15 The Confessional Presbyterian

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Editorial

This, the fifteenth issue of *The Confessional Presbyterian*, is later than any issue since our founding. We have never before mailed issues so far into the next year. Our apologies! The cover subject was a difficult one to obtain material and we had more than the usual number of projects fail to materialize. As to the length, while the issue is probably far closer in length to what was originally envisioned back in 2005, the issue is slimmer than average, even with a good number and diversity of articles and reviews. In the past we have often had one or two lengthy contributions (for which our format is quite suitable), which have in the past propelled us regularly to between 256 and 304 pages. None of our offered authors was that industrious this year and that is not necessarily a bad thing!

Despite the difficulties resulting in our tardiness, this issue contains a variety of articles which we believe will be of considerable interest, not the least being material related to and by this year's cover subject, Gisbertus Voetius, the incredibly productive and influential professor of theology at the University of Utrecht. Very little from the works of Voetius is available in English and it is our pleasure to be able to offer in addition to a brief introductory biography, a translation of Voetius's 1637 theses on the simplicity of God, *Unica et simplicissima dei essentia*. This highly scholastic article is timely given recent controversies and we thank the translator for the great pains it took to bring the text together for our readers. In addition to this we have a couple of articles that carry through the Voetius theme. Dr. Adriaan C. Neele brings us "The Class of 1652 of the Academia Voetiana," which explores the impact which Voetius and one of his students, Petrus van Mastricht, had across Europe in the seventeenth century. And the Rev. R. D. Anderson provides us Voetius's views on one of the differences between Presbyterian and English Nonconformity with the Reformed in "Why are Ecclesiastical Feast Days in the Reformed Church Order?"

As for our regular recurring features that follow *Articles*, there is a good selection of book reviews in *Reviews* (listing below), and Todd Ruddell continues the *Psallo* feature this year with a contribution on Psalm 15. And following upon the discovery and presentation last year of a Sermon by Scottish Commissioner to the Westminster Assembly George Gillespie, *Antiquary* presents a few notes from another manuscript from an apparent sermon preached shortly after arriving in London in 1643, on the English practice of observing Christmas (the Scots had famously tossed out observance of holy days at the first Scottish Reformation and resisted their later reintroduction, which resulted in the Second Reformation). However, the reader will note that this year there is no *In Translatione* feature. With so little Voetius in English we have run a substantial translation piece in *Articles* as already noted. But the editors also believed a revamping of this feature was overdue. As a consequence, we plan to relaunch the translation feature next year with the new title *Opuscula Selecta*, under the expert editorial care of David C. Noe, who has come on board this year as one of the journal's editors. Lord willing, look for some exciting offerings in years to come in this recurring feature.

Enjoy this issue of *The Confessional Presbyterian*!▪

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Gisbertus Voetius: The Pillar of the *Nadere Reformatie*

By Robert Martin

I want to begin with the words of the eminent Geerhardus Vos.[1] "Voetius occupies a place of high honor among the Dutch theologians of the seventeenth century. He was, perhaps, the ablest, the most learned and the most influential of all Calvinistic divines belonging to that period so rich in eminent names. Well-nigh every factor in the vigorous and multiform life of the Reformed Church of his days has found in him a classical and thoroughly Calvinistic expression. He was a scholastic of the first rank, who knew how to handle the weapons of his craft with great skill and subtlety; a mystic of a deeply pious vein; a writer of exceptional fertility; and a teacher of wide influence."[2] In the ensuing biography, I intend to give you a small glimpse of this great divine that labored until death to further the cause of the Reformation in the period known as the Nadere Reformatie.[3]

Gisbertus Voetius was born March 3, 1589, during the Eighty Years' War[4]. He was born in Heusden, a town of the Netherlands, to an eminent family of Westphalian descent and Reformed convictions.[5] His grandfather, Nicolaas Dirks, was the mayor of Oudheusden. Nicolaas publicly chose the cause of the Reformation. Although he was imprisoned, he persevered in his beliefs. Shortly after his imprisonment, he died within the church walls of Den Bosch. Many, including Gisbertus, suspected foul play in his death at the hands of his Spanish guards. According to Gisbertus, Nicolaas died on the 8th day of his imprisonment.[6] Gisbertus' mother, Maria de Jageling, belonged to a respectable family that is named in the Dutch book of martyrs. Maria's father, Daniël de Jageling, was forced to flee his hometown after an attempt to free a victim of the Inquisition from his prison in s'Hertogenbosch secretly by night. Daniël and his brother fled for Breda, leaving all of their valuable possessions behind. William of Orange gladly received them. Daniël was given the care of the arsenal, at a salary of around 800 guilders, a considerable amount of money in those days.[7] Gisbertus' father, Sir Paulus Voet, had an active role in the Dutch Revolt. He fought to defend Heusden against the attacks of the Spanish forces. Voet was killed eight years after Gisbertus' birth while serving in the army of Prince Maurits.[8] Gisbertus was the sixth of eight children. Two of his brothers, both named Daniël, died at a young age in succession. Following was Nicolaas, who died at the age of four. His sister, Cecelia, died in her childhood. The only siblings to survive their youth was Dirk, his older brother by three years, and Paul,

The Author: Robert D. Martin (OPC) works in operations and marketing at Reformation Heritage Books, and is a collector and researcher of rare Reformation and Post-Reformation works. He is currently editing works by Willem Teellinck, Theodorus à Brakel and Brownlow North.

1. This biography is very much in debt to Dr. Joel R. Beeke's *Gisbertus Voetius: Toward a Reformed Marriage of Knowledge and Piety* and the article on Voetius by C. A. de Niet in *Encyclopedie Nadere Reformatie* edited by W. J. op't Hof. Due to time constraints, the biography by A. C. Duker was not able to be consulted as much as we had hoped. A heartfelt thanks to my dear brother, Gijsbertus de Paauw, who graciously donated his time to translating the Dutch sources cited in this biography.

2. Vos, G. (1894). Review of Gisbertus Voetius by A. C. Duker. *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, *5* (1894): 714.

3. Nadere Reformatie can be translated as Further Reformation. For a discussion on this term see the article by Dr. Joel R. Beeke prefixed in W. à Brakel, *The Christian's Reasonable Service*, ed. J. R. Beeke, trans. B. Elshout (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 1992).

4. Also known as the Dutch Revolt (1568–1648.). This was a war against the control of the Catholic dominated Spain.

5. J. R. Beeke, *Gisbertus Voetius: Toward a Reformed Marriage of Knowledge and Piety* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 1999), 9.

6. A. C. Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1897), 8.

7. Duker, Ibid.

8. C. A. de Niet, "Voetius, Gisbertus," in W. J. op 't Hof, *Encyclopedie Nadere Reformatie,* Vol. II (Utrecht: De Groot Goudriaan, 2016), 467–479.

the younger brother by three years, along with his sister Elisabeth.[9] At the cost of the city administration, Gisbertus was allowed to study at the Latin school of Heusden. He also received a scholarship to study theology in Leiden at the State College.

Being that the young Voetius was about to be thrown into the Arminian controversy that would soon change his life, it seems appropriate to give a little background on Jacob Arminius.

> Arminius had been a bright student who received an orthodox Reformed education at Leiden, Geneva, and Basel. He returned to Amsterdam after his studies and was ordained to the ministry there in 1588. He served as a pastor in Amsterdam for fifteen years, and then from 1603 served as a professor of theology at Leiden until his death in 1609. In his years as a minister and professor, he wrote a number of treatises (now collected in an English translation in three volumes), but did not publish any of them in his lifetime. Arminius's decision not to publish was unusual and shows that he was aware that his theological views would be very controversial. His writings show that he was furiously opposed to a Calvinist approach to predestination called supralapsarianism. But his rejection of supralapsarianism led him to abandon all Calvinist views of predestination. He seems to have adopted instead the teaching on predestination of the Spanish Jesuit Molina known as middle knowledge. He knew that the large majority of his Reformed ministerial colleagues would regard Molina's views as semi-Pelagian.[10]

Arminius' shift in theology is incredible considering he left Geneva with the following testimonial from Beza, "his mind was in the highest degree qualified for the discharge of duty, should it please God at any time to use his ministry for the promotion of his own work in the Church."[11] His shift in theology came about when Arminius was called upon by Martin Lydius to respond to a treatise written by some theologians at Delft titled, *An Answer to Certain Arguments of Beza and Calvin, from a Treatise on Predestination as taught in the Ninth Chapter of Romans*.[12] It was upon the death of Francis Junius that Arminius was appointed to a professorship of theology at the State College of Leiden.[13] There was much controversy surrounding his appointment. It is with this in mind that we turn back to Voetius.

At the age of fifteen, young Gisbertus went off to Leiden to begin his theological studies at the State College. [14] He studied theology there from 1604 to 1611. During those years, it was the focal point of the Arminian crisis. He was profoundly influenced by the lectures of Franciscus Gomarus, a staunch Calvinist. Voetius later wrote, "I shall be Gomarus' grateful disciple to the end of my life."[15] He also attended the lectures of James Arminius. Voetius found himself defending Gomarus against the followers of Arminius. Voetius was appointed a lecturer in logic while a student at Leiden. As a lecturer, he gained a reputation for his rigid defense of Reformed orthodoxy.[16]

Voetius widely oriented himself in the sciences of the day. Alongside his compulsory courses, he attended the classes of Daniel Heinsius. The classes of Heinsius sparked Voetius' interest in classical literature. He studied writers such as Aristophanes and Lucian. Voetius collected books on a wide array of sciences, but he had a special preference for the study of logic, which he would later describe as instrumental in his handbook of theology. In his teaching, Voetius made use of the introduction to philosophy by Bartholomäus Keckermann, the German logician and theologian. It was not only the academic theology of those days that interested him. He also studied the piety of the Devotio Moderna movement, especially Thomas à Kempis' *The Imitation of Christ*. Kempis left an indelible impression on him and greatly shaped his piety.[17] Outside of Kempis, the works of Willem Teellinck greatly influenced him. On Teellinck, Voetius wrote, "as he has for countless others, has truly opened my eyes and my heart to God's grace, so that I understand many things more precisely and reflect on them more fully."[18]

In 1610, the Arminians had a victory at Leiden. Voetius' mentor, Gomarus, was removed from the faculty.

9. Duker, 9.

10. W. Robert Godfrey, "Preserving the Reformation: A Historical Picture of the Synod of Dort," in Jon D. Payne; Sebastian Heck, *A Faith Worth Defending: The Synod of Dort's Enduring Heritage* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2019).

11. C. Brant, *The Life of James Arminius*, trans. J. Guthrie (London; Glasgow: Ward & Co.; Lang. Adamson, & Co., 1854), 28.

12. Brant, 28.

13. C. Butler, *The Life of Hugo Grotius: With Brief Minutes of the Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of the Netherlands* (London: John Murray, 1826), 84.

14. H. O. Old, *The Age of the Reformation* (Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge, U.K.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2002), 4.456.

15. J. R. Beeke, *Gisbertus Voetius: Toward a Reformed Marriage of Knowledge and Piety* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 1999), 9.

16. "Voetius, Gysbertus, D. D.," in *Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature* J. M'Clintock and J. Strong (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1881), 10.808.

17. C. A. de Niet, ibid.

18. Arie de Reuver, *Sweet Communion: Trajectories of Spirituality from the Middle Ages through the Further Reformation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2017), 105.

Due to these disputes with the Remonstrants, the regent of the State College, Petrus Bertius, removed Voetius from his dormitory. This is not surprising considering Bertius was a close friend of Arminius and would later give his funeral oration in the theological hall.[19] Voetius was forced to live with friends and finish his studies elsewhere in Leiden. His hopes for an academic career at the State College were terminated. These events greatly changed the course of his life.[20]

Voetius left Leiden in 1611, and with a recommendation from Gomarus, he accepted a call in Vlijmen.[21] At the young age of 22, he was ordained to the ministry on September 25, 1611. The congregation had to be built from the ground up in the heavily Roman Catholic community. The first Church Council was formed in 1612, and on Easter of that year, the first Lord's Supper was celebrated.[22] Also in 1612, he organized the Vlijmen flock with the installation of elders and deacons.[23] During his time at Vlijmen, Voetius continued to apply himself to rigorous studies. Outside of his normal theological studies, he devoted himself to mastering Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Eastern languages. He also rigorously digested the works of many great divines, with a special focus on those of William Perkins. It was in May of 1612 that he married Deliana van Diest (1591–1679). They shared sixty-four years of marriage and were blessed with ten children. Two of his children would later become professors of philosophy at Utrecht.[24]

It was through his contacts within the community of Gorinchem, Voetius once again became involved in the battle with the Remonstrants. He made a name for himself as an educated defender of the Counter-Remonstrants. He received a call from the city of Rotterdam, but Voetius preferred to stay in his birthplace. Despite strong opposition from a group of Remonstrants led by Johannes Grevius, he took the role of preacher after the death of the minister Nicolaas Petri Houweningius on May 24, 1617. The complications surrounding Grevius led to his removal in 1618. Voetius insisted that he be replaced by Johannes Cloppenburgh, the minister of Aalburg. Voetius had befriended him during their days at the State College. As students, they created a strong comradery and separated themselves from the rest of the students by speaking Greek during lunch instead of Latin, which was the custom. Voetius spoke of Cloppenburg as his alter ipse, his second self.[25] By 1618 Heusden's internal difficulties escalated to a national level. A failed attempt was made by the national government to send Hugo Grotius, a prominent jurist and legal scholar, to Heusden to influence the magistracy. In lieu of this attempt, the Heusden consistory removed Grevius. Through persuasion by the government, Grevius was later reinstated. This led to a schism that would eventually be ended by the Orangist revolution.[26]

We now turn to the part of his life for which Voetius is most known for today, being the youngest delegate to the Synod of Dort.[27] Voetius was 29 years old when he was elected to the Synod of Dort. Dr. Joel R Beeke has some helpful remarks in regards to Voetius' time at Dort:

> Two items of interest surface in his attendance at Dort: First, his most prominent action was his able defense of Johannes Maccovius, whose supralapsarian conception of predestination was of a more logically rigid nature than that of most other delegates. Voetius appealed to the authority of William Ames, who had expressed confidence in Maccovius' intentions, though he regretted some of his terminology. Interestingly, Voetius' later thought was marked by an attempt to reconcile the experiential piety of Ames and the neo-Aristotelianism of Maccovius. Second, Voetius later wrote appreciatively of close friendships established with a number of English delegates noted for their emphasis on Puritan theology and practice.[28]

After Dort, Voetius' influence greatly increased. In the 1620s, he was charged with being the deputy in various matters relating to Dort. These tasks would include attending the archives of Synod, assisting in the final approval of the Church Order of Dort, a member in the commission that was to purge Leiden of any Arminian influence.[29]

In 1628, he published his first major works on piety, *Proeve vande Cracht der Godtsalichheyt (Proof of the Power of Godliness),* in which he defended the Canons of Dort against the attacks of the Arminian scholar, Daniel Tilenus. Voetius felt these defamatory criticisms on the Canons of Dort had to be refuted. This was in part because it was published in the common tongue,

19. Brant, p. 300.
20. Beeke, 10.
21. C. A. de Niet, ibid.
22. C. A. de Niet, ibid.
23. Beeke, 10.
24. C. A. de Niet, ibid. Beeke, ibid..
25. C. A. de Niet, ibid.
26. Beeke, p. 10.
27. Sadly, the journal he kept during his time at Dort has been lost.
28. Beeke, 11–12.
29. Beeke, 12.

and many uneducated people, who were not yet firmly rooted in the faith, were in danger of being infected with heresy.[30] Following this, he published *Meditatie van de Ware Practijke der Godtsalichheyt of der Goeder Werken (Meditation on the True Practice of Godliness in Good Works)*, a published sermon on James 2:12.

During the years of 1629 and 1630, Voetius served several times as a field preacher in the State Army of count Willem van Nassau, who under mayor Frederik Hendrik had besieged s'Hertogenbosch on May 1, 1629. After taking the city, Nassau attempted to purify the city and the surrounding villages of "papal idolatry" to establish Reformed doctrines. Before Voetius, Nassau attempted this mission with three other pastors, Henricus Swalmius from Haarlem, Godefridus Udemans from Zierikzee, and Samuel Everwijn from Dordrecht. Under the efforts of Voetius, a congregation was formed, and a church council was instituted. Voetius left the area for a few weeks to visit Den Haag to consult with the Reformed church there. Rumors began to spread of his untimely death. His supposed death was interpreted to be the punishment for criticizing the crucifixes in the Cathedral and the cemetery. To prove the rumors false, when Voetius returned, he walked back and forth on the city walls to show everyone he was very much alive. He continued his work in Den Bosch until the end of August 1630. He turned down a request to become the new preacher of the city.[31]

During this period, Voetius had his first major confrontation with Roman Catholic theologians. The Reformed ministers requested a public debate with the Roman clergy of the city. The invitation received no response but led to a series of polemic writings that ended in 1635 with the publication of Voetius' *Desperata Causa Papatus (The hopeless case of the papacy)*, a response to Cornelis Jansenis. *32* It was also during this time he entered into a debate with Samuel Maresius that would last four decades. These debates ended when the two theologians united to battle Cartesianism in the late 1660s.33

Voetius is often credited with being the first to develop a distinctly Protestant theology of missions.34 "Voetius attempted not only to sketch the outlines of a solid theology of missions, but he was also the first who attempted seriously to give missiology a legitimate scientific place in the whole of theology."35 It was during his seventeen years of ministry in Heusden that he turned his attention to missions. Voetius played a key role in persuading trading companies to send missionaries with the Dutch ships all over the world.36 "For Voetius, mission is explicitly an expression of the will of God in predestination (eternal decree), and missionary sending is the means of fulfilling this decree. God is thus the first cause of mission, the church the secondary active cause. The glory of God is the *ultimate* end of mission; conversion and church planting are *penultimate*. Even the kingdom of God is subordinate to God's glory."[37]

Voetius maintained a rigid schedule at Heusden. He tirelessly shepherded the flock that was entrusted to him, preaching eight times a week and often counseling those struggling with assurance. On top of a demanding pastorate, he further continued his studies along with tutoring students in logic, metaphysics, and oriental languages.38

In 1622, after Cloppenburg left for Amsterdam, Voetius joined forces with Johannes Slatius, his earlier replacement in Vlijmen. He declined calls from prominent cities such as Rotterdam, Dordrecht, and Den Haag. Voetius desired to labor and die in the same vineyard of his birthplace, he later wrote in an essay written to Slatius, *On the Heavenly Life*. Despite these desires, it appears that God had different plans for him. In 1634, Voetius was appointed as professor of Eastern languages at the newly-founded school in Utrecht. Upon his departure from his flock on August 20, 1634, he bid them farewell with a sermon on Philippians 1:27.*39*

He was inaugurated at Utrecht with a speech titled *Oratio Inauguralis de Pietate cum Scientia Conjungenda (Inaugural Speech on the Desired Relationship between Piety and Science)*. In this speech, Voetius argued that theologians ought to aim at "the heavenly philosophy, divine law, spiritual medicine, heavenly letters, the oldest and most trustworthy history, and exalted eloquence."[40]

30. C. A. de Niet, ibid.
31. C. A. de Niet, ibid.
32. C. A. de Niet, ibid.
33. Beeke, 13.
34. C. Ott, S. J. Strauss, S. J. and T. C. Tennent, *Encountering Theology of Mission: Biblical Foundations, Historical Developments, and Contemporary Issues*, Encountering Missions (series), ed. A. Scott Moreau (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2010), xxv. Jan A. Jongeneel, "The Missiology of Gisbertus Voetius: The First Comprehensive Protestant Theology of Missions," trans. John Bolt, *Calvin Theological Journal* 26, 1 (1991):47–49.
35. Jongeneel, ibid.
36. Beeke, 13.
37. Ott & Tennent, 82.
38. Beeke, 13.
39. C. A. de Niet, ibid.
40. Willem J. Van Asselt, "Scholasticism in the Time of High Orthodoxy (ca. 1620 –1700)," In *Introduction to Reformed Scholasticism,* ed. Willem J. Van Asselt (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2011), 145.

The year 1636 would prove to be a big year for Voetius. In March, he was appointed as the rector upon Utrecht being elevated to the status of an academy. For this major event, he preached a sermon titled *Sermon on the Usefulness of Academies and Schools, together with the Sciences and Arts That Are Taught in the Same" (Sermoen van de nuttigheyd der academien ende scholen, mitsgaders der wetenschappen ende consten die in de selve geleert werden)*. His base text was Luke 2:46 when the young Jesus visited the temple.[41] Later that year, Gomarus awarded him the Doctor Honoris Causa, honorary degree of doctor. He also fulfilled his long-desired wish to travel to England, to further relationships with the theologians he had met during the Synods of Dort.[42]

It was during his career at Utrecht that he would influence many prominent Dutch scholars such as Petrus van Mastricht, Wilhelmus à Brakel, Johannes Hornbeeck, and Herman Witsius, to name a few. "In his lectures, Voetius focused particularly on systematic theology, ethics, and church polity. He also taught logic, metaphysics, and the Semitic languages: Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac. In his lectures on theology, he followed the Leiden *Synopsis Purioris Theologiae*, compiled by Leiden professors (1625), together with the dogmatic works of Gomarus, Maccovius, Ames, and, of course, Calvin's *Institutes* and Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*." 43

In 1637, Voetius was called to be the pastor at Utrecht. He labored in the ministry until November 23, 1673. While preaching, he was overcome with a fever and fainted, which marked the end of his preaching career. Voetius would continue as a professor.[44]

Much of the later part of Voetius' life was wrapped up in fierce debates against the rising philosophy of René Descartes, the Covenant Theology of Johannes Cocceius, and the preaching of Jean de Labadie:

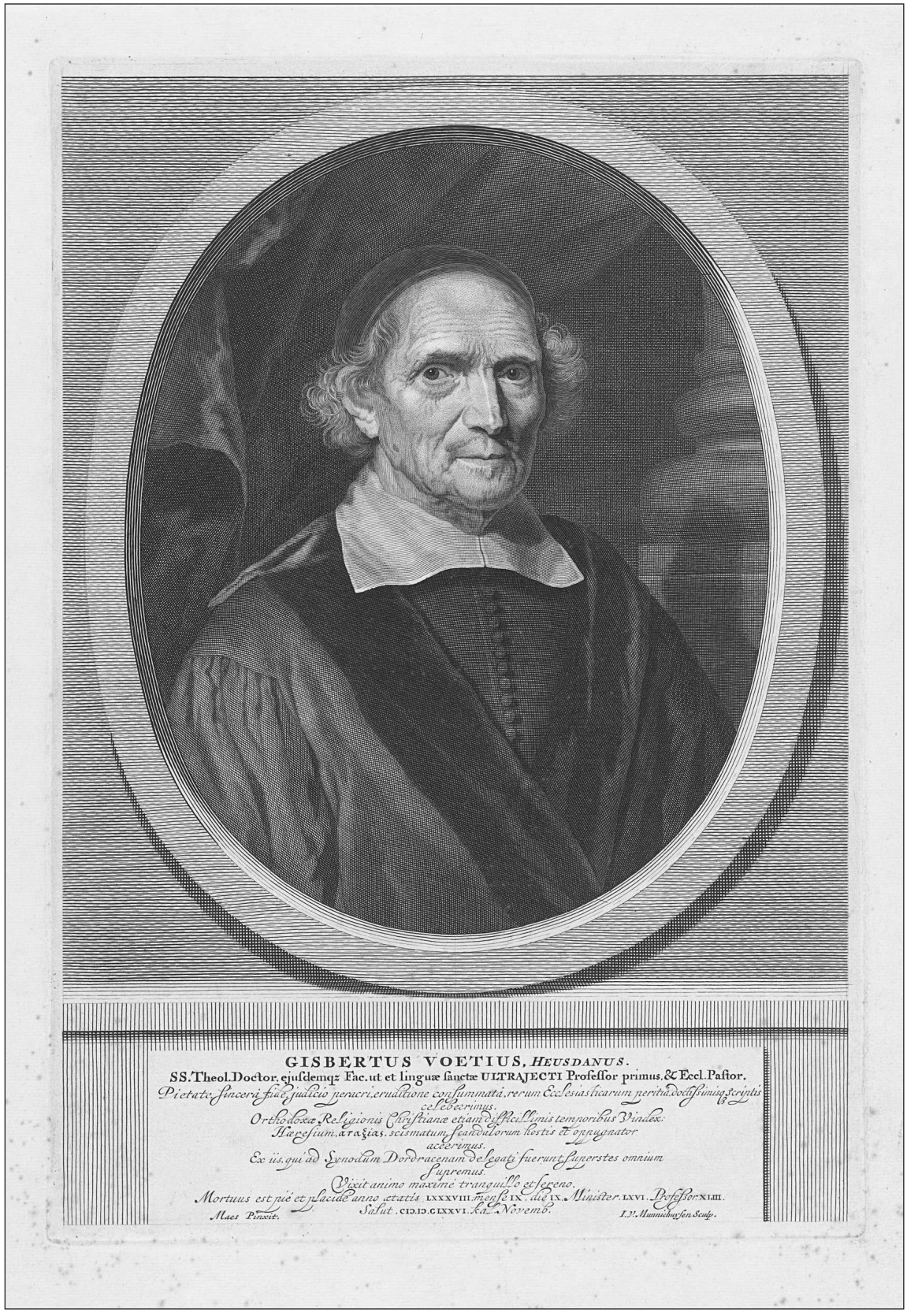
> While at Utrecht, he also unceasingly opposed Johannes Cocceius, the Bremen-born theologian who taught at Franeker and Leiden, and whose covenant theology, in Voetius' opinion, overemphasized the historical and contextual character of specific ages. He believed that Cocceius' new approach to the Scriptures would undermine both Reformed dogmatics and practical Christianity. He battled the philosophy of René Descartes, which he was convinced placed reason on a par with Scripture at the expense of faith, and therefore was destructive for the church. He recognized the danger in Cartesianism that ultimately man becomes the measure of all things. He resisted Jean de Labadie, whose preaching had been the source of spiritual revival in Swiss Reformed churches, for promoting notions of mystical subjectivism and of separation from the instituted church.45

Voetius' rigid debates against the attacks on Reformed orthodoxy often left him isolated. For him, the loneliness was a natural part of defending the biblical and Reformed truths. This loneliness would not follow him to his death. He developed a loyal group of friends and students that were nicknamed the "Utrecht Circle." His followers were later to be called Voetians. By the time of his death, Voetians could be found in all of the universities and ecclesiastical provenances of the Netherlands.46

On November 1, 1676, Voetius died after a short illness. On his death bed, Voetius quoted Bernard of Clairvaux, "My merit, therefore, is nothing but the mercy of the Lord."47 He was buried on November 3, 1676 in the Catherijnekerk. The academic memorial speech was given the next day by his colleague at Utrecht, Andreas Essenius. His congregation held his funeral, with the sermon on 2 Samuel 3:38 by Cornelis Gentman, an old student of Voetius, on the following Sunday, November the 5th.[48]■

Next Page: Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676), late seventeenth century engraving by Johannes Willemsz. van Munnickhuysen (1654/55–after 1701), after the painting by Nicolaes Maes (1634–1693).

41. Van Asselt, 145.
42. C. A. de Niet, ibid.
43. Beeke, 15
44. Van Asselt, 146.
45. Beeke, 16–17.
46. Beeke, 16–17.
47. Arie de Reuver, 40. This translation of Bernard is from *St. Bernard's Sermons on the Canticle of Canticles*, trans. A Priest of Mount Melleray (Dublin; Belfast; Cork; Waterford: Browne and Nolan, 1920), 2.199).
48. C. A. de Niet, ibid.


GISBERTUS VOETIUS, HEUSDANUS.
SS. Theol. Doctor, ejusdemq; Fac. ut et linguæ sanctæ ULTRAJECTI Professor primus, & Eccl. Pastor.
Pietatem sinceri fidei judicio, veteri, eruditione consummatâ, rerum Ecclesiasticarum peritiâ, doctissimis scriptis
celebrimus.
Orthodoxæ Religionis Christianæ etiam difficillimis temporibus Vindex.
Hæresium, ἀταξίας, schismatum, fanaticorum hostis & oppugnator
acerrimus.
Ex iis, qui ad Synodum Dordracenam delegati fuerunt, superstes omnium
Supremus.
Vixit animo maximè tranquillo & sereno.
Mortuus est piè & placidè anno ætatis LXXXVIII. mens. IX. die IX. Minister. LXVI. Professor XLIII.
Salut. CIↃIↃCLXXXVI. Kal. Novembr.
Maes Pinxit.
I. P. Munnichuysen Sculp.

Gisbertus Voetius: God's Single, Absolutely Simple Essence

Translated by R. M. Hurd

The disputation translated below is an articulation of the divine simplicity authored by the Reformed orthodox divine, Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676). Born in Heusden, Netherlands, and educated at Leiden, Voetius eventually became professor of theology at the University of Utrecht (1634). His writings range from the well-known *Politica ecclesiastica* (3 vols, published 1663–76) to the *Selectae disputationes (theologicae)* (5 vols., published 1648–69), among many others.[1]

As a genre, early modern disputations are a significant earmark of the scholastic method taken over from the high Medievals, among whom the presence of the genre is most notably observed in the larger quodlibetal quaestiones held by the schoolmen. Within the early modern university, disputations served to exercise the student respondent on some matter of philosophy or theology, broadly speaking. An individual set of theses that comprised a disputation might be drafted by professor or student or some combination thereof, and sometimes later were bound and inserted into the larger œuvre of the presiding theologian. This bundling of numerous disputations honed over several disputation cycles yielded works of extreme significance—e.g., the *Synopsis Purioris Theologiae*, perhaps the most famous disputation set, held at Leiden 1620–24. While many individual disputations of the time are an array of fairly terse theses spread across perhaps a dozen pages, as the early modern period progressed the genre returned to the more extensive quaestio model.[2] It is the latter, more involved quaestio that Voetius's disputations resemble, as can be seen from their length and complexity.

Albeit the issue of disputation authorship is fraught, the act of including a disputation in a work to which the presiding theologian's name is appended confirms that at least the professor considered the work his own; thus, the *Selectae disputationes* are to be considered as reflective of Voetius's own labor and thought. To this is added the fact that, at least in the case of Voetius here, many of the disputations likely experienced editing prior to their inclusion, as Beck has pointed out.[3] Drawn from vol. 1 of the *Selectae disputationes*,[4] the disputation found below is "De unica et simplicissima Dei essentia," responded to by one Johannes Almeloveen on 6 Oct. 1637.

As the title indicates, the piece argues the divine simplicity, and it does so with a particular eye toward the contemporary controversies raised by the unorthodox on this point of doctrine. The frank confession and extensive defense of simplicity is the opposite of strange for the Reformed and in fact is common ground occupied together with Catholics—perhaps one reason why the doctrine did not receive much attention in the

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1. For biographical details, cf. Andreas J. Beck, Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676). Sein Theologieverständnis und seine Gotteslehre (Göttingen: V&R, 2007). I have relied predominantly on Beck for this very short introduction. On Voetius major works see, *Selectarum disputationum theologicarum,* 4 vols. (Ultrajecti: apud Joannem à Waesberge, 1648, 1655, 1659, 1667; Smytegelt, 1669) and *Politicae ecclesiasticae* (Amstelodami : Ex officinâ Joannis à Waesberge, 1663–1676).

2. Beck, Gisbertus Voetius, 31. "Anfangs bestanden die schriftlichen Disputationen ausschließlich aus einer Reihe von Thesen, die nicht mehr als einen Bogen, also acht Seiten, einnahmen, so etwa an der 1575 gegründeten Universität Leiden. Ab etwa 1600 wurden die Thesen erweitert und die mittelalterliche, Quaestio'-Technik lebte teilweise wieder auf. Besonders bei Voetius konnten die Disputationen auf diese Weise zu monographischem Umfang anwachsen."

3. Beck, Gisbertus Voetius, 32. "Insgesamt können die in die fünf Bände der Disputationes selectae aufgenommenen ursprünglichen Disputationen somit als genuines Werk Voetius' behandelt werden. Das gilt a fortiori von diesen fünf Bänden selbst, worin die aufgenommenen Disputationen in den meisten Fällen nochmals redigiert wurden. In dieselbe Richtung weisen auch immer wiederkehrende stilistische Eigenheiten sowie verschiedene Hinweise auf eigene Werke und seine Söhne oder Freunde, jeweils in der ersten Person Singular."

4. For overview, see Beck, Gisbertus Voetius, 108–13.

earlier years of the Protestant project, when the hub of controversy lay elsewhere and no one opposed the basics of creedal orthodoxy. For all that is in God is God himself: this is arguably the most basic commitment of theology. Yet the early modern period saw the rise of the Socinians and Vorstians, and this was to the dismay of all orthodox regardless of their communion. The emergence of this heterodox movement met with immediate response that would last until the eclipse of Reformed orthodoxy in the darkness of the modern age. In our own context today, we observe similarly that among the Reformed there are likewise those who uphold orthodoxy and affirm divine simplicity, and likewise those who have emerged and put themselves against it. As a historical testimony, Voetius's disputation underlines several points to both sides:

One, while the divine simplicity belongs to natural theology accessible to and demonstrable by human reason apart from special revelation, it is likewise directly and indirectly affirmed by Scripture in no uncertain terms. Thus as a theologian, Voetius's first proof of divine simplicity is a list of Scripture passages, full stop. Later, he will merge the scriptural portrait of God's incorporeality with the philosophical explanation of what not having a body entails: "With this foundation [i.e., Scripture's statement of God's incorporeality] as a premise, we can mention various other arguments that ensue partly from a body's nature and properties and partly from God's nature." Hence, for Voetius, while supernatural theology is of a higher order to natural theology, the two are never in conflict and in fact mutually inform according to their respective modalities (fides non destruit sed supponit et perficit rationem). God is apprehended by man's reasoning powers as simple, and God self-offers himself to man in Scripture as the simple God. The fact that simplicity properly belongs to the sphere of natural theology alerts us to the shape that its presentation will take. Simplicity is philosophical as to its exterior form, and this should not surprise or bother us. This, however, does not entail that, as a product of natural theology and cast in the form of philosophy, simplicity materially will then somehow be transposed into something else in the higher register of Christian theology, when the Christian theologian adopts it and employs it at the service of the theological project: fides non destruit. On the contrary, Christian theology will further underline simplicity (sed supponit) and to some degree bring it into full bloom (et perficit).

Two, simplicity is absolutely most basic to theology and to be affirmed by any monotheist, albeit there are a variety of ways by which the doctrine itself may be suitably articulated. As to its formal presentation, the doctrine may be argued in various ways philosophically, and these forms may be more or less at odds with one another and more or less satisfactory. But while there is disagreement that arises at this level, "everybody certainly aims at this: removing all composition from God," as Voetius says rather handily. It is this material commitment of simplicity which is properly basic, and it is this material commitment that is the precondition of any monotheism. Thus as Voetius also shows early on in his disputation, those who deny simplicity, either explicitly or by consequence given their position's parameters, have actively set themselves against not just the whole Reformed tradition, but what is the wide and unified array of catholic orthodoxy represented in Protestantism, Catholicism, and Eastern Orthodoxy. Not only this, one who denies simplicity now stands against every commitment of sheer monotheism, be it Christian, Jewish, Muslim, or that of many pagan philosophers. Voetius's amassing of citations from all Christian communions and even diverse faith communities evidences just how unified a lineage the doctrine has as its pedigree. There is zero room for error on the material commitment of this doctrine: all that is in God is God himself.

And three, Voetius shows equally, without retracting the force of the above, that within the Christian tradition there is and has always been a perhaps surprisingly wide room preserved for articulating the doctrine formally. His mediation of two of the major Medieval schools of thought—Thomistic and Scotistic—is illustrative here. Those with a penchant for Thomas should note that Voetius at times compliments even the Duns and defends him against abuse. The one work that appears frequently cited throughout this piece shows just how steeped the Reformed orthodox were in the minutiae and even speculative points of the doctrine of God—the Jesuit Joannes de Rada's *Controversiae theologicae inter S. Thomam & Scotum, super quatuor libros Sententiarum* (4 vols, published 1620) is a prime piece of work. Voetius's commitment to press for the clearest articulation of the commitment of monotheism entailed he would navigate the most difficult aspects of philosophy then available—and this too is a necessity all must follow in articulating this doctrine today. Indeed, the Post-Reformation theologians, with Voetius as exemplar, are one notable churchly instance of the orthodox faith that recognizes orthodoxy is always a word in the present tense, and thus precommitted not only to the historical, material contents of a doctrine but also its formal articulation, which requires the use of the sharpest philosophical tools available. Discontent with the

recitation of formulae or a descent into manualism, eschewing an orthodoxy "in word only" that may be creedally supported yet divorced from lively faith, the Reformed recognize that faith, as faith, entails it is fides quaerens intellectum: faith approximating the believer toward greater understanding of God. Defending the divine simplicity dogmatically does not mean selecting an old system of doctrine and making it crisp with life and buffed from the patina of age. It means articulating a lively doctrine by means of the most strident philosophical tools available, even those that are new. For these and other reasons, those who wish to articulate the divine simplicity today will find in Voetius a helpful, historical guide.

