of the church. Ward does it again with an historical treatment of "The Basis and Practice of Christian Mission to Jews 1520–1860." This article fills a lacuna and should be widely appreciated.

Ward's worthy article is followed by a very thoughtful pastoral piece from Ryan McGraw. In divine worship, do we pronounce the good word/covenant blessing/benediction for traditional reasons? Do we have a biblical rationale for matters like the call to worship and/or benediction in corporate worship? Are these matters justifiable by explicit or inferential teaching of Scriptures? Pastors will want to read this Pastor's insights.

Jeong Koo Jeon provides a substantial exegetical piece on the Abrahamic covenant. Using Ancient Near Eastern (ANE) sources, he seeks to show that the use of such sources actually sustains rather than undermines classic covenant theology. Given the similarities—as well as the differences—between the ANE treaties and the structure of the covenant made with Abraham, Jeon shows that the covenant made here is indeed properly described as a covenant of grace. He gets at this thesis by demonstrating several factors about the Abrahamic covenant. First, the promise to Abraham of a royal grant of land and people was secured, in part, through a redemptive-historical act of judgment upon the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. Second, he draws the connection between the covenant and Abraham's would-be sacrifice of his son on Moriah as a Messianic prophecy. And lastly, the connection between Abraham's being justified by faith apart from the law and the covenant God made with him are brought into sharp relief.

This year we are treated not to one, but two pieces on presuppositional apologetics. In the first, Jeff Waddington provides a helpful treatment in an increasingly broadening array of secondary literature on the theology and apologetics of Cornelius Van Til. Van Til was a man caught up between two places – Amsterdam and Princeton. Where was his allegiance? Was he a devoted Kuyperian or was he a true son of Old Princeton? He was critical of both Kuyper and Warfield, but with whom did he align more? Waddington gives us a helpful way of navigating the choppy waters of the discipline of properly relating Van Til to those who came before him.

In the second article, David Reiter focuses less on Cornelius Van Til's writing and more on recent assessments of the Westminster professor's transcendental argument for the existence of God. He proposes a helpful distinction between

generic transcendental arguments and modal transcendental argumentations. He advocates the latter while providing a new and clearer way to articulate it with the help of analytical philosophy and possible world semantics.

Lastly, Camden Bucey proves the second of two exegetical studies in this year's issue. This article, like Jeon's, is also an Old Testament study. However, unlike Jeon's piece, Bucey's focus is in the prophet Micah. Bucey's concern is to demonstrate the close relation between exegetical, biblical, and systematic theology. He uses Micah 3:1–4 as a test case to demonstrate that not only can the doctrine of the Trinity be found on the pages of the Old Testament, but also the finer details of the doctrine such as the perichoretic relations of the three persons of the Godhead.

In our book review section for this year, we have a number of notables. All the reviews and responses were quality reviews, but we were able to include some unusual things. Some of the most important books reviewed for this issue are Michael Horton's volume on systematic theology, Johannes Maccovius' book on distinctions (once a prime text in seminaries in the seventeenth century), Eric Johnson's massive compendium on counseling, and last but least, a couple of books on John Knox reviewed by yours truly (we had to have *something* in the review section to match the theme of John Knox!). Three unusual features of this year's review section include two reviews and responses, one on the subject of infant baptism, with J.V. Fesko and Gary Crampton arguing for paedobaptism and credobaptism, respectively; and the other review and response on Kevin Vanhoozer's recent book *Remythologizing Theology*. We were fortunate to have Dr. Vanhoozer able and willing to respond to the review from James Dolezal, as well as having a further response from Dolezal. The third unusual feature is that we have an entry in Reformed philosophy, a first for The Confessional Presbyterian. Paul Helm's excellent volume entitled *Eternal God*, now in its second edition, is ably reviewed by a Reformed philosopher, Patrick Hall. Enjoy our selection for this year.