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Gisbertus Voetius, *God's Single, Absolutely Simple Essence* (1637)

With a Response by Johannes Almeloveen. Utrecht, June 10, 1637.[1]

Because it is hazardous to speak even true things about God, we should, with all reverence and precision, investigate the saving knowledge of God through the established divine attributes. Theologians generally divide these attributes into a first and second kind. The first kind are God's unity, infinity, and immutability, while the second kind are his intellect, will, and power (one can contract all other attributes down to these). Unity is the first attribute of the first kind. We understand three concepts or notions by it: singularity, primacy or independence, and simplicity, which subcontains spirituality or incorporeality as its species. Using the notion of singularity or singular unity, we exclude polytheism, which counters God's unity in a primary and direct way. With the notion of primacy and simplicity, we exclude from God all dependence, posteriority, lesser-status, composition, and multiplicity and division—all these subverting God's unity in an indirect way, and consequently implicating a certain polytheism. At the moment, we are just going to deal with simplicity, working from the light and book both of nature and Scripture. I. First,[2] we will introduce certain prolegomena; and having done so, II. second, we will demonstrate our principal thesis. III. Then third, we will refute the antithesis along with the arguments for it that our opponents give. IV. And fourth, we will then take note of specific deductions and uses of simplicity.

Gisbertus Voetius, *De unica et simplicissima dei essentia* (1637)

Resp. IOHANNE ALMELOVEEN, Ultraiectino, *Ad diem* 10. *Iunii* 1637.

Quandoquidem de Deo etiam vera dicere periculosum, omni cum reverentia, & ακριβείᾳ salutaris eius cognitio per certa attributa nobis investiganda. Dividuntur ea vulgo in primi & secundi generis. Illa sunt unitas, infinitas, immutabilitas. *Ista*, intellectus, voluntas, potentia: *ad quae omnia alia reduci possunt. Inter attributa primi generis primum est* unitas, *quo tres illos conceptus seu notiones comprehendimus* singularitatem, primitatem *seu* independentiam, *&* simplicitatem, *sub qua continetur* spiritualitas *seu* incorporeitas, *quippe species simplicitatis. Notione* singularitatis *seu unitatis singularis excludimus* πολυθεότητα, *quae primo & directe unitari Dei opponitur. Notione* primitatis *&* simplicitatis *excludimus omnem dependentiam, posterioritatem, minoritatem, compositionem, multiplicitatem ac divisionem, quae indirecte unitatem subvertit, & consequenter* πολυθεότητα *quaedam implicat. Nos in praesentiarum tantum de simplicitate ex lumine & libro tum naturae tum scripturae acturi,* I. praecognitis quibusdam praemissis II. Thesin principalem probabimus III. Antithesin una cum rationibus adversariorum refutabimus. IV. Porismata & usus quosdam annotabimus.

1. I have made no effort to establish a critical text. The source for this translation is, Gisbertus Voetius, *Selectarum Disputationum Theologicarum pars prima* (Utrecht: Waesberge, 1648), 226–45 [sic, 226–235, 244–45, 236–37, 248–49, 240–45]. Pagination of the Latin text is inserted in square brackets in the text, and if the page break fell within a word, the reference is inserted after it.

2. Roman numerals have been inserted to help display the general outline (the editor).

1.

I. To explain this matter more easily, we have to know the following four points beforehand. First, simplicity in general is the mode by which we understand a being to exist as one through itself; and it is opposed to composition, multitude, or both, depending on whether we take the word "simplicity" either strictly or broadly. One can see what scholastics and metaphysicians say about simplicity and composition; and, if students are looking for a compendium on this, among the more recent, go to: Johann Combach's *Metaphysics*, chapter 5 and 23; [Rudolph] Goclenius's *Philosophical Lexicon*; or [Henri-Louis Chasteigner] de la Roche-Pozay's *Distinctions*.[3]

Speaking strictly, here we understand simplicity not just in a comparative way, as the sort of simplicity in angels and separated souls;[4] and not just as a "simply simple," as the simplicity that pertains to prime matter, form, ultimate difference, or things abstracted ultimately. Instead, we understand here the simplicity that they call an absolutely and supremely simple. According to this notion of simplicity, it is the case that a thing is not composite in itself, nor is something composable with it, and it itself is not composable with another thing.

Second, in this disputation we are not just asking whether God is free from all composition properly so-called, where the opposites are really distinct. We are also inquiring whether he is free from composition improperly so-called—the sort that accrues from essence and existence, from nature and suppositum or essence and subsistence, or from genus and difference. And for this reason, we are probing whether God is free from all multiplicity, distinction or division, and priority and posteriority in his essence. The concept of a transcendental distinction and multitude of persons and thus of the modes and relations is a far different matter, as we will see below in thesis 5.

Third, though the word "simplicity" seems positive, it is in point of fact negative. This is because, formally, it expresses the fact that there is not composition or multiplicity in God. The term's material signification, however, is a positive perfection by which such a negation belongs to God—parallel to how the concept "spirit" is materially signified by the word "incorporeal." In the same way, this is the case for all God's negative attributes. The fact that we conceive and render these

[227] 1. Ad faciliorem huius rei explicationem praecognoscenda sunt ista. *Primo*; Simplicitas in genere est modus, quo ens per se unum esse intelligitur, & opponitur compositioni aut multitudini, aut utrique, prout vos presse vel late accipitur. Videantur de Simplicitate & compositione Scholatici ac Metaphysici. Compendium si quaerant studiosi, adeant ex recentioribus *Combachium Metaphys. c. 5. & 23.* aut *Lexicon Philosophicum Goclenii*, aut *Distinctiones Castanei*. Nos stricte intelligimus hic simplicitatem non tantum comparative, qualis est in angelis & animabus separatis, nec tantum simpliciter simplicem, qualis etiam materiae primae, formae, differentiae ultimae & ultimate abstractis convenit; sed eam, quam vocant, absolute & summe simplicem, per quam fit ut *res nec in se sit composita, nec aliquid ipsi componible, nec ipsa alicui componibilis*. *Secondo*; In hac ergo disputatione non tantum quaeritur an Deus sit liber ab omni compositione proprie dicta ubi extrema sunt realiter distincta, sed etiam ab improprie dicta qualis est ex Essentia & esse, ex natura & supposito seu ex essentia & subsistentia, ex genere & differentia, atque adeo an liber sit ab omni multiplicitate, distinctione seu divisione, prioritate & posteritate in essentia sua; nam distinctionis & multitudinis transcendentalis personarum atque adeo modorum & relationum longe alia est ratio, ut infra videbitur, *thesi 5*. *Tertio*; Vox simplicitatis quamvis videatur positiva, revera tamen est negativa, quia formaliter enuntiat in Deo non esse compositionem aut multiplicitatem. Nihilominus materiale eius significatum est perfectio positiva, per quam Deo convenit talis negatio, quomodo per τὸ *incorporeum* materialiter significatur ratio *Spiritus*. Pari modo se habet in omnibus Dei attributis negativis. Quod autem nos negative

3. Johann Combach, *Metaphysica: libri duo* (Oxford, 1633); Rudolph Goclenius the Elder, *Lexicon philosophicum Graecum* (Frankfurt, 1613); Henri-Louis Chasteigner de la Roche-Pozay, *Celebriones distinctiones tum philosophicae tum theologicae* (1614; Coloniae, 1623).

4. I.e., souls as separated from bodies.

attributes negatively arises from their being obtained with reference to creatures. For we signify the divine attributes with creaturely names by the way of negation, and we conceive these attributes as being with reference to said creatures.

Fourth, God's attributes of incommunicability, infinity, immutability, incomprehensibility, incorporeity, and invisibility are of the same kind and significance as simplicity. Indeed, these all flow from simplicity or else cohere with it inseparably by some sort of necessary link—such that, if one abolishes simplicity, one must remove or ruin all these attributes too.

2.

II. We now demonstrate via the following arguments that the simplicity we outlined belongs to God. The first argument is Isaiah 44:6; Revelation 1:8; 21:6; 22:13; and Romans 11:35–36. We derive from these passages God's primacy and independence both in his existence and operation. By independence, I mean his independence from the subject,[5] from causes both internal and external, and from any prior or superior principle. For as Justin Martyr says, God is "being, with no source or cause."[6] And as Julius Caesar Scaliger sings divinely,

> God is "principle without principle, end without end,
> He from whom the past does not depart,
> whom the future by no means approaches,
> Before all, after all, whole, one: Himself."[7]

But if God were composed from parts, accidents, or modes of being, he would not then be first absolutely. This is because parts are prior to the composite, and principles (on which modes of being or accidents would depend) are prior to what they principled, just as philosophy tells us.

We take the second argument from God's infinite, omnimodal perfection; by this perfection, God is pure act without mixture of any potency. For, if there were potency in God, there would exist in him something imperfect or perfectible for which an act would be perfective, through which perfective act some higher perfection would encroach upon God. We demonstrate the consequence of the major proposition, because every composition is from act and potency, just as every composite is. For genus, matter, integrated part, essence, nature, and subject all have the concept of potency; and, on the other hand, difference, form, integrating part, existence, suppositum, and accidence all have the concept of act. We demonstrate the minor proposition in these three points. First, it is incompatible with God's

illa attributa concipimus & proferimus, hoc provenit ex ordine ad creaturas, quia significantur nominibus creaturarum per viam negationis, & in ordine ad illas concipiuntur. *Quarto*; eiusdem generis & momenti cum simplicitate sunt attributa incommunicabilitatis, infinitatis, immutabilitatis, incomprehensibilitatis, incorporeitatis, invisibilitatis; immo ex ea fluunt, aut quocunque alio necessario nexu cum ea ἀ χωρίστως cohaerent; ita ut hac sublata omnia illa tolli aut labefactari necesse sit.

2. Simplicitatem, quam diximus, Deo competere, probamus istis rationibus; quorum, *Prima* est, *Ies.* 44.6. *Apocal.* 1.8. & 21.6. & 22.13. *Rom.* 11.35.36. unde colligimus primitatem & independentiam Dei tam in essendo quam operando; independentiam dico a subiecto, a causis tam internis quam externis, a principio quocumque priori aut superiori; Est enim, [228] ut *Iustinus Martyr*, ὀυσία, ἄναρχος καὶ ἀναίτιος, & ut divine canit. Iul. Caesar Scaliger Exercit. 365. sect. 10.

> *Sine principio principium; absque fine finis,*
> *Cui praeteritum non abit, haut subit futurum.*
> *Ante omnia, post omnia, totus, unus. Ipse.*

Atqui si Deus ex partibus, aut accidentibus, aut modis compositus esset, iam non esset simpliciter primus; quia partes sunt priores composito, & principia (unde modi aut accidentia dependerent) sunt priora principiatis, ut notum ex Philosophia. *Secunda*, Ex omnimoda & infinita Dei perfectione, qua est actus purus sine ullius potentiae admixtione. Si enim esset potentia in Deo, esset quid imperfectum seu perfectibile, cuius actus esset perfectivum, per quem accederet illi ulterior aliqua perfectio. Maioris consequentia probatur, quia omnis compositio ut & compositum est ex actu & potentia: nam genus, materia, pars integrata, essentia, natura, subiectum habent rationem potentiae; contra differentia, forma, pars integrans, existentia, suppositum, accidens, habent rationem actus. Minor probatur. *Tum* quia repugnat absolutae Dei perfectioni, ut in ipso sit

5. Possibly the subject or terminus of the divine action; i.e., as Thomas says, the terminus is the "whole substance of the thing."

6. The Greek given by Voetius (expanded from the old style, ὀυσία, ἄναρχος καὶ ἀναίτιος) cannot be located in Justin Martyr. Compare with chapter 5 of the Dialogue with Trypho, "God alone is unbegotten and incorruptible," and chapter 13 in the First Apology, "the unchangeable and eternal God," and in Dialogue with Trypho, chapter 128, "as if the essence (ὀυσία) of the Father were divided."

7. Scaliger, Exercit. 365, sect. 10. Cf. Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Exotericarum exercitationum liber XV de Subtilitate, ad Hieronymum Cardanum* (1557; Hanover, 1620), 1076.

absolute perfection for there to be something perfectible in him. Second, parts or principles by which something composite is composed are more imperfect than the composite itself. Thus, nothing could be made or composed from parts or principles which would be endowed with absolute, infinite perfection. Third and finally, there would then be in God passive potency, which is the root of mutability; and God could be broken down into his composing parts or principles and be corrupted—contrary to Psalm 102:27; James 1:17; Numbers 23:23; 1 Timothy 1:17; and Romans 1:23. It is thus the case that God is only what he is, and he cannot not exist, nor be something else. For this reason, John of Damascus says correctly, "Composition is the source of conflict, and conflict the source of separation, and separation of dissolution. But dissolution is entirely foreign to God."[8]

The third argument is, God is most absolutely and most perfectly one and the same (Deut. 6:4; Ps. 102:27), and there is nothing that is really different in his essence. Now, no composition exists through the union of distinct opposites, where you have no distinction. Furthermore, the following [four arguments] demonstrate that all that is in God is God, and is one and the same, and his very self.

(1) The name "Jehovah," אהיה אשר אהיה, or in Greek, ὁ ὢν shows this (Exod. 3:14–15; cf. Rev. 1:8, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, "the one who is, and who was, and who is to come"). (2) This is proved from the fact that those things that seem to be in the mode of accidents or adjuncts are predicated of God properly by synonymous direct predication—such as light (John 1:9; cf. 1 John 1:5) and love (1 John 4:8, 16), for example. Therefore, he who is what he is, and for whom whatever is in him, is himself—he is one who has no parts, accidents, modes, or principles that are something other than himself. (3) This is the case because the attributes we conceive as diverse are predicated essentially of each other—seeing they are essentially one and the same among themselves, as we will explain below. (4) This is because if these attributes (e.g., power or wisdom) are not God, then either they are infinite and supremely perfect, or they are not. If they are, then something besides the one God will exist that is infinite and supremely perfect. Therefore, there will be two infinite things—that is, two equal Gods. But if the attributes are not infinite and supremely perfect, then God will not know his own essence and infinite perfection in an aliquid perfectible; *tum* quia partes seu principia, unde componeretur, essent imperfectiora composito, & sic ex iis nihil posset fieri aut componi, quod absoluta & infinita perfectione praeditum esset; *tum* denique quia in Deo esset potentia passiva, radix mutabilitatis, possetque Deus in partes aut Principia componentia resolvi, & corrumpi contra *Psal.* 102.28. *Iacob*. 1.17. *Numer*. 23.23. 1 *Timoth*. 1.v.17. *Rom.* 1.v.23. Unde constat Deum tantum esse quod est, nec posse non esse, & aliud esse. Hinc recte Damascenus Orthod. fidei lib. 1.c.4. Σύνθεσις γὰρ ἀρχὴ μάχης, μάχη δὲ διαστάσεως, διάστασις δὲ λύσεως· λύσις δὲ ἀλλότριον Θεοῦ παντελῶς. *compositio enim pugna principium: pugna vero separationis: separatio autem solutionis. Atqui solutio alienum quid penitus a Deo est. Tertia*, Quia Deus est absolutissime & perfectissime unus ac idem *Deuter.* 6.4. *Psal.* 102.28. nihilque in ipsius essentia realiter diversum. Atqui ubi nulla distinctio, ibi nulla per extremorum distinctorum unionem compositio. Probatur autem omnia, quae sunt in Deo, esse Deum, esse unum, idemque ac ipsum I. ex nomine *Iehova*," אשר אהיה אהיה [*sic*], Grk, ὁ ὢν, *Exod*. 3.14.15. cum *Apocal*. 1.8. ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. 2. Ex eo, quod proprie, synonymica & directa praedicatione ea, quae se videntur habere ad modum accidentium aut adiunctorum, de ipso praedicentur, ut e. gr. lux *Ioh.* 1.9. cum 1 *Ioh.* 1.5. caritas 1 *Ioh.* 4.8.16. Qui ergo est quod est, & cuius, quidquid est in ipso, est ipse, is nullas habet partes, accidentia, modos, aut principia quae aliud sint [229] ab ipso. 3. Quia attributa, quae nos tanquam diversa concipimus, de se invicem praedicantur essentialiter, quippe quae essentialiter sint unum idemque inter se, ut infra explicabimus. 4. Attributa illa ex. gr. potentia, sapientia si non sunt Deus, sunt aut infinita & summe perfecta, aut non sunt. Si illud, iam erit praeter unum Deum aliquod infinitum & summe perfectum, atque adeo erunt duo infinita, hoc est duo aequales Dii: sin istud, iam Deus propriam essentiam & perfectionem suam infinitam adaequate non cognoscet, sed tantum aliquatenus & pro modulo, quia

8. Cmp. *PG* 94, 797. See John of Damascus, *Orthodox Faith*, book 1, chapter 4. *NPNF2*, vol. 9, page 3 (second pagination).

adequate way, but just to the best of his (small) ability, because there is no proportion between a finite cognitive power and the infinite object or thing known.

The fourth argument is, say we grant there exists in God opposites that are distinct so that they could engage in composition. Even so, such opposites would not be able to be united or coalesce with each other except by the action of some efficient cause. But where and what is that cause, prior and superior to God, that might compose his substance?

The fifth argument proves simplicity belongs to God by detailing, that is, denying all species of composition. All composition in general is from act and potency. This is due to the fact that in composition, one part of the composing elements is in potency to another part, and both are in potency to the whole's existence which they participate in. However, we just said above that all in God is from himself in ultimate actuality, and there is not some passive or perfectible potency in him.

Now, regarding specific composition, we learn from John 4:24; Romans 1:20; 1 Timothy 1:17; and Isaiah 40:18, that composition from essential or integrating parts—that is, corporality, and even that of a human body (as the Anthromorphites desired)—does not occur in God. With this foundation as a premise, we can mention various other arguments that ensue partly from a body's nature and properties and partly from God's nature. For these arguments, see John of Damascus' *On the Orthodox Faith*, book 1, chapter 4;[9] Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Contra Gentiles*, book 1, chapters 19–21; the scholastics on book 1, distinction 8,[10] and Ia question 3, article 1; [11] Alfonso de Castro on the word "God," haeres. 2;[12] Vázquez's *Metaphysical Disputations* 17;[13] and our own Girolamo Zanchi's book 2, *On God*, chapter 2.[14]

Regarding composition from subject and accident, we deny such of God because he is infinitely perfect in himself, containing in himself all possible perfections either formally or eminently. Therefore, he cannot be perfected to a higher degree. Conversely, there would be passive potency and deficiency in God, and he would receive a higher perfection if he were to take on real accidents, which are specific, real perfections.

On composition from genus and difference, we deny this of God very easily because God is not in a category, nor does the notion of genus and difference properly pertain to him—as logicians and metaphysicians prove and scholastic theologians as well. On this, see among more recent works, Vázquez's *Metaphysical Disputations* 16 and those who are the opponents of Conradus Vorstius—namely, George Eglisham.

Now God is exempt from composition from essence non est proportio inter potentiam cognoscitivam finitam & obiectum seu γνωστόν infinitum. *Quarta*, quia dato in Deo esse extrema tam distincta ut compositionem ingredi possint, tamen non possent inter se uniri & coalescere, nisi per actionem alicuius causae efficientis. Atqui ubi & quae est illa causa prior & superior Deo, quae Dei substantiam componeret? *Quinta*, probatur ex enumeratione seu remotione omnium specierum compositionis. Compositio omnis in genere, est ex actu & potentia quia in ea altera pars ex componentibus est in potentia ad aliam, & ambae in potentia ad esse totius, quod participant; at in Deo omnia ex se esse in ultima actualitate, nec esse potentiam aliquam passivam aut perfectibilem iam supra dictum est. In specie compositionem ex partibus essentialibus aut integrantibus, hoc est corporeitatem & quidem corporis humani (quod volebant Anthromorphitae) non cadere in Deum discimus ex *Iohan* 4.24. *Rom*. 1.20. 1 *Timoth*. 1.17. *Iesa*. 40.18. Hoc fundamento praemisso, varia argumenta proferri possunt, partim ex natura & proprietatibus corporis partim ex natura Dei; quae vide apud *Damascenum Orthod. fidei lib.* 1.c.4. *Thomam lib.* 1. *c. Gentes cap.* 19.20.21. Scholasticos *in dist.* 8.*lib.*1. & *in partem* 1. *qu.* 3. *art*. 1. *Alphonsum a Castro in verbo Deus, haeres.* 2. *Vasquez disputat Metaphys*. 17. & ex nostris *Zanchium lib.* 2. *de Deo cap.* 2. De compositione ex subiecto & accidente probatur, quia Deus in se infinite perfectus est continens in se omnes perfectiones possibiles vel formaliter, vel eminenter; ergo non potest ulterius perfici. Atqui esset in Deo potentia passiva & defectus, ipseque ulteriorem reciperet perfectionem, si acciperet accidentia realia, quae sunt perfectiones quaedam reales. De compositione ex genere & differentia facillime probatur, quia Deus non est in praedicamento nec in illum proprie cadit notio generis & differentiae: ut ostendunt Logici & Metaphysici pariter ac Theologi-Scholastici. Vide ex recentioribus *Vasquez disput.* 16. & Antagonistas Vorstii, nominatim *Eglisemnium*. Compositio ex essentia & existentia, ex natura & supposito a Deo removetur, quia

9. John of Damascus, *Orthodox Faith*, book 1, chapter 4. *NPNF2*, vol. 9, page 3 (second pagination).

10. This appears to be a reference to a compendium of some sort that I have been unable to locate, or it may simply be a direction to see various commentators on the *Summa,* such as Gregorius de Valentia, Cajetan, etc.

11. Likewise, but this is most likely Thomas, *ST*.

12. Alonso de Castro, *Adversus omnes haereses* (1534; Paris, 1565), Book Five, 257v.

13. Gabriel Vázquez, *Disputationes metaphysicae* (1617), 28v.

14. Girolamo Zanchi, *Opera omnia theologica,* tom. 1 (1619), De Natura Dei sev, de Attributis, Book 2, Cap. II, De Simplicitate Dei, col. 63–73.

and existence or from nature and suppositum for these reasons: God is absolutely pure act; he is supremely perfect; he is first and independent; he is what he is; and whatever he is, he is by his essence and not by participation. Zanchi notes these things in his *On God*, chapter 2, as does Thomas in his *Summa Theologia,* Ia question 3 articles 3–4.

The sixth argument: let us add the consensus of the ancient church and the fathers to the preceding arguments. See Augustine's *On the Trinity*, book 6, chapter 6, book 5, chapter 1, books 7, 8, and 10;[15] Irenaeus's [*Against Heresies*] book 2, chapter 16;[16] Athenagoras [of Athen's] *Plea for the Christians*;[17] Tatian's *Address to the Greeks*;[18] Origen's *On First Principles*, book 1;[19] Eusebius's *Preparation for the Gospel*, book 8, chapter 2;[20] Athanasius's *On the Decrees of the Nicene Creed*;[21] Dionysius (called the Areopagite)'s *On Divine Names*, chapter 5;[22] Gregory Nazianzus's *Oration* 49 or his *Book on Faith*;[23] and his *Oration* 2, *On Theology*;[24] [Gregory] Nyssa's *Oration* 1, at the words, "Let us make man," etc.;[25] Cyril of Alexandria's *Epistle to Calosyrium* and *Against Julian*, book 10;[26] [John] Cassian's *Institutes*, book 8, chapter 4;[27] John of Damascus' *On the Orthodox Faith*, book 1, chapters 4 and 17 [*sic* 7];[28] Aeneas of Gaza's *Theophrastus*;[29] the author of *On the Spirit and Soul*, chapter 18;[30] together with Gennadii Massil's *On Ecclesiastical Teaching*, chapter 11;[31] the works of the "scholastics" both on book 1, distinction 8,[32] and on Thomas's [*Summa Theologia*] Ia question 3 throughout the whole question, especially article 7. And the consensus of all the more recent authors on the commonplaces and theses, especially the opponents of Socinius, Vorstius, and the Remonstrants. Among these opponents, see of the Catholics, Martin Becanus's *Treatise against Vorstius*;[33] and of our own

Deus est actus purissimus, quia summe perfectus, quia primus & independens, [230] quia est quod est, quia quidquid est per essentiam est & non per participationem, de quo *Zanchius loco cit.* & *Thomas dicta quaest. art.* 3. & 4. *Sexta*, Accedat his argumentis consensus antiquae Ecclesiae & patrum, *Augustin. de Trinit. lib.* 6.c.6. & 4. *lib*. 5.c.1. & *lib.* 7 & 8. & 10. *Irenai lib.* 2.c.16. *Athenagor. in legatione pro Christianis. Tatianus Orat. ad Graecos. Origen. lib.* 1. περὶ ἀρχῶν. *Euseb. praepar. Evangel. lib.* 8.c.2. *Athanas. in decret. synodi Nicen. Dionysius* dictus *Areopagita de divin. nomin. cap.* 5. *Nazianzen. Orat.* 49. *seu lib. de Fide*; & *Orat.* 11. *de Theologia. Nysseni Orat.* 1 ad illa verba: *faciamus hominem* &c. *Cyrilli Alexandr. epist. ad Calosyrium* & *l.* 10. *contra Iulianum. Cassiani l.* 8. *Instit. c.* 4. *Damasceni loc. cit.* & *cap*. 17. *Aenae Gazai in Theophrasto fol.* 91. Authoris de Spiritu & anima cap. 18. apud *Augustin. tom.* 3. *Gennadii Massil. de ecclesiast. dogmat. c.* 11. Scholasticorum *ad lib* 1. *dist.* 8. & *ad Thomae p.* 1. *qu.* 3. per totum; imprimis ad *artic.* 7. Recentiorum omnium in locis communibus & thesibus; praesertim Antagonistarum Socini, Vorstii, & Remonstrantium, inter quos ex Pontificiis *Becanus in tract. contra Vorstium*; ex nostris *Broeckerus, Sladus,*

15. Augustine, *On the Holy Trinity*, *NPNF1*, vol. 3, 100, 89, 104, 115, 134.

16. Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, Book 2, chapter 16, *ANF* 1, 379.

17. Athenagoras, *Plea for Christians, ANF* 2, 133.

18. Titian, *Address to the Greeks*, *ANF* 2, 65.

19. Περὶ ἀρχῶν. See *PG* 11, col. 107. Cf. *Origen on first principles: being Koetschau's text of the De principiis translated into English, together with an introduction and notes*, ed. and trans. G. W. Butterworth, Paul Koetschau (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1936).

20. This reference does not appear to be correct. Cf. Eusebius of Caesarea, Book 11, chapter 9. "MOSES in his declarations of sacred truth uttered a response in the person of God: 'I AM THAT I AM. Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you,' and so represented God as the sole absolute Being, and declared Him to have been properly and fitly honoured with this name…. In accordance with them we also divide the All into two parts, that which can be perceived only by the mind, and that which can be perceived by the senses: and the former we define as incorporeal and rational in its nature, and imperishable and immortal; but the sensible as being always in flux and decay, and in change and conversion of its substance. And all things being summed up and referred to one beginning, we hold the doctrine that the uncreate, and that which has proper and true being, is One, which is the cause of all things incorporeal and corporeal…." *Eusebius of Caesarea: Praeparatio Evangelica (Preparation for the Gospel).* Trans. E.H. Gifford (1903), Tomus III, Pars Posterior [pars 2. Libri X-XV anglice redditi], 523bff.

21. Athanasius, *NPNF2*, v. 4, 150ff.

22. Dionysius the Areopagite, *The Works,* ed. John Parker, vol. 1 (1897), 73.

23. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Spuria: De Fide Orthodoxa Contra Arianos* (alias Oration 49), *PG* 36.674.

24. *Oration 2 on Theology* (Oration 28), *NPNF2,* vol. 7, p. 288, see vii, vii, ix, 290–291.

25. Gregory of Nyssa, "On the Making of Man," ch. 16, *NPNF2*, vol. 5, p. 403.

26. Cyril of Alexandria, *Epistle to Calosyrium* and *Against Julian*, book 10, *PG* 76, col. 1066, ibid., 1002.

27. John Cassian, *Institutes*, book 8, chapter 4, *NPNF2*, vol. 11, p. 258.

28. John of Damascus, *Orthodox Faith*, book 1, chapter 4. *NPNF2*, vol. 9, page 3, 5 (second pagination). "But in the case of the divine nature, which is simple and uncompound…." (Chapter VII on the Holy Spirit, p. 5).

29. *Aeneas of Gaza: Theophrastus,* trans. Sebastian Gertz, John Dillon and Donald Russell (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013).

30. *De anima et spiritu, PL* 40, col. 793.

31. Gennadii Massiliensis, *Liber de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus veteris cuiusdam theologi homilia sacra* (Hamburg, 1614), 8.

32. See footnote 10.

33. Martin Becanus, *Tractatus de Deo et attributis diuinis* (1611).

theologians Frederik Broeckerus,[34] Matthew Slade,[35] and Eglisham.[36] Add to these also the Christian philosophers and metaphysicians. Even the Platonic philosophers as well, and all foreign Gentiles, Jews, at least those called theists, can be brought forward to assent to God's single, simple essence. Look at the writers as well on natural theology, and those who have written in defense of the truth of Christian religion. Among the Jews, Maimonides's *Guide for the Perplexed*, part 1, chapter 51–52,[37] provides notable witness to this truth. He also gives arguments there that we should not despise. This truth is opposed by that fiction regarding the Sephirot found in Menasseh ben Israel in his small book on *Creation*,[38] which we remark on in our *Disputation on Creation*, part 2.[39] The Muslims also agree with us—at least those who are philosophers and learned, as you can see in the Persian Achmedum's *Politor Speculi*, as Filippo Guadagnoli notes in his *Apology against Achmedum Alabadin*, treatise 3, in the preface.[40]

3.

III. Now that we have confirmed the truth of the matter, it still is necessary to examine our opponents' opinion. Among the pagans, there have been people who claimed God was a body, either as the soul of the world or the universal world; and due to this that he was composed either in himself or with another thing outside himself. See Epiphanius's *Heresies* 5;[41] Eusebius's *Preparation for the Gospel*, book 4, chapter 6;[42] and John of Damascus, *On Heresies*.[43]

Among the Christians, the Audians (wrongly called the Vadians by Prateolus and other more recent authors) attributed to God a body, even a human one. See Epiphanius's *Heresies* 70; Augustine's *On Heresies*, chapter 50;[44] Theodoret's *Compendium of Heretical Accounts*, book 4, chapter 13,[45] and his *Ecclesiastical History*, book 4, chapter 19 [*sic* 11];[46] Nicephorus's book 2, chapter 14.[47] Those whom the Greeks later called the *Eglisemnius* &c. Adde philosophos & metaphysicos Christianos. Quin & Platonici philosophi, omnesque extranei Gentiles, Iudaei, qui saltem Theistae audiunt, ad suffragia hic vocari possent pro unica & simplici Dei essentia. Videantur scriptores theologiae naturalis; & qui pro Veritate Religionis Christianae scripserunt. Ex Iudaeis illustre testimonium huic veritati praebet *Maymonides More Nebuchin part.* 1.c.51. & 52. ubi etiam adfert argumenta non contemnenda. Cui veritati repugnat commentum illud de Sephirot apud *Menasse ben Israel in libello de Creatione*: de quo notamus quid in *disp. de Creatione part.* 2. Mahumedistae consentiunt: saltem Philosophi & eruditi, uti videre est in *Politore speculi Achmedi Persae*, referente *Phil. Guadognolo apologiae c. Achmedum tract.* 3. *in praefat.*

3. Veritate iam confirmata restat adversariorum sententiam examinemus. Fuerunt inter Ethnicos qui Deum *corpus* dicerent, aut *animam mundi*, aut *mundum universum*, atque adeo aut in se, aut cum alio extra se compositum *Epiphan. haeres.* 5. *Euseb. prepar. Evangel. lib.* 4.c.6. *Damascen. lib. de haeresib.* Inter Christianos *Audiani* (perperam *Prateolo* aliisque recentioribus dicti *Vadiani*) Deo corpus & quidem humanum attribuebant *Epiphan. haeres.* 70. *Augustin. de haeres.* c. 50. *Theodoret. lib.* 4. *haeret. fabul.* c. 13. *Idem histor. lib.* 4.c.19. *Nicephor. lib.* 11.c.14. qui a Graecis postea dicti

34. Frederik Broeckerus, *Antidotum errorum praecipuorum comprehensorum in tractatu de deo ... et apologetica exegesi Conradi Vorstii* (1612).

35. Matthew Slade, *Matthaei Sladi cum Corrado Vorstio de blasphemiis, haeresibuset athëismis a Magnae Britanniae Franciae et Hiberniae rege Iacobo huius nominis primo Christianae Fidei defensore in ejusdem Vorstii de Deo tractatu & exegesi apologeticâ, nigro theta notatis, scholasticae disceptationis pars prima* (1612)

36. See at footnote 63.

37. Maimonides, *Guide for the Perplexed*, trans. M. Friedlander (1885), 1.172

38. Menasseh ben Israel, *De creatione problemata XXX* (1635).

39. See De Creatione, Pars Secunda. Resp. Luberto Spruitio Ultraject. Ad diem 15. Septemb. 1638, in *Selectarum Disputationum Theologicarum pars prima* (Utrecht: Waesberge, 1648), 583.

40. Philippus Guadagnolo, *Apologia pro christiana religione* (1631).

41. "5. Against the Stoics," in *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis: Book I (sects 1–46)* (Brill, 2009), 22.

42. This reference also appears incorrect. Cf. Book 14, chapter 16. "Thales held that god is the mind of the world; Anaximander that the stars are celestial gods; Democritus that god is like a sphere amid fire, which is the soul of the world." *Preparation for the Gospel,* trans. E.H. Gifford, Tomus III, pars posterior (Oxford, 1903), p. 754a.

43. John of Damascus, *De Hæresibus, PG* 94, col. 675.

44. Cf. Liguori Müller, *The De Haeresibus of Saint Augustine* (CUA Patristic Studies, The Catholic University of America Press: Washington, D.C.,1956), 111.

45. Theodoret, *Haereticarum fabularum, PG* 84, 435. See the translation in Glenn M. Cope, An analysis of the heresiological method of Theodoret of Cyrus in the *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium*, Diss. (Catholic University of America, 1990).

46. Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, *NPNF2*, vol. 3, p. 114.

47. Nicephorus Calistus, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae libri XVIII, in duos tomos distincti* (Paris, 1630), 154–156.

Anthropomorphites, Lactantius called the Anthropians—see Lactantius, book 4, chapter 30.[48] Tertullian held to something akin to this error, as you can see clearly from his *Against Marcion*, book 2, chapter 16,[49] and *Against Praxeam*,[50] as well as from Augustine's testimony in his *On Genesis*, book 10, chapters 25–26,[51] though in his book *On Heresies*, chapter 84, he intimates that it was more a discrepancy in terminology or misuse of such, than it was heresy.[52]

In ages to follow, people who opposed God's simplicity arose now and then; and scholastics and ecclesiastical persons promptly suppressed and condemned their errors. See the condemnations subjected against the Master of the Sentences in 1226 and 1340.[53] Becanus, in his *Summary of Scholastic Theology*, chapter 1, question 1,[54] also has mentioned a certain Walter, who distinguished God's essence and attributes in a real way.[55] In recent memory, the Socinians revived anew these horrendous conjectures up from hell—with no other end but overthrowing the foundation of Christianity, namely, God one and three. Hence, in the Racovian Catechism, in the passage dealing with knowledge of God, chapter 1, the Socinians strike from the list of God's attributes his spiritual nature, simplicity, infinity, and invisibility.[56] The Remonstrants in their *Confession* seem to lean toward nearly the same thing.[57] Yes, they even assert in their *Apology*, chapter 2, folio 41, that there is "not, in fact, a single iota about God's simplicity in Scripture," and that "the whole disputation is metaphysical."[58] And they rail quite skeptically against this whole Christian doctrine, folios 41–42:

> You have to drench your mind with the whole of metaphysics, before you understand what composition is, and then "Is there composition from existence and essence?", and "What is it?", and "Is there composition from act and potency?", "What is that?";[59] whether this composition is true composition; whether it is

sunt Antropomorphitae a *Lactantio lib.* 4.c.30. Anthropiani. Affine quid erroris istius adhaesisse *Tertulliano* non obscure colligi videtur ex *lib.* 2. *adversus Marcionem* c. 16. & *adversus Praxeam*, & testimonio *Augustin. lib.* 10. *de Genesi* c. 25.26. quamvis *lib. de haeresibus* c. 84. innuat fuisse magis discrepantiam in voce seu abusum [231] vocis, quam haeresin. Sequioribus saeculis emerserunt subinde qui simplicitatem Dei oppugnarunt, quorum errores ilico a Scholasticis & ecclesiasticis oppressi & condemnati sunt. Vide condemnationes subiectas *Magistro sententiarum, anno* 1226. & 1340. &c. Meminit etiam *Becanus cap.* 1. *qu.* 1. cuiusdam Walteri, qui essentiam & attributa Dei realiter distinguebat. Nostra memoria Sociniani haec monstra opinionum ab inferis denuo suscitarunt, nullum alium in finem, quam ut Christianismi fundamentum Deum scil. unum & trinum convellerent. Hinc in *Catechesi Racoviensi loco de cognitione Dei cap.* 1. ex classe attributorum Dei expungunt, spiritualem Dei naturam, simplicitatem, infinitatem, invisibilitatem. Eodem fere tendere videntur *Remonstrantes in Confessione*. Quin & in Apologia asserunt, *ne iota quidem de simplicitate Dei in scriptura esse* cap. 2. fol. 41. *deinde totam disputationem esse metaphysicam*, Ibid. & sceptice satis totam hanc Christianismi doctrinam exagitant ibid. & fol. 42. *Tota pene metaphysica proluendus est animus, antequam intelligas quid sit compositio, tum an & quid sit compositio ex esse & essentia, ex actu & potentia; an compositio haec sit vera compositio; An simplicitati Dei repugnet, si volitiones &*

48. Lactantius, *Divine Institutes*, book 4, chapter 30, *ANF* 7, p. 133.

49. Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, book 2, chapter 16, *ANF* 3, 91.

50. Tertullian, *Against Praxeam, ANF* 3, 602.

51. Augustine, *On Genesis,* trans. Edmund Hill, The Works of Saint Augustine, A Translation for the 21st Century, I/13 (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2002), 425.

52. Müller, *The De Haeresibus of Saint Augustine,* 121

53. The 1226 and 1340 dates refer to condemnations of teachings found to be unapproved in Lombard, which lists became commonly attached to editions of the *Sentences.* See for example, "Collectio Errorum Parisiis Condemnatorum. Errores Parisiis Condemnati a Domino Guilermo Episcopo Parisiensi," in *Magistri sententiarum libri quatuor* (Lugduni: apud haeredes Iacobi Iuntae, 1564), 401, 402v.

54. Cf. Martinus Becanus, *Summa Theologiae scholasticae,* vol. 1 (Paris, 1622), 8.

55. This is likely Walter of Winterburn (d. 1305), who among other things wrote a commentary on the *Sentences* and on theological questions.

56. Cf. *The Racovian Catechism,* trans. Thomas Rees (London: 1818), 26.

57. Cf. *The Arminian Confession of 1621,* trans. Mark Ellis (Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2005), 45–46.

58. Simon Episcopius, *Apologia pro confessione sive Declaratione sententiæ eorum, qui in Fœderato Belgio vocantur Remonstrantes, super præcipuis articulis religionis Christianæ* (1629), 41.

59. The first two scholastic questions are whether something exists (an sit) and second what that something is (quid sit), here asked of both composition *ex esse et essentia* as also *ex actu et potentia*.

> incompatible with God's simplicity if you say his free volitions and actions are distinct from his essence. Because if there were no distinction, how God's will could be free is inexplicable—indeed, how his will could cease and desist, because his essence is not free, but always remains utterly the same and cannot ever cease. Likewise, it is clearly said of God that he hates and opposes the just man whom he loves when he falls away from his justice. How then is that love and the hatred that follows it, in respect of the same subject, God's same essence, which always stays the same; and other things of this sort. And how few mortals understand these questions! The extremely sharp minds have here something on which to exercise their industry. And after they do this, then their disputes are drier than sand. You might say they put a cross on themselves on which they might hang suspended. Thus the Remonstrants leave these decisions to their academic teachers and to all those for whom it is permitted to wrestle in this dry dust and slay themselves. Third, and why should they do otherwise?—it is not necessary for them to be understood, according to the very foundation of their censors, which they proposed in their *Synopsis of Purer Theology*, disputation 3, thesis 19: "Whatever Scripture does not contain, although it does not differ in the slightest way from Scripture, is not a dogma necessary for salvation."[60]

(See, if you would, the rest of this.) All this is not surprising, seeing as the Remonstrants made Conrad Vorstius' profane disputation on God their own by approving of it in 1611. Vorstius had sketched out in his book *On God*, pages 207, 209–10, 214, 219, 221, 224, that God was bodily, visible, mutable, subject to accidents, had many things in him, etc.[61] He continued to persist defending these horrendous speculations with various exegesis, defenses, and other polemical writings against all of Christianity. For this, you can look at the following: *Apologia Regis Magna Britannia*;[62] Eglisham, *Crisis* and *Hypocrisis*;[63] *Examen Responsi Vorstii ad Articulos ex Angelia transmissos*;[64] the writings of Slade;[65] those of the ministers at Leovardia;[66] the writings of Johannes Piscator;[67] and those of Sibrandus Lubbertus against Vorstius[68] and against Grotius, Vorstius's patron;[69] the *actiones Dei liberae ab essentia Dei dicantur distincta; quia inexplicabile videtur, quomodo, si distinctio nulla sit, volitio Dei libera esse possit, imo quomodo volitio desinere ac cessare possit, cum essentia libera non sit, sed semper eadem prorsus maneat, nec desinere unquam possit: Item, cum de Deo expresse dicatur, quod iustum; quem amat, a iustitia sua deficientem odio habeat & aversetur, quomodo amor iste & odium subsequens amorem, respectu eiusdem subiecti, sit ipsa Dei essentia, quae eadem semper manet, & quae sunt eius commatis alia. Et quotusquisque mortalium quaestiones istas intelligit? habent ibi acutissima ingenia, in quo exerceant industriam suam. Et postquam id fecerunt, altercationes eorum aridiores sunt arena. Crucem diceres eos sibi ipsis fixisse, ex qua suspensi haereant. Remonstrantes itaque earum decisiones Doctoribus Academicis relinquunt, & iis omnibus, quibus licet in arido isto pulvere luctari & se iugulare. Tertio, Et cur faciant aliter? ut intelligantur necesse non est, iuxta ipsum horum Censorum fundamentum, quod in Synopsi suae Theologiae purioris posuerunt. Dipsut. III. Thes.* 19. Quicquid Scriptura non continetur, quamvis simpliciter ab ea non dissentiat, non est necessarium ad salutem dogma. Vide, quaeso, reliqua. Nec mirum, cum anno 1611. profanas disput. *Conr. Vorstii de Deo*, approbando suas fecissent. Ille enim in *libr. de Deo p.* 207. 209. 210. 214. 219. 221. 246. delinearat Deum corporeum, visibilem, mutabilem, accidentibus subiectum, in quo essent res plures, &c. quae monstra opinionum exegesibus, apologiis, aliisque scriptis polemicis adversus totum Christianismum defendere non destitit. Videatur *Apologia Regis Magna Britannia, Eglisemnii Crisis & Hypocrisis, Examen Responsi Vorstiani ad* [232] *articulos ex Anglia transmissos, scripta Sladi, Ministrorum Leovardiensium, Piscatoris, Sibrandi Lubberti contra Vorstium, & contra Grotium* Vorstii patronum, & *Bogermann*

60. This is cited from *Apologia*, p. 41–42. [See Polyander et al., *Synopsis Purioris Theologiae* (*Synopsis of a Purer Theology),* volume 1 (Brill, 2014), 86–87.]

61. Vorstius, *Tractatus theologicus de Deo, sive de natura et attributis Dei* (1610).

62. *Declaratio serenissimi magnae Britanniae Regis, qua quid cum generalibus foederatarum Belgii Provinciarum ordinibus super re Vorstii actum tractatumque sit, singillatim explicatur* (Norton, 1612), Ex Apologiâ, 24ff.

63. George Eglisham, *Crisis Vorstiani responsi, qua D. Conradus Vorstius denuo atheismi, ethnicismi, judaismi, turcismi, haereseos, schismatis et ignorantiae arguitur* (Delphis, 1612). *Hypocrisis apologeticae orationis Vorstianae, cum secunda provocatione ad. D. Conradum Vorstium* (Delphis, 1612).

64. *Examen Responsionis quam D. Conradvs Vorsivs edidit ad Articulos ex Anglia transmissos* (1612). 12pp.

65. Matthew Slade, *Cum Corrado Vorstio theol. doct. de blasphemiis,* etc. (1612).

66. *Specimen candoris & veracitatis Conradi Vorstii, per Pastores Ecclesiæ Leovardiensis* (Lugd. Bat., 1612).

67. Johannes Piscator, *Ad Conradi Vorstii, S. Theol. D. amicam collationem* (1613); *Tractatus de gratia Dei: in quo disputatur quaestio* (1614); *Tractatus de divina praedestinatione* (1618).

68. Lubbertus, *Commentarii ad nonaginta novem errores Conradi Vorstii* (1613).

69. E.g., Lubbertus, *Responsio ad Pietatem H. Grotii* (1614).

writings of Johannes Bogerman and Gottfried Sopingius against the same Grotius;[70] and finally, the judgment of the National Dordrecht Synod, in 1619, on Vorstius's doctrine and writings.[71] And recently, the Socinian [Jan] Crell, in his supplement to Völkel's *Institutes*, described God's essence in a very similar way, Vorstius's book *On God* having been cited for the sake of honor and mentioned in the margin.[72]

4.[73]

We will now briefly resolve the arguments [against simplicity] which we are aware that either our just reviewed opponents have brought forward or else somebody might think one could offer. The first argument is that you do not find one bit of it in the Scriptures. *Response*. If everything is not established by the terms of the schools or those used today, or explicitly through theses and antitheses—nevertheless, we gather this teaching from Scripture by consequence, as we showed in thesis 2 above. See our disputations, *On Human Reason in Matters of Faith*;[74] and, *On Fundamental Articles and Errors*.[75]

The second argument is that the entire teaching is philosophical, scholastic, and metaphysical. So none of it pertains to the Christians' faith and piety. *Response*. We deny that the teaching is materially and in itself philosophical, even though one could say it is formally such, insofar as one presents simplicity and vindicates it from the opponents' pseudo-philosophical tricks by using philosophical or scholastic terms. One could also raise the same objection against the teaching about all God's attributes, even those that the Socinians and Remonstrants themselves propose; and likewise the teaching on the Trinity, teaching on the person and natures of Christ against Eutychus and Nestorius—in fact, even almost all of theology.

The third argument is that the entire doctrine is uncertain and inexplicable. Therefore, it is better to at least go the skeptic route, if you do not take the Vorstian or Socinian one. Our opponents prove the antecedent proposition, because metaphysicians do not agree about the explanation of the terms "simplicity" or "composition." *Response*. The criterion for truth is not that all *ac Sopingii contra* eundem *Grotium*, denique *iudicium Synodi Nationalis Dordracena anno* 1619. *de Doctrina & scriptis Vorstii*. Nuper etiam *Crellius* Socinianus *in supplemento Institutionum Volckelii* simili fere modo Dei essentiam descripsit, citato etiam honoris causa, & in margine allegato libro *Vorstii de Deo*.

4. Rationes quas ab abversariis iam recensitis unquam adductas scimus, aut alioquin adduci posse quis putaret, breviter sic diluimus. *Prima*, est, ne iota haberi in sacris literis. *Resp.* Si terminis scholarum & hodie usitatis, aut si explicite per theses & antitheses omnia ibi non decidantur, per consequentiam tamen doctrina haec inde colligitur, ut *thesi* 2. super ostensum est. Confer. *Disput. nostram, De ratione humana in rebus fidei*; & alteram, de *Articulis & erroribus fundamentalibus. Secunda*, tota doctrina est philosophica, scholastica, metaphysica. Ergo nihil ad fidem & pietatem Christianorum. *Resp. Negamus* materialiter & in se esse philosophicam, quamvis formaliter dici posset talis, quatenus terminis philosophicis & scholastice proponitur, & ab adversariorum strophis pseudo-philosophicis vindicatur. Idem posset obiici doctrinae de omnibus attributis Dei, etiam iis quae Sociniani & Remonstrantes ipsi proponunt, item de Trinitate, Christi persona & naturis contra Eutychen & Nestorium, immo de tota fere Theologia. *Tertia*, Tota doctrina haec incerta & inexplicabilis est, ergo praestat hic si non Vorstianos aut Socinianos, saltem Scepticos agere. Antecedens probatur, quia Metaphysicis non convenit in expositione terminorum simplicitatis & compositionis. *Resp.* Non est hoc κριτὴριον

70. Johannes Bogerman, *Ad Scripti Hugonis Grotii Partes priores duas, in quibus tractat causam Vorstii & Remonstrantium, sive Pastorum illorum, qui sequuntur sententiam J. Arminii, Annotationes In gratiam Lectoris veritatis studiosi conscriptae a Johanne Bogermanno Ecclesiaste Leovardiensi* (1614). Gottfried Sopingius, *Apologetica responsio ad libellvm anonymvm qui vocatur Bona fides Sibrandi Lvbberti et ad Hvgonis Grotii pietatem cui annexa est ipsa Bona fides anonymi & Vita auctori* (1616).

71. Session 150–152, May 4, 1619. Cf. *The Judgement of the Synode Holden at Dort, Concerning the five Articles: As also their sentence touching Conradus Vorstius* (London: John Bill, 1619), 101–106.

72. Johann Völkel, *De vera religione, libri quinque quibus praefixus est Iohannis Crellii Franci liber De Deo et ejus attributis, ita ut unum cum illis opus constituat* (1630). Vorstius' *De Deo* is not cited in the margin, but the margin title of the first chapter title is similar. Crell does cite other works by Vorstius (*Responsio ad Matthaei Sladi* and *Apologetica exegesis contra Becanum*) on page 278 in the margin.

73. The marginal numbering of the sections which may have been supplied by the printer, skip "5" and start again at "6"; however, these are all subpoints to the fourth point, with 1–5 being omitted in the numbering in the margin. A second error is made in numbering the eighth argument as "7" in the margin.

74. "De ratione humana in rebus fidei," in *Selectarum disputationum textualium prima de insolubilibus (ut vocant) scripturae* (1636).

75. "De Articulis et Erroribus Fundamentalibus," Resp. Johanne Alemloveen, Ultrajecino, Ad diem 18. Mart. 1637." See *Selectarum Disputationum theologicarum*, vol. 2 (1655), 511.

authors understand something the same way. However the metaphysicians and scholastics (Thomists and Scotists) vary in their explanation of terms and of this controversy, nevertheless, everybody certainly aims at this: removing all composition from God. Just look at Joannes de Rada's *Controversies between Thomas and Scotus*, part 1, controversy 4.[76]

The fourth argument is that the Scriptures ascribe members, parts, and affections to God. Therefore, there is one different thing and another different thing in him. *Response*. Scripture says all these things anthropopathically, and we should understand them as suited to divine majesty. Let us say, though, that someone did not want to understand these metaphorical things figuratively. On that line of reasoning, it would be proven that God is a stone, a lion, has wings, and is something conflated with various creatures (banish the blasphemy!). For he is called a fire, a rock, a lion, and so on; and Scripture attributes members to him—not just those of people, but even of other creatures. What is more, he is said to sleep, forget, be distant, grieve, repent, be angry, etc. Yet we are taught we should explain these phrases metaphorically by: Augustine's *On True and False Religion*, chapter 50, letter 112, and his book *On the Essence of Divinity*;[77] under Tertullian's name, Novatian's *On the Trinity*, chapters 6–7;[78] Jerome's letter 15;[79] Isidore's *Etymologies*, book 3;[80] Gregory [the Great's] *Morals on Job*, book 14, chapter 22;[81] and the John of Damascus' *On the Orthodox Faith*, book 1, chapter 14.[82]

The fifth argument is this. Because there is a plurality of attributes in God that are really distinct from him and from each other—at least so distinct as not to be God himself—therefore, God is not simple. *Response*. We deny the antecedent. Such attributes are God himself; nor do goodness, righteousness, power, intellect, and will, for example, really differ. There are certain people, such as Scotus and his school, who grant that the attributes are distinguished formally "according to the nature of the thing." This is because, though the attributes are the same simple thing, nevertheless they are formal distinct concepts "according to the nature of the thing." For the formal concept and definition of one attribute (e.g., intellect or righteousness) is not the definition and formal concept of another (e.g., will or mercy). Among recent authors, Rada, bishop of Patti, subtly defends this opinion [of a formal distinction on

veritatis, ut omnes authores eam aeque intelligant. Quidquid in explicatione terminorum & controversiae huius varient sive Metaphysici, sive Scholastici Thomistae & Scotistae, omnes tamen hoc certatim agunt ut omnem compositionem a Deo removeant. Vide modo *Rhadam controversiarum inter Thomam & Scotum part*. 1. *controvers.* 4. *Quarta*, In scripturis Deo membra, partes, affectus adscribuntur, ergo est in ipso aliud & aliud. *Resp.* ἀνθρωποπαθῶς haec dicuntur, quae θεοπρεπώς intelligenda. Si quis enim metaphorica illa proprie velit intelligi, iam eadem methodo probatum esset Deum esse lapidem, leonem, habere alas, esse quid (absit blasphemia) ex variis animantibus conflatum. Vocatur enim ignis, rupes, leo &c. & membra non tantum hominis sed & aliorum animantium illi tribuuntur. Dicitur praeterea dormire, oblivisci, procul esse, dolere, poenitere; irasci &c. Sed metaphorice has phrases explicandas docent *Augustinus de vera & falsa religione cap.* 50. & *epist.* 112. & *in libr. de* [233] *Essentia divinitatis, Novatianus* sub nomine *Tertulliani de Trinitate cap.* 6. & 7. *Hieronymus epistol.* 15. *Isidor. lib.* 3. *Etymolog. Gregorius lib.* 14. *Moralium cap.* 22. *Damascen. lib.* 1. *de Orthod. fide cap.* 14. *Quinta*, Quia in Deo sunt plurima attributa realiter ab ipso & inter se distincta, saltem ita distincta ut non sint ipse Deus, Ergo. *Resp. Neg. antecedens.* Sunt ipse Deus, nec realiter differunt ex. gr. bonitas, iustitia, potentia, intellectus, voluntas. Sunt qui concedunt distingui ex natura rei formaliter, ut *Scotus* cum suis, quia quamvis sint eadem res simplex, tamen ex natura rei sunt distinctae rationes formales, non enim ratio formalis & definitio unius ex. gr. intellectus aut iustitiae, est definitio & ratio formalis alterius ex. gr. voluntatis aut misericordiae, quam sententiam subtiliter contra omnes Thomistas defendit ex recentioribus *Rhada* Episcopus Pactensis *loc. cit.* Alii vero ut

76. Joannes de Rada, *Controversiae theologicae inter S. Thomam & Scotum, super quatuor libros Sententiarum*. 4 vols. (1620).

77. Augustine, *De vera religione, PL* 34, col. 165. Letter 147 alias 112, De Videndo Deo, *PL* 33, col. 596; *Works: Letters, volume 2, 100–155,* trans. John E. Rotelle, The Works of Saint Augustine, A Translation for the 21st Century (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2003), Letter 147, 317–349. Pseudo-Augustine, *De essentia divinitatis*, *PL* 42, 1199–1206.

78. Novatian, *A Treatise of Novatian Concerning the Trinity*, chps. 6–7, *ANF* 5, pp. 615–617.

79. Letter XV. To Pope Damasus. NPNF2 v6, pp. 18–20.

80. *Isidore of Seville's Etymologies: Complete English Translation,* Volume I: Books 1–10, trans. Priscilla Throop (2006).

81. *Morals on the Book of Job by St. Gregory the Great,* translated with Notes and Indices, volume 2 (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1845), 118–171, 546–597.

82. *NPNF2*, vol. 9, p. 17 (second pagination).

the part of the thing] against all the Thomists.[83] On the other hand, others, such as the Thomists and more recent Catholic theologians (which I think includes Reformed philosophers and theologians) more truly and accurately establish the distinction between the reason reasoning and the reason reasoned. The former, the reason reasoning, occurs with respect to our intellect; and this is both on account of God's wholly eminent perfection, which cannot be represented by a single concept, as well as on account of the finitude and narrowness of our intellect, which cannot conceive God's whole perfection adequately under a single concept, but needs many inadequate concepts to conceive that perfection. For this reason, it is the case that our intellect conceives one and the same thing dividedly by many formal concepts really distinct—in fact, concepts that are taken up by analogy from created things, which supply these concepts through many distinct qualities that the divine essence is through itself. The latter, the reason reasoned, occurs with respect to the thing itself, because the objective concepts are not really distinct, in act, or in the thing itself; they are virtually or eminently distinct in the effects, outworkings, and terminations. These [Thomists] properly call this distinction of the reason reasoned a virtual or eminent distinction; or (to accommodate to Scotist terms) a formal distinction "according to the nature of the thing," not as that thing is in act but as it is virtually or eminently, so that there is some foundation for this second distinction on the part of the thing—but, not in God himself, but in his effects. For though the divine essence and perfection is one and simple, it still does not operate according to its own adequate concept. Hence we say that God punishes the wicked according to the concept of justice and saves his own people according to the concept of mercy. He draws Bucephalus out per the idea of horse, and not of man, while Alexander per the idea of man, and not of horse.[84] Indeed, God's attributes of justice and mercy as they are in act, just as the ideas of man and horse, are not multiplied or distinguished in God himself. Instead, they are only distinguished virtually in the effects themselves, or in the termination in such and such work or effect. Younger theologians should learn the nature of this distinction from common authors, both metaphysicians and logicians, and then apply it to the present issue. Usually authors offer here two examples (among many others): the example of the soul and the light of the sun. In man, the soul is really one; yet it is

Thomistae & recentiores Pontificii plerique (cum quibus puto facere philosophos & Theologos reformatos) verius & accuratius statuunt hic distinctionem rationis ratiocinantis & ratiocinatae. *Illam* quidem a parte intellectus nostri, tum propter eminentissimam Dei perfectionem quae non potest unica ratione repraesentari, tum propter finitudinem & angustiam intellectus nostri, qui non potest totam Dei perfectionem unico conceptu adaequate concipere, sed indiget ad eam concipiendam multis conceptibus inadaequatis, hinc fit ut pluribus conceptibus formalibus realiter distinctis divisim unam eandemque rem concipiat, conceptibus, inquam, analogice desumptis a rebus creatis, quae per multas distinctasque qualitates praestant ea, quae essentia divina per se. *Hanc* vero a parte rei, quia varii sunt conceptus obiectivi non realiter, actu, in se; sed virtualiter seu eminenter in effectibus, egressibus & terminationibus distincti. Hanc distinctionem proprie vocant rationis ratiocinatae, virtualem aut eminentem; seu (ut terminis Scotisticis eam aptemus) ex natura rei formalem non actu sed virtute aut eminenter. Ita ut huius posterioris distinctionis aliquod sit fundamentum a parte rei, non quidem in ipso Deo, sed in effectibus Dei. Quamvis enim una & simplex sit essentia & perfectio divina, non tamen operatur secundum adaequatam suam rationem. Unde dicimus Deum punire malos secundum rationem iustitiae, salvare suos secundum rationem misericordiae, producere bucephalum ad ideam equi, non hominis; Alexandrum vero ad ideam hominis non equi. Actu quidem attributa iustitiae & misericordiae, ut etiam ideae hominis & equi in ipso Deo non multiplicantur aut distinguuntur; sed distinguuntur solummodo virtualiter in ipsis effectibus, seu in terminatione ad opus aut effectum talem & talem. Distinctionis [244 *sic*] huius naturam ex vulgaribus authoribus Metaphysicis, & Logicis, suis discant iuniores, & rei praesenti applicent. Exempla duo plerumque solent produci, animae & luminis solaris. Anima realiter una in homine, virtute seu

83. Loc. Cit.
84. Bucephalus was the horse of Alexander the Great.

threefold in its power or eminently: vegetative, sensitive, and rational. This is because in man one form [i.e., the soul] renders what is vegetative in plants and sensitive in non-human animals. And, although the sun's light is singular, it still contains in itself drying and heating power virtually or with respect to its effects. So when the sun's light enlightens, heats, or dries, it does not act according to its whole concept [of "sunlight"]. For in the action of enlightening as such, the sun's light does not dry or heat, despite the fact that its drying or heating power is not separate from its luminating power; rather, drying and heating power are related to illumination accidentally. This is because light does not operate according to its whole concept, but only according to its concept of illuminating.

Further objection 1. If the persons i.e., real subsistent relations in God really differ, therefore the attributes really differ much more. *Response*. We deny the consequence. The former is a far different idea: the persons are really the same as the essence in such a way that they are still relatively opposed to each other. Further, the persons are not of concern in "essence"—that is, they are not essential predications, which are included intrinsically in the essence. And neither of these are found among the attributes.

Further objection 2. This is Walter's objection.[85] The attributes are in different categories—for example, essence is in the category of substance and goodness is in that of quality. *Response*. Well now, boys in school have learned that God is only in a category analogically.

Further objection 3. When we cannot predicate things about each other reciprocally and about the essence in the abstract, nominative case, and by synonymous predication, they are not really the same. The former is true; the latter is therefore true as well. *Response*. This is a figure of speech fallacy, because the identical sense is switched to the formal sense. We predicate something of another thing either in an identical sense or in a formal sense. As we consider the attributes on the part of the thing itself and insofar as they exist in God, and as they are utterly the same as the essence and among themselves, we can predicate such attributes of each other reciprocally in an identical sense. Thus, it is correct and entirely true to say that "the essence is life on the part of the thing itself, and the will is the intellect on the part of the thing itself," and vice versa—and this pertains to everything else in God. But, as we conceive the attributes, and as they are in our conceptions, we cannot predicate them of each other reciprocally in a true and proper way—that is, in a formal sense. The reason for this is because on that line the attributes are

eminenter triplex est vegetativa, sensitiva, rationalis; quia una illa forma praestat in homine, quod vegetativa in plantis, sensitiva in brutis. Lumen solis unicum cum sit, virtute tamen seu quod ad effectus suos, continet in se vim exsiccativam & calefactivam. Sed cum illuminat, aut calefacit, aut exsiccat non operatur secundum omnem suam rationem. Illuminandi enim actione, qua tali, non exsiccat aut calefacit quamvis a vi luminativa non sit separata vis exsiccativa aut calefactiva, sed habent se ad illuminationem per accidens; quia lumen non operatur secundum omnem suam rationem, sed tantummodo secundum rationem illuminandi. *Instantia* 1. Si personae & relationes in Deo differunt realiter, ergo multo magis attributa. *Resp. Neg.* consequentia. Longe enim diversa est ratio: Personae ita sunt realiter idem cum essentia, ut tamen relative inter se opponantur; ad haec non sint de essentia; hoc est non sint praedicata essentialia, quae intrinsece in essentia includantur: quorum neutrum in attributis locum habet. *Instant.* 2. quae est Walteri. Attributa sunt in diversis praedicamentis, ex. gr. essentia in substantia, bonitas in qualitate. *Resp.* Iam pueri in scholis norunt Deum esse in praedicamento analogice. *Instantia* 3. Quae de se mutuo & de essentia non possunt in abstracto, casu recto, & synonymica praedicatione praedicari, illa non sunt realiter idem. Sed verum prius. Ergo. *Resp.* Est fallacia figurae dictionis: mutatur enim sensus identicus in formalem. Praedicatur aliquid de alio aut in sensu identico aut in sensu formali. Attributa ut considerantur a parte rei & quatenus sunt in Deo atque adeo cum essentia & inter se plane idem sunt, possunt de se invicem praedicari sensu identico, sic recte & verissime dixeris: *Essentia ex parte rei est vita, voluntas ex parte rei est intellectus*, & vice versa, & sic in aliis. Sed ut attributa concipiuntur a nobis, & ut sunt in nostris conceptibus, vere ac proprie de se invicem praedicari non possunt, in sensu scil. formali, ratio est, quia sic non sunt plane idem sed ratione ratiocinante & ratiocinata (virtuali scil.) distinguuntur: plures enim sunt conceptus obiectivi virtualiter distincti qui respondent pluribus conceptibus formalibus realiter distinctis. Non potest ergo dici: *Conceptus obiectivus voluntatis est conceptus obiectivus intellectus*, aut, *attributum misericordiae est attributum iustitiae*

85. See Becanus, *Summa Theologiae scholasticae,* 8.

not utterly the same; they are instead distinguished by the reason reasoning and the reason reasoned (namely, by a virtual distinction). For many objective concepts are virtually distinct that correspond to many formal concepts really distinct. So you cannot say, "The objective concept of will is the objective concept of intellect," or, "The attribute of mercy is the attribute of punitive justice." But still, we have to note that there are some propositions we can take in either sense. These are the ones that deploy the copula "is": e.g., "the intellect is the will," "understanding is willing," "mercy is justice." When you take these propositions in the abstract and in the identical sense, they are true; but they are false when you take them in the formal sense. There are also other propositions that we always take in the formal sense. Under these limits, the propositions in which you signify essential and notional acts are absolutely and always false. Essential acts are ones such as "the intellect understands" or "the will wills," while the notional acts are ones such as "the Father generates," "the Son is generated," or "the Holy Spirit proceeds." These are only true when you signify something as belonging to God according to the same concept to which it truly pertains. But they are false when you signify something as belonging to God according to some other concept that relates accidentally and that it does not truly pertain to: for example, "the intellect wills," "the will understands," "justice shows mercy," or "mercy punishes." Yet, these propositions can be true under other limits—that is, when you take them in the abstract, absolutely, and as they are in God on the part of the thing itself, not as they are observed in distinct effects, as the principles of different productions, or according to different emanations from God, such as, "that thing, which is the will, understands," or "that thing, which is mercy, punishes."

6.

The sixth argument is, [God is not simple] because there is a plurality of persons in God, which are three if not more. For the Father is one thing, substance or essence, the Son is another, and the Holy Spirit is yet one more. Or so Vorstius philosophizes in his *Treatise on God*, and *Apologetic Explanation*, in *Fuller Response*, in *Catalog of the Errors of Sibrandus Lubbertus*.[86] And these

86. *Tractatus theologicus de Deo*, 205, 209, 219; *Apologetica exegesis sive declaratio locorum aliquot quae ex libro ejusdem de Deo excerpta cique pro erroneis imposita emanaverunt … accessit app. adversus iniquas M. Becani criminationes* (Lugdunum Batavorum, Patius, 1611), 39; *Prodromus plenioris responsisuo tempore cum Deo secuturi* (Lugdunum Batavorum: Patius, 1612), 11; *Catalogus Errorum D. Sibrandi Lubberti* (Lugdunum Batavorum: Patius, 1612), 2, 5.

punitivae. Notandum tamen, esse aliquas propositiones quae in utroque sensu accipi possunt; illae scil. quae constant copula *est* ex. gr. *Intellectus est voluntas, intelligere est velle, misericordia est iustitia*. Quae in abstracto & in sensu identico acceptae sunt verae, in sensu vero formali falsae. [245 *sic*] Sunt & aliae quae semper accipiuntur in sensu formali, atque adeo sub illis terminis absolute & semper sunt falsae, in quibus significantur actus essentiales aut notionales. Essentiales, ut, *intellectus intelligit, voluntas vult*. *Notionales, ut, pater generat, filius generatur, Spiritus s. procedit.* Quae tantum verae sunt, quando significatur aliquid Deo convenire secundum eam rationem, secundum quam vere convenit: sed falsae sunt, quando significatur aliquid Deo convenire secundum aliam rationem, quae se habet per accidens & secundum quam vere non convenit. ex. gr. *intellectus vult, voluntas intelligit, iustitia miseretur, misericordia punit.* Quae tamen sub aliis terminis verae esse possunt, sumptae scil. in abstracto, in se, ut sunt a parte rei in Deo, non vero ut attenduntur in distinctis effectibus tanquam principia diversarum productionum, aut secundum diversas Dei emanationes: ut, *res illa, quae est voluntas, intelligit, res illa, quae est misericordia, punit*.

6. *Sexta*, quia plures sunt personae in Deo, quae sunt tres res si non plures; alia enim res, substantia, sive essentia est pater, alia filius, alia Spir. s. Sic Philosophatur *Vorstius tract. de Deo p.* 205. 209. 219. & *in Exeges. apologetic. p.* 39. *in Responso pleniori p.* 11. *in Catalogo errorum Sibrandi p.* 2. & 5. Et haec Socinianis favere

points seem to favor the Socinians to assail the Trinity of persons. The Jews and Muslims hound the Trinity with the same absurd point,[87] as you can see in Rabbi David Kimhi's *Responses to the places in the psalms adduced on behalf of the Trinity*;[88] and in *Polisher Mirror by Ahmed Ibn Zin Alabedin* with Filippo Guadagnoli's *Apology for the Christian Religion in Arab and Latin against the said Achmed*, tract 2, cap. 10, sect. 8.[89] *Response.* The divine persons are compared in a twofold way: either together with the essence or reciprocally.

In the former way, we deny that the divine persons are really distinguished from the essence. Rather, we say that the persons are really the same as the essence and distinguished only eminently "from the nature of the thing itself."[90] This is generally how one distinguishes nature and suppositum in created things. Though nature and suppositum are really the same, it is still not the case that whatever we predicate truly, singularly, and affirmatively of one thing we predicate of the other; rather, we affirm something singular about one and truly deny it about the other. So, "being communicated" is affirmed of nature, and denied of suppositum; and, vice versa, "being incommunicable" is affirmed of suppositum but denied of nature.

The persons are really distinguished in the latter way. This is because Scripture speaks of the Father as one, the Son as another, and the Holy Spirit as still one more (John 5:32; 14:16), and because the persons are opposed relatively—and when things are opposed, they as such cannot be the same as each other. The persons however are not distinguished essentially; in fact, every essential distinction is real, but not vice versa. By way of comparison: in the creation of an angel, you have the substance of an angel and the creation of an angel; and despite this, these two [i.e., the substance and creation] do not entail composition. This is because creation is nothing else but the simple substance of an angel with respect to the Creator, as though with respect to him from whom the angel exists; notwithstanding, this respect does not introduce some new entity. Likewise, the multiplication of persons in God does not imply composition, because there is no multiplication except through a relation. (For all things in God are the same, and one absolutely simple entity.) The real relation that "goes-toward" can still though render a real distinction without any composition.

videntur, ad impugnandam personarum trinitatem. Iudaei & Mahumedistae eodem absurdo urgent trinitatem ut videre est in *R. Davidis Kimchii responso ad loca ex psalmis pro Trinitate allata*; & in *Politore speculi Ahmedii filii Zin Alabedin Persae,* apud *Philippum Guadagnolum in apologia pro Christiana religione Arab-lat, contra dictum Achmedum tract.* 2. *cap.* 10. *sect.* 8. *Resp.* Personae divinae conferuntur dupliciter aut cum essentia, aut inter se. Priori modo negamus personas divinas realiter distingui ab essentia: sed dicimus eas realiter idem esse cum essentia, distingui tantum ex natura rei eminenter. Quomodo fere in rebus creatis distinguuntur natura & suppositum; quae quamvis realiter idem sunt, non tamen quidquid vere, singulariter, & affirmative praedicatur de uno, etiam praedicatur de altero, sed aliquod singulare quod affirmatur de uno vere negatur de altero. Sic *communicari* affirmatur de natura, & negatur de supposito; & vice versa *incommunicabile* affirmatur de supposito & negatur de natura. *Posteriori modo*, personae distinguuntur realiter, quia scriptura alium dicit patrem, alium filium, alium spiritum sanctum *Iohan* 5.v.32 & 14.16. & quia relative opponuntur: atqui opposita qua talia non possunt esse idem. Non tamen distinguuntur essentialiter; omnis quidem distinctio essentialis est realis, sed non contra. Simile hoc potest adferri: Sicut in creatione angeli habetur substantia angeli, & creatio angeli: & tamen haec duo non faciunt compositionem: quia creatio nihil aliud est quam simplex substantia angeli cum respectu ad creatorem, tanquam ad [236] eum a quo est. Atqui respectus hic non infert aliam & novam entitatem. Sic in Deo multiplicatio personarum non infert compositionem; quod non sit nisi per relationem; (omnia enim in Deo idem sunt & una simplicissima entitas): atqui relatio realis adveniens potest facere distinctionem realem

87. The opponent's point is that both Muslims and Jews have noted that the Trinity account falls prey to opposing divine simplicity. Thus, "that there are three" entails there are at least three things in God—and therefore he is not simple.

88. David Kimhi (1160–1235) argued vigorously against the divinity of Christ, his two natures, and against the doctrine of the Trinity in his various commentaries in Hebrew, e.g. on Psalms 2 and 22 in his work on the Psalms. *Commentarium Hebraicum Rabbi Dauid Kimhi, in decem primos Psalmos Dauidicos* (1544).

89. Filippo Guadagnoli, *Apologia pro christiana religione qua a R. P. Philippo Guadagnolo Malleanensi, clericorum regul. Minorum s. theologiae & arabicae linguae professore, respondetur ad objectiones Ahmed filii Zin Alabedin, Persae Asphahensis, contentas in libro inscripto Politor speculi* (Rome, 1631), 341; in in Arabic, 1637.