This year's recurring back of issue features offer Todd Ruddell's rendition of Psalm 116 for *Psallo*, more information on James Durham manuscripts in *Antiquary*, and a translation of the preface to the Constance Hymnal for *In Translatiōne*. The latter is of note for having a defense of hymns to go along with the Psalms in public worship song, but also of interest as an early Reformed acknowledgment that some contended for the singing of the Psalms alone in the services of the church (which would be the practice of many Reformation churches such as the Church of Scotland). While the author was Reformed, and was writing for (and the hymnal was ecumenically intended for use by) Reformed, Lutheran and Anabaptist alike, some of the argument is strikingly Lutheran, rather than from the stand point of that regulative principle of worship defended just some ten years later by John Calvin in his *Necessity of Reforming the Church* and later by John Knox in his writings.

We offer these articles and the numerous book reviews with humility and thanksgiving to our Triune God. It is our prayerful hope that God would be pleased to use this 2011 edition to bring much good to His Church, edify and challenge His servants, and bring all glory to His thrice holy Name. Amen.

Holy Communion in the Theology of John Knox. **Continued from Page 24.**

The Eucharistic Legacy of Knox

As we approach the five hundredth anniversary of John Knox's birth, one wonders how our Reformer will be commemorated.[75] To be sure, Knox has many enemies in our day, who will try to vilify him in one way or another. Our concern here, however, is not with those who condemn him but with those who admire him as the leading Reformer of Scotland. The image of John Knox as a fiery preacher, the trumpeter of God, is certainly true to history, and it is right that we commemorate his legacy as a preacher of the Word. But Knox should also be commemorated as a restorer of the sacrament in Scotland. Indeed, the rich, eucharistic theology and piety of our Reformer left an indelible mark on Scottish Presbyterian history. It can be seen in the Communion sermons of Robert Bruce as well as those of Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, in the works of John Willison and Robert Walker, and, of course, in the Scottish Communion seasons of the eighteenth century. Along with Sir David Wilkie's portrait (see cover), these things bear eloquent testimony to the eucharistic legacy of John Knox, the restorer of the sacrament of Holy Communion in the realm of Scotland.▪

The Abrahamic Covenant and the Kingdom of God. **Continued from Page 138.**

Conclusion

We endeavored to prove that God promised the holy theocratic kingdom which includes the covenant people and the Promised Land in Canaan. Through the ceremony of covenant ratification by oath, God assured Abraham that all the promises would be realized and fulfilled. God's promise of the holy theocratic kingdom in Canaan was a type of the everlasting kingdom of heaven in Jesus Christ.

We found that the recent discoveries of the treaties in the ancient Near East do not contradict the classic covenant

75. Although the exact year of Knox's birth is uncertain, he was most likely born in 1514 (see Kyle-Johnson, 40).

theology in the seventeenth century. Rather, they affirm it. We used the Abrahamic covenant as a test case. The designation of the Abrahamic covenant as a covenant of grace in classic covenant theology is compatible with the concept of the covenant of royal grant, in parallel with the treaty of royal grant which was one of the two different patterns on the treaties in the ancient Near East.

We explored how the judgment upon Sodom and Gomorrah was redemptive judgment through holy war and separated the covenant community from the non-covenant community and corrupt world. It was a type of the final redemptive judgment at the *Parousia*. The redemptive judgment within the historical context of the Abrahamic covenant was the divine demonstration that the ultimate realization of the promises of the Abrahamic covenant would be fulfilled with the eschatological redemptive judgment.

Through the intended sacrifice of Isaac on the altar of Mount Moriah by Abraham, we endeavored to seek the image of the Son of Man sacrificed on the altar of Golgotha. In that sense, the sacrifice of Isaac on the altar was a Messianic prophecy of how "the woman's offspring" would come as "the Son of Man" to forgive the sins of the elect and bestow all the redemptive blessings that God promised to Abraham, including personal salvation.

We established the apostolic designation of "in Christ Jesus," "in Christ," and "through Christ Jesus" to note redemptive blessings, including personal salvation, adopted from the Abrahamic covenant wherein God promised redemptive blessings to Abraham and his descendants by the means of the phrases "in your offspring" and "in you."