90. On this distinction, see the discussion in Sebastian Rehnman, "The Doctrine of God in Reformed Orthodoxy," in Herman Selderhuis, *A Companion to Reformed Orthodoxy* (Brill, 2013), 394ff. Rehnman cites this passage on page 395–6, n197. Rehnman also refers to the discussion in Van Mastricht on "The distinction of the persons from the essence," 2.24.8 (cf. *Theoretical-Practical Theology,* vol. 2 [Reformation Heritage Books, 2019], 503), Turretin, 3.27.3 (*Institutes* (P&R, 1992), 1.278), and Polyander et al., *Synopsis Purioris Theologiae*, 7:xi (*Synopsis of a Purer Theology,* volume 1 [Brill, 2014], 232).

Further objection 1. The persons as such are either nothing or they are something. Now if they are nothing, the Trinity is denied. If they are something, if they are entities, they therefore have essence. Consequently, when you consider the persons formally, they are three distinct essences. *Response*. We deny that whatever is something or has some entity or formality has essence also. For on that line, among created things, existence and suppositality (because they are not nothing but something) would have essence, and consequently there would be an essence of that essence, and again an essence of that—and so on unto infinity, which is entirely ridiculous. In his *Crisis and Hypocrisis*, Eglisham for the most part tried to teach this to Vorstius.[91]

Further objection 2. Where opposites are really distinct, some composition obtains. The persons as such are really distinct. Therefore, some composition obtains. *Response*. Composition requires not only distinction of opposites, but a union of them also. But there is no union of the persons as such, as one takes them formally. This is because there is not one person, but three.

Further objection 3. When the essence is communicable and the personality is incommunicable from both of which a divine person results, composition of essence and mode obtains. *Response*. We do not want to say, "The modes do not compose, but distinguish," or, "Composing opposites should be things that are really distinct," as this objection is commonly resolved. (Because this does not remove secondary composition of nature and suppositum, essence and existence, and genus and difference.) Yet denying the consequence will suffice. "[Divine] essence" does not pertain to a mode of potency, nor does "person" pertain to the mode of act. Yet you have to have act and potency in every composition, whether you speak of it properly or improperly. In point of fact, "person" refers to the essence and personality or a certain mode of subsisting, but without any composition, which is how one usually conceives of it in a created "person." The reason for this difference between a divine and created person is that "essence" in created things concerns imperfect actuality and is divisible through that which brings it together to be an individual or person—namely, through an individual or personal difference. Of course, the divine nature or divine essence has no potentiality, such that it could be determined, brought together, or actualized through the personal properties. This is because something which from itself is thus "this" thing and singular and existing from itself, in such a way that its singularity absque ulla compositione. *Instantia* 1. Personae qua tales aut nihil sunt aut aliquid; si nihil iam negatur Trinitas; si aliquid, si entia, ergo essentiam habent, & per consequens formaliter consideratae sunt tres distinctae essentiae. *Resp. Neg.* quidquid est aliquid, seu quod habet aliquam entitatem, seu formalitatem, habere etiam essentiam. Tum enim in creatis existentia & suppositalitas, quia non sunt nihil sed aliquid, haberent essentiam, & consequenter essentiae esset essentia, & huius rursum essentia, & sic in infinitum; quod absurdissimum est. Sic fere Vorstio hoc inculcabat *Eglisemnius in Crisi p.* 20. 21. *Instantia* 2. Ubi sunt extrema realiter distincta ibi est aliqua compositio, sed personae qua tales sunt realiter distinctae, Ergo. *Resp.* Compositio requirit non tantum distinctionem extremorum, sed & unionem. Sed personarum qua talium, ut formaliter sumuntur, non est unio; quia non est una persona, sed tres. *Instantia* 3. Ubi est essentia communicabilis & personalitas incommunicabilis, ex quibus resultat persona divina, ibi est compositio ex essentia & modo. *Resp.* Nolumus dicere, ut vulgo solvitur haec obiectio; *Modi non componunt, sed distinguunt*; aut *extrema componentia debent esse res, realiter distincta* (quia hoc non tolleret compositionem secundariam ex natura & supposito, essentia & esse, genere & differentia) sed suffecerit negare consequentiam; quia essentia non habet se ad modum potentiae, nec persona ad modum actus; quod tamen requiritur in omni compositione sive proprie sive improprie dicta. Dicit quidem persona essentiam & personalitatem seu certum subsistendi modum, sed absque omni compositione, quae alias in persona creata concipi solet. Ratio autem discriminis est, quod essentia in creatis imperfectae sit actualitatis & est divisibilis per id quod ipsam ad esse individui aut personae contrahit, per differentiam scil. individualem aut personalem: deitas vero seu essentia divina nullam habet potentialitatem, ut per proprietates personales determinari, contrahi, actuari, possit; nam qui de se ita est haec, & singularis, & per se existens, ut singularitas &

91. Eglisham, *Crisis Vorstiani responsi,* 20–21.

and existence from itself pertain to its formal and essential concept—such a thing also has final unity and actuality in and from itself. Hence, it follows that the divine essence cannot be brought about, actualized, or perfected through paternity, filiation, or procession. Though each of these are acts proper to a person, in no way do these acts pertain to the divine nature itself in such a way that, considered precisely this way, these acts perfect or inform this divine nature. So we have to delimit this axiom, "Where you have two opposites that are distinct by some concept that unite for the constitution of a third thing, you have some composition," to "one of which pertains to potency and the other to act," or "when both of which are not in ultimate unity and actuality." But in a divine person, we need to conceive either act (if I can distinguish for teaching purposes) as ultimate and absolutely perfect: both God's quidditative act, by which he is quidditatively God, and his relative or personal act. Respecting these acts, the prior act is not actualized by the posterior in itself nor is the posterior act perfected; rather, both these formal concepts are in God according to ultimate proper unity and actuality. On the other hand, a created quiddity and its singularity or personality are two acts, of which the posterior as the last act actualizes and determines the prior.

I believe this is the right solution for this question [manifest in the objection]. To me, what certain other scholastics advance do not seem to sufficiently resolve nor correspond sufficiently to what is taught about the types of composition (and in their *Apology*[92] the Remonstrants upbraid philosophers for their perplexity and lack of certainty). I think therefore that the learned author, a close friend of mine while he lived, concedes too much about composition in God in his more recent *metaphysics compendium*. Even Becanus himself, though otherwise quite subtle and perspicuous, yields too much for me, when he is moved by this and other arguments and thus concedes in his *Scholastic Doctrine* that "we allow for virtual composition in God 'according to the nature of the thing,' because we grant substantial compositionals that are distinguished among themselves virtually or eminently, such as 'essence and existence, 'essence and attributes,' and 'nature and personality.'" He further says that "we grant actual composition through the operation of our intellect, because we grant substantial compositionals that are distinguished among themselves through the operation of our intellect."[93]

Refutation 1. I overturn what Becanus says because composition of reason or of our mind is not composition—just as likewise that virtual distinction unknown in philosophy. One could with equal justification

per se existentia sint de conceptu eius formali & essentiali, etiam de se & ex se habet ultimam unitatem & actualitatem. Hinc ergo sequirtur eam per paternitatem aut filiationem, aut processionem non contrahi, actuari aut perfici: quamvis enim sint proprii actus personae, nullo modo sunt actus ipsius naturae divinae ut sic & praecise consideratae, eam perficientes vel informantes. Axioma ergo illud: *Ubi sunt duo extrema aliqua ratione distincta, quae concurruent ad con*[237]*stitutionem tertii, ibi est aliqua compositio*; sic limitandum est, *quorum alterum sit potentiae alterum actus* vel, *qua utraque non sint in ultima sua unitate & actualitate.* Sed in persona divina uterque actus (ita liceat docendi causa distinguere) & *quidditativus*, quo quidditative est Deus, & *relativus* seu personalis debet concipi ultimus & perfectissimus, quorum prior a posteriori in se non actuatur aut ulterius perficitur, sed ambae illae rationes formales sunt in Deo secundum ultimam unitatem & actualitatem propriam. Contra quidditas creata & eius singularitas aut personalitas sunt duo actus, quorum posterior tanquam ultimus priorem actuat ac determinat. Hanc puto esse genuinam solutionem huius dubii. Nam quae ab aliis quibusdam scholasticis adferuntur, non satis expedita mihi videntur, nec cum doctrina de compositionibus (ubi perplexitatem & incertitudinem Philosophis obiiciunt Remonstrantes in *Apolog. loc. cit.*) satis convenire. Puto ergo in recentiori quodam *compendio Metaphysico* circa compositionem Dei nimium concedi ab erudito autore mihi, cum viveret, amicissimo. Quin ipse *Becanus in doctrina scholastica* alioquin satis subtilis & perspicuus, "nimium mihi labascit, cum hoc aliisque argumentis motus, concedit dari in Deo compositionem virtualem ex natura rei, quia dantur componentia substantialia, quae virtute seu eminenter inter se distinguuntur, ut *essentia & existentia, essentia & attributa, natura & personalitas*. Praeterea dari compositionem actualem per operationem nostri intellectus, quia dantur componentia substantialia, quae per operationem nostri intellectus inter se distinguuntur." c. 1. qu. 2. praesertim in *tract. 2. theolog. Scholastica cap.* 3. *qu.* 11. *Refut.* 1. quia compositio rationis seu mentis nostrae nulla est compositio. Ut & virtualis illa ignota philosophiae. Pari iure posset statui unitas &

92. Remonstrants, Apology, loc. cit. Cf. *The Arminian Confession of 1621*, ibid.

93. Chapter 1, question 2; especially in treatise 2 in his *Summa Theologiae scholasticae,* chapter 3, question 11.

establish unity and composition between God and creatures or between the sun and minerals, vegetables, and souls, because God and the sun, as universal causes, contain virtually all these other things in themselves.

Refutation 2. This whole speculation rests upon the false hypothesis that wherever there is a distinction, however large and whatever sort it be, there also is composition equally large and of such sort. This hypothesis, nonetheless, is false. Beyond this, composition requires the union of distinct things and also something that has transitioned from potency to act. We distinguish an angel from a stone, man, heaven, and earth; yet an angel is not in composition with any of these. And, to get at this more properly, the Father's personal property is distinct from the Son's personal property. But still, when you take these personal properties precisely and formally, they are not united among themselves and in themselves. This is because union in and with the essence is in some other third thing.

Refutation 3. Becanus seems to have forgotten his own teaching that he set out a bit before, when he gives the following argument (among others) to prove there is no actual composition in God: "This is because things actually distinguished from the nature of the thing cannot be united or cohere among themselves except through the action of an efficient cause. But there is no efficient cause prior to God," etc. Becanus then applies this argument to composition from nature and personality, and essence and existence. But this same argument actually works against virtual composition (as he calls it), if you just add (from the same Becanus) that every composition is from act and potency. Nevertheless, there is no more room in God for virtual potentiality and actualization than for actual potentiality and actualization.

Refutation 4. In a word, where you do not find all the things composition requires, there is no space for composition (however you call it) to occur. The things composition requires are these. First, you have to have opposites that are naturally distinct —namely, they are distinct either really, formally, or modally. Second, these opposites must be united or must have been united. Third, they must presuppose and include potentiality or potency. Fourth, you have to have some efficient cause for this union. Fifth, the following logical consequents have to follow from all these last essential, constitutive requirements for composition: dependence, multiplicity and division, resolution and change. Yet these requirements cannot accord with the divine essence. Therefore, there is no composition. Thus, writers or teachers of metaphysics (which, among all sciences, has to be a compositio inter Deum & creaturas, inter solem & mineralia, vegetabilia, animalia, quia tanquam causae universales virtualiter ea in se continent. II. Tota haec speculatio nititur falsa ista hypothesi. Ubicunque est distinctio & quanta ac qualis illa est, ibi etiam & tanta & talis est compositio. Sed hoc falsum: requiritur insuper distinctorum unio, & transitus a potentia ad actum. Distinguitur angelus a lapide, ab homine, a coelo, a terra, sed cum eo non componitur. Et ut proprius accedamus, distinguitur proprietas personalis patris a proprietate filii, sed tamen praecise & formaliter ita sumptae non uniuntur inter se & in se: nam unio in & cum essentia est in aliquo tertio. III. Oblitus videtur Becanus propriae doctrinae, paulo ante positae, ubi probaturus in Deo non esse actualem compositionem, inter alia adfert & hoc argumentum: "quia quae actu ex natura rei distinguuntur, non possunt inter se uniri & coalescere nisi per actionem causae efficientis, at nulla causa efficiens prior Deo" &c. & applicat ad compositionem ex [248 *sic*] natura & personalitate, essentia & existentia. Atqui idem hoc argumentum valet contra virtualem, quam vocat, compositionem, si modo addas ex eodem Becano, omnem compositionem esse ex actu & potentia. Atqui in Deo non magis virtualiter quam actualiter potentialitas & actuatio locum habet. IV. breviter, ubi omnia requisita compositionis non inveniuntur, ibi nulla compositio, quocunque nomine vocetur, locum habet. Requisita autem sunt, *Primum*: Ut sint extrema distincta ex natura rei scil. sive realiter, sive formaliter, sive modaliter. *Secundum*, ut uniantur, seu ut sint unita. *Tertium*, Ut praesupponant & includant potentialitatem seu potentiam. *Quartum*, Ut sit aliqua causa efficiens hanc unionem. *Quintum*, Ex essentialibus & constituvis illis requisitis profluunt haec consecutiva, *dependentia, multiplicitas & divisio, resolutio & mutatio*: atqui illa requisita divinae essentiae aptari non possunt, ergo nec ulla compositio. Rectius ergo fecerint scriptores & Doctores metaphysicae (quae inter omnes scientias imprimis theologiae ancillari

handmaiden to theology especially) would do better if they define composition with greater accuracy and restriction in this way: a distinction of many things of which one is implicated as act and another as potency. Among more recent authors, this is the way Meurisse does it in his *Metaphysics per Scotus's Intent*.[94]

Further objection 4. If the persons are really identical with the essence, then they are really identical among themselves. The reason for this is because two things that are identical to a third thing are identical among themselves. *Response*. We need to delimit this axiom, thus: things that are identical to a third, singular, incommunicable aspect are mutually identical . But the divine essence is communicable to the three persons. This is what Becanus does in his *Scholastic Theology*.[95] And there is no problem with adding the commonplace limitation to the axiom: these two things are identical with each other with respect to that third thing. The persons are thus identical with each other with respect to the one, same essence.

The logical consequences are as follows. First, the personal relations are real, and really distinct from each other reciprocally. Indeed, these relations are opposed—I mean, opposed not formally but fundamentally, as pertains to opposed relations that are really distinct. Second, lest you concede that the four relations in God are really distinct, active spiration is not really distinguished in the Father from his paternity or in the Son from his filiation—as the scholastics commonly argued correctly against Durandus [of Saint-Pourcain]. Third, though the persons are really identical with the essence, they are still eminently distinguished from the essence by the reason reasoned—namely, "according to the nature of the thing"—but not actually distinguished. This is because (1) they are so disposed with respect to each other that the essence is absolute while the personality is respective, and the essence is common while the personality is not at all such. And (2) because certain things, for example, pertain to the Father under the concept of his paternity that do not pertain to him under the concept of the essence—such as, "being related to the Son." And vice versa, certain things pertain to him under the concept of essence, and not under the concept of paternity, such as "being similar to the Son." So, essence and paternity virtually and eminently contain a formal distinction, because they are related as if they were formally distinguished. Fourth, rightly, it seems to me, the Scotists precisely avoid allowing essence and relations to constitute in God one thing in unity absolutely or accidentally according to composition or quasi-composition, or one thing through aggregation—lest debet,) si accuratius & pressius definiant Compositionem, *Quod sit distinctio plurium, quorum unum se habet ut actus, & aliud ut potentia*. Quomodo ex recentioribus *Meurisse*, in sua *metaphysica ad mentem Scoti lib.* 1. quaest. 23. *Instantia*. 4. Si personae sunt realiter idem cum essentia, sunt realiter idem inter se; ratio est, quia quae sunt eadem uni tertio sunt eadem inter se. *Resp.* limitandum est hoc axioma: *quae sunt eadem uni tertio singulari incommunicabili ea sunt eadem inter se.* Sed essentia divina est communicabilis tribus personis. Sic *Becanus Theolog. Scholastic. tract.* 2. *cap.* 2. *qu.* 3. Nihil vetat etiam vulgatam limitationem axiomati illi addere: *Sunt eadem inter se respectu illius tertii*: Et sic personae sunt idem inter se respectu unius eiusdemque essentiae.

Consectar. I. *Relationes illae personales sunt reales: & realiter a se invicem distincta, immo etiam opposita; opposita, inquam, non formaliter sed fundamentaliter, quod ad ipsas relationes oppositas, quae realiter distincta.* II. *Spiratio activa non distinguitur realiter in patre a paternitate in filio a filiatione, ne dentur in Deo quatuor relationes realiter distincta: ut recte contra Durandum communiter statuitur a Scholasticis.* III. *Personae quamvis realiter idem sint cum essentia, distinguuntur tamen ab ea ratione ratiocinata eminenter soli ex natura rei, non actualiter. Nam ita inter se sunt affecta, ut essentia sit absoluta, personalitas respectiva; essentia communis, personalitas minime.* 2. *Quia quaedam conveniunt ex. gr. patri ratione paternitatis, quae non conveniunt illi ratione essentiae, ut referri ad filium: & vicissim quaedam illi conveniunt ratione essentia, & non paternitatis, ut similem esse filio. Ergo essentia & paternitatis virtute & eminenter continent formalem distinctionem, quia ita se habent ac si formaliter distinguerentur.* IV. *Recte mihi videntur Scotistae hoc praecise cavere ne ex essentia & relationibus, in Deo constituatur unum* [239 *sic*] *unitate per se vel per accidens secundum compositionem aut quasi compositionem, nec unum per aggregationem; ne etiam*

94. Martin Meurisse, *Rerum metaphysicarum* (1623), Book 1, question 23, Utrium ex essentia & exstentia fiat compositio in rebus creatis, p. 239.

95. Treatise 2, chapter 2, question 3.

we refer to God's essence as also modified and determined properly speaking through relation. See here the bishop of Patti Rada's *Controversy among Thomas and Scotus*.[96] Fifth, Vorstius does the greatest injustice to Scotus and the Scotists, in that he called them to a defense and battle with the gods. For nobody disdains more than Scotus and his followers that any improper composition, large or small, be permitted in God, and similar ridiculous things the Vorstians do. You can see this in Rada's *Controversy among Thomas and Scotus*[97] and in Meurisse's *Scotist Metaphysics*;[98] and Eglisham criticized Vorstius's ignorance on this score.[99] Sixth, that Ringleader and Predecessor of the Anabaptists, Dietrich Philips, says wrongly that in the Old Testament, God was named by many names according to his properties and operations, while in the New Testament, he was named by three names: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.[100] Seventh, Luther rightly uses the German word *Dreifaltigkeit*—that is, triplicity—even though he wanted everyone to exchange what was used in every age into something more suitable and less ambiguous, and Bellarmine unjustly puts Luther under suspicion of Arianism for this.[101] See Franciscus Junius's remarks on this. We think that the Belgians and Germans can very safely represent and express the Greek τριάς by their *Dreiheit*, and the Latin *trinunitas* through their *Dreieinigkeit*.

7.

Seventh, all God's actions are entailed in simplicity; these actions are either *ad intra* or *ad extra*. *Ad intra* actions are those that terminate in God himself. We divide them into those that are common to the three persons—such as God's natural understanding and willing by which he understands and wills himself—and into those that are proper or personal—such as generation, spiration, and procession. *Ad extra* actions are those that terminate in creatures, and we divide them into immanent or internal actions or emanating or external ones. The former *ad extra* actions are undetermined knowledge and determined knowledge, or the actual decrees of God. The latter are either general ones—such as creation, conservation, and governance—or particular—such as the work of redemption.

When treating of God's actions which we call the decrees, Vorstius and his followers the Remonstrants, before anything else bring up this issue; their arguments

dicatur essentia Dei per relationem proprie modificari ac determinari. Vide Rhadam *Episcopum Pact.* controv. inter Thomam & Scotum part. 1. controv. 4. append. 2. p. 82. 83. 84. V. *Maximam itaque iniuriam fecit Vorstius Scoto & Scotistis, quod eos in patrocinium sua* θεομαχίας *hic advocarit. Nemo enim magis abhorret ab ulla vel minima ac maxime impropria compositione in Deo admittenda, & similibus absurdis Vorstianis, quam Scotus cum suis; ut videre est apud* Rhadam modo cit. *Et* Meurisse in Metaphys. Scotistica lib. 1. qu. 23. *Inscitiam Vorstii hac in parte iam perstrinxerat* Eglisemmius loc. cit. VI. *Male Anabaptisarum Coryphaus & Antecessor,* Theodoricus Philippi in Enchiridio fol. 4 *in V.T. pluribus nominibus Deum fuuisse* nominatum secundum proprietates & operationes suas, in N.T. tribus, Patris, Filii, & Spir. S. VII. Recte Lutherus vocem Germanicam Dreifaltigkeit, i.e., triplicitatem, quamvis ab omni avo sic usitatem voluit in commodiorem & minus ambiguam commutari; & iniuste propterea Bellarmino in Arianismi suspicionem vocatur, praefat. ad controv. generalem II. ad quam vide notas Fr. Iunii. Nos putamus Belgas & Germanos tutissimo posse imitari & exprimere Graecorum τριὰς per suum Dreiheit aut latinorum trinunitas, per Dreieinigkeit.

7. Septima, Obtenduntur simplicitati omnes actiones Dei. Quae sunt ad intra, vel ad extra. *Ad intra* sunt quae terminantur in ipso Deo: & dividuntur in *communes tribus* personis, quales intelligere & velle naturale Dei, qua intelligit ac vult seipsum; & in *proprias* seu *personales*, quales generatio, spiratio, processio. *Ad extra* sunt, quae terminantur in creaturis; & dividuntur in immanentes seu internas, & emanantes seu externas. Illae sunt scientia indefinita, & definita seu ipsa decreta Dei. Istae sunt vel generales, ut creatio, conservatio, gubernatio; vel speciales, ut opera redemptionis. De actionibus Dei, quas decreta vocamus, imprimis quaestionem movent Vorstius & asseclae eius Remonstrantes. Rationes

96. Part 1, controversy 4, appendix 2, page 82, 83, 84.
97. Part 1, controversy 4, appendix 2, page 82, 83, 84.
98. Book 1, question 23.
99. Loc. Cit.

100. Theodoricus Philippi, *Enchiridio*, fol. 4. Dietrich [Dirk] Philips, *Enchiridion* (1564), page 4. This occurs in the Confession of Faith at the beginning of the volume. See the translation, *Enchiridion, or Hand book of the Christian doctrine and religion, compiled (by the grace of God) from the Holy Scriptures for the benefit of all lovers of the truth* (1910).

101. Preface ad controv general II. Robert Bellarmine, *Secunda Controversia Generalis, De Christo Capite Totius Ecclesiae,* praefatio. See in *Opera Omnia,* tom. 1 (Paris: Vives, 1870), [235]–246. Franciscus Junius (François Du Jon), *Animadversiones ad controvesiam secundam Christianae fidei, De Christo Capite Totius Ecclesiae,* In Praefationem, cf. in *Opera theologica,* 2 vols. (Geneva: Caldorianis, 1607) 1.547.

[against God's simplicity] are as follows. First, because there are many decrees, while there is one God; second, because the decrees are free, while God is absolutely and supremely necessary being; third, because the decrees have God as their efficient cause, and they are posterior to him; fourth, because God is from eternity, and the decrees are not; fifth, because the decrees are mutable, conditioned, and dependent, while God is an immutable, absolute, and independent essence. These arguments collapse in part of their own accord, and the proofs our opponents provide do not support them; and in part the scholastics and theologians who stand against Vorstius have refuted such arguments firmly and clearly enough—namely, theologians such as Becanus; Alsted in his *Natural Theology*;[102] and Maccovius in his *Collection of Miscellaneous Questions* in the year 1621, Disputations 17, 20, 23, 24, 25, and 26.[103] It is thus sufficient here for us to lay out sources for the solutions.

The first one is that God's decrees with respect to their real existence and according to the perfection that they indicate in God are necessary, essential to God, and are, in fact, one and simple act; as a matter of fact, they are the decreeing God himself. But the decrees are distinct from God, free, not essential to God, nor God himself with respect to their species, termination, or according to their extension to this or that object. In brief, God's intellect and intellection and his will and volition are one and simple, allowing neither multiplicity nor division and separating, not to mention opposition, priority, posteriority, or succession, dependence of cause and effect, or any other order of whatever sort. But, we should attribute the whole of this to the things intellected and willed as absolutely really distinct from God's essence, intellection, and volition—that is, as in these objects themselves. And in this sense, the fathers and scholastics speak about "being," "being able," and "working" as not differing in God.

The second source for solutions is, there are three things we need to think about in God's decree: (1) God's essence, as signified through the mode of a vital act, insofar as it necessarily terminates in loving the divine goodness itself, and in everything possible or productible by God, according to the ideas in the divine mind. (2) The termination of that essence as actuated, which termination is for the producing and ruling of creatures, or for not producing and so not ruling—the former we refer to as positive, and the latter as negative, for the sake of teaching better. (3) The rational relation that results from this termination. On (1), we say that the essence and indeed as it is actuated is in fact absolutely necessary, and that it terminates necessarily in God's

ipsorum sunt istae. *Prima*, quia decreta sunt multa, Deus est unus. *Secunda* quia decreta sunt libera, Deus est ens simpliciter & summe necessarium. *Tertia*, quia decreta habent causam efficientem Deum, & sunt illo posteriora. *Quarta*, quia Deus est ab aeterno, decreta minime. *Quinta*, quia decreta sunt mutabilia, conditionata, dependentia: Deus autem est essentia immutabilis, absoluta, independens. Argumenta haec partim per se concidunt, nec probationibus ullis ab adversariis fulciuntur, partim a Scholasticis, & Antagonistis Vorstii, nominatim *a Becano*, ut & *Alstedio in Theologia naturali*, & *D. Makkovio in collegio Miscellan. quaest. anno* 1621. *disput.* 17. 20. 23. 24. 25. 26. solide & perspicue satis refutata sunt: Itaque suffecerit hos fontes solutionum annotare. *Primus* est decreta Dei quoad realem existentiam [240] & secundum perfectionem, quam dicunt in Deo, sunt necessaria, Deo essentialia, & quidem unus ac simplex actus; atque adeo ipse Deus decernens; sed quoad speciem seu terminationem seu secundum extensionem ad hoc aut illud obiectum a se distinctum & libera sunt & nec Deo essentialia, nec ipse Deus. Breviter intellectus & intellectio, voluntas & volitio Dei una est & simplex, nec multiplicitatem aut divisionem & distractionem, nedum oppositionem, nec prius & posterius aut successionem, nec dependentiam causalitatis & effectus aut cuiuscunque alterius ordinis admittens; sed rebus intellectis & volitis ab essentia intellectione & volitione divina realissime distinctis, quippe eius obiectis, totum hoc tribuendum est. Et hoc sensu dicitur a patribus & Scholasticis non differre in Deo, *Esse*, *posse*, *operari*. *Secundus* est, In decreto Dei tria spectanda sunt. 1. Essentia Dei per modum actus vitalis significata, quatenus necessario terminatur ad ipsam divinam bonitatem amandam, & ad omne possibile seu a Deo producibile, secundum ideas in mente divina. 2. terminatio illius essentiae actuosae ad creaturas producendas & sic regendas; aut non producendas & sic regendas: illam melioris doctrinae causa dicemus *positivam*, istam *negativam*. 3. Relatio rationis, quae resultat ex illa terminatione. Quod ad *primum*, dicimus essentiam & quidem ut actuosam, esse simpliciter necessariam, & terminari necessario ad increatam Dei bonitatem.

102. Johann Heinrich Alsted, *Theologia naturalis exhibens augustissimam naturae scholam; In qua creaturae Dei communi sermone ad omnes pariter docendos utuntur: Adversus Atheos, Epicureos, et Sophistas huius temporis, Duobus libris pertractara* (Antonius Hummius, 1615).

103. Johannes Maccovius, *Collegium theologicum miscellanearum quaestionum: Publice disputatarum in Acad. Franekeranâ, anno 1620 et 1621 sub praesidio Johannis Macowii* (Uldericus Balck, 1632), no pagination.

uncreated goodness. Pertaining to (2), the termination is absolutely free in the former or latter sort of creatures, so that they either exist or do not exist, act or do not act. That is to say, on the latter line we speak of the essence dividedly, even though it is necessary compositely or conjointly. For example, it is necessary that God decree something about the existence of possibles, whether a man, a dog, or a tree: it must be such and such. But God is free to decree this or that part of the contradiction—namely, that something exist or not exist. For (3), the relation results necessarily toward a thing that is to exist—that is to say, hypothetically speaking and having posited that positive termination. Still, it is able to not result if the positive termination should not be posited, but only a negative one.

The third source for solutions is, we can conceive of God's decree according to three moments or instances of reason or nature, but not of time or duration, because God's decree is coeternal with him. In the first instant, we conceive the divine essence as signified through the mode of a vital act, inasmuch as the essence terminates necessarily in God as the primary object, and as yet is indifferent toward creatures. In the second instant, we conceive the same essence inasmuch as it terminates freely in the production or governing of creatures, without any mutation or real addition to that essence—because God immediately by his essence understands, wills, and decrees and terminates freely in creatures, and his intellection, love, and decree are simultaneous. Such do not produce in him new actions of the intellect and will, which actions would then be accidents distinct from his substance. The only thing that is added is a certain external denomination and relation of reason, by which God's essence through the mode of understanding, loving, and decreeing is referred to some thing he understood, loved, and decreed. So in the third instant, we conceive the decree inasmuch as this relation of reason results therefrom, which with respect to God has its foundation in the decree itself at this instant freely having terminated, while with respect to the creature it has its foundation in that futurition or its existence.

Now that we have set out these premises, providing solutions to Vorstius's objections will be easy. There is less difficulty regarding God's external actions or emanations, and our opponents do not press this matter. See Vasquez's *Metaphysical Disputation,* disputation 25[104] and Thomas's *Summa Contra Gentiles*.[105]

Quod ad *secundum*, terminatio ad creaturas has aut illas ut illae sint aut non sint, hoc agant, aut non agant, est simpliciter libera; divisim scil.: quamvis sit necessaria composite seu coniunctim. Est ex. gr. necessarium, ut Deus quid decernat de istius possibilis aut hominis, aut canis, aut arboris existentia & actione tali aut tali: sed liberum est, ut decernat in istam aut istam contradictionis partem; ut scil. sit aut non sit. Quod ad *tertium*, relatio illa ad rem futuram necessario resultat, ex hypothesi scil. & posita illa terminatione positiva: potest tamen non resultare, si non ponatur terminatio positiva, sed tantum negativa. *Tertius fons solutionum est*, Decretum Dei potest a nobis concipi secundum tria momenta seu instantia rationis, aut naturae, non vero temporis seu durationis, quia decretum est Deo coaeternum, In primo concipimus essentiam divinam per modum actus vitalis significatam, quatenus necessario terminatur ad Deum tanquam obiectum primarium, & adhuc indifferens est ad creaturas. In secundo concipimus eandem, quatenus libere terminatur ad creaturas producendas aut gubernandas, sine ulla sui mutatione, vel reali additione: quia Deus immediate per essentiam intelligit, vult & decernit, & ad creaturas libere terminatur, estque ipsius intellectio simul intellectio, amor, & decretum; nec in se producit [241] novas actiones intellectus & voluntatis, quae sint accidentia a substantia eius distincta. Tantummodo accedit externa quaedam denominatio & respectus rationis, quo essentia Dei per modum intelligentis, amantis, decernentis refertur ad rem intellectam amatam & decretam. In tertio ergo instanti concipimus decretum quatenus hinc resultat respectus rationis, qui ex parte Dei fundatur in ipso decreto iam libere terminato; & ex parte creaturae in ipsa futuritione seu existentia illius. His praemissis, iam facile erit Vorstii obiectionibus solutiones aptare. De actionibus Dei externis seu emanantibus, minor est difficultas, nec ab adversariis hoc ita urgetur. Vide *Vasquez disput. Metaphysicam* 25. & *Thomam lib.* 2. *c. Gentes cap.* 12. 13. 14.

104 Gabriel Vázquez, *Disputationes metaphysicae* (Antwerp: Keerbergium, 1617), 116r.

105. Thomas, *Summa contra Gentiles*, lib. 2, c. 12, 13, 14. Cf. Franciscus de Sylverstris [Silvestri] of Ferrara, *Commentaria in libros quatuor*

The logical consequences are as follows. We have just asserted this doctrine of the simplicity and perfection of the divine essence, knowledge, and will. All of this will overthrow whatever our opponents advance against God's providence and absolute, immutable, independent decree of predestination—including all the wicked novelties about middle knowledge, a conditioned will, the order of decrees, simultaneous concursus, etc.

8.

Eighth,[106] all other divine relations could be given as objections. *Response*. We dealt just now in the last thesis with relations that are *ad intra* and indeed proper—such as paternity, filiation, active spiration, and procession. But what pertains to internal relations that are common to all the persons—relations such as identity, similitude, equality, ἐμπεριχώρησις [*emperichōrēsis*], or mutual presence of the persons among themselves[107]—we refer to these as rational relations, not real, along with the Thomist commentators:[108] Capreolus, book 1, distinction 31;[109] and Becanus.[110] Though Rada subtly, for the sake of his Scotus, takes pains to maintain the contrary.[111] Hence, therefore, there is not any composition, not even the slightest, that arises on the part of the thing itself. For identity is opposed to distinction and is nothing else but the transcendental relation and denomination that has its foundation upon the unity of the essence, as it denotes the comparison of the essence to itself totally indistinct "according to the nature of the thing." Likewise, similitude has its foundation upon the unity of the attributes, and equality upon the unity of magnitude. Now turning to what concerns external relations, these are threefold. (1) Either they are founded upon God's transitive actions—relations such as creator, governor, redeemer; (2) upon his immanent actions—relations such as predestinator; (3) or partly upon his immanent actions and partly upon certain attributes that necessarily belong to God from eternity—relations such as the divine ideas, God's knowledge of simple intelligence, and as Becanus adds,[112] of a word or *λόγου*, which beyond its relation as it bears respect to the Father is also referred to creatures. (We will perhaps investigate the last of these some other time.) Thus we say that the relations *ad extra* founded upon God's actions and taken precisely and formally are only extrinsic denominations, but not real relations in God. And

Consectar. 1. *Doctrina hac de simplicitate & perfectione essentiee, scientiae, ac volitionis divinae asserta, corruunt, quaecunque contra Providentiam Dei & absolutum, immutabile, independens praedestinationis decretum ab adversariis adferuntur, cum omnibus profanis novitatibus de scientia media, de volitione conditionata, de ordine decretorum, de concursu simultaneo* &c.

7. *Octava*, Possent etiam obiici omnes aliae relationes divinae. *Resp.* De relationibus *ad intra* & quidem *propriis*, ut paternitate, filiatione, spiratione activa, processione iam diximus thesi praeced. De relationibus *ad intra*, quae omnibus personis *communes*, quales sunt *identitas, similitudo, aequalitas,* ἐμπεριχώρησις seu mutua praesentia personarum inter se (de qua *Rhada part.* I. p. 320. 321.); dicimus eas esse relationes rationis, non reales cum Thomistis ad I. *qu.* 42. *art.* I. & *Capreolo ad dist.* 31. *lib.* 1. & *Becano tract.* 2. *cap.* 1. *qu*. 2. *para*. 7. Quamvis subtiliter pro Scoto suo contrarium tueri satagat *Rhada super* 1. *controv.* 26. Hinc ergo nulla vel minima exsurgit compositio ex parte rei. Identitas enim opponitur distinctioni, & nihil aliud est, quam transcendentialis relatio & denominatio fundata super unitatem essentiae, notans habitudinem eiusdem totaliter indistincti ex natura rei ad seipsum. Et sic similitudo fundatur super unitatem attributorum, aequalitas super unitatem magnitudinis. Quod ad *relationes ad extra*, illae sunt triplices; vel enim fundantur in actionibus Dei transeuntibus, ut *creator, gubernator, redemptor*; vel in immanentibus, ut *praedestinator*; vel partim in actionibus immanentibus, partim in quibusdam attributis, quae necessario Deo conveniunt ab aeterno, ut *idea, scientia simplicis intelligentiae*, addit *Becanus cit. capite quaest.* 1. verbi seu λόγου, qui praeter relationem, qua respicit patrem, etiam refertur ad creaturas. De quo postremo alibi forte disquirendum. Dicimus ergo relationes ad extra fundatas in actionibus Dei praecise & formaliter sumptas, esse tantum extrinsicas denominationes, non vero reales relationes [242] in Deo. Itaque

Contra Gentiles S. Thomæ de Aquino, (1612), 111v–113. For just Sylvestris' commentary, see, volume 2 (Rome, 1898), 41–49.

106. The sidehead numbers repeated "7" at this point and are off by one through the end of the text. The numbering in the text remained correct.

107. Concerning which see Rada, [*Controversiae theologicae* (1620)], volume one, page 320–321.

108. Ad 1, qu. 42, art. 1.

109. Johannes Capreolus, *In libros Sententiarum amplissimae quaestiones, pro tutela doctrinae s. Thomae ad scholasticum certamen egregie disputatae,* volume 1 (Venice: Scoti 1589), 434.