We endeavored to support a thesis that Abraham's justification by faith within the historical context of the Abrahamic covenant provided for the first time in redemptive history a soteriological pattern that sinners are justified by faith apart from obedience or works of the law. Representatively, Paul used this soteriological motif after his Damascus Road conversion experience and proclaimed it for both Jews and Gentiles, as did the other apostles.▪

On the Shoulder of Giants: Van Til's Appropriation of Warfield and Kuyper. **Continued from Page 146.**

Finally, Kuyper was correct to connect apologetics with the other dogmatical sciences. Apologetics cannot be divorced from the Christianity it is intended to defend or vindicate. However, he was wrong to diminish its significance. Given Van Til's correction of Kuyper's territorial notion of the antithesis and common grace with a temporal or eschatological view, we can now see that apologetics has an essential role to play in the proclamation of the Gospel (and in this Warfield was correct). Apologetics is no more fruitless than preaching or evangelism in this age before the consummation. Preaching and witnessing have no inherent powers to convert the sinner. This is the work of the Holy Spirit. However, the Holy Spirit uses preaching and witnessing and so can also use apologetics.

Conclusion

Cornelius Van Til critically appropriated the apologetic insights of both Benjamin B. Warfield and Abraham Kuyper. He accepted Warfield's insight into the objective, intelligible, and clear revelation of God to man in nature and history. But he rejected Warfield's abstract notion of induction and probability and what he understood to be Warfield's notion of neutral "right reason." Van Til agreed with Kuyper's notion of the antithesis between belief and unbelief but he rejected the idea that there were practices unaffected by the fall or that there were neutral zones in this fallen world and he rejected Kuyper's diminution of apologetics which resulted from his territorial notion of the antithesis and common grace. Van Til's improvement on Kuyper's notion of antithesis and common grace allows us to recognize the central place of the transcendental argument in presuppositional apologetics: the argument for the impossibility to the contrary.

Van Til stood on the shoulders of giants and he benefitted from the insights of Warfield and Kuyper. He saw farther and more clearly than these two Reformed stalwarts and we do them no dishonor when we recognize this. Greg Bahnsen is correct when he notes that he who understands how Van Til critically appropriated *both* Warfield and Kuyper will understand the genius of the presuppositional apologetic method.▪

The Modal Transcendental Argument for God's Existence. **Continued from Page 152.**

Our study has led us to distinguish the *Modal Transcendental Argument Form* from the more "generic" transcendental argument form.[20] Collett strongly emphasizes the desideratum that the transcendental argument should establish the necessity of God's existence (Collett, "Van Til," 262), but he does not clearly recognize and make explicit the modal status of the premises of the argument—this is especially true with regard to the "granted" premise of the argument. On the other hand, Choi explicitly asserts that a modal (necessity) premise is of the very essence of a transcendental argument. But he

20. For further discussion focused specifically on the *generic* form of the transcendental argument, see my "A Dilemma For the Proponent of the Transcendental Argument for God's Existence," *Philosophia Christi* 11, no. 2 (2009): 465–469. James Anderson provides an insightful reply to my proposed dilemma in "No Dilemma for the Proponent of the Transcendental Argument: A Response to David Reiter," forthcoming in *Philosophia Christi*, Vol. 13, No. 1, (2011). I reply to Anderson in "Rejoinder to Anderson," also forthcoming in *Philosophia Christi*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (2011).

neglects the modal status of both the granted premise and the theistic conclusion. The overall conclusion of our discussion is that a transcendental argument intended to establish the necessity of God's existence must be *purely* transcendental[21]—i.e., it must be composed *exclusively* of necessary truths.▪[22]

***Review:* Douglas Bond, *The Mighty Weakness of John Knox*. D.M. Lloyd-Jones and Iain Murray, *John Knox and the Reformation*. Continued from Page 212**

already discovered, and which had been forgotten" (13). This is a salutary point in today's church, where many people seem to think that church history started in 1517.

The bad point is a small indication that Lloyd-Jones was influenced by R.T. Kendall's "Calvin versus the Calvinists" school. He lambastes the "scholastic philosophy" of the Medieval period (pp. 18–19), as if the term "scholastic" indicated the content of what was taught rather than the method (Richard Muller, in particular, has been helpful in making the point that "scholasticism" refers to a method of teaching, not the content of what is taught).

The second essay is a bit more helpful, in this reviewer's opinion. He praises John Knox's "sense of discrimination" (42), a quality that we usually refer to today as "discernment." He argues that this quality was one of the most outstanding features of his life, alongside "shrewdness" (43), "wisdom" (44), and "moderation" (45). This last characteristic sounds pretty silly when talking about John Knox, a man not precisely known for moderating his tone. However, there are some examples of moderation in Knox's life that show that he could be moderate sometimes. This reviewer would have appreciated a few more examples to counter-balance the evidence for the opposite position taken by many historians.

In getting to the thesis itself, he argues that originality as a character trait was one of the hallmarks of both Knox and the Puritans (52). Furthermore, the principle that the Scriptures have the supreme authority in our lives is also one the Puritans upheld (although it can certainly be argued that all the Reformers did this). The third piece of evidence he adduces is that Knox put into practice his principles (55–56), surely a characteristic of the Puritans, if there ever was one.

One last fascinating historical point that Lloyd-Jones explains is the origin of the so-called "Black rubric," a sheet of paper added to the Book of Common Prayer by Cranmer, but, as Lloyd-Jones argues, forced to do so by John Knox (pp. 58–63). This sheet of paper had a warning in it designed to be a compromise between the Anglicans and the Puritans concerning kneeling during the Lord's Supper. The rubric explains that such kneeling has nothing to do with adoration or worship of the elements or anything else. Lloyd-Jones's conclusion concerning the Black Rubric is that "Here is proof positive that this man was the leader of the Puritan party in this explicit manner" (63).

Murray's essay is purely biographical, in order to complement Lloyd-Jones's more thesis-oriented essays. It is entitled "John Knox and 'The Battle.'" Murray desires to point out how controversial a figure Knox was (83). After a helpful and orderly marching through the key events in Knox's life, Murray ends with a section entitled "What We May Learn from Knox" (pp. 114ff). The first helpful point he makes here is that we have an advantage that Knox never had. He had to fight against every tradition, because almost every tradition in the church was bad. We, however, have many good traditions which we do not have to jettison. The second helpful point is that Knox engaged in a very extensive ministry of encouragement (120). Knox used key doctrines like election to encourage people (see the same point made above concerning the Bond book). The third point he makes is about the power of preaching. In an age where digital media are constantly threatening to make preaching obsolete, we must never lose faith in the God of the Word, who has promised us that His Word will never return to us void. This reviewer does recommend this book also as a helpful analysis of several key issues in play during the time of the Scottish Reformation. It is a great place to get one's feet wet in Scottish church history, which has Knox for its main fountainhead.

***Psallo. Psalm 116:1–9*. Continued from Page 213.**

Solomon, it speaks prophetically of Christ and His eternal reign. "God save the King" applies most assuredly to Christ as the King of Israel forever, and hearing the proclamation of the Psalmist in 72.15 "and he shall live!" gives great comfort to us in that we know that our King reigns by the power of an endless life.

Finally, as we meditate upon Psalm 116 let us see our Lord prophetically represented as that public Person whose deliverance from death brings joy and salvation to His people. Let us remember that the Father always hears Him (v. 2, cf. John 11:42). In His being brought low, and in His exaltation, (v 6–8) our salvation is accomplished. In His taking the cup of salvation (v. 13, cf. Matthew 26:27), and in keeping His covenant bond with the Father (v. 18, cf. Titus 1:2), our King takes our sins to Himself, and provides for us a righteousness not our own. As He calls us to Jerusalem for the great feast (vv. 18–19), so we are gathered to Him. And as He lives, so shall we live also (v. 19, cf. John 14:19).

Todd L. Ruddell ▪

21. On the basis of my work in the present paper, I have articulated three different argument patterns for theistic arguments (see my forthcoming "Rejoinder to Anderson" for my best formulation of these). The Modal Transcendental Argument Form is logically equivalent to a pattern III theistic argument where all premises are necessary truths.