110. Treatise 2, chapter 1, question 2, paragraph 7.

111. Book 1, controversy 26, *Controversiae theologicae*, 1.406.

112. Cited chapter, question 1.

hence there is no composition. This is because God the Creator is nothing else but God denominated by a vital act, if you leave off its termination in a creature. Concerning the idea and knowledge of simple intelligence, we say that this implies nothing other than denominations; for they are nothing else but the divine essence inasmuch as it is knowledge of creatures, or inasmuch as it represents creatures through the mode of actual cognition of them, whether they are about to be made or are possible. We will handle this in our disputation on God's knowledge.[113]

9.

Ninth,[114] God is in all things, and all things are in God. From this arise the following bizarre notions: God is prime matter; man's soul is a particle of the divine breath; God is even the soul of the world; God communicates himself to us, and we are participants then in his divine nature with the result that we should refer to people as being deified and, once transformed into God, even essentially united with him; and other such statements that occur among fanatics and Enthusiasts, the Henric-Nicolaites, and the Weigelians. (We will deal with these elsewhere.) You could in the meantime consult Philips van Marnix's treatment;[115] as well as Josua Stegmann's *Photinianismus*, the appended *II. De vero Christianism*;[116] and confer with Thomas's *Summa Theologica*[117] and *Summa Contra Gentiles*.[118] *Response.* Let the following sources for solutions capture in brief the interest of these lovers of learning, and from this let them apply the solutions to their silly reasonings, or better, ravings.

First, God is not in all things as an essential or integral part in a whole; as something having been contained in its thing that contains it; as a subject under its accident; or as an accident in its subject. Rather, God is in all things as a cause is present to that in which it acts immediately. God is present, yes, to all things by his essence, but not such that he is of the essence of things or something of their essence; as matter transient or constituting; as form informing; or as an accident perfecting these things. For God is supremely one, alone, separate, and distinct from all things—yes, what theologians have well supposed that God's attribute of holiness intimates in Scripture. Moreover, if God were to enter into composition with some thing, that composite would be more perfect than God. This is because every composite is more perfect than its parts or composing

113. De Scientia Dei, in *Selectarum Disputationum Theologicarum pars prima* (Utrecht: Waesberge, 1648), 246ff.

hinc nulla compositio. Quia Deus creator, si non attendas terminationem in creatura, nihil aliud est quam Deus denominatus ab actione vitali. De idea & scientia simplicis intelligentiae, dicimus nihil inferre quam denominationes; sunt enim nihil aliud nisi essentia divina quatenus est cognitio creaturarum, seu quatenus representat creaturas per modum actualis cognitionis illarum, sive futurarum, sive possibilium. De quibus agendum in *Disput. de Scientia Dei*.

8. *Nona*, Deus est in omnibus rebus, & omnes res sunt in Deo. Quo pertinent teratologica illa: Deum esse materiam primam, hominis animam esse divinae particulam aurae, & Deum esse animam mundi, Deum se nobis communicare, nosque divinae ipsius naturae ita participes esse, ut homines deificari & in Deum transformari, cum illo essentialiter uniri, dicendi sint; qualia apud fanaticos & Enthusiastas, Henric-Nicolaitas, Weigelianos &c. occurrunt, de quibus alibi. Interim consuli poterit *tractatus* Nobiliss. Domini *Sanct Aldegondi contra Libertinos,* & *Stechmannus in Photianismi sui appendic.* 2. *de vero Christianismo* cum quibus conferatur *Thomas* 1. *qu.* 3. *a.* 8. & *contra Gentes lib.* 1 *c.* 17. 20. 26. 27. *Resp.* Fontes solutionum breviter istos capiant φιλομαθεῖς, inde ad ratiunculas seu potius insanias illas applicent. I. Deus est in omnibus rebus non ut pars essentialis aut integralis in toto, aut ut contentum in suo continente, aut ut subiectum sub suo accidente, aut ut accidens in suo subiecto, sed ut causa adest ei, in quod immediate agit. Deus adest, inquam, omnibus per essentiam; non quod sit de essentia rerum, aut aliquid essentiae earum, sive ut materia transiens aut constituens, sive ut forma informans, sive ut accidens eas perficiens. Est enim maxime unus, solus, divisus, distinctus ab omnibus: quod etiam attributo *sanctitatis* in scriptura innui posse non male quidam opinantur. Ad haec si in compositionem veniret cum aliqua re, illa esset Deo perfectior; quia omne compositum est perfectius

114. The original marginal note numbered this as 8, but the text is correct with *Nona*.

115. Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde, *Ondersoeckinge en grondelijcke wederlegginge der geestrijuische leere* (1595), and *Response apologeticque* (1598).

116. Josua Stegmann, *Photinianismus, hoc est, succincta refutatio errorum Photinianorum quinquaginta sex disputationibus breviter comprehensa, & in Academia Rinthelensi diventilata & excussa a J. Stegmanno ... Editio altera ... auctior. (Trias Ἐπισαγματων I. De quinque syllogismis Photinianis contra satisfactionem Christi. II. De vero Christianismo, sive de unione fidelium cum Christo & imitatione ejusdem. III. De justificatione, ex dicto Jacobeo, Fides sine operibus mortua, etc.* (1626).

117. I q 3 a 8.

118. I. c. 17, 20, 26, 27.

principles. See the particular arguments that Thomas and his commentator Silvestri of Ferrara supply, loc. cit.,[119] and in the *Summa Theologica*.[120]

Second, all things are in God in a threefold way: regarding his power as in an efficient cause; regarding his idea as in an exemplar cause; and with regards to his knowledge as in one who knows. For this reason, there is a threefold existence of creatures in God: eminent, ideal, and intelligible existence. But this whole existence [creatures have in God] is objective, without any composition or mixture, just as with light in the air or air in the light, per Augustine[121] and Cyril of Alexandria's on John, book 9, chapter 40.[122] See furthermore the scholastics on Thomas's *Summa Theologica*;[123] [Francisco] Suarez's *On God*;[124] and commentators on Acts 17:28 and 2 Peter 1:4; as well as philosophers who explain this axiom: all things are in a certain way four: God, heaven, prime matter, intellect.[125]

Third, God communicates his essence, life, and goodness outside himself or externally, doing so in the genus of an efficient, exemplar, and final cause; and in fact he does not do so naturally but freely, not by his essence but by grace. He does so in such a way that, for example, all things participate in his goodness; and they are good extrinsically and causally, but meanwhile they remain formally, in their own proper goodnesses (Thomas[126]), both in their individual and in their species or univocal genus, the most distinct essence or goodness of God, and his essence or goodness produced according to the divine similitude or image in creatures. Further, this communication of the divine essence is fivefold: (1) by creation; (2) by grace of adoption; (3) by glory and blessedness; (4) by love and desire; and (5) by incarnation. We shall speak about this last one here.

10.

Tenth,[127] one could allege the composition of Christ's divine nature with human nature in one person. *Response.* partibus aut principiis componentibus. Vide rationes speciales apud *Thomam* eiusque *commentatorem Ferrariensem loc. cit.*, & *p.* 1. *qu.* 8. *a.* 1. II. Omnia sunt in Deo tripliciter, in potentia eius tanquam in causa efficiente, in idea tanquam in causa exemplari, in scientia tanquam in cognoscente. Unde triplex esse creaturarum in Deo, eminens, ideale, intelligible. Sed totum hoc esse est obiectivum, absque ulla compositione aut permixtione sicut lumen est in aere, & aer in lumine, *August. de Genesi ad lit. lib.* 4. *c.* 12 & *lib.* 14. *de Trinit. c.* 12. *Cyrill Alexandrin. in Iohann. lib.* 9. *c.* 40. Vide porro Scholastic. *ad* 1. *qu.* 18. *a.* 4. & *Zwarez de Deo lib.* 2. *c.* 2. & comentatores *ad Actor.* 17.28. 2 Petr. 1.4. Et Philosophos explicantes axioma illud: Quatuor quodammodo sunt omnia, Deus, coelum, materia prima, intellectus. [243] III. Deus communicat extra se, seu ad extra essentiam, vitam, bonitatem suam, in genere causae efficientis, exemplaris, finalis, & quidem non naturaliter sed libere non per essentiam sed per gratiam; ita ut ex. gr. omnia participent de eius bonitate, eaque sint bona extrinsece & causaliter, sed bonitatibus propriis formaliter *Thomas* 1. *qu.* 7. *a.* 4. maneant interim & individuo & specie seu genere univoco distinctissima essentia aut bonitas Dei, & essentia aut bonitas ad similitudinem sive imaginem divinam in creaturis producta. Est autem communicatio illa essentiae divinae quintuplex 1. per creationem. 2. per gratiam adoptionis, 3. per gloriam & beatitudinem, 4. per amorem & desiderium, 5. per incarnationem; de quo postremo mox dicemus.

9. *Decimo*, Obtendi posset compositio divinae Christi naturae cum humana in unam personam. *Resp.* Unio illa

119. See *Contra Gentiles* and Silvestri of Ferrara's commentary cited above.

120. P. 1., qu. 8, a. 1.2

121. Augustine, *De Genesi ad lit.* lib. 4., c. 12. et lib. 14 [*sic*?], de Trinit., c. 12. Nothing exactly along the lines suggested could be found in book 4 in Hills' translation and there is no book 14. Voetius would have been reading a text long before the critical Benedictine edition of the works 1679–1700) and later work by Joseph Zycha (1894). "The Literal Meaning of Genesis," in *On Genesis,* trans. Edmund Hill (New City Press, 2002), 481. *On the Trinity,* Book 12, in *NPNF1*, volume 3, p. 155–165.

122. This refers to Trapezuntius's Latin text which has chapter divisions (translated before 1486 and first published in 1508). *D. Cyrilli Archiepiscopi Alexandrini opera in tres partita Tomos: in quibus habes non pauca antehac Latinis non exhibita. Tomi tres* (Basileae: Apud Andream Cratandrum, 1528), 169r–172r. See the section in book 9 on John 14:12 in English translations. Cf. *Commentary on John,* volume 2 (IVP, 2015), 173; *Commentary on the Gospel according to S. John,* vol. 2 (London: Walter Smith, 1885), 291.

123. I. q 18 a 4.

124. Francisco Suarez, *Commentarii ac disputationes in primam partem Summae Theol. D. Thomae: De Deo uno et trino* (Juncta, 1608), 36. *Opera Omnia*, 27 vols. (Paris: Vives, 1856–1878), 1.48.

125. Quatuor quodammodo sunt omnia, Deus, coelum, materia prima, intellectus.

126. I q 7 a 4.

127. The original marginal note numbered this as 9, but the text is correct with *Decimo*.

We refer to that [hypostatic] union as composition just as we say improperly that Christ is one whole. Otherwise, it would then follow that the divine nature is a part of some thing, and that there exists something from that union which is more perfect than the divine nature itself. We ought to say, therefore, that the person of the Word assumed human nature—that is, he united human nature to himself substantially, and human nature terminated through his subsistence or personality, not as a part or accident by which the Word might be perfected, but as an adjunct or instrument enhypostatasized, which the Word bears intimately in his person, so that he might perfect that nature and by that nature redeem man. So, because nothing has been added to the divine nature, nor has the divine nature coalesced with human nature into some third essence, nor have the properties of either nature been mixed, nor was the person of the Word in the mode of perfectible potency, nor was human nature in the mode of an act perfecting the divine nature—from all this, it follows that nothing has been taken away from God's simplicity due to this hypostatic union, nor should we allow any or even the smallest semblance of composition. I believe this solution suffices. Now in his *Scholastic Theology*, Becanus using Thomas disputes against Bonaventure, Richard [of St. Victor], Scotus, and Cajetan about the composition of the person [of the Word].[128] But I do not see how these things fit sufficiently with what Becanus himself asserted regarding the metaphysical doctrine of simple and composite things, and also with his opinion about God's simplicity; and how even the Anabaptists and Schwenkfeld concepts can be uncovered and refuted well enough by this determination. The Scotists, with Rada,[129] appear to me to philosophize more accurately here.

Eleventh,[130] in his book on baptism against Skarga [*sic*],[131] the Socinian Moskorzewski places the passage 1 Timothy 6:16 with Hebrews 12:27 in opposition to the axiom, "whatever is in God is God." From these verses, Moskorzewski creates a place for God that is uncreated and eternal, which despite this is not God. Vorstius devised something similar with the help of Stuchi Eugubinus's opinion[132]—for whose depraved fabrication, see Sladus.[133] *Response*. In short, we say that this is of no consequence plain and simple, and that this "light inaccessible" is nothing but the splendor of divine majesty and glory. That is, it is the infinite God himself, who exists and abides in himself. Moreover, dicitur compositio, sicut Christus improprie totum dicitur. Sequeretur alioquin naturam divinam esse alicuius rei partem, & ex illa unione existere aliquid perfectius, quam est ipsa natura divina. Sic ergo dicendum: personam λόγου assumsisse naturam humanam, hoc est, eam sibi univisse substantialiter, eandemque terminare per suam subsistentiam seu personalitatem non tanquam partem aut accidens quo perficiatur; sed tanquam adiunctam aut instrumentum ἐνυπόστατον, quod intime in sua persona gestat, ut illud perficiat & per illud hominem redimat. Quia ergo divinae naturae nihil accessit, nec cum humana in tertiam quandam essentiam coaluit, nec proprietates utriusque naturae permixtae sunt, nec persona λόγου habuit se ad modum potentiae perfectibilis, nec humana natura ad modum actus divinam naturam perficientis: sequitur nihil hinc decedere simplicitati Dei, nec ullam vel minimam compositionis speciem admittendam. Hanc solutionem puto sufficere. Quae cum *Thoma contra Bonaventuram, Richardum, Scotum, Caietanum de compositione personae* disputat *Becanus Theolog. Scholastic. part.* 1. *tract*. 1. *c.* 6. *qu.* 3. non video sane, quomodo cum Doctrina Metaphysica de Simplici & composito, ut & cum sententia de Simplicitate Dei ab ipso Becano asserta satis conveniant; quomodo etiam eiusmodi determinatione Anabaptistici & Zwenckfeldici conceptus satis dextre detegi & refutari possint. Accuratius mihi philosophari videntur Scotistae apud *Rhadam ad* 3. *controv.* 3. *artic.* 3. *Undecima*, Opponit etiam Socinianus *Moscorovius libr. de baptismo adversus Scargam* huic axiomati: *Quidquid est in Deo, est Deus*, locum 1 *Timoth*. 6.16. cum *Hebr.* 12.27. unde fabricat locum Dei increatum & aeternum, qui tamen non sit Deus. Simile quid agitabat *Vorstius, in subsidium advocata opinione Struchi Eugubini*; cuius commentum profligatum vide a *Slado disceptat scholastic. part.* 1. *p.* 50. 51. 52. *Resp.* Breviter dicimus meram esse inconsequentiam [244], & lucem illam inaccessam nihil aliud esse quam splendorem maiestatis ac gloriae divinae, hoc est, ipsum infinitum Deum, qui est & habitat in seipso. Est autem haec descriptio metaphorica, quales *Psal.*

128. Part 1, treatise 1, chapter 6, question 3.

129. Ad 3 controversy 3 article 3.

130. There was no marginal note at this point.

131. It appears Voetius confused the name as there are only two works in polish directed against Piotr Skarga. See Hieronim Moskorzewski, *Refutatio libri de baptismo Martini Smiglecii jesuitae* (Raków, 1617), 73, 75. *Zniesienie zawstydzenia, które X. Piotr Skarga, jezuita, wnieść niesłusznie na zbór Pana Jezusa Nazareńskiego usiłował* (Raków, 1607) and *Zniesienie Wtorego zawstydzenia, które X. Piotr Skarga, jezuita, na zbór Pana Jezusa Nazareńskiego wnieść usiłował* (Raków, 1610). Moskorzewski does quote Śmiglecki referring to him boasting against Skarga, *Refutatio,* p. 13, and that may be the cause of the mistake.

132. Agostino Steuco was an Italian humanist and polemicist for the Counter Reformation.

133. *Matthaei Sladi cum Corrado Vorstio … scholasticae disceptationis pars prima* (1612).

this is metaphorical description—of a piece with Psalm 93:1; Isaiah 6:2; 57:15; Ezekiel 1; and Ezekiel 10. See commentators on the passages just cited, especially Daneau on 1 Timothy 6:16.[134] Confer also withour disputations about God's immensity and illocality.[135]

Twelfth,[136] God is called a whole; therefore he is not absolutely simple. Likewise, God is not an individual, as Clement of Alexandria argues.[137] Finally, God is not only in the category of substance, but also in many of the categories of the accidents; and whatever other many Socino-Vorstian subtleties there are of this sort. *Response*. What would resolve these issues are the rules dialecticians supply in their *compendia*, and the book of terms or the philosophical dictionary. Therefore, there is no reason for us to linger here. For now, if you have the time, look over Alsted's *Natural Theology*.[138]

IV. We[139] are now going to derive the deductions and uses from this doctrine of simplicity; they are as follows. First, we should number God's simplicity among his attributes or properties. This is demonstrated because simplicity belongs to God alone; it follows immediately upon God's nature; and it has been distinguished from other properties by reason reasoned or eminently. Second, we should guard God's unity, identity, and simplicity in particular, with the purpose of removing from him imperfection, mutability, finitude, multiplicity, distinction, and composition, and so we do not fall into the madness of the pagans or the old heretics—the Valentinians, Marcionites, and Manicheans, etc.—or even the more recent Enthusiasts and Socinians. Third, we should handle this doctrine of simplicity with complete fidelity and reverence and in a clear way for praxis in churches and schools, as the circumstances arise and according to the capacity of the hearers, and do so both on its own as well as especially as a hypothesis and necessary foundation for the doctrine of infinity, immutability, eternity, and spirituality of the divine essence, knowledge, and will, as also the hypothesis and necessary foundation for the doctrine of the Trinity of persons. Fourth, from simplicity especially we gain light for that sublime mystical and pious contemplation that three persons subsist in God's single essence, and these singular things have the whole essence, and one person continually and inseparably is in another and with the other, and embraces, permeates (per the Greek fathers: they have mutual perichoresis), possesses, loves, and glorifies it (John 1:1, 5, 18; 14:10–11, 23; 17:21; Prov. 8:22, 30). Fifth, the Remonstrants err who remove simplicity from the series of divine attributes. And, the nearer they come to the Racovian Catechism and the Socinians, the farther they recede from Belgic Confession article 93.1 *Iesa.* 6.2. & 57.15. *Ezechiel.* 1. & 10. Vide commentatores ad loca cit. imprimis *Daneum in* 1 *Timoth. 6.16.* & confer. disputationes de Immensitate, & illocalitate Dei. *Duodecima*, Deus totum appellatur, ergo non est simpliciter simplex; Item, Deus non est individuum ex *Clemente Alexandrin. Stromat.* 5.1. denique Deus non tantum est in praedicamento substantiae, sed etiam in multis praedicamentis accidentium; & si quae plures sint istius commatis subtilitates Socino-Vorstianae. *Resp.* Tyrones Dialectici ex compendiis suis, & libro terminorum seu dictionario philosophico haec solverint: non est ergo quod illis immoremur. Videat interim, cui vacat, *Alstedii Theologiam Naturalem part.* 1. *cap.* 5.

10. Nunc Porismata & usus ex hac doctrina educimus, quorum I. Simplicitas Dei numeranda est inter attributa seu proprietates Dei. Probatur, quia soli Deo convenit. Quia immediate naturam Dei sequitur. Quia distincta est ab aliis proprietatibus ratione ratiocinata, seu eminenter. II. Unitas, identitas, simplicitas Dei imprimis vindicanda est, ut imperfectionem, mutabilitatem, finitudinem, multitudinem, distinctionem, & compositionem ab illo removeamus; nec in deliria Ethnicorum, & veterum haereticorum Valentinianorum, Marcionitarum, Manichaeorum &c. aut etiam recentiorum Enthusiastarum, Socinianorum incidamus. III. Doctrina haec tum in se, tum etiam imprimis ut hypothesis & fundamentum necessarium doctrinae de infinitate, immutabilitate, aeternitate, spiritualitate essentiae, scientiae, & voluntatis divinae, ut & de Trinitate personarum pro re nata & pro captu auditorum omni cum fidelitate ac reverentia & plane ad praxin in Ecclesiis ac scholis tradenda est. IV. Vel imprimis hinc lumen infertur sublimi mysticae, & piae isti contemplationi; quod in unica Dei essentia subsistant tres personae, eamque totam singulae possideant, & una persona perpetuo ac inseparabiliter sit in altera ac cum altera, eamque complectatur, permeet, (mutuam ἐμπεριχώρησιν vocant patres Graeci) possideat, amet, & glorificet *Iohann.* 1. 1.5. 18. & 14. 10. 11. 23. & 17.21. *Proverb.* 8.22. 30. V. Errant Remonstrantes, qui ex classe attributorum divinorum Simplicitatem eximunt; in quo tanto proprius ad Catechesin Racovianam & Socinianos accedunt quanto longius ab artic. 1. Confessionis Belgicae, & a communi

134. Lambert Daneau, *In D. Pauli priorem Epistolam ad Timotheum commentarius….* (Geneva: Vignon, 1577), 483ff.

135. This title is not in the 1648 *Selectarum disputationum* and could not be located in print.

136. There was no marginal note at this point.

137. Stromata 5.1. CF. *ANF* 2, 444.

138. Part 1, chapter 5.

139. The text has a "10" in the margin at this point which is the last of the marginal numbers and of the errors in the same.

1, and from the common most Christian doctrine of the whole confession. They do worse because they add their stubbornness to the error, and they fiercely insult the most learned Leiden professors, in their *Censure* of the confession,[140] as also the divine Bodecherus in the Socinian-Remonstrant,[141] who are faithfully warning them. Sixth, let us think on God's absolutely simple and absolutely perfect essence in a spiritual way. Let us cast away all crass, earthly concepts, all sensible images, and all phantasms of our imaginative faculty. And let us perceive about him what we cannot perceive, as Julius Caesar Scaliger says piously,[142] and ascend by the way of negation, causality, and eminence. Seventh, just as God is absolutely simple in essence, so is he in his will, promises, and deeds. There is no deceit in him, no hypocrisy. Therefore, let us imitate him and strive after simplicity and sincerity. Let us stand on his words and promises, and expect their fulfillment with an unshaken hope. He who is true in his promises and powerful in their execution will do it. Finally, let us worship God, who is spirit, by means of spiritual, pure worship in spirit and truth. Let us flee as far as we can away from all pomp of superstitions and empty observations, and from every "work worked." Eighth, we can add other practical uses besides the foregoing in an analogical and consequential way from the rest of the attributes of the first kind that are connected with simplicity. We will thus see that this doctrine [of simplicity] is not just speculative, scholastic, metaphysical, or unproductive of all confidence and piety. Arminius says rightly in a disputation: "These supereminent modes in God's life and faculties of life have infinite use in theology, and are no small foundation for true religion."[143] Here we need to note that Arminius includes even those attributes of God that the Remonstrants exclude together with the Socinians. Hence one can see how far these Remonstrants have withdrawn and led away their inexperienced, foolish students from Arminius's theology, expressed in his theses on God.

totius Christianismi doctrina recedunt. Peius faciunt, quod errori addant pertinaciam, & DD. Professoribus Leidensibus in *Censura Confessionis*, ut & D. *Bodechero in Sociniano-Remonstrantismo* fideliter ipsos monentibus [245] tam ferociter insultent. VI. De Dei simplicissima & perfectissima essentia spiritualiter cogitemus; omnes crassos & terrenos conceptus, omnes sensibiles imagines, omnia imaginativae facultatis phantasmata procul habeamus; & de illo sentiamus quae sentire non possumus (ut pie *Iul. Caesar Scaliger exercit.* 165. *sect.* 9.) ascendamus per viam negationis, causalitatis eminentiae. VII. Ut Deus simplicissimus est essentia; sic & voluntate, promissis, factis: nullus in illo dolus, nulla hyprocrisis: Illum ergo imitemur, & studeamus simplicitati ac sinceritati: illius etiam verbis & promissis stemus & spe firma impletionem exspectemus. Ipse faciet, qui verax in promissis, & potens in executione. Denique Deum spiritum spirituali puroque cultu in spiritu & veritate colamus. Ab omni superstitionum & inanium observationum choragio, ab omni opere operato quam longissime fugiamus. VIII. Alii usus practici ex reliquis attributis primi generis cum simplicitate connexis analogice aut per consequentiam huc applicari possunt. Ita videbimus doctrinam hanc non esse mere speculativam, Scholasticam, metaphysicam, aut omnis fiduciae ac pietatis sterilem. Recte Arminius Disput. privat. XV. thes. 10. *Hi modi supereminentia* &c. *in vita Dei & vita facultatibus considerati infinitam in Theologia utilitatem habent, & religionis verae non minimum sunt fundamentum.* Ubi notandum ipsum attributa illa Dei etiam includere, quae cum Socinianis Remonstrantes excludunt. Ut vel hinc perspicias, quantum illi recesserint, & imperitos aut imprudentes auditores suos ab Arminii Theologia, thesibus de Deo expressa, abduxerint.

140. Johannes Polyander et al., *Censura in Confessionem : sive declarationem, sententiae eorum qui in fœderato Belgio Remonstrantes vocantur, super præcipuis articulis christianæ religionis* (Lugduni Batavorvm: Ex officina Bonaventuræ & Abrahami Elzever, 1626).

141. Nicolaus Bodecherus, *Sociniano-remonstrantismus. Hoc est, evidens demonstratio, qua remonstrantes cum Socinianis sive reipsa, sive verbis, sive etiam methodo, in pluribus confessionis suae partibus consentire ostenditur* (Lugduni Batavorum: Ex officina Iacobi Marci, 1624).

142. Exercit. 165, section 9. *Exotericarum exercitationum liber XV.*, de subtililate (1557; Hanover: Wechelianis, 1620).

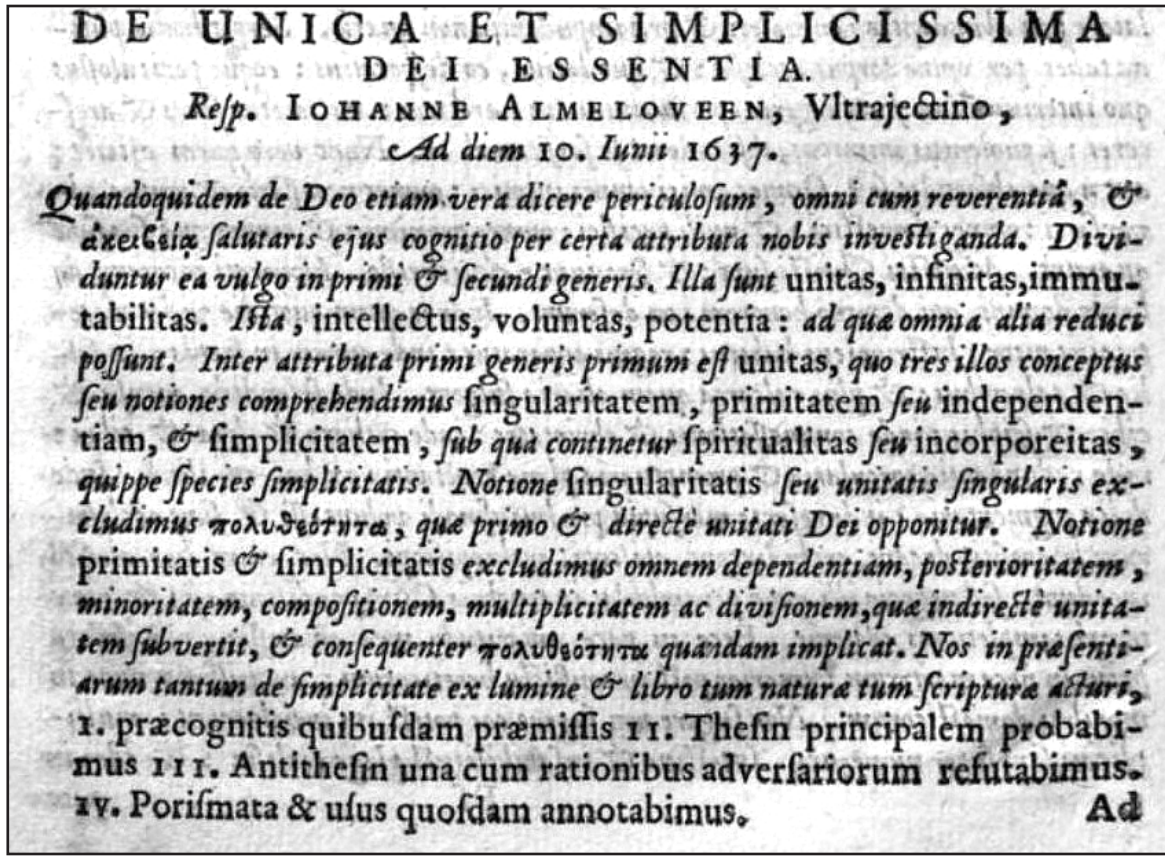
143. Disputation 15, thesis 10 [on the nature of God]. Jacob Arminius, *Private Disputations*, in *Works,* trans. James Nichols and W. R. Bagnall, 3 vols. (Auburn: Derby, and Miller; Buffalo: Derby, Orton and Mulligan, 1853), 2.33.

Issues

Consider the following errors. Someone says the rational soul is composed from four elements, or is temperate, or animal spirit, or the condition of the mouth or of the breath. Likewise, if someone says angels are animals, stars, or souls separated [from bodies]. Or further, that God is a body, visible, the soul of the world, the form of heaven, one by an accidental unity, or by analogy, or by species only, not truly individual. Or that the divine persons are properties of God or different denominations only. Or finally, that Christ the mediator is composed of one nature or two persons, etc. Respecting these, can we and how should we defend the truth of dogma firmly against these errors, and convince individuals of the errors just listed by the bare texts of Scripture, without adding rules of consequences, without logical and philosophical terminology? And should all these disputations be relegated to the classrooms of the scholastics and philosophers as useless? Should union with the Remonstrants and ecclesiastical tolerance not wrestle with these matters?

Problema.

Si quis dicat animam rationalem esse compositam ex quatuor elementis, aut esse temperamentum, aut spiritum animalem, aut halitum & flatum oris: item angelos esse animalia, esse astra, aut animas separatas; praeterea Deum esse corpus, visibilem, animam mundi, formam coeli, unum unitate accidentali, aut analogia, aut specie tantum, non vero individuo; personas divinas esse proprietates Dei seu diversas denominationes tantum; denique Christum mediatorem constare ex una natura aut duabus personis &c. an & quomodo veritas dogmatum solide defendi, & errores modo indicati convinci possint ex nudis scripturae textibus absque adhibitis regulis consequentiarum, absque terminis Logicis aut Philosophicis? Et an omnes illae disputationes tanquam inutiles ad Scholasticorum & Philosophorum subsellia relegandae sint? An Remonstrantium unio & tolerantia ecclesiastica de his non laboraret?▪



DE UNICA ET SIMPLICISSIMA
DEI ESSENTIA.
Resp. IOHANNE ALMELOVEEN, Vltrajectino,
Ad diem 10. *Iunii* 1637.

Quandoquidem de Deo etiam vera dicere periculosum, omni cum reverentiâ, & ἀκειθείᾳ salutaris ejus cognitio per certa attributa nobis investiganda. Dividuntur ea vulgo in primi & secundi generis. Illa sunt unitas, infinitas, immutabilitas. *Ista*, intellectus, voluntas, potentia: *ad quae omnia alia reduci possunt. Inter attributa primi generis primum est* unitas, *quo tres illos conceptus seu notiones comprehendimus* singularitatem, primitatem *seu* independentiam, *&* simplicitatem, *sub quâ continetur* spiritualitas *seu* incorporeitas, *quippe species simplicitatis. Notione* singularitatis *seu unitatis singularis excludimus* πολυθεότητα, *quae primo & directè unitati Dei opponitur. Notione* primitatis *&* simplicitatis *excludimus omnem dependentiam, posterioritatem, minoritatem, compositionem, multiplicitatem ac divisionem, quae indirectè unitatem subvertit, & consequenter* πολυθεότητα *quandam implicat. Nos in praesentiarum tantum de simplicitate ex lumine & libro tum naturae tum scripturae acturi,* 1. praecognitis quibusdam praemissis 11. Thesin principalem probabimus 111. Antithesin una cum rationibus adversariorum refutabimus. 1v. Porismata & usus quosdam annotabimus. Ad

Detail, *Selectarum disputationum theologicarum* (1648), p. 226. Next page, detail of page 228.

nim, ut *Iustinus Martyr*, οὐσία, ἄναρχος καὶ ἀναίτιος, & ut divinè canit. Iul. Cæsar Scaliger Exercit. 365. sect. 10.

Sine principio principium; absque fine finis,
Cui præteritum non abit, haut subit futurum.
Ante omnia, post omnia, totus, unus. Ipse.

Atqui si Deus ex partibus, aut accidentibus, aut modis compositus esset, jam non esset simpliciter primus; quia partes sunt priores composito, & principia (unde modi aut accidentia dependerent) sunt priora principiatis, ut notum ex Philosophiâ. *Secunda*, Ex omnimoda & infinita Dei perfectione, qua est actus purus sine ullius potentiæ admixtione. Si enim esset potentia in Deo, esset quid imperfectum seu perfectibile, cujus actus esset perfectivum, per quem accederet illi ulterior aliqua perfectio. Majoris consequentia probatur, quia omnis compositio ut & compositum est ex actu & potentia: nam genus, materia, pars integrata, essentia, natura, subjectum habent rationem potentiæ; contra differentia, forma, pars integrans, existentia, suppositum, accidens, habent rationem actus. Minor probatur. *Tum* quia repugnat absolutæ Dei perfectioni, ut in ipso sit aliquid perfectibile; *tum* quia partes seu principia, unde componeretur, essent imperfectiora composito, & sic ex iis nihil posset fieri aut componi, quod absoluta & infinita perfectione præditum esset; *tum* denique quia in Deo esset potentia passiva, radix mutabilitatis, possetque Deus in partes aut Principia componentia resolvi, & corrumpi contra *Psal.* 102. 28. *Iacob.* 1. 17. *Numer.* 23. 23. 1 *Timoth.* 1. *v.* 17. *Rom.* 1. *v.* 23. Vnde constat Deum tantum esse quod est, nec posse non esse, & aliud esse. Hinc rectè Damascenus Orthod. fidei lib. 1. c. 4. σύνθεσις γὰρ ἀρχὴ μάχης, μάχη δὲ διασάσεως. Διασάσις δὲ λύσεως, λύσις δὲ ἀλλότριον θεοῦ παντελῶς. *compositio enim pugnæ principium: pugna vero separationis: separatio autem solutionis. Atqui solutio alienum quid penitus à Deo est. Tertia*, Quia Deus est absolutissimè & perfectissimè unus ac idem *Deuter.* 6. 4. *Psal.* 102. 28. nihilque in ipsius essentia realiter diversum. Atqui ubi nulla distinctio, ibi nulla per extremorum distinctorum unionem compositio. Probatur autem omnia, quæ sunt in Deo, esse Deum, esse unum, idemque ac ipsum 1. ex nomine *Iehova*, יהוה אשר אהיה Gr. ὁ ὤν *Exod.* 3. 14, 15. cum *Apocal.* 1. 8. ὁ ὤν, καὶ ὁ ἦν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. 2. Ex eo, quod propriè, synonymica & directa prædicatione ea, quæ se videntur habere ad modum accidentium aut adjunctorum, de ipso prædicentur, ut e. gr. lux *Ioh.* 1. 9. cum 1 *Ioh.* 1. 5. caritas 1 *Ioh.* 4. 8. 16. Qui ergo est quod est, & cujus, quidquid est in ipso, est ipse, is nullas habet partes, accidentia, modos, aut principia quæ aliud sint

The Class of 1652 of the Academia Voetiana

By Adriaan C. Neele

In the summer of 1647, a seventeenth-year young man from the German city Cologne entered the city of Utrecht of the Dutch Republic. Crippled on one foot (*voet* in Dutch), like the biblical *Mephibosheth*, as a result of a fall by a hasty baby nurse—the young man came for a consultation of a podiatrist but stayed studying under Gisbertus *Voet*ius (1589–1676). And so, the young man, Petrus van Mastricht (1630–1706), commenced his study of theology at the Utrecht academy—the pinnacle of education in Reformed orthodoxy and piety in the Dutch Republic and beyond. Years later, he would become the successor of Voetius and was one of several of the class of 1652 taking prominent positions in the service of the society, church, and academy.

Gisbertus Voetius and Utrecht University

Although not the oldest university in the Low Countries, as that honor goes to Leiden University (1575), Utrecht seized the attention of many throughout Western Europe of the seventeenth century. In fact, the Geneva Academy, founded by John Calvin (1509–1564)— this sixteenth-century center of Reformed theology so reputable to many of the Reformed community throughout the continent and British Isles—was losing its luster, moving the teaching of Reformed thought and practice to seventeen-century to Northern Europe, including the University of Heidelberg (1386), and the Dutch universities of Leiden, Franeker (1585), Groningen (1614), Harderwijk (1648) and Utrecht. The latter became internationally recognized through the faculties of theology—the "queen of sciences," philosophy, law, and medicine.

The Utrecht academy (university) was founded in 1636, the same year as Harvard College in New England, with Voetius as Chancellor (*Rector Magnificus)*. The inaugural address *Concerning Piety joined with Knowledge* (*De Pietate cum Scientia conjugenda*) captured his vision for the university—knowledge or learning and piety or godliness can and should coincide for students and instructors, as well as religious practitioners and communities. Voetius was an extraordinarily gifted individual with a lasting influence. Besides a full teaching load, he was a pastor of the local congregation at Utrecht. In fact, "he preached eight times a week and worked tirelessly, bringing many Roman Catholics into the Reformed church. Apart from his ministerial duties, he was a scholar who habitually rose at four in the morning to read ancient literature, study philosophy, law, science, geography, theology and Semitic languages (Hebrew, Arabic, and Syrian). He learned to play the zither, the organ and the flute."[1] Not only did he have the ability to teach poor children at an orphan home in the morning but he also held technical academic disputations at the university in the afternoon. He preached until the age of 84 and remained professor until his death in 1676, at age 87. He was attentive to the spiritual counseling needs of congregants, as well as combating the new philosophy of the era, the writings of René Descartes (1596–1650). As such Voetius is "known for his early opposition to Cartesian philosophy."[2] As a practical theologian, Voetius

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1. Gideon Van der Watt, "Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676): Some perspectives on his influence on developments in the South African Dutch Reformed Church's missiology and mission practice," *In die Skriflig* 53:3 (2019): 2.

2. Aza Goudriaan. *Reformed Orthodoxy and Philosophy, 1625–1750. Gisbertus Voetius, Petrus van Mastrciht, and Anthonius Driessen* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006), 9.

is remembered for his masterpiece on church polity (*Politica ecclesiastica,* 1666). In it, and arising from disputations, he addressed issues on marriage, the role of women (in the church), the role of the church in society or church *versus* the state. Moreover, in this work Voetius lays the ecclesiastical foundation for mission work (*De plantationes ecclesarium*), addressing questions, still relevant for today, "Who sends? (*qui sint mittentes*), To who is one sent? (*ad quos mittendi*), Why is one sent? (*ad quid mittendi*), Who and what kind of people are sent? (*qui et quales mittendi*), and According to which method and in which way are people sent? (*qua via methodo et quo modo mittendi*)." In fact, Voetius was convinced that the internally divided Protestants could learn from the founding of Roman Catholic mission orders, the *Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith* (*Sacra Congregatio de propaganda fide*, 1622), and proposed the establishment of a Protestant *College for the Propagation of Faith* (*Collegia propagandae fidei*) for the training of missionaries—a proposal that came to fruition by Antonius Walaeus (1573–1639), the founder and sole rector of the *Seminarium Indicum* (1622–1632) at Leiden University. This university seminary played a pivotal part in training clergymen who were sent to the trade areas of the seventeenth-century Dutch East India Company. It was Voetius's, however, who provided a systematic treatment of the theology of mission, the "the first to develop a comprehensive, contextual, and comparative Protestant missiology."[3] As such, Voetius is recognized as the first Protestant missiologist. In summary, Voetius's books, treatises, textbooks, disputations, and devotional works were written for the church and academy, but also against the teachings of Roman Catholicism, Arminianism, and Cartesianism. These publications, moreover, attest to the overall and fourfold architecture of Reformed theology: biblical exegesis, doctrine, polemic, and practice. Exegetically, Scripture and its interpretation were foundational for doing theology. Doctrine and practice, for Voetius, arose from the reading, meditation, prayer, and contemplation of Scripture resonating with the Medieval *Lectio Divina* (*lectio*, *meditatio*, *oratio*, and *contemplatio).*

Voetius's vision for theological education, furthermore, resulted in the publication *Exercitia et bibliotheca studiosi theologiae* (1644), a comprehensive 700–page introduction to theological literature and a four-year program of theology. Scripture should be studied in its original languages, reading of theology, with attention to practice, should include the *Institutes of Christian Religion* by Calvin, works of English Puritans, such as Perkins, Sibbes, and Reynolds, as well as representatives of the *Nadere Reformatie*, Taffin, Teelinck, and Udemans. Polemic theology should consider the teachings of Islam.[4] Its theme is one with his overall vision: theology must be known and practiced. In summary, students received scholastic methodological schooling, including the knowledge of the medieval scholastic definitions and distinctions, but also training in piety and spiritual practices.

Besides Voetius, Carolus de Maets (1597–1651) and Johannes Hoornbeeck (1617–1666) were teaching a broad scope of theology. De Maets and Hoornbeek taught respectively New Testament and Old Testament, though the latter published various polemical (*Summa Controversiarum Religionis*) and theological works, as well. His *Theologia Practica* (1663–66) (Practical Theology) and other works have been long forgotten. Hoornbeeck may have stood in the shadow of his colleague Voetius, but where the latter was more a generalist concerning missions, Hoornbeeck's academic view was worked out for theory and practice of missions as found in *The Conversion of Indians and Heathens* (*De conversion Indorum et gentilium*, 1669). Furthermore, together with Voetius, Hoornbeeck wrote *Disputaty van geestelicke verlatingen*—arising from academic teaching, a pastoral work on spiritual desertion. Both Voetius's and Hoornbeek's emphasis on *theologia practica* would contribute to the student's theological formation, receiving a thorough education. To strengthen the Reformed position the university attempted in 1651 to call Samuel Rutherford (1600–1661), who, however, remained in Scotland, and recommended Andreas Essenius (1618–1677), minister at Utrecht.

The vision of Reformed theology and education, however, was not shared by all members of the faculty. The medical professor, Henricus Regius (1589–1679) was promoting Cartesianism—a form of rationalism so opposed Voetius. The latter understood the new philosophy as opposing the common accepted philosophy, Aristotelianism, whereby students who were taught in Cartesianism would not be able to understand the definitions and distinction of scholasticism, and last but not least the consequences of Descartes teaching would be a danger for Reformed orthodoxy theology. Another colleague at the medical faculty, Ysbrand van Diemerbroeck (1609–1674) was more Remonstrant

3. Boston University, School of Theology, History of Missiology. Accessed: http://www.bu.edu/missiology/missionary-biography/t-u-v/voetius-gisbertus-gijsbert-voet-1589–1676/ accessed August 12, 2019.

4. See Richard A. Muller, *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 113–115.

(Arminian) than Reformed. Voetius, who had attended as the youngest delegate the Synod of Dort (1618–19), disagreed with Diemerbroeck's theological views but contend with his "true Christian religion."[5] Finally, while most of the faculty of theology taught classical Reformed covenant theology, Frans Burman (1628–1679) advocated a Cocceian understanding of doctrines of the covenant. Cocceius's understanding of the fourth commandment, forgiveness of sin, and doctrine of the covenant—all different from the accepted Reformed theology of the era resonated with Burman. Cocceius suggested the non-binding ceremonial nature of the fourth commandment for New Testament Christians, resulting in a Sabbath-controversy in the Dutch Republic, whereby the followers of Voetius held a stricter Sunday observance than the Cocceians. Furthermore, for the Voetian theologians, Cocceius's distinction between the forgiveness of sin for the Old Testament saints and New Testament Christians held the implication of an incomplete salvation for the believers under the Old covenant. Finally, Cocceius held a doctrine of abrogations, i.e. the covenant of works was progressively abrogated throughout redemptive history together with a proportional increase of the covenant of grace. This eschatological oriented view of the history of the work of redemption included a postmillennial position of Revelation 20, which view was shared by some English Puritans (for example, Thomas Brooks, Matthew Henry), and Dutch Reformed (for example, á Brakel). Despite the controversies within the church (Cocceians) and outside the church (Cartesianism), the (theological) leadership of Voetius in the first forty (40) years of the university, known in its time as *Academia Voetiana*, is unmistakably present. The faculty was broad in its theological and philosophical orientation, and less coherently Reformed than Voetius might have wished for, but its publication output in the year 1636–1676 was more than 400 works combined. The reputation of the university was internationally recognized and attracted many students from home and abroad. Voetius's influence is nothing less than extraordinary and is renowned through the students of the university, the *Nadere Reformatie* (Dutch Further Reformation), and Petrus van Mastricht, Voetius's successor.

Students

Voetius's vision of education unfolded in his inaugural address (1636), was intended for all studies and students—the diverse incoming and international class of 1652 no exception. The student matriculation registers of 1647, the *Album studiosorum Academiae rheno-traiectinae*, lists no less than one-hundred and twenty-five (125) students. Sixty-five percent originated from the Dutch Republic, including the provinces of Utrecht, Zeeland, and North-Holland, but other students came from Brandenburg (Duisburg, Cologne, Berlin, Cleve, Oldenburg, Lübeck), Britain (London, York), Denmark, East-Friesland, Hungary, Palatinate (Heidelberg), Russia (Moscow), Sweden, and Transylvania. The arrival of the seventeen year old young man from the German city Cologne, Mastricht, then, was but one of many international students.

Some of the incoming students began their law studies at Utrecht but continued at Leiden University—more prominent for jurisprudence. Others studied medicine or philosophy, while many came to study at the faculty of theology. From the Dutch Republic, Simon Simonides (1629–1675), for example, became a representative of the *Nadere Reformatie* emphasizing in his preaching, pastorate, and publications a continuing reformation of the individual, family, and community. His works on the sacraments were continually reprinted, with *The Right Use of the Lord Holy Supper* (*Het Rechte gebruyck van des Heeren h. Avondmaal,* 1670) going through 125 editions. Others were less known and often remain forgotten, such as, Rochaus Bruynvisch, who defended upon the completion of his theological studies a disputation entitled *De satisfactione Christi* (Concerning Christ's satisfaction), and accepted a call to Tholen (Zeeland). Bartholomaeus Donius became a minister at Bleiswijk and gained short-term fame by publishing an account in the form of a sermon, *Ryper Kleppende Brandt-Klok* (De Rijp's bell which rings when a fire) about a great fire in 1655 at the small town of De Rijp—his place of birth. Others became politicians, such as the aristocrat Scato Gockinga (1624–1683) of Groningen, who studied at Utrecht and returned to serve as a legislator and became a member of the States-General of the Dutch Republic. As such he was instrumental in various peace missions, including the negotiations with the English that led to the departure of the French occupation at Utrecht in 1672. Students like Gerard Mulock became a leading *schout* (law enforcer and prosecutor) at Woerden, and Simon Gabbema (1628–1688) studied theology but became the first and foremost historian of the province of Friesland. The students from the province of Zeeland, Vincentus Ketelaer (1627–1679) and Isaac

5. Volume 1 of G. W. Kernkamp, *De Utrechtsche Academie 1636–1815,* Volume 1, De Utrechtsche Universiteit 1636–1936 (Utrecht: N.V. A. Oosthoek's uitgevers Maatschappij, 1936), 244.

Hoornbeeck (1629–1702), became leading citizens as principals of the Latin schools in their province at Zierkzee and Middelburg, respectively.

Some students from abroad stayed in the Dutch Republic, such as Johannes Thilenus (†1692). Born and raised in London, he studied at Utrecht and became a pastor at Middelburg. His intensive contact with the English Puritans in that city, and in England, resulted in a friendship with the nonconformist John Quick (1636–1706) of the English church at Middelburg. In Thilenus Quick found "a loving and generous spirit, far different from that of the generality of the Nether dutch Ministers, who were of a more narrow and meaner spirit, more closed and reserved in conversation. 'How could this be,' Quick would ask, and Thilenus would always reply, 'My deare Brother, I am no Dutchman, I am an Englishman borne.'"[6] These students, as said, studied at Utrecht and remained in the Dutch Republic. The Dutch student Jacobus Clavius, on the other hand, left the university in 1652, setting sail to Batavia (Jakarta, Indonesia) under the disguise of a trader for the Dutch East Indies Company, and was instrumental as one of the revisors of the Portuguese New Testament.

Among International students such as the Hungarian students, Stephanus Kaposi became a leading minister of the Hungarian Reformed church, was captured because of his faith, but escaped prison; Michael Tophaeus and Colomannus Justus, the latter who also studied at the Dutch universities of Hardewijk and Franeker, returned to their home country, serving as superintendent and pastor, respectively. The Swede Andreas Krok (1622–83), moreover, became a prominent *landrost*, a civil commissioner in his home country, while the Englishmen Alexius Vodka (1625–1669) and Christopher Tearne (1620–1673) became a leading practicing medical doctor in York, and physician of the famous St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, respectively.

In summary, the class of 1652 was international, diverse, gifted, serving the church, academy, and society throughout the Dutch Republic and Western Europe, having been shaped by Voetius's vision of education of learning and piety.

Nadere Reformatie

The *Nadere Reformatie* was a reforming movement within the Dutch Reformed Church in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In response "to the weakening of a lack of living faith," this movement "put the personal experience of faith and godliness central, from which substantive and procedural reformation programs were established and petitioned by the ecclesiastical and political authorities, and social organizations, and/or in connection therewith, pursued a further reform of church, society and state in word and deed" (*Documentatieblad,* 108).[7] This reforming movement was not only positively received by Voetius, but its ideas and ideals were also advanced by him *via* the Utrecht University.

Voetius, and particular his students, such as, Wilhelmus à Brakel (1635–1711), Jacobus Koelman (1631–1695), Melchior Leydecker (1642–1721), Simon Oomius (1630–1706), Guiljemus Saldenus (1627–1694, Simon Simonides (1629–1676), and Herman Witsius (1636–1708), among many others, promoted the ideals of the movement in church and society. Voetius's influence is noticeable in the works of these students, such as Brakel's *Redelijke Godsdienst* (*The Christian Reasonable Service,* 1700), a practical systematic theology written for the congregation, Koelman's *De Plichten der Ouders* (*The Duties of Parents),* Oomius's on old age (*Cierlyke Kroon*, 1707; Honorable Crown), small (bible study) groups (*Ecclesiola, dat is, kleyne kerck*, 1661; Little church), and suicide (*Bescherming des Leven tegen Selfs-moorderye*, 1660; Protection of Life against Suicide), and Saldenus on the Lord's Supper (*De kracht des avontmaels tot troost en heyligmaking van Gods kinderen,* 1664; The strength of the Lord's Supper for comfort and sanctification of God's children), are but some of the many works. Valuing and balancing Reformed orthodoxy and piety, the *Nadere Reformatie*, then, resonated with and appropriated English Puritanism.

In summary, Voetius's vision of learning and piety, was articulated by the students of Utrecht University in society both internationally and domestically through the *Nadere Reformatie.* Academically, however, one student would embody this vision prominently, who worked out the four-fold approach to Reformed theology, attempted to bridge the Voetian-Cocceian debate, was deeply concerned of the rise of Cartesianism, was internationally oriented and succeeded Voetius at Utrecht University: the Hebraist, theologian, and philosopher, Petrus van Mastricht.

Petrus van Mastricht (1630–1706) at Utrecht

Mastricht was born into a Dutch Reformed refugee congregation at Cologne in 1630. having Hoornbeeck as his catechist teacher, Mastricht studied at *Schola*

6. Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism: A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1982), 194.

7. *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie* XIX (1995): 108

Duisburgensis before coming to Utrecht.[8] At the academy of Voetius, Mastricht studied didactic-dogmatic theology, which included the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas (1225–74), the *Synopsis Purioris Theologiae* (1625), and the scholastic *disputationes* of Voetius's Saturday morning classes; exegesis of Scripture, including attention to the rabbinic interpretations; and both Voetius's and Hoornbeek's emphasis on the *theologia practica;* all contributing to Mastricht's theological formation. In his final year of the five-year study, Mastricht studied at the University of Leiden and traveled to England "for language and practical or Christian moral study."[9] The tempting thought that Mastricht did meet John Owen (1616–1683) has been suggested but without support. Upon completion of his theological studies at Utrecht in 1652, Mastricht was called by the congregation of Xanten, near Cologne, as a *vicarus* or assistant pastor—a call he accepted in early 1653. While Mastricht kept his ecclesiastical membership at the congregation of Cologne, not much is known of his work in Xanten. The congregation was served before Mastricht's arrival by the influential minister at the Brandenburg Court, Johann Kunsius, from 1646–52, and belonged, along with other Reformed churches of the Lower Rhine, such as Duisburg, to the predominantly Cocceian classis of Cleve. The consistory of Cologne, however, recommended the congregation of Mühlheim am Rhein in 1655 to call Mastricht as "*sacrosanctæ theologiæ candidatus* van seer goede gaven en stichtelijke van leven sijnde" (candidate of sacred theology with many good gifts and piety of life)—a call he did not accept. The reason may have been the care of his mother, who passed away the following year, as well as his working on *Vindicae Veritatis et Autoritatis Sacrae Scripturae adversus Dissertationes Chr. Wittichii* (Vindication of the Truth and Authority of Sacred Scripture against the Dissertations of Chr. Wittich)—Mastricht's first work of philosophy. Christopher Wittich (1625–1687), teaching at the University of Duisburg, appreciated Descartes's philosophical thought and argued specifically that the scriptural passages Voetians referred to as incompatible with Cartesianism should not be construed literally—a point Mastricht strongly opposed.

Mastricht at Glückstadt

Around 1662 Mastricht was called and accepted a full-time pastorate of the Reformed church of Glückstadt near the Danish border. The church building had been a gift of the Danish king Christian IV (†1648) and was attended in the summer months by the Queen of Denmark, Charlotte Amalie, during Mastricht's pastorate. Here he published the *Theologiæ didactico-elenchtico-practicæ prodromus*, 1666 (Introduction to didactical-elenctical-practical theology)—his first work of theology. This work, written upon the advice of Voetius and Hoornbeek, dealt with the creation of humanity, humility, and arrogance with respect to God, and the walk with God. A closer look at the *Prodromus* reveals that the pastor of Glückstadt begins each chapter with the exegesis of a biblical text in the original language, from which he infers doctrinal, elenctic, and practical considerations—Mastricht's trademark for all subsequent theological publications. The time at Glückstadt ("Happy city"), however, was not the happiest of Mastricht's life. He complained to the church about the inadequate remuneration, and lack of time for academic work, writing for the "Nazarenes," the students of divinity. He reminded them, furthermore, that he was forced to spend the winter of 1664–65 in the Dutch United Provinces due to the cold of the dilapidated parsonage or manse. Upon return from Amsterdam Mastricht received a call by the Royal House of Denmark to serve the Queen's church at Copenhagen, a call he declined in favor of a university appointment at Frankfurt an der Oder.

Mastricht at Frankfurt an der Oder

With the change from Lutheranism to Reformed orthodoxy in 1613 by the House of Brandenburg, the University of Frankfurt an der Oder, about 50 miles east of Berlin, became known as the "easternmost bastion of Calvinism" and a "second Heidelberg."[10] In 1667, Elector Fredrick Wilhelm offered Mastricht a professorate in Hebrew and practical theology at the university. His inaugural address was on the necessity of the *praxis* and theory for the theologian and for theology (*Perpetua Praxeos cum Theoria in Theologicis Pariter Et Theologis Symbibasis*),[11] a theme

8. Adriaan C. Neele, "Life and Work of Petrus van Mastricht," in Petrus van Mastricht, *Theoretical-practical Theology,* vol. 1. (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2017), xxv–lxiv.

9. Hendricus Pontanus, *Laudatio Funebris In excessum Doctissimi Et Sanctissimi Senis, Petri van Mastrigt, S. S. Theol. Doctoris & Professoris: Quam jussu amplissimi Senatus Academici D. XXIV. Februarii / postridie sepulturae dixit Henricus Pontanus* (Rotterdam: van Veen, 1706), 4.

10. Bodo Nischan, *Prince, People, and Confession: The Second Reformation in Brandenburg* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 129; G. Mühlpfordt, "Die Oder-Universität 1506–1811," in *Die Oder Universität Frankfurt*., ed. M. Knäbke (Weimar: H. Böhlhaus, 1983), 19.

11. Petrus van Mastricht. *Perpetua praxeos cum Theoria in Theologicis* (Frankfurt an der Oder, 1667).

that was familiar to him already during his study at Utrecht. Mastricht argued for the importance of the *praxis* of the theologian and of theology directed to the glory of God—an importance that ought to show itself in the teaching of the faculty of theology, in the lives of the theological students and the ministers, and in the church as a sacrosanct community. "Let us," the newly installed professor reminded the elector and his audience, "advance the combining of practice with theory" (Mastricht, 10–12). The Hebrew faculty comprised a leading European center in Hebraic studies, having a renowned press for oriental and Hebrew language publications, including the Babylonian Talmud, which contributed to Mastricht's standing as a Christian Hebraist. Moreover, during his professorate at Frankfurt an der Oder, Mastricht published the *Methodus Concionandi* (1668), a preaching method for ministerial students and his first work of homiletics. In it he stressed the need for a fourfold approach to the composition of a sermon which was important also for preaching—exegesis, doctrine, elenctic (but only when the biblical text gives a reason), and practice. His work in Frankfurt an der Oder did not stop him from obtaining a degree in theology and philosophy at the University of Duisburg in 1669. Soon thereafter, he was called to the University of Duisburg to serve at the faculty of philosophy.

Mastricht at Duisburg

Mastricht inaugurated his professorate with an address on the obligation of the academic oath (*De Religione Jurisjurandi Academici*), a subject that he most likely chose under the influence of his younger brother, Gerhardus van Mastricht (1639–172), who was at that time *Rector Magnificus* at the university. Mastricht's work proceeded in the context of university, church, theology, and philosophy at Duisburg. He served on the faculty of theology, alongside Christoph F. Crell (1626–1700) and Johann H. Hugenpoth (1634–1675). The faculty favored biblical exegesis over dogmatic theology. While Hugenpoth advocated Cocceian covenant theology, Crell was known to be against any form of ecclesiastical separatism. He opposed the influence both of Jean de Labadie (1610–1674) and of Mastricht's former Duisburg schoolmate, Theodore Untereyck, who served a congregation at Mühlheim am Ruhr, who both promoted conventicles. In fact, the churches of the entire Lower Rhine area leaned toward the *praxis der Gottseligkeit* (the practice of godliness). Mastricht's position toward the Labadists, however, was far less oppositional than Crell's. When in 1671 the Labadist movement made inroads in the Reformed congregations of the Lower Rhine area, Pierre Yvon (1646–1707), the emerging leader of the "separating Reformed Pietists," met with Voetius at Utrecht, with the House of Brandenburg at Duisburg, with Untereyck at Mühlheim am Ruhr, and also with Mastricht at Cologne. With the latter, Yvon discussed the Christian doctrines and his view of the kingdom of God and led Mastricht to write an extensive preface in his publication *Concerning Saving Faith* (*De Fide Salvifica)*, entitled *De Membris Ecclesiæ Visibilis* (Concerning Members of the Visible Church). Despite his disagreement with the Labadists, Mastricht discussed the central question—church or separation? —in an irenic way, placing the objective character of Reformed doctrine over against the subjectivism and separatism of this movement. In contrast to Mastricht's irenic position toward the Labadists was his fierce opposition to Cartesianism. For Mastricht, there was sufficient reason to address this new philosophy at the provincial synod of Cleve, and to publish the *Novitatum Cartesianarum Gangraena* (New Cancer of Cartesianism), his *magnum opus* of philosophy. Mastricht asserted that *primum Cartesianismi fundamentum*, Descartes's principle of "universal doubt," was catastrophic for Reformed theology, undermining the place of philosophy as a handmaiden to theology, and in particular *theoretico-practica* theology. If reason and philosophy become the source of absolute certainty instead of Scripture, Mastricht argued, an author of such writings was "*atheus quidem sed Cartesianus*" (an atheist, certainly, but a Cartesian). The *Gangraena* became the most influential of all late seventeenth-century academic assaults on Cartesianism and was lauded by the Lutheran faculties at Uppsala, Sweden, and Jena, Germany, by the Jesuits in Rome, Italy, and the Reformed throughout the Dutch Republic. In the meantime, Mastricht's publications had reached the Dutch Republic. Although the theological faculty at Franeker nominated him for a professor, Herman Witsius (1636–1708) was chosen instead. However, the year 1677 became another turning point in Mastricht's life.

Mastricht at Utrecht, once more

That year he accepted a call from his *alma mater* to succeed none other than Voetius. Mastricht accepted the offer of one thousand guilders per annum in June and was furnished by the States-General (*Staten Generaal*) with a passport to travel with furniture and books to Utrecht. On September 7, 1677, Mastricht delivered an inaugural oration, *De Academicae Ultrajectinae Voto*

Symbolico: Sol Justitae Illustra Nos (*Concerning the Motto of the Utrecht Academy: Sun of Righteousness Shine Upon Us*) and became a professor of practical theology—Utrecht's only professor of the time with that title. Immediately upon arrival, Mastricht continued the work on the doctrine of God that he had begun at Duisburg. His student, Theodorus Groen, defended the disputation *De Omnisufficientia Dei* (*Concerning the Divine omnisufficiency*), and Baldiunus Drywegen and Jacobus de Clyver, both from Zeeland, defended the disputation *De Essentia, Nominibus et Attributis Dei in genere* (*Concerning the Essence, Names and Attributes of God in general*), a theme that Mastricht pursued until the spring of 1678. That same year, the faculty was expanded with the appointment of Melchior Leydecker (1642–1721), and the consistory (session) of the Reformed church at Utrecht added to its number an elder with the approval to preach, Mastricht. In the years following, Mastricht held various disputations on the assurance of salvation, the nature of theology, and Roman Catholic teachings, some which were attended by (foreign) students from other schools as well as ministers, such as the defense of James Hog of Carnock (1658–1734), an important figure during the Scottish Marrow Controversy, who in the presence of other Scottish students defended on March 20, 1680, the disputation about the assurance of salvation. In attendance were Thomas Hog, Jacob Kirton, Donald Cargill, and John Dickson, who all studied at Leiden, and the ministers Jacobus Borstius (1612–1680) of Rotterdam and Jacobus Koelman (1632–1695). While Mastricht continued his teaching in systematic theology, moral theology, and church history, Herman Witsius of the University of Franeker succeeded Franz Burman (†November 12, 1679) in 1680.

In addition to his academic work, Mastricht served in various administrative capacities at the university from 1681 onward, including as *Rector magnificus*, like Voetius before him. A day after his installation as rector, he welcomed Prince Ludwig of Brandenburg on behalf of the city of Utrecht. The Brandenburg connection cemented at Frankfurt an der Oder and Duisburg, continued. More importantly, however, was the publication of the first four books of the *Theoretico-practica theologia* (*Theoretical-practical theology, TPT*), a culminating work that had begun at Glückstadt and continued with several disputations held at Duisburg and Utrecht. The work was introduced with a disputation on homiletics, *De Optima Concionandi Methodo* (Concerning the Best Method of Preaching), a slightly modified version of the *Methodus Concionandi*. Mastricht argued that the *TPT* was to be used in the preparation of preaching. Well-timed or not with the arrival of Prince Ludwig, Mastricht's work of theology was dedicated to Ludwig's father, Frederick Wilhelm. In the year of his rectorate, he held disputations on the covenant of grace, dealt with ecclesiastical matters regarding the value of the *colloquia* and *testimonia* of the students at the Utrecht academy, and conferred a doctorate *honoris causa* on two representatives of the *Nadere Reformatie*, Franciscus Ridderus (1620–83) and Saldenus. Mastricht worked in the international world of Utrecht's university.

His colleague Hebraist Johannes van Leusden (1624–99) published a definitive edition of the *Synopsis Criticorum* by the Englishman and Scripture commentator, Matthew Poole (1622–1679), while Mastricht and Van Leusden corresponded with Increase Mather (1639–1723) concerning the Indian language as a form of Hebrew, which resulted in a gift from Harvard College to the Utrecht academy, of the *Biblia Americana* by John Elliot (c.1604–1690), the missionary to the Indians. Furthermore, New England's theology was not unknown at Utrecht, as Mastricht wrote an approbation, an ecclesiastical approval of the Dutch edition of Thomas Shepard's (1605–1649) *The Sound Believer* (*De Gezonde Geloovige,* 1685). Such approval was also offered to Mastricht's former fellow student at Duisburg, Untereijck. When the latter published his major work, *Der Närrische Atheist* (*The Foolish Atheist* 1689), it received commendations from the Cocceians on the faculties of Duisburg, Marburg, and Franeker University. The work was translated into Dutch, requiring an approbation by "those who know the High German language": and so it was Mastricht who wrote a preface in *De dwaase atheist, ontdekt en van sijn dwaasheyd overtuygd* (*The foolish atheist discovered and persuaded of his foolishness*, 1690), written by the Bremen pastor and important catechists of Cocceius's federal theology.

The international reputation of Utrecht University continued, with students coming from abroad, such as the later Pietistic Court Preacher in 1685, Conrad Bröske (1660–1713), and in 1686, Colonel John Erskine, the grandfather of John Erskine D.D, Jonathan Edwards's primary correspondent in Scotland, traveled to Utrecht and heard Mastricht there. Colonel Erskine studied law at the Utrecht Academy in 1686–1687, but also attended theology lectures by Mastricht, visiting him several times with fellow Scottish students. He notes, for example, in his diary on June 7, 1686, "I was a while with Professor van Mastricht: he was very kind, and I do take him to have true religion." Those who visited Mastricht, such as the students of Scotland or travelers of Germany, were at times honored to have him write

in their *album amicorum,* in which Mastricht, for example, cites from a sermon of Bernard's on the Song of Solomon:

> There are those who want knowledge for the sole purpose of knowing: and that is shameful curiosity;
>
> There are those who seek knowledge in order to sell them the knowledge of his own: and that is shameful profit;
>
> There are those who seek knowledge in order to be known: and that is shameful vanity;
>
> There are also those who seek knowledge in order to edify: and that is charity;
>
> But there are those who seek knowledge in order to be edified: and that is prudence.

Mastricht's expertise in Cartesian philosophy was called upon by the Amsterdam classis of the Reformed Church in connection with the minister and philosopher-theologian, Balthasar Bekker (1634–98), who questioned the existence of Satan, spirits, magic, and witchcraft in *The World Bewitched* (*Betoverde Weereld,* 1691), with Cartesian philosophical observations and scriptural objections. Mastricht supplied the Amsterdam classis with his *Contra Beckerum* (1692), in which he asserted that Bekker was placing philosophy above Scripture and that theology was being surrendered to the axiom "philosophy is the infallible interpreter of Scripture": and with that, the deposition of Bekker from the ministry came into effect.

In his final years Mastricht was limited to teaching from home, due to physical weakness, but continued to hold public lectures only on Monday and Tuesday afternoons. He explored in disputations the theme of spiritual desertion (*De Geestelijke Verlating*), like his teachers before him, and returned as Hebraist to an exposition of Isaiah 53. To complete the final edition of the TPT (1698/99), he wrote a *Theologia Moralis* and *Theologiæ Asceticæ*. Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) would write later,

> But take Mastricht for divinity in general, doctrine, practice & controversy, or as an universal system of divinity; & it is much better than Turretin or any other book in the world, excepting the Bible, in my opinion.

The times were changing, however. The *Academia Voetiana* and the *Nadere Reformatie* had begun losing their luster. The controversial appointment of a Cartesian professor of theology, Herman A. Röell (1653–1718), led the city council to request Mastricht, known for his anti-Cartesian views, to live in "peace and friendship."

After a prolific life of teaching, preaching and publication, Mastricht fell off a kitchen step in the Spring of 1706—the crippled foot was wounded, and he died at the age of 76. The funeral oration was given by Pontanus and was attended by Mastricht's fellow professors and ministers and the Utrecht magistrate. His brother Gerhardus, with his son Petrus, who studied at the University of Frankfurt an der Oder, was also present. Pontanus described the deceased professor as weak in health, while serving the academy and church with all his strength, underscored by Mastricht's maxim taken from 2 Corinthians 12:10, ὅταν γὰρ ἀσθενῶ τότε δυνατός εἰμι (for *when I am weak, then I am strong*). Mastricht was buried on February 24 in the Catherine church, the resting place of his teacher Gisbertus Voetius, his colleague and friend Gerhardus de Vries, and his acquaintance Jacobus Koelman. Mastricht, being unmarried, left in his oleographic will a considerable estate for the study of Reformed theology by students at Utrecht, which served its purpose for nearly 250 years, stating: "Desire and obliged in particular to the study of practical theology to become competent to serve God in his church." It took the university and city council of Utrecht nine years to fill the vacancy left by Mastricht.

Conclusion

Gisbertus Voetius's vision of education, building a leading university, implementing a program of theological education and reform (*Nadere Reformatie*), had an extraordinary result exemplified by Utrecht's students throughout Europe serving the church, academy, and society. Mastricht continued that vision for theology and philosophy in a profound way, as a Hebraist, anti-Cartesian philosopher, and theologian with attention to theory and practice. Forgotten by many for a long time, interest in Mastricht has recently revived through the English translation and publication of his *magnum opus* of theology, the *Theoretical-practical theology*. Through *it he*, although *he died*, yet *speaks*" (Hebrews 11:4).▪

"The Dictatorship of Dr Cooke": Henry Cooke's Tory Domination of Irish Presbyterianism Reconsidered

By Daniel Ritchie

The ecclesiastical historian Finlay Holmes described the Revd Dr Henry Cooke (1788–1868) as a "Presbyterian Champion of trinitarian orthodoxy and political parson."[1] This description reminds us of the significance of Cooke both for his role in purging the Synod of Ulster from Arianism in 1829 and in championing the cause of the Conservative or Tory party in Ulster. Despite Cooke's importance in ensuring the triumph of evangelicalism within the Synod of Ulster, which would later lead to the renewal of full subscription to the Westminster Confession in 1836, and union with the Secession Synod to form the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (hereafter, PCI) in 1840, his political views were not always appreciated by his fellow orthodox Presbyterians.[2]

One of the pitfalls of historical writing is falling into the word-concept fallacy, that is, assuming that the usage of terms in different historical eras is identical to their contemporary meaning. Thus it is essential that we understand that the terms Conservative and Liberal, when used with reference to Irish Presbyterians in the nineteenth century, do not mean what they currently mean in modern politics—and especially not in the politics of the modern United States. Nor is it correct to identify the labels Tory and Whig in the nineteenth century with their seventeenth-century usage. The terms were originally used as insults: Whigs were militant Scottish Presbyterians, while Tories were Irish robbers.[3] Consequently, it was easy for Presbyterian opponents of Cooke to appeal to their historical link with Whiggery and dismiss his political creed as aberrant.[4] Professor William Dool Killen, for instance, claimed that "a Tory Presbyterian is a kind of ecclesiastical and political contradiction … something like snow in summer, or rain in harvest…. A Scotch Whig used to be just another name for a true blue Presbyterian."[5]

By the early nineteenth century, however, the term Tory in British politics was applied to defenders of established institutions and especially the Church of England. The British Whigs were advocates of greater civil and religious liberty and a commitment to parliamentary reform, which resulted in the Great Reform Act of 1832 (a measure that increased the electorate in England by forty-five percent and created parliamentary seats in urban centres such as Birmingham and Manchester).[6] Subsequently, the Whigs and the Radicals, who

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1. See his entry on Cooke in S. J. Connolly, ed., *Oxford Companion to Irish History* (2nd edn, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 121.

2. Andrew R. Holmes, *The Irish Presbyterian Mind: Conservative Theology, Evangelical Experience, and Modern Criticism, 1830–1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 42. The term Presbyterian Church is being used here to describe the body of mainstream Presbyterians in Ireland. Prior to 1840, this reference was to the Presbyterians who were under the General Synod of Ulster. After the union with the Seceders in 1840, the mainstream Presbyterian group was the Presbyterian Church in Ireland under the General Assembly.

3. Michael J. Turner, *British Politics in an Age of Reform* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), ix.

4. Andrew R. Holmes, "Covenanter Politics: Evangelicalism, Political Liberalism and Ulster Presbyterians, 1798–1914," *English Historical Review*, 125, 513 (April 2010), 364; Andrew R. Holmes, "Presbyterians, Loyalty, and Orangeism in Nineteenth-Century Ulster," in *Loyalism and the Formation of the British World 1775–1914*, eds Allan Blackstock and Frank O'Gorman (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), 125–44.

5. *Banner of Ulster*, 19 November 1868.