22. I thank Bill Evans and John Wingard for helpful conversations and comments concerning this paper.



John Knox (Photos.com)

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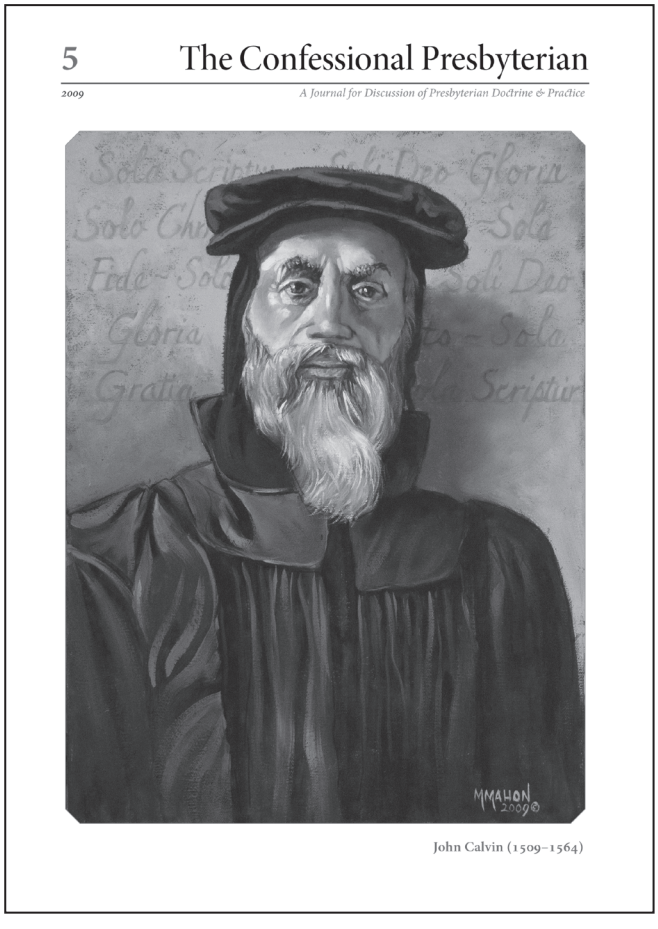
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"Knox dispensing the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at Calder House. From the unfinished picture by Sir David Wilkie, R.A. in the Scottish National Gallery." John Knox, *The History of the Reformation in Scotland*, edited by C. J. Guthrie (London: 1898) 117.

It was in Calder House, near Midcalder, the chief seat of the family, that Knox was for a time their guest [It is in this house that the famous Torphichen portrait of Knox hangs. On the back of it there is the following inscription: "The Rev. John Knox. The first Sacrament of the Supper given in Scotland after the Reformation, was dispensed in this hall." This statement, written in a hand of last century {i.e. the 18th}, is not in keeping with Knox's own account…."]…. On leaving Calder House Knox returned to Edinburgh, and at the close of the year proceeded to Ayrshire, which even in greater degree than the county of Forfar had given itself to the new opinions. As Knox himself has told us, the Lollards of Kyle had bequeathed a tradition which had never died out in the districts where they had rooted themselves. In these districts George Wishart in 1545 had found a response to his teaching unexampled elsewhere. Now when, ten years later [1555], Knox went over the same field, he was entertained by the same families, and encouraged by the same eagerness for the reformed religion. For the space of three months he preached throughout Ayrshire under the protection of the different lairds who received him, and occasionally, as he specially mentions, 'ministrat the Lordis Table' [Laing, *Works*, 1.250]…. Returning to Edinburgh, Knox paid a second visit to Calder House by the way, and on this occasion he saw evident fruits of his previous labours. Many from Edinburgh and the surrounding country came to hear him, and insisted on partaking of the Communion after the Reformed order. P. Hume Brown, *John Knox: A Biography* (Adam and Charles Black: London, 1895) 1.303-306.

Knox returned to Calder, where divers from Edinburgh, and from the country about, convened, as well for the doctrine as for the right use of the Lord's Table, which before they had never practised. Thence he departed the second time to the Laird of Dun; and teaching them in greater liberty, the Gentlemen required that he should minister likewise unto them the Table of the Lord Jesus, whereof were partakers the most part of the Gentlemen of the Mearns; who, God be praised, to this day constantly do remain in the same doctrine which then they professed, to wit, that they refused all society with idolatry, and bound themselves to the uttermost of their powers, to maintain the true preaching of the Evangel of Jesus Christ, as God should offer unto them preachers and opportunity ["This seems to have been the first of those religious bonds or covenants by which the confederation of the Protestants in Scotland was so frequently ratified."--Dr. M'Crie's *Life of John Knox*]. *History*, 116.