6. Michael J. Turner, "Political Leadership and Political Parties, 1800–46," in *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain,* ed. Chris Williams (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 128–32. For the Great Reform Act, see Jeremy Black and Donald M. MacRaild, *Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2003), 136–37; Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, & Dangerous People? England 1783–1846* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 420–38.

were more overtly antagonistic to the privileged position of both the landed aristocracy and the Church of England, increasingly converged around the common name of Liberals.[7] Hence, Liberalism was so attractive to nineteenth-century British Nonconformists because the Liberal Party had inherited the Whig advocacy of civil and religious liberty, and hoped that the Liberals would abolish their grievances.[8] One point that is crucial to remember about British Liberalism in this era is that it was deeply antagonistic to Roman Catholicism, as is evinced by the Liberal Prime Minister, Lord John Russell's response to the Papal Aggression in 1850 and by W. E. Gladstone's subsequent criticism of the declaration of Papal infallibility in 1870, which he believed to be incongruous with British national sovereignty.[9]

In December 1834, the Tory Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, issued the Tamworth Manifesto, which laid down the foundation principles for the modern Conservative Party. Peel accepted the Reform Bill as "a final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question", and Peel committed himself to "a careful review of institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, undertaken in a friendly temper combining, with the firm maintenance of established rights, the correction of proved abuses and the redress of real grievances." The Conservative Party of Peel was not that of reactionary Toryism, but one of moderate and careful progress in opposition to radical turbulence.[10] This point is crucial for understanding the politics of Peel's admirer, Henry Cooke. When speaking at Hillsborough in 1834, Cooke set out his vision of Conservatism that was similar to that of Peel's. He listed the following principles of a Conservative: "to protect no *abuse* than can be proved; to resist *reckless innovation*, not *rational reform*; to sacrifice no *honest interest to hungry clamour;* to yield no *principle* to time-serving expediency; and to stand by *religion* in opposition to every form of infidelity."[11]

Peel's moderate, reformist Conservatism was criticised by more purist Tories, including the later Conservative Prime Minister, Benjamin Disraeli, for being insufficiently resolute in defending the ancient institutions of the crown, the House of Lords, and the established church. In *Coningsby* (1844), Disraeli criticised the Tamworth Manifesto as "an attempt to construct a party without principles" that was not really equipped to conserve the prerogatives of the crown, the House of Lords, or the Church of England. Disraeli thought that such "Conservatism assumes in theory that everything established should be maintained; but adopts in practice that everything that is established is indefensible." Instead, all it was doing was bringing about a temporary pause in radical agitation.[12] Owing to Peel's clash with Queen Victoria over the so-called Bedchamber Crisis of 1839, in *Sybil* (1845) Disraeli wrote that "Sir Robert Peel is not the leader of the Tory party."[13] Notwithstanding the concerns of the likes of Disraeli with Peel's departures from traditional Toryism, the party label Conservative had displaced that of Tory by the mid-1830s, though the two terms were often used interchangeably, as they still are today in British politics.[14]

In nineteenth-century Ulster, the Conservative Party represented those who identified most closely with the rights of Irish landed property and maintaining the privileged status of the established Church of Ireland. The Liberal Party, by way of contrast, represented the non-conformist interest, the urban middle-class, and the rights of tenant farmers in opposition to landlords. The majority of Ulster Presbyterian ministers supported the Liberal Party, but the majority of Presbyterian laymen who had the vote in this era voted for the Conservative Party (albeit such voting took place under a very limited electoral franchise). Henry Cooke, as a decided Conservative, was determined to establish a close working relationship between his fellow Presbyterians and the Church of Ireland in opposition to militant Roman Catholicism (buoyed by Daniel O'Connell's successful campaign for Catholic Emancipation, which the British parliament conceded in 1829), Irish nationalism's

7. G. R. Searle, *The Liberal Party: Triumph and Disintegration, 1886–1929* (2nd edn, Houndmills: Palgrave, 2001), 10–25; Black and MacRaild, *Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 152–53.

8. David W. Bebbington, *The Nonconformist Conscience: Chapel and Politics, 1870–1914* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), 8–9; David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (1989; London: Routledge, 1993), 136–37.

9. Peter Brooke, *Ulster Presbyterianism: The Historical Perspective, 1610–1970* (2nd edn, Belfast: Athol Books, 1994), 122; John Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain 1829–1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 243–46; Richard Shannon, *Gladstone: Heroic Minister 1865–1898* (St Ives: Allen Lane, 1999) 148–51; David W. Bebbington, *William Ewart Gladstone: Faith and Politics in Victorian Britain* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1993), 229–30; Bebbington, *Nonconformist Conscience*, 10.

10. Robert Peel, *The Address of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, Bart., To the Electors of the Borough of Tamworth* (London: Cookes and Olliver, 1835), 6–7.

11. Henry Cooke, *Authentic Report of the Speech of Henry Cooke, D.D. at the Great Protestant Meeting, Hillsborough* (Belfast: Stuart & Gregg, 1834), 15.

12. Benjamin Disraeli, *Coningsby; or, The New Generation* (Leipzig: Bernh, 1844), Book II.V, 91.

13. Benjamin Disraeli, *Sybil; or, The Two Nations* (3 vols, London: Henry Colburn, 1845), ii, 306–08; cf. Hilton, *Mad, Bad, & Dangerous People*, 500–01.

14. T. A. Jenkins, *Disraeli and Victorian Conservatism* (London: MacMillan, 1996), p. viii, 22–25.

desire for a repeal of the union with Britain, and political radicalism.[15]

Writing in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* a few years after Cooke's death, the Revd Professor Richard Smyth, who was later the Liberal Member of Parliament for Derry (1874–78), stated that "there remains the outstanding and solid fact that Dr Cooke's position as a Calvinistic polemic and ecclesiastical reformer has made his life the common property of the British and American Churches."[16] Smyth's admiration for Cooke's theological orthodoxy could not mask his disdain for the latter's political opinions. Indeed, Smyth went so far as to maintain that "Dr Cooke's real life-work began and ended with the purgation of the Synod of Ulster from the leaven of Arianism. But for this great achievement it would scarcely have been worth while to write his life at all."[17] In the opinion of the Presbyterian ecclesiastical historian the Revd W. T. Latimer (1842–1919), writing a generation after Cooke's decease, the Irish Presbyterian Church went through a period that he describes as "the dictatorship of Dr Cooke." Latimer also implies that Cooke's Toryism inspired his ecclesiastical policies.[18]

Latimer's analysis was not unique, as some of Henry Cooke's contemporaries viewed him as a power-hungry individual who was bent on domination.[19] More recently, the historian Roy Foster has claimed that "Cooke's ascendancy indicated that Ulster had little use for political and theological liberalism."[20] The late religious historian Nigel Yates also claimed that "from about 1830 until his death in 1868, the dominant voice of Irish Presbyterians … was that of Henry Cooke." Professor Yates did not believe that Cooke's campaign against the Arians was motivated primarily by theology. Instead, he asserted that "It was not Arianism that Cooke opposed but rather the political outlook that led towards Arianism…. He wanted to move the Presbyterian clergy from the Whig to the Tory camp." He also claimed that Presbyterian attitudes to the question of the Whig government's proposals for National Education in Ireland "were determined largely by the vociferous opposition of the Revd Henry Cooke who had gained effective control over the Synod of Ulster by 1830."[21]

Conversely, the Irish historian S. J. Connolly maintains that it is doubtful whether or not there was any such connection between a politically conservative outlook and Old Light theological views or between New Light theology and political Liberalism.[22] Likewise, the late political historian Frank Wright also maintained that the "evangelical revival of the 1820s and 1830s had many advocates who were political Liberals."[23] This essay argues that the analyses offered by Professors Connolly and Wright are essentially correct and that Cooke did not exercise a Tory dictatorship over the Presbyterian Church. It does so by examining the secondary literature on Cooke and Irish Presbyterianism and by drawing attention to previously underutilised primary sources.

The above assertions concerning a link between Cooke's theology and his Conservative politics are not entirely devoid of substance, however. We should remember that it was Cooke's stated aim when speaking at a Protestant demonstration at Hillsborough, County Down, in 1834 was to wed the Presbyterian Church to the Conservative Party.[24] In what was probably Cooke's

15. Holmes, "Covenanter Politics," 341; Peter Brooke, *Ulster Presbyterianism: The Historical Perspective, 1610–1970* (2nd edn, Belfast: Athol Books, 1994), 122; Finlay Holmes, *Our Irish Presbyterian Heritage* (Belfast: W. & G. Baird, 1985), 105–07; Alvin Jackson, "Loyalists and Unionists," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*, ed. Alvin Jackson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 50–51; Patrick Maume, introduction to William McComb, *The Repealer Repulsed*, ed. Patrick Maume (1841; Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2003), viii-xix. For Presbyterian voting patterns, see K. Theodore Hoppen, *Elections, Politics, and Society in Ireland 1832–1885* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 265–72.

16. Richard Smyth, "Life and times of Dr Henry Cooke," *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, 21, 80 (April 1872), 209; G. C. Boase, "Smyth, Richard (1826–1878)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128–e-25957 (accessed 15 May 2019).

17. Smyth, "Life and Times," 210.

18. William Thomas Latimer, *A History of the Irish Presbyterians* (2nd edn, Belfast: William Mullan, 1902), 445–70; see 445, 450, 452, 457, 458, 461 for specific examples of this notion. For more on W. T. Latimer and his influence on Irish Presbyterian historiography, see Linde Lunney, "Latimer, William Thomas", *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, https://dib-cambridge-org.queens.ezp1.qub.ac.uk (accessed 15 May 2019).

19. *Londonderry Standard*, 4 February 1848; Finlay Holmes, *Henry Cooke* (Belfast: Christian Journals, 1981), 188. The *Northern Whig*, a newspaper known for its political and theological liberalism, branded Cooke as "the dictator of the so-called Synod of Ulster," and condemned him as "an itinerant champion of bigotry, intolerance, religious monopoly, the fomenter of discord and dissension" *Northern Whig*, 9 February 1837; cf. Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 133; John Bew, *The Glory of Being Britons: Civic Unionism in Nineteenth-Century Belfast* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2009), 77; A. A. Campbell, *Belfast Newspapers, Past and Present* (Belfast: W. G. Baird, 1921), 7.

20. Roy F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600–1972* (London: Penguin Books, 1989), 303.

21. Nigel Yates, *The Religious Condition of Ireland 1770–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 56, 125–26, 129, 265–66.

22. S. J. Connolly, "Mass Politics and Sectarian Conflict, 1823–30," in *A New History of Ireland V: Ireland Under the Union, I 1801–70*, ed. William E. Vaughan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 77.

23. Frank Wright, *Two Lands on One Soil: Ulster Politics before Home Rule* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1996), 65.

24. In his speech at Hillsborough in 1834, Cooke stated his views

last letter, written less than two weeks before his death in December 1868, he reminded the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (James Hamilton) of "the services which during a long life I have been enabled to render to the Conservative party." Cooke recommended that his son-in-law, the Revd Dr Josias Leslie Porter, replace him as the General Assembly's *Regium Donum* agent. He informed the Duke of Abercorn that "Dr Porter holds those constitutional principles for which I have always contended. He has shown himself both able and willing to defend and promote them…. I believe that his appointment as my successor would give great satisfaction to the Conservative party in Belfast and throughout Ulster."[25] Evidently, the promotion of Conservative politics was a major concern of Cooke's until the end of his life.

Cooke remained committed to the Conservative Party even when it was seemingly acting against Presbyterian interests. For instance, Cooke disagreed with the Conservative Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, on the controversy surrounding state intrusion within the established Church of Scotland, which eventually led to the Disruption and the formation of the Free Church of Scotland in 1843.[26] Nonetheless, in March 1842 he told Peel that it was his "sincere desire to keep the Presbyterian people on the side of a Conservative Government, & to see that Government prosperously contained in your hands."[27] Cooke also told Peel that "I have, ever since your accession, endeavoured to stand between your government & all public clamour, and have been liable in this endeavour to receive some of the blows otherwise intended for you."[28] For Peel's part, when discussing the dispute with the Scottish non-intrusionists, he told James Emerson Tennent that "I am equally gratified by the confidence in me which Dr Cooke has been good enough publicly to express and by his wise counsel to the Presbyterians of the North of Ireland to forbear from active demonstrations."[29]

The question, though, is whether or not Cooke was successful in wedding Presbyterianism and Toryism. The purpose of this historiographical essay is to determine whether or not Latimer's claim (cited above) may be sustained by the facts. Since Presbyterians are often thought to have gone from radicals to conservatives in the decades following the 1798 rebellion, answering this question is fundamental to understanding Presbyterian political identity in the nineteenth century.[30] In answering this question, we should not underestimate Cooke's importance to nineteenth-century Ulster Presbyterianism. Andrew R. Holmes, the leading authority on Irish Presbyterian history, reminds us that Cooke was "the most prominent Presbyterian of the nineteenth century" and "the figurehead of the evangelical movement" within the Synod of Ulster prior to the Arian schism.[31] The historian Jonathan J. Wright has recently stated that the dominant theme in the existing historiography of nineteenth-century Ulster Presbyterianism concerns the rise of Cooke and the related issues of the rise of theological orthodoxy and the withdrawal of the Remonstrants (Arians and other non-subscribers) from the Synod of Ulster.[32] Given the centrality of Cooke to Ulster Presbyterianism, the historiographical question of his supposed Tory dictatorship of the Presbyterian Church is one worth investigating. Although Latimer began his chapter in the aftermath of Cooke's victory over the Arians in 1829 and ends with the union of the General Synod of Ulster with the Seceders to form the PCI in 1840, giving a full answer to this historiographical question necessitates a broadening of the time frame to before and after these dates.

In order to establish the validity or otherwise of Latimer's thesis, it is essential to determine whether or not Cooke's campaign against Arianism (1821–29) was politically motivated. If it was, then the dictatorship thesis appears plausible because then Cooke would have pursued this separation with the intention of converting Presbyterians to political Conservatism. Contrary to Latimer's claim that the period of Cooke's reign "as

with respect to the major British political parties: "I repudiate the name of Whig. Neither am I a Tory; for though as the Whigs have grown worse, Tories have grown better – yet have they some things about them, as a political party, I dare not adopt or approve … But whilst I reject alike the name of "Whig or Tory," I decidedly avow myself a CONSERVATIVE." "Great Protestant Down Meeting," *Irish Protestant*, 1, 9, (January 1835), 142.

25. Henry Cooke to Lord Lieutenant, 1 December 1868 (National Archives of Ireland, Dublin, CSORP/1869/18139).

26. For the Scottish Disruption in its wider context, see John Wolffe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Wilberforce, More, Chalmers and Finney* (Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press, 2006), 209–11; Stewart J. Brown, *The National Churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland, 1801–1846* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 292–312, 348–62.

27. Henry Cooke to Robert Peel, 4 March 1842 (British Library, London, Peel Papers, Add MS 40503, ff 245–50).

28. Henry Cooke to Robert Peel, 15 January 1842 (British Library, London, Peel Papers, Add MS 40500, ff 112–21).

29. Robert Peel to James Emerson Tennent, October 1842 (Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast, Emerson Tennent Papers, D2922/A/29/5).

30. Fergus O'Ferrall, "Daniel O'Connell and Henry Cooke: The Conflict of Civil and Religious Liberty in Modern Ireland," *Irish Review*, 1 (1986), 24.

31. Andrew R. Holmes, *The Shaping of Ulster Presbyterian Belief & Practice, 1770–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 4.

32. Jonathan J. Wright, *The "Natural Leaders" and their World: Politics, Culture and Society in Belfast, c. 1801–1832* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012), 9–10.

an absolute dictator" ended with the union, his biographer Finlay Holmes argues that Cooke's era of prestige and influence in Presbyterian Ulster ended in 1852 with the savage criticism he had received on the part of Presbyterian supporters of tenant right for his part in lending weight to the Conservatives during the general election of that year.[33]

In order to avoid giving a truncated answer to the historiographical question, it is necessary to cover events between 1821 and 1852 in our analysis. Accordingly, this essay shall examine Cooke's motives in combating Arianism, his campaigns against the Belfast Academical Institution (Inst), Catholic Emancipation, and National Education, his advocacy of pan-Protestantism, his repulse of Daniel O'Connell's Repeal campaign, his views on the Tenant Right movement and the strength of Presbyterian Liberalism.[34] Owing to the limited success Cooke achieved in imposing his political views on the Presbyterian Church, it will be argued that the dictatorship thesis has not been adequately proven.

I.

Cooke's victory in the Arian controversy raises the question of whether or not his crusade was, as the historian John Jamieson suggests, a pretext for bringing the Synod of Ulster within the pale of political conservatism.[35] There is some circumstantial evidence to suggest Cooke that was politically motivated. Cooke was on good terms with Arians in the early years of his ministry. For instance, in 1810 Cooke did not protest over the Synod of Ulster's reinstatement of a Unitarian, the Revd Joseph Ker of Ballee.36 Hence, Jamieson argued that it was Cooke's later fear that the Arians would convert Presbyterians to political radicalism that caused him to campaign against this heresy.[37]

This conclusion is not pure conjecture, as Cooke recognised a link between heterodoxy and radicalism. When speaking before a parliamentary committee in March 1825 (chaired by Viscount Palmerston), Cooke denied that the Arians in Ulster "teach any dangerous political creed." Still, he maintained that Arianism undermined biblical authority and argued that "the man who weakens the authority of Scripture, shakes to their foundation the pillars of civil society."[38] Furthermore, the Unitarian missionary John Smethurst, Cooke's adversary at Killyleagh in 1821, was thought to have held revolutionary political opinions which "imbibed the spirit of '98."[39] And so Cooke may have concluded that there was a psychological link between theological liberalism and political radicalism. The importance of psychology should not be underestimated, especially since the 1798 rebellion, which Cooke despised, involved bloodshed and violence on a massive scale.[40] If Cooke

33. Latimer, *History*, 470; Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 183, 187.

34. Since the question relates to a dictatorship in the interests of conservative politics, in the period after the Arian controversy we have chosen to focus primarily on socio-political controversies rather than ecclesiastical matters such as confessional subscription and the union of synods. Of course, this distinction is not an absolute one.

35. John Jamieson, "The Influence of the Rev. Henry Cooke on the Political life of Ulster" (M.A. diss., Queen's University Belfast, 1950), 78. This was also the view of contemporaries such as the Revd William Porter. Peter Brooke, "Controversies in Ulster Presbyterianism, 1790–1836" (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1980), 142–43; R. F. G. Holmes, "Ulster Presbyterians and Irish Nationalism," in *Studies in Church History 18: Religion and National Identity*, ed. Stuart Mews (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1982), 543.

36. Robert Allen, "The Principle of Non-Subscription to Creeds and Confessions of Faith as Exemplified in Irish Presbyterian History," 2 vols. Ph.D. diss. (Queen's University Belfast, 1944), ii, 557; Jamieson, "Henry Cooke," 82; John M. Barkley, "The Arian Schism in Ireland, 1830," *Studies in Church History 9: Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest*, ed. Derek Baker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 333. This tolerance of Arians existed in spite of the fact that Cooke appears to have always been an evangelical himself; cf. James Seaton Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, ed. William Dool Killen (3 vols, 2 edn, London: Whittaker and Co., 1853), iii, 473. This idea is Professor Killen's, not Dr Reid's, as it occurs in the section where Killen is the continuator.

37. Jamieson, "Henry Cooke," 78–79; R. F. G. Holmes, "Controversy and Schism in the Synod of Ulster in the 1820s," in *Challenge & Conflict: Essays in Irish Presbyterian History and Doctrine*, ed. J. L. M. Haire (Antrim: W. G. Baird, 1981), 125.

38. *Report from the Select Committee on the State of Ireland … 1825*, p. 357, H.C. 1825 (129), viii, 944; John Jamieson, *The History of the Royal Belfast Academical Institution 1810–1960* (Belfast: William Mullan, 1959), 43.

39. Josias Leslie Porter, *The Life & Times of Henry Cooke* (2nd edn London: John Murray, 1871), 59; Barkley, "Arian Schism," 323–24. Indeed, Cooke was later to denounce him for concluding his lectures "with a few strokes against the tyranny and oppression of the government." Henry Cooke, *Illustration and Defence of the Revd Mr Cooke's Evidence before the Select Committees of Parliament, Relative to the Probable Effects of Arian Principles, maintained by some of the Professors in the Belfast Academical Institution* (Belfast: A. Mackay, 1825), 13.

40. Cooke claimed that it was the violence of 1798 which made him a political conservative, "It was then I learned my political principles . . . Impressions were left on my mind which I have never forgotten, and which I never wished to forget." Porter concludes from this that, "His political creed was learned at an early period, and [Cooke's] mind and heart were so deeply imbued with it that it was never forgotten, never changed." Quoted in Porter, *Life & Times*, 14. For the violence of the 1798 Rebellion, see Paul Bew, *Ireland: The Politics of Enmity 1789–2006* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 41–48. Interestingly, the minister that baptised Cooke, the Revd John Glendy of Maghera, was implicated in the 1798 Rebellion and fled to America (see Porter, *Life & Times*, 12). In 1806, Glendy was chosen as a chaplain to the House of Representatives, and in 1815 and 1816 he acted as a chaplain to the Senate of the United States. Both Thomas B. Balch and Thomas Witherow claimed that Thomas Jefferson, James

saw a link between heterodoxy and political radicalism—which he did—then it is not totally unreasonable to suggest that a fear that Arianism would lead to revolutionary politics was an important factor in inspiring his crusade.

As minister of First Killyleagh (1818–29), moreover, Cooke came under the influence of a politically conservative and evangelical ruling elder, Captain Sydney Hamilton Rowan, who was determined to eradicate Arianism from the Synod of Ulster.[41] While difficult to prove conclusively, Rowan may have convinced Cooke that heterodoxy was a socially subversive force.[42] Since J. L. Porter suggested that Rowan exercised a profound influence over Cooke, both theologically and politically, it seems plausible that Rowan helped Cooke to see a link between heresy and political radicalism.[43] Yet this acknowledgement does not justify the historian John Barkley's conclusion that "the evidence is rather against [Cooke's] primary motive being theological."[44] If Cooke believed that heretical theology undergirded revolutionary politics, his primary motive would still have been theological, as bad theology was at the root of bad politics—the latter being an outgrowth of the former. It is also clear from Cooke's speeches in the Synod during the Arian controversy that theological concerns were paramount. He repeatedly offered biblical and doctrinal reasons why it was the duty of orthodox ministers to rid the Synod of a heresy that was destructive to the gospel.[45]

John Jamieson's thesis, that Cooke opposed Arianism to rid the Synod of Ulster of political Liberals, is overly reductionist.[46] For instance, William Bruce's appointment to Inst in 1821 as professor of Latin and Greek was seen as a sop to political conservatives: Cooke nonetheless opposed it for theological reasons, as Bruce was an Arian.[47] Additionally, other Arians, such as Dr Robert Black, were Tories in their politics.[48] Thus, religious heterodoxy did not equate with political Liberalism, nor did orthodoxy equate with Toryism. The denial of many cardinal doctrines by the Arians had eventually convinced Cooke that Arians and Old Lights could no longer remain in the same church.[49] Importantly, in a context of increasing evangelicalism, Cooke viewed the Arians' heterodoxy on the Trinity and Christ's person as undermining the basis of Christian salvation.[50] The Arians were arguably the aggressors in the conflict, as it was Smethurst's Unitarian crusade which provoked Cooke to oppose Arianism.[51] Also, Cooke feared that the Arians

Monroe, James Madison, and John Quincy Adams were among Glendy's personal friends. See William McMillan, "Presbyterian Ministers and the Ulster Rising," in *Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter: The Clergy and 1798*, ed. Liam Swords (Blackrock: Columba Press, 1997), 85; W. Desmond Bailie, *A History of the Congregations in the Presbyterian Church in Ireland 1610–1982* (Belfast: Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, 1982), 620; [Thomas Holmes Walker], "John Glendy, of Maghera, Co. Derry, Presbyterian Minister and Patriot, 1798," *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 13, no. 3 (August 1907), 101–05; Thomas Witherow, *Historical and Literary Memorials of Presbyterianism in Ireland. (1731–1800.) Second Series* (London: William Mullan and Son, 1880), 313–15; Thomas B. Balch, "John Glendy, D.D.," in *Annals of the American Pulpit; or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of Various Denominations from the Early Settlement of the Country to the Close of the Year Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-Five. With Historical Introductions,* ed. William Buell Sprague (9 vols, New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1858), iv, 229–32.

41. Porter, *Life & Times*, 56–57; Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 19–21; Andrew Boyd, *Montgomery and the Black Man: Religion and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Ulster* (Blackrock: Columba Press, 2006), 17.

42. Although there was not an immediate change in Cooke's conduct towards the heterodox, as he swapped pulpits with the New Light William Glendy as late as 1821, it is interesting that Smethurst's lecture at Killyleagh in autumn 1821 caused Rowan to reply, "These are not the doctrines our minister teaches." Cooke responded to Smethurst the following Sabbath, and then followed the Unitarian missionary throughout Ulster in an attempt to counter-act his influence. Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 21.

43. Porter, *Life & Times*, 56.

44. Barkley, "Arian Schism," 335.

45. Henry Cooke, *Authentic Report of the Speech of the Rev. Henry Cooke, Delivered at the General Synod of Ulster, July, 1828* ([Belfast]: Guardian Office, 1828), 9–12.

46. Jamieson, "Henry Cooke," 78–79.

47. Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 22–25; cf. R. G. Crawford, "The Second Subscription Controversy and the Personalities of the Non-Subscribers," in *Challenge & Conflict: Essays in Irish Presbyterian History and Doctrine*, ed. J. L. M. Haire (Antrim: W. G. Baird, 1981), 101–02.

48. For more on Black, see Holmes, *Irish Presbyterian Heritage*, 82–83, 95–97, 99; Brooke, *Ulster Presbyterianism*, 109, 112–13, 122–23; Holmes, *Shaping*, 259; Allen, "Principle of Non-Subscription," ii, 533; Reid, *History*, iii, 444, 461–62, 465.

49. Cooke, *Illustration and Defence*, 8–11; Cooke, *General Synod of Ulster*, 10–11; Robert Allen, "Henry Montgomery, 1788–1865," in *Essays in British and Irish History in Honour of James Eadie Todd*, eds H. A. Cronne, T. W. Moody, and D. B. Quinn (London: Muller, 1949), 268–69. Cooke even went so far as to tell his fellow Old Light Presbyterians that "an Arian *does not believe in the same Jehovah* with you." Since, in his view, the two systems were different religions, Cooke was being consistent in demanding separation. Cooke, *Illustration and Defence*, 20.

50. Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 193; David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society 1740–1890* (London: Routledge, 1992), 75.

51. Robert 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), 6; John Paul, "Review of a Speech by the Rev. Dr Montgomery of Belfast, and the Doctrine of the Unitarians proved to be Unfavourable to the Right of Private Judgment, to Liberality and Charity, to the Investigation of Truth, and the Practice of Virtue," in *The Works of the Late Rev. John Paul, D.D.*, ed. Stewart Bates (Belfast: Shepherd and Aitchison, 1855), 484.

would exclude evangelicals from the Synod of Ulster, as they had done in Geneva's Protestant churches.[52] These factors appear to lend support to the view that Cooke was primarily motivated by theology, not because he thought the exclusion of the Arians would turn the Synod of Ulster into a Tory bastion.

In fact, the historian Gerald Hall has recently suggested that the departure of the Remonstrants weakened Cooke politically. He argues that the Arians "provided Cooke with a stick with which to threaten the rest of the synod. Any disagreement with Cooke could bring insinuations of heterodoxy. After the departure of the Non-subscribers, Cooke's stick was gone."[53] Additionally, if Cooke was chiefly motivated by politics, then why did he not separate from the Presbyterian evangelicals who were political Liberals, which he could have done by joining the more congenial environment of the established Church of Ireland? If Cooke was primarily motivated by politics, then theological or ecclesiological differences with Anglicans should not have been an obstacle to Cooke joining with fellow political Conservatives in the establishment.[54] While it is impossible for us to know for certain what Cooke's motives were, it seems highly unsafe to dogmatically conclude that he was chiefly motivated by politics.[55]

II.

From its opening in 1814, the Belfast Academical Institution was a thorn in the flesh to political Conservatives owing to the presence of radicals such as William Drennan and William Tennent on its governing body, and especially since the drinking of seditious toasts in 1816.[56] Although he later became a Conservative ally of Cooke's, in 1831 William Tennent's son-in-law, James Emerson Tennent (who had married his daughter the previous year), complained about the damage that had been done to Inst "by giving that fiend Cooke an opportunity of quoting [John] Edgar's opinion of its heterodox & dangerous lectures."[57] Despite its political Liberalism, Cooke was not one of Inst's early opponents.[58] When Robert Black sought to stop the Synod from appointing a divinity professor at Inst in 1816, he was powerfully opposed by Cooke among others.[59]

Still, the appointment of the Arian William Bruce to the chair of Greek and Hebrew in 1821 led Cooke to re-evaluate his opinions.[60] Cooke linked Bruce's appointment with Smethurst's Unitarian mission, claiming that Bruce had introduced Smethurst to various Ulster pulpits.[61] Far from exercising dictatorial influence over his brethren at the 1822 Synod, Cooke's attempt to get them to condemn Bruce's appointment ended in failure.[62] Moreover, Cooke's comments before a Royal Commission in 1825 provoked uproar, as he claimed Inst was becoming "a great seminary of Arianism."[63] Even the Seceders, Old Lights, and the usually pro-Cooke *Belfast News-Letter* opposed this insinuation.[64] It is also noteworthy that in 1826 Cooke was colluding with the Archbishop of Armagh, John George Beresford for a Presbyterian theological professor at a proposed new university in Armagh. Significantly, Beresford told Henry Goulburn, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, that he should regard "Mr Cook's [*sic*] letter as strictly confidential as the avowal of such sentiments as he has expressed would be injurious to him with many persons among the Presbyterians."[65] Goulburn was sympathetic

52. Cooke, *Illustration and Defence*, 37–38.

53. Gerald R. Hall, *Ulster Liberalism, 1778–1876: The Middle Path* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), 82.

54. Not long before his death, Cooke said, "I could never agree with the government or forms of the Church of England." Henry Cooke, *To the Protestant Electors of Ireland* (Belfast, 1868).

55. Holmes, "Controversy and Schism," 128.

56. Wright, *Natural Leaders*, 27,46, 67, 85–87, 160–61; Bew, *Glory of Being Britons*, 11–12.

57. James Emerson [Tennent] to Robert James Tennent, 13 and 18 January 1831 (Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast, Tennent Papers, D1748/G/661/97). John Edgar was the Secession Synod's professor of theology since 1826. See Holmes, *Irish Presbyterian Mind*, 50. For the relationship between William Tennent and James Emerson, who subsequently adopted his wife's surname, and Emerson's earlier reformist politics before his conversion to conservatism, see Jonathan J. Wright, "'The Perverted Graduates of Oxford': Priestcraft, 'Political Popery' and the Transnational Anti-Catholicism of Sir James Emerson Tennent," in *Transnational Perspectives on Modern Irish History*, ed. Niall Whelehan (New York: Routledge, 2015), 130–31; Wright, *Natural Leaders*, 131–32; cf. Brooke, *Ulster Presbyterianism*, 130.

58. Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 15.

59. *Belfast News-Letter*, 2 July 1816. Cooke later said, "I was among the earliest friends of the Belfast Institution" and had "remained so without a shadow of change till 1821." Cooke, *Illustration and Defence*, 12.

60. Porter, *Life & Times*, 12.

61. Cooke, *Illustration and Defence*, 13. Robert Allen argues that "Smethurst was a Socinian and was therefore persona non grata to some of the Arian leaders of the Presbytery of Antrim, who declined to permit him to preach in their pulpits." Allen, "Principle of Non-Subscription," ii, 527.

62. J. R. Leebody, "Henry Cooke and Arianism in the Irish Church," *Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review*, 2 (April 1872), 217; Boyd, *Montgomery and the Black Man*, 21–22.

63. *Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, Appointed to Inquire into the State of Ireland, more particularly with Reference to the Circumstances which may have led to Disturbances in that part of the United Kingdom. 18 February-21 March, 1825*, p. 219, H.C. 1825 (181), ix, 248; Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 35.

64. *Belfast News-Letter*, 20 April 1825; Jamieson, *Royal Belfast Academical Institution*, 39–43; Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 37.

65. John George Beresford to Henry Goulburn, 13 February 1826 (Robinson Library, Armagh, Correspondence of John George Beresford, vol. x, f. 58).

to this idea, but stated that "if the desire of such a system was only entertained by a limited number of the Presbyterian body, its advantage would appear to me more questionable."[66]

In July 1825, Cooke wrote to the Home Secretary, Robert Peel on the evils of Inst. Cooke told Peel that "Experience has established the Institution as an adequate literary seminary—but has raised many suspicions, & much decided opposition upon grounds partly political, but chiefly religious." While recognising a political element to his opposition to Inst, Cooke still claimed that "The introduction of Arian Professors has been the immediate cause of suspicion & opposition on the part of the Synod." Cooke expressed a desire to see a government-endowed Presbyterian college established in Ulster. He did not wish to see such an institution established merely for theological reasons. Instead, Cooke informed Peel that such a policy would also be in the best interests of the government:

> I am convinced, a Presbyterian college in some chief town of Ulster would lay the people and ministers under deep obligations to government, and increase that spirit of loyalty pervading the whole Presbyterian body. Having turned my attention to this object, I am convinced, that a sum for six to ten thousand for buildings and from nine to fifteen hundred a year for endowments, would be found amply sufficient.[67]

Clearly, there was a political motivation underlying Cooke's attacks on the Belfast Academical Institution, even if his concerns were primarily theological. We should, nevertheless, be wary of taking the above comments too much at face value. After all, Cooke was writing to Peel at the time. It is probable that he was overemphasising the political dimension for the benefit of the politician. Finlay Holmes, though, reminds us that had this letter "been made public it is likely that his [Cooke's] influence in the synod would have been destroyed."[68]

A fresh opportunity to attack the Institution presented itself with the appointment of John Ferrie to the chair of moral philosophy, which was an issue that dominated the 1829 Synod meeting at Lurgan. Yet it is important to note that it was the moderate evangelical James Carlile, rather than Cooke, who was initially the chief aggressor.[69] Carlile was the candidate for the chair whom Cooke supported. He told Thomas Chalmers, the leading evangelical in the Church of Scotland, that "I have no doubt" that Carlile was "highly esteemed by you both as a Christian, & a man of talents and learning."[70]

Suspicions that Ferrie's philosophy would logically lead to atheism and scepticism led to the Synod of Ulster withdrawing students from his class. It must be emphasised that this time it was not Cooke, but the Reformed Presbyterian and Secession synods who took the initiative in attacking Ferrie's teaching.[71] Concerns about Ferrie's teaching were even expressed by the Arian, William Bruce in the Unitarian *Bible Christian* magazine for savouring too much of Idealism in opposition to Common Sense Realism. And James McKnight also raised such apprehensions about Ferrie in the *Belfast News-Letter*.[72] So, even though the Synod of Ulster's students were moved to a class in Cooke's May Street Church, it is a mistake to see this incident, as John Jamieson did, as a sign of Cooke's dictatorship.[73] Clearly, some of those who had previously opposed Cooke's policy towards Inst agreed with him on this point.

Still, it would be wrong to deny completely that there was a political dimension to Cooke's opposition to Ferrie. Cooke privately told James Emerson Tennent in March 1835 that "The College was endowed for the Presbyterians, & we are turned out, & ever will be, by the pestilent heresies in Religion & Politics that it

66. Henry Goulburn to John George Beresford, 18 July 1826 (Robinson Library, Armagh, Correspondence of John George Beresford, vol. x, f. 59).

67. Henry Cooke to Robert Peel, 20 July 1825 (British Library, London, Peel Papers, Add MS 40380, ff 147–52).

68. Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 40, 206.

69. Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 69. For the most recent discussions of the controversy surrounding Ferrie, see Daniel Ritchie, *Isaac Nelson: Radical Abolitionist, Evangelical Presbyterian, and Irish Nationalist* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018), 22–28; Holmes, *Irish Presbyterian Mind*, 132–35; Andrew R. Holmes, "From Francis Hutcheson to James McCosh: Irish Presbyterians and Defining the Scottish Philosophy in the Nineteenth Century," *History of European Ideas*, 40, 5 (2014), 622–43.

70. Henry Cooke to Thomas Chalmers, 9 April 1829 (New College Library, Edinburgh University, Chalmers Papers, CHA.4.119.40).

71. Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 126; Henry Cooke to James Emerson Tennent, 4 March 1835 (British Library, London, Peel Papers, Add MS 40416, ff 113–16).

72. Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 125; Hall, *Ulster Liberalism*, 246; *Belfast News-Letter*, 12 September 1834; [William Bruce], "A Letter to a Literary Lady," *Bible Christian*, 2, 6 (July 1831), 241–50; [William Bruce], "Second Letter to a Literary Lady," *Bible Christian*, 2, 7 (August 1831), 289–95; [William Bruce], "Third Letter to a Literary Lady," *Bible Christian*, 2, 8 (September 1831), 369–77. James McKnight identified Bruce as the author of these articles. Although an orthodox Presbyterian, McKnight was not a supporter of Cooke and even disliked how he conducted the Arian controversy. See *Extracts from Original Letters of James McKnight, LL.D., Litterateur and Land Reformer, Editor of "Belfast News-Letter," and "Londonderry Standard."* (Belfast: Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, 1916), 6, 7.