Sermons of the Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly of Divines

"Not long after the Solemn League and Covenant between England and Scotland was achieved in September of 1643, the four Scottish ministerial commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, Alexander Henderson, Samuel Rutherford, Robert Baillie, and George Gillespie, were offered the opportunity to preach before the House of Commons on the monthly fast day (the last Wednesday of the month) from December 27 to March 27, 1644. Then they preached before the House of Lords in the same cycle from May 28 to August 27, 1645. In between, Henderson preached the thanksgiving day sermon before both Houses on July 28, 1644, shortly after the July 2 victory of the Parliamentary army at Marston Moor. This book provides a carefully edited version of these nine sermons, preached by influential formers of the Presbyterian heritage at a crucial juncture of history.

Read chronologically (they are appropriately organized in groups by the respective preachers/authors), they give a sense of the promising but often frustrating progress of this second reformation of church and state in the three kingdoms of the British Isles. One hears the veteran leader Alexander Henderson speaking truth to power with tremendous command of Scripture. There is Samuel Rutherford's unusual and colorful turning of phrase, blending the sweetness of his *Letters* with the scholastic depth of his *Lex Rex*. There is the urgency of Robert Baillie, frustrated with Parliament's slow progress in adopting presbyterian government in order to achieve church discipline of errors and hardness of heart. And then there is the earnestness of the young George Gillespie, pleading for humble repentance and also humbly acknowledging his own difficulty in interpreting the prophecy of Ezekiel, and yet applying it aptly to his contemporary situation. Of special interest is that the texts for six of these nine sermons come from the prophets and the period of the Babylonian exile and return. The sermons were preached, and no doubt heard and acted upon, with the sense that God is giving a chance to start anew. Although our circumstances today may be different in many ways, these sermons can give us inspiration for renewal in our time." William S. Barker, Author of Puritan Profiles and Editor (with Samuel T. Logan, Jr.) of Sermons That Shaped America.

"The Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly were not only valued by the synod's members, but also by the public at large. In this elegant edition of their fast sermons, we have access once more to their carefully framed addresses to the English parliament, a body which maintained a complicated and sometimes fraught relationship with the Scottish kirk throughout the English Civil Wars. Scholars will welcome Chris Coldwell's bibliography of texts cited in these sermons. A general readership will be pleased with the modernized spelling and punctuation of the text. Naphtali Press is to be commended for its continued publication of rare seventeenth-century theological texts." Dr. Chad B. Van Dixhoorn, Westminster Assembly Project.

"In a profound sense of the word these sermons by the Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly are beyond praise. They were preached by mighty men of God who stood head and shoulders above most others in their own or any generation. Their piety, knowledge of the Bible, learning, and gifts for leadership could not be questioned. An outstanding characteristic of the astonishing sermons included in this volume is just the degree to which the men who delivered them were prepared to speak the truth to powerful politicians and statesmen. They did so with dignity and appropriate respect, but their primary concern was that they remain faithful to the Lord God who had called them to be his spokesmen. The period in which they flourished must be reckoned as among the most important in religious and political history. Great issues hung in the balance. The Westminster Assembly had been summoned by Parliament and was therefore in the first instance answerable to it. A great struggle was taking place, both on the field of battle and in the effort to establish a truly Reformed church in England. During the Assembly's protracted debates and from the pulpits of St. Margaret's Church and Westminster Abbey, these commissioners bore unexampled witness to the truth of the Word of God. No doubt one should observe as well that the degree to which the House of Commons and the House of Lords were prepared to hear such preaching underscores the seriousness with which those on the political side took their own responsibilities. Chris Coldwell and Naphthali Press have presented us with a substantial gift in the publication of this volume." Dr. John R. de Witt.

"The Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly shone like a constellation of stars in the darkness of the world. They were profound theologians, brilliant debaters, bold preachers, and prayerful Christians, deeply valued by their colleagues and laypeople alike. This collection of sermons by Baillie, Gillespie, Henderson, and Rutherford—conservatively modernized with contemporary spelling and punctuation—addresses a range of topics from the kingdom of Christ to the kingdoms of men. It will be a blessing to students of historical theology, friends of Presbyterianism, and all manner of godly Christians on both sides of the Atlantic." Dr. Joel R. Beeke, President, Puritan Reformed Theological Seminary.