73. Jamieson, "Henry Cooke," 96; Cooke to Tennent, 4 March 1835.

seems destined to engender & pour over the land." This comment indicates that Cooke was concerned about more than just the theology of Inst, and he expressed his conviction that "the best thing Government could do, would be to enable us to establish a Rival to the Institution."[74] The eventual breach between Inst and the Presbyterian Church over the appointment of Arian divinity professors in 1841 was a triumph for Cooke.[75] Nonetheless, this development should not be interpreted as evidence of a conservative dictatorship, as most Presbyterians who agreed with him on Inst did not embrace his politics.[76]

III.

Despite his victory over the Arians in 1829, Cooke had little success in getting the Synod of Ulster to oppose the granting of Catholic Emancipation in the same year. Ulster Presbyterians had long supported emancipation, with the Synod of Ulster expressing its approbation for the Catholic Relief Act (Ireland) in 1793 and called for an end to political disabilities on account of religion in 1813.[77] Finlay Holmes argued that Cooke did not fundamentally disagree and that he was in favour of emancipation, so long as it did not denigrate the Protestant character of the state.[78] Not all of his contemporaries viewed Cooke's attitude in such a charitable light. The clerk of the Synod of Ulster, William Porter, for instance, claimed that his support for emancipation was the real cause of Cooke's antagonism to his Arianism.[79] Yet Cooke remained aloof from the ultra-Protestant anti-emancipation agitation, a fact which challenges the portrayal of Cooke as a base servant of Protestant ascendancy interests.[80]

Cooke's opposition to the eventual introduction of emancipation was probably more a result of it being perceived as a concession to Daniel O'Connell's agitation, which was viewed as threatening the peace of the country.[81] In particular, Cooke appears to have been concerned about the role of peasants in the emancipation campaign, thinking that this could become a means of restoring forfeited estates into Roman Catholic hands.[82] Far from exercising dictatorial power over the General Synod of Ulster, when Cooke and Robert Stewart mounted a belated to campaign to rouse the Synod to resist emancipation and protect the Protestant character of the British state, they were completely unsuccessful. Such was Cooke's weakness that his opposition to emancipation was ineffective even within his own Dromore Presbytery.[83] This point demonstrates that Henry Montgomery's claim that Cooke had united "evangelicalism with Orangeism" is fundamentally flawed.[84] Cooke was not fully subservient to the ascendancy opposition to emancipation and the orthodox in the Synod of Ulster did not all follow his political agenda.

Cooke's opposition to the Whig government's National Education system could plausibly be regarded as evidence of his dictatorship, as the Synod of Ulster voted in favour of his position in 1832 and 1834.[85] In 1831 the government, through the Chief Secretary of Ireland, Edward Stanley, established the Board of Commissioners for National Education in Ireland. An annual parliamentary granted funded the board, which supported locally run schools that were intended to be non-denominational but with the provision that the children could receive religious instruction from a clergyman of their own denomination outside the hours of secular teaching.[86]

74. Cooke to Tennent, 4 March 1835; cf. Henry Cooke to Robert Peel, 20 July 1825 (British Library, London, Peel Papers, Add MS 40380, ff 147–52); Henry Cooke to Robert Peel, 24 January 1845 (British Library, London, Peel Papers, Add MS 40558, ff 130–37).

75. Holmes, *Irish Presbyterian Heritage*, 127.

76. The professors were Henry Montgomery and John Scott Porter, who were appointed on behalf of the Association of Irish Non-Subscribing Presbyterians. Brooke, *Ulster Presbyterianism*, 142; Finlay Holmes, "Porter, John Scott (1801–1880)," From the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22573 (accessed 4 December 2017).

77. *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, from 1691 to 1820* (3 vols, Belfast: Archer and Sons, 1898), iii, 156–57, 396–97; Holmes, "Ulster Presbyterians," 543.

78. Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 35.

79. "Proceedings of the General Presbyterian Synod of Ulster," *Congregational Magazine*, 10, 34 (October 1827), 565–67; Holmes, "Controversy and Schism," 125.

80. Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 65.

81. Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 35, 63; Jamieson, "Henry Cooke," 63–66. Writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury, John George Beresford (the Archbishop of Armagh) said that Daniel O'Connell was out to establish a "virtual ascendancy for Popery" through emancipation, though Beresford did not object to conditional emancipation. John George Beresford to William Howley, 10 February 1829 (Representative Church Body Library, Dublin, Beresford Papers, MS 178/56). Beresford's outlook appears similar to that of Cooke.

82. Brooke, "Controversies," 167.

83. *Northern Whig*, 2 April 1829; Holmes, "Ulster Presbyterians," 543; Finlay Holmes, *The Presbyterian Church in Ireland* (Blackrock: Columba Press, 2000), 94.

84. Henry Montgomery, "Outlines of the History of Presbyterianism in Ireland. II," *Irish Unitarian Magazine*, 2, 11 (November 1847), 360. For an analysis of this thesis, see Holmes, "Presbyterians, Loyalty, and Orangeism," 125–44.

85. *Minutes of a General Synod, held at Monaghan, 1832* (Belfast: William McComb, 1832), 32–33; *Minutes of a General Synod, held at Derry, 1834* (Belfast: T. Mairs, 1834), 24–26.

86. Brown, *National Churches*, 155–59; Yates, *Religious Condition of Ireland*, 55–56; Donald Harman Akenson, *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815–1922. An International*

Some orthodox Presbyterians such as James Carlile supported the government's system of National Education, and he sat as one of the Commissioners on the Board of Education and wrote to Thomas Chalmers in its defence.[87] The Seceders also were favourable to the scheme, but informed the government that "we can not conscientiously countenance a system of education, which does not make provision for a sufficient daily reading of the Scriptures, in schools, by children, whose Parents, and Guardians are desirous they should do so."[88] Cooke, by way of contrast, vehemently opposed it. In the November 1831 edition of *The Orthodox Presbyterian*, a periodical that Cooke edited along with James Seaton Reid and James Morgan, an article appeared denouncing the plans for National Education and it was followed by further articles in subsequent issues.[89] Commenting on these events seventy years later, Latimer believed that Cooke and his fellow Conservatives were willing to oppose anything, so long as it would weaken the power of a government that had attacked aristocratic privileges.[90]

Yet such a judgment is too severe because Cooke had reason to attack the system. For instance, he was opposed to scripture extracts, which the government approved, being read in the schools.[91] Cooke argued that allowing scripture to be "mutilated" so that only select portions were read, essentially distorted its meaning and encouraged the spread of "Popery, Unitarianism, and every possible form of apostacy and infidelity."[92] He also told Dr John Lee of Edinburgh that the National Board of Education was unacceptable because "it created an unpresbyterial prelacy over religious instruction, to which, as Presbyterians we could not possibly submit." While Cooke had serious religious objections to the scheme, his claim that "opposition to the government scheme was not political" should not be taken at face value. Indeed, just after making that remark, he told Lee that "the supporters of the supreme acts with a few exceptions, were … Radicals—Levellers—& every form of Infidels."[93] Thus, it is fair to conclude that he had both religious and political objections to National Education.

It is too simplistic, however, to conclude that Cooke's views were dominant. First, the attendance at the Cookstown Synod in 1832 was very low, with only twenty-seven ministers and twenty elders present.[94] A better-attended Synod may not have been swayed by Cooke. Second, according to Latimer's account, many ministers of the Synod of Ulster thought that the new system, with some adjustments, would improve educational standards in Ireland.[95] Third, at the Synod of Ulster in 1834, when Cooke proposed amendments to John Barnett's motion that ministers should put their schools under the board, he had to rely on the votes of ruling elders as the majority of ministers opposed him.[96]

Also, Latimer's contention that Presbyterian

Perspective (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1988), 119–21; Brooke, *Ulster Presbyterianism*, 139; Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 95–96. We should also note that the idea of non-denominational education also caused members of the Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy, especially Archbishop John MacHale of Tuam, to reject the National Education system. See S. J. Connolly, *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1780–1845* (1982; Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 101.

87. Minutes of the Commissioners of the National Board of Education, vol. 1, 10 April 1832 (National Library of Ireland, Dublin, Ms. 5529, ff 59–61); James Carlile to Thomas Chalmers, 7 April 1832 (New College Library, Edinburgh, Chalmers Papers, CHA.4.175.9); James Carlile to Thomas Chalmers, 29 May 1832 (New College Library, Edinburgh University, Chalmers Papers, CHA.4.175.17); J. Stewart to Edward J. Littleton, 20 September 1833 (National Archives of Ireland, Dublin, CSORP/1833/6487); John Coolahan, "The Daring First Decade of the Board of National Education, 1831–1841," *Irish Journal of Education*, 17, 1 (1983), 39.

88. James B. Rentoul and Thomas Thomson to E. G. Stanley, 14 November 1832 (National Archives of Ireland, Dublin, CSORP/1832/5722).

89. "New System of National Education," *Orthodox Presbyterian*, 3, 26 (November 1831), 37–48; "New System of National Education. Report and Bill," *Orthodox Presbyterian*, 3, 26 (November 1831), 65–67; "New System of National Education—The Experiment," *Orthodox Presbyterian*, 3, 27 (December 1831), 73–83; "National Education," *Orthodox Presbyterian*, 3, 30 (March 1832), 181–94; "New System of National Education," *Orthodox Presbyterian*, 3, 31 (April 1832), 217–28. For details on the editorship of the Orthodox Presbyterian, see Henry Cooke to John Lee, 24 March 1832 (National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Lee Papers, MS3450, ff 244–45).

90. Latimer, *History*, 449–55.

91. Henry Cooke to Thomas Chalmers, 10 April 1832 (New College Library, Edinburgh University, Chalmers Papers, CHA.4.177.5); Henry Cooke, *National Education. A Sermon, Preached in the Presbyterian Church, May-Street, Belfast, upon Sunday, the 15th January, 1832* (Belfast: William McComb, 1832), 28; Henry Cooke, *Speech at the Great Protestant Meeting*, 3–4, 12–13; cf. Akenson, *Small Differences*, 120–21.

92. Cooke, *National Education*, 33. The Remonstrant Synod supported the National Education system. See Minutes of the Commissioners of the National Board of Education, vol. 1, 4 September 1834 (National Library of Ireland, Dublin, Ms. 5529, f. 226).

93. Henry Cooke to John Lee, 4 May 1832 (National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Lee Papers, MS3450, ff 260–61); cf. Cooke to Chalmers, 10 April 1832.

94. *Minutes of a General Synod, held at Monaghan, 1832* (Belfast: William McComb, 1832), 32–33; Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 97.

95. Latimer, *History*, 450–51.

96. Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 112; Reid, *History*, iii, 498. The motion in 1834, to withdraw completely from dealings with the National Board of Education, was only passed by a very small margin with a majority of ministers voting against Cooke. 56 ministers and 25 ruling elders voted against applying for aid from the funds for National Education, while 62 ministers and 12 ruling elders sided with James Carlile. *Minutes of a General Synod, held at Derry, 1834*, 24–26. Once their principle demands were met, the system was basically adopted by the Irish Presbyterian Church in 1840. For a summary of this subject, see Holmes, *Shaping*, 268–69.

opponents of National Education were under the influence of the Orange Society is too facile.[97] In opposition to such contemporary assertions, Cooke told Lee "As to Orange antipathy—our ministers feel it not. There is not an Orangeman in the body."[98] Even if we do not take Cooke's denials at face value, we must remember that other Presbyterian opponents of the system, such as the Revd Dr John Brown of Ahagadowey, were Whigs in their politics.[99] Consequently, it appears that Cooke did not exercise a Tory dictatorship over fellow Presbyterians when opposing National Education, since those with different political views were also opposed to at least some aspects of it.

IV.

In light of the later pan-Protestant opposition to Irish home rule, it would be easy to conclude with the historian Fergus O'Ferrall that Cooke succeeded in getting Presbyterians and Irish Anglicans to unite against a common enemy.[100] To do so, however, is to commit the ahistorical mistake of reading history backwards. Speaking at Hillsborough in 1834, in light of a perceived attack on the Established Church through the Irish Church Temporalities Act (1833), which sought to cut the number of Irish bishops from twenty-two to ten and reduce the Church of Ireland's income, Cooke reasoned that, since their common Protestantism was in danger, Presbyterians and Anglicans should be prepared to co-operate in matters of mutual interest.[101] On that occasion, Cooke said "I publish the banns of a sacred marriage of Christian forbearance where they differ, of Christian love where they agree, and of Christian co-operation in all matters where their common safety is concerned."[102] He was careful to explicitly assert his Presbyterian identity, as he claimed that he defended the Anglican Church as a descendant of the "English and Scottish Puritans, in the line both of religion and politics." All he was doing was calling on Presbyterian and Anglicans to unite against a common foe as they did during the Glorious Revolution.[103]

Yet Cooke failed to convince all his fellow Irish Presbyterians.[104] The Revd Daniel Gunn Browne even accused him of betraying Presbyterianism and forgetting that prelacy was an aberrant form of Protestantism and how Episcopalians had persecuted their covenanting forebears.[105] Hence, for Browne, any suggestion of co-operation between these groups was absurd.[106] Andrew R. Holmes has recently argued that "it was Prelatic persecution in the seventeenth century that informed the Presbyterian critique of Cooke's policy."[107] This argument was a straw-man, however, as Cooke was not calling for Presbyterian co-operation with the descendants Laudian prelacy or of those who persecuted the Scottish Covenanters but with their fellow Reformed evangelicals in the Church of Ireland.[108] Nevertheless, far from being a dictator, Cooke's influence could not extend so far as to heal the wounds of a long history of Anglican-Presbyterian conflict.[109]

Indeed, a bitter controversy between Anglicans and Presbyterians at Derry in 1838–39 seemed to highlight further the divergence between the denominations.[110] This reassertion of Presbyterian identity in the controversy helped to cement the union between the Synod of Ulster and the Seceders in 1840, which, although supported by Cooke, did not lead to the co-operation between Presbyterians and Anglicans which he desired.[111] The later rise of Pan-Protestantism was facilitated by events such as the 1859 revival and the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1869–71. Its emergence may

97. Latimer, *History*, 452.

98. Henry Cooke to John Lee, 24 March 1832 (National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Lee Papers, MS3450, ff 244–45); cf. Holmes, "Presbyterians, Loyalty and Orangeism," 126.

99. Holmes, *Irish Presbyterian Heritage*, 107.

100. O'Ferrall, "Daniel O'Connell and Henry Cooke," 24.

101. "Great Protestant Down Meeting," 129–51; Porter, *Life & Times*, 277; cf. Sean Connolly, *Religion and Society in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, 1985), 32. Even when speaking at state intrusion into ministerial appointments in the Church of Scotland in 1840, Cooke leaped to the defence of the Churches of England and Ireland. See *Sympathy of Irish Presbyterians with the Church of Scotland, Speeches Delivered at the Great Non-Intrusion Meeting, held in the Presbyterian Church, May-Street, Belfast, on Wednesday Evening, 1840 on the Invaded Rights of the Church and People of Scotland* (Belfast: William McComb, 1840), 19–20. For the Irish Church Temporalities Act, see Stewart J. Brown, *Providence and Empire: Religion, Politics and Society in the United Kingdom 1815–1914* (Harlow: Pearson, 2008), 82; Brown, *National Churches*, 161–65.

102. Cooke, *Speech at the Great Protestant Meeting*, 18.

103. Cooke, *Speech at the Great Protestant Meeting*, 3, 6–7. 9.

104. Wright, *Two Lands*, 66–67.

105. [Daniel Gunn Browne], *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Coalition between Presbytery and Prelacy* (Londonderry: The Journal Office, 1834), 5–7.

106. [Daniel Gunn Browne], *The Second Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Union of Prelacy and Presbytery* (Londonderry: The Journal Office, 1835), 4–11; Latimer, *History*, 457–58.

107. Holmes, *Irish Presbyterian Mind*, 91.

108. Porter, *Life & Times*, 276.

109. For his part in Hillsborough he was denounced as the "Rev. dictator" in *Londonderry Journal*, 11 November 1834; Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 116.

110. Holmes, *Irish Presbyterian Mind*, 92–96. Among the antagonists, on the Presbyterian side, were opponents of Cooke's politics such as A. P. Goudy and W. D. Killen. See Latimer, *History*, 460; William Dool Killen, *Reminiscences of a Long Life* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1901), 81–87.

111. Latimer, *History*, 463.

be viewed as a partial victory for Cooke, even if it was not the marriage with the established church that he had proposed.[112]

Conversely, it is questionable whether Cooke's own theological trajectory was conducive to Protestant unity, as his adoption of confessional subscription in 1835–36, restored communion with the Church of Scotland (which the Scottish establishment had broken in 1799),[113] and support for exclusive psalmody in 1840 arguably further emphasised intra-Protestant divisions.[114] In 1837, he wrote to Thomas Chalmers to complain of James Carlile's opposition to subscription. Cooke also sought clarification as to how the Church of Scotland interpreted the Westminster Confession's teaching on six-day creation, explaining that his Presbytery had refused to ordain a candidate owing to scruples about this part of the Confession.[115] Even a politically Liberal critic such as Richard Smyth granted that Cooke was both zealous and sincere in his veneration for the Westminster Confession:

> But if ever a man was justified in being keenly sensitive to the honour of the Westminster Confession of Faith, that man was Henry Cooke. He had waged a long and arduous war for that venerable document. It was identified alike with his conflicts and his triumphs. He had studied its doctrines until they had become a part of his better being. For him it was no mere conglomerate of dogmas, heavy and hard; but rather a fountain of living waters, fresh and bountiful as the grace of that Divine Redeemer whom it placed upon the throne.[116]

If Cooke's ecclesiastical policy was motivated primarily by Toryism and not by genuine zeal for theological orthodoxy, these were strange positions to adopt.

Cooke's repulse of Daniel O'Connell's agitation for Repeal of the parliamentary union between Ireland and Britain from Belfast in 1841 meant that he reached the pinnacle of his popularity among Ulster Protestants. However, it is a mistake to over-emphasise this point as Repeal was opposed by all shades of northern Protestant opinion—including political Liberals and Unitarians.[117] They feared that O'Connell was out to establish a Roman Catholic ascendancy, and believed that Ulster's economic prosperity was contingent upon the union.[118] These arguments are significant in terms of Ulster Protestant identity, as they would form the pillars of later unionist polemics against Irish home rule.[119] The general acceptance of Cooke's opposition to Repeal does not prove that Ulster Presbyterians had become political Conservatives. Instead, the politically Liberal among them believed that the aims of the United Irish movement (in terms of civic republicanism) had been largely fulfilled in the union and that a reversion to an ascendancy parliament, albeit of a different creed, would be a retrograde step.[120]

Cooke was clearly not exercising a dictatorial influence over the Presbyterian Church when he opposed Repeal but was merely reflecting the views of the vast majority of his co-religionists who did not fully embrace his political outlook on other matters.[121] Writing to O'Connell's associate W. J. O'Neill Daunt many years later in 1864, it is interesting to note that the

112. Cooke, *Speech at the Great Protestant Meeting*, 18. Even Cooke's call for Presbyterians to leap to the defence of the Church of Ireland on the eve of disestablishment fell on deaf ears, see Cooke, *Protestant Electors*; cf. Holmes, "Presbyterians, Loyalty and Orangeism," 141–42.

113. Henry Cooke, *An Authentic Report of the Speech of the Rev. Henry Cooke, D.D., Delivered at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Upon the Occasion of the Renewal of Ministerial Communion between that Venerable Body and the General Synod of Ulster* (Belfast: William McComb, 1836), 12; Holmes, *Irish Presbyterian Mind*, 48–49; Holmes, "Controversy and Schism," 117; Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 129; Brooke, *Ulster Presbyterianism*, 118; Reid, *History*, iii, 502–03.

114. Cooke had previously published a pamphlet in favour of paraphrases in 1821, but later changed his position. Henry Cooke, *Vindication of Scripture Paraphrases* (Belfast: Alex Mayne, 1821); cf. Holmes, *Shaping*, 118, 124; Henry Cooke's preface to *The True Psalmody; or, The Bible Psalms the Church's Only Manual of Praise* (Belfast: James Johnston, 1861).

115. Henry Cooke to Thomas Chalmers, 6 April 1837 (New College Library, Edinburgh University, Chalmers Papers, CHA.4.261.61).

116. Smyth, "Life and Times," 234–35.

117. Boyd, *Montgomery and the Black Man*, 44–46; Allen, "Henry Montgomery," 255–56; Holmes, "Ulster Presbyterians," 543; *Northern Whig*, 7 January 1841. We should note, however, that the Scottish Voluntaryist, Dr John Ritchie, who had clashed with Cooke in March 1836 on the question of the establishment principle, wrote to O'Connell to empathise with him after Cooke's repulse. Ritchie alludes to Cooke's support from the "Orange Boys" on that occasion. See John Ritchie to Daniel O'Connell, 23 January 1841 (National Library of Ireland, Dublin, O'Connell Papers, Ms.13,649/6); *The Voluntaries in Belfast. Report of the Discussion on Civil Establishments of Religion, Held in Belfast, on the Evenings of 16th and 17th March, 1836, between the Rev. J. Ritchie, D.D., Edinburgh; Rev. J. Alexander, Belfast; Rev. Mr. McIlwaine, Ohio, America; Rev. Hugh McIntrye, Loan-Ends; and the Rev. H. Cooke, D.D. L.L.D., Belfast* (4th edn, Belfast: William McComb, 1837).

118. Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 147–48.

119. Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 208.

120. Ian R. McBride, *Scripture Politics: Ulster Presbyterians and Irish Radicalism in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 228–29.

121. R. F. G. Holmes, "The General Assembly and Politics," in *The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland 1840–1990: A Celebration of Irish Presbyterian Witness during a Century and a Half* , eds R. F. G. Holmes and R. Buick Knox (Belfast: Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, 1990), 167.

Presbyterian Irish nationalist, John Martin, viewed both Cooke and Montgomery as equally unionist in their politics. Concerning the Ulster Presbyterians, Martin said that "Dr Cooke is their leader & master, and he is intensely pro-English. Dr Montgomery, the leading minister of the Unitarians (who though so few in number are yet important from wealth and intelligence) is also intensely pro-English."[122]

V.

If Cooke exercised a dictatorial influence over the Presbyterian Church in the interests of Tory politics, then he was an impotent despot when it came to Tenant Right. Cooke was not entirely opposed to the concept of Tenant Right, which was a demand for the three-fs of fair rent, the fixity of tenure, and freedom of sale on the part of tenant farmers.[123] As with Henry Montgomery, he was in favour of a moderate definition of Tenant Right but was concerned that the views of more advanced Tenant Right advocates were undermining private property.[124] Indeed, it should be remembered that when the 1847 General Assembly, in its address to the Lord Lieutenant, called for the Ulster Custom (another term for Tenant Right) to be "universally extended and legally confirmed," James McKnight thanked Cooke for his part in the protest.[125] Cooke nonetheless completely failed to stop the advanced Tenant Right views being accepted among his ministerial colleagues.[126]

At the Synod of Belfast in 1850, Cooke went so far as to denounce the "perfect communist interpretations" of his fellow Presbyterian ministers, and accused the Revd John Rogers of having "Socialism preached in the Synod."[127] Richard Smyth later criticised Cooke for his stance on this issue, believing it was incongruous with the property rights of the poor. He maintained that Cooke "never identified himself with the hard struggles of the tenant-farmers of Ulster to emancipate themselves from a thraldom which was as inimical to their rights of property as it was destructive of their liberties."[128] Still, Cooke was prepared to join a deputation to the government on behalf of Tenant Right, so long as they repudiated personal attacks on landlords and communist doctrines.[129] Thus Jamieson goes too far when he claims that Cooke's Toryism meant all his sympathies lay with the upper classes.[130]

Far from dominating the views of the PCI on this issue, Cooke was an aberration from the Presbyterian norm. This point is evinced by McKnight's comment, in light of the General Assembly's support for advanced Tenant Right in 1850, that "Our church is now in her natural position," which was that of a guardian "on behalf of the poor man's rights, in opposition to the rich man's tyranny."[131] Regardless of whether or not this radicalism was the Presbyterian Church's natural position, it was certainly not the position of Cooke, which further serves to highlight his inability to dominate the Presbyterian Church on political questions.[132]

Speaking in relation to the general election of 1852, Cooke expressed his concerns that co-operation between Presbyterians and Roman Catholics on the Tenant Right question through the League of the North and South would lead to another 1798.[133] He said, "Yes! we that remain remember '98. It is true, these days are gone by; but should the lesson, therefore, be forgotten? And should I not warn my brethren, whether lay or clerical, that as similar causes produce similar effects, the ominous combinations of '52 can produce no other than the destructive miseries of '98."[134]

Notwithstanding such dire warnings, Cooke's position was a minority one among the ministers of the Irish Presbyterian Church. Cooke had welcomed the union of the Seceders with the Synod of Ulster in 1840 in the hope that it would increase the political strength of Presbyterianism in Ireland.[135] Unfortunately for him, it did not lead them to adopt Conservative politics. The

122. John Martin to W. J. O'Neill Daunt, 2 April 1864 (National Library of Ireland, Dublin, O'Neill Daunt Papers, Ms.10,507/11).
123. Henry Cooke, *Speech Delivered by the Rev. H. Cooke, D.D., LL.D., At the Nomination of Geo. Macartney, Esq. and Capt. Pakenham, at the Court-House, Belfast, on the 21st July, 1852* (Belfast: W. G. Agnew, 1852), 14–15; Holmes, "General Assembly," 168; Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 176.
124. Holmes, "Covenanter Politics," 354–55; Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 181–82; Hall, *Ulster Liberalism*, 156; Allen, "Henry Montgomery," 267; Wright, *Two Lands*, 167–68; *Banner of Ulster*, 18 November 1851.
125. Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 176–78. For more on McKnight's views, see Martin W. Dowling, *Tenant Right and Agrarian Society in Ulster 1600–1870* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1999), 294–95.
126. *Northern Whig*, 2 October 1847; *Londonderry Standard*, 8 October 1847; Holmes, "Covenanter Politics", 353–55; Holmes, "Presbyterians, Loyalty and Orangeism," 134; J. Ernest 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, 1940), 60.
127. *Banner of Ulster*, 17 May 1850; *Londonderry Standard*, 23 May 1850.
128. Smyth, "Life and Times", 211.
129. Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 77.
130. Jamieson, "Henry Cooke," 33.
131. *Banner of Ulster*, 16 July 1850; Holmes, *Irish Presbyterian Heritage*, 130.
132. Holmes, "Covenanter Politics," 354–56; Hall, *Ulster Liberalism*, 155; Davey, *Hundred Years*, 12.
133. For the League of the North and South, see Wright, *Two Lands*, 165–207.
134. Cooke, *Speech Delivered at the Nomination*, 11.
135. Holmes, "General Assembly," 167.

Banner of Ulster newspaper, which was one of the fruits of the union, was established in 1842 to counter Cooke's influence on political issues by advocating a distinctive Presbyterian politics. Although it was independent of all parties, the *Banner of Ulster* supported the Liberals rather than Cooke's Conservatives. In the north-west of Ulster, the *Londonderry Standard* also existed as a mouthpiece for political Liberalism.[136]

Further evidence that the union had failed to get Presbyterians to support Cooke's politics is seen in the General Assembly's political resolution of 1843. This move took place in a context which increasingly suggested Cooke's political analysis was not conducive to Presbyterian interests. The two key issues for Presbyterians were the questioning of the legality of Presbyterian marriages and the non-intrusion controversy in the Church of Scotland prior to the Disruption of 1843.[137] Hence the resolution that Presbyterians should vote for candidates who would "most effectively secure a full and adequate representation of the principles and interests of Presbyterianism in the British legislature" was interpreted by Cooke as an attack on his politics, leading him to absent himself from the Assembly until 1847.[138]

Whether or not Cooke had pretensions to dictatorship, this incident reveals that he was unable to dominate the Presbyterian Church in Ireland's supreme court. It also shows us that Presbyterian identity, far from being divorced from Liberal politics, was largely tied to said Liberalism during Cooke's lifetime.[139] Indeed, Cooke's views were held in such disdain that the Revd Dr Alexander Porter Goudy of Strabane asked "is this man a Presbyterian at all?," as Presbyterians were historically identified with the Whig interest.[140] In the end, what drove Ulster Presbyterians away from the Liberals was Gladstone's conversion to Irish home rule in 1885–86.[141] Moreover, this departure from supporting the Liberal party was in the context of a unionist coalition; they did not reject political Liberalism as an ideology.[142] This subsequent rejection of the Liberal party has deceived historians such as Fergus O'Ferrall into thinking that Cooke's earlier espousal of Conservatism was typical of his Presbyterian contemporaries, when, in reality, Cooke was unable to dominate the supreme judicatory of the PCI on political questions.[143]

VI.

This historiographical essay has argued that the dictatorship thesis cannot be sustained. Whether Cooke's anti-Arian campaign was chiefly motivated by politics is a difficult question to answer. If, as suggested, Cooke saw a psychological link between Arianism and political radicalism, it would not necessarily undermine the view that Cooke's chief motivation was theological. Indeed, Cooke's anti-Arianism was indicative of increasing conservatism in Cooke's theological thinking. We should recognise along with Finlay Holmes that theological questions "do not take place in a spiritual vacuum," as they are often complicated by other

136. Holmes, "Covenanter Politics," 352–53; Hall, *Ulster Liberalism*, 126–35; Bew, *Glory of Being Britons*, 13; W. Desmond Bailie, "The First General Assembly and the steps Leading to its Formation," in *The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland 1840–1990: A Celebration of Irish Presbyterian Witness during a Century and a Half*, eds R. F. G. Holmes and R. Buick Knox (Belfast: Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, 1990), 15.

137. Henry Cooke to Earl of Hillsborough, [June 1843] (Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast, Downshire Papers, D671/C/12/856); Henry Cooke to C. Blackwood, 9 May 1844 (Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, Belfast, Cooke Papers); Henry Cooke, *Presbyterian Marriages. Authentic Report of the Rev. Dr. Cooke's Speech, at the Special Meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. Held in May-Street Church, on Thursday, 10th March, 1842, on the Subject of Mixed Marriages* (Belfast: William McComb, 1842), 3; Holmes, "Covenanter Politics," 350–51; Wright, *Two Lands*, 135, 156; Hall, *Ulster Liberalism*, 83–87, 135, 146–47, 151; Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 152; Reid, *History*, iii, 510.

138. *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, i (1843), 224; Holmes, "Presbyterians, Loyalty and Orangeism," 133–34; Holmes, "General Assembly," 167; Holmes, *Irish Presbyterian Heritage*, 105.

139. Holmes, *Shaping*, 40.

140. A. P. Goudy, *Right versus Might; or, Irish Presbyterian Politics Discussed. In Five Letters* (Londonderry: The Standard Office, 1852), 4. Goudy asserted that most Presbyterians "utterly condemn the political doctrines with which the rev. gentleman is identified." Ibid., 20. Cooke's relationship with Goudy was so poor that he refused to give a lecture in Strabane on account of the antagonism between them over the Magee Controversy. See Henry Cooke to Richard Dill, 14 December 1854 (Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, Belfast, Cooke Papers). This particularly bitter dispute arose after the death of Martha Magee in June 1846, as she left a bequest of £20,000 for the endowment of a Presbyterian arts and divinity college. Cooke and others wished to use the money to fund a theological college associated with the secular Queen's College in Belfast. The trustees of the Magee bequest resisted this effort to use the money for a purely theological college and insisted it be used to fund a complete literary and scientific Presbyterian college. In 1851, the Court of Chancery found in favour of the trustees. See Ritchie, *Isaac Nelson*, 32–34; Eugene Dunphy, "No Surrender! The Magee College Controversy," *Bulletin of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland*, 43 (2019), 1–18; R. F. G. Holmes, *Magee 1865–1965: The Evolution of the Magee College* (Belfast: B.N.L. Printing Co., 1965), 11–19.

141. Connolly, *Religion and Society*, 34.

142. Gary Peatling, "Whatever Happened to Presbyterian Radicalism? The Ulster Presbyterian Liberal Press in the Late Nineteenth Century," in *Politics and Power in Victorian Ireland*, eds Roger Swift and Christine Kinealy (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), 162.

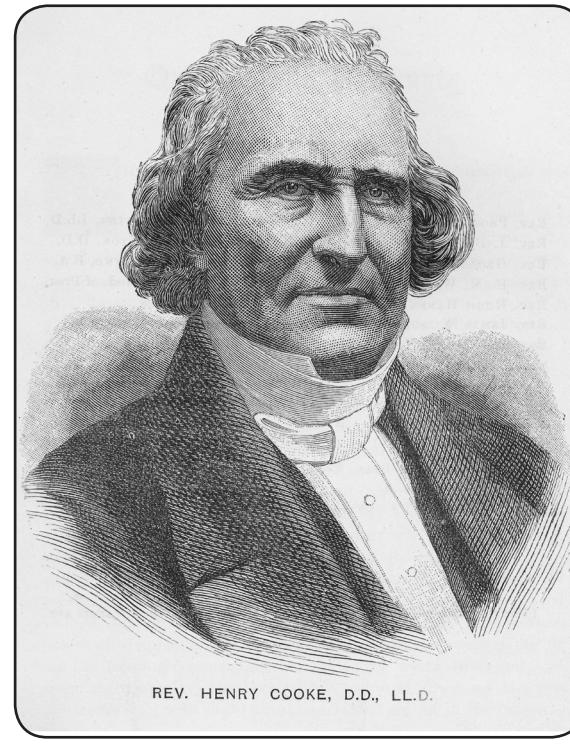
143. O'Ferrall, "Daniel O'Connell and Henry Cooke," 24; cf. Connolly, *Religion and Society*, 34.

factors.[144] And it is a false dichotomy to set politics and theology in opposition to each other, as religious and political interests were "torturously intertwined in nineteenth-century Irish life."[145]

Additionally, Cooke was not wholly successful in his crusade against Belfast Inst. When the breach between the church and Inst did come about it was not a result of Presbyterians converting to Toryism, as even political Liberals supported the separation. Moreover, his belated campaign against Catholic Emancipation is evidence of weakness, not dominance. Cooke's victory in the Synod of Ulster on National Education was a narrow one, in which he was supported by some political Liberals. Also, his efforts to bring about a marriage between the Presbyterians and Irish Anglicanism in the interests of pan-Protestantism were rebuffed by the majority of his ministerial colleagues, whom he could not persuade to forsake the Whigs.

Cooke's successful repulse of O'Connell's Repeal campaign provides no support for the dictatorship thesis, as O'Connell was opposed by Presbyterians of all theological and political varieties. Indeed, the persistence of Presbyterian Liberalism, particularly in the Tenant Right movement, shows us that while Presbyterians identified themselves as unionists, they did not become Conservatives in Cooke's lifetime. Their commitment to so-called Covenanter politics meant that they aligned themselves with the Whig/Liberal political tradition, with some even questioning Cooke's Presbyterianism due to his political heterodoxy. Thus David Hempton and Myrtle Hill are correct to dismiss the supposed conversion of Presbyterians from radicalism to Conservatism as "a dangerous oversimplification."[146] As he understood it, Cooke's Conservatism was not anti-Presbyterian Toryism. Cooke believed that he stood in the same political tradition as the Covenanters.[147] We should also keep in mind that Cooke was no die-hard reactionary. His political creed was the reformist Conservatism of Robert Peel's Tamworth Manifesto.[148]

Cooke's failure to dominate other Presbyterians does not mean that he did not aspire to such domination, and it must be recognised that his "ecclesiastical behaviour was often politically conditioned."[149] Indeed, his political conditioning and Finlay Holmes' observation that Cooke was a "domineering ecclesiastic, who often served to behave more like a proud prelate than a humble presbyter," is partly substantiated by his four-year absence from the General Assembly (1843–47).[150] In the context of nineteenth-century Romanticism and Carlylean hero-worship, moreover, it is possible that Cooke's supporters thought of him almost as one of the "great men."[151] This suggestion that is not as far-fetched as it first sounds when one considers J. L. Porter's hagiography of Cooke, which his fellow Presbyterian J. R. Leebody described as falling into "a form of idolatry."[152] Nonetheless, whether he desired to or not, Cooke was not able to exercise a dictatorial influence over his church. And thus the historian Ian McBride is correct to conclude that "Cooke's ascendancy has been much exaggerated."[153]■



Rev. Henry Cooke, D.D., LL.D. (1788–1868). From, *The Cooke Centenary. Commemorative Addresses Illustrative of the Life, Character, and Distinguished Public Services of The Rev. Henry Cooke, D.D., LL.D. on the Centenary of his birth, 11th May, 1888* (Belfast: W. Mullan & Son, 1888).

144. Holmes, "Controversy and Schism," 123–24.
145. Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 207.
146. Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism*, 69.
147. Henry Cooke, *A Letter from the Rev. Dr Cooke, Belfast, to the Rev. Dr Ritchie, Edinburgh, in Answer to Dr Ritchie's Challenge* (Edinburgh: Waugh & Innes, [1836]), 7.
148. Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 115, 117, 205; cf. Brown, *National Churches*, 197.
149. Barkley, "Arian Schism," 338.
150. Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 208. J. R. Leebody concurred with this assessment, claiming that "In the Church Courts he was at times impatient of contradiction, inclined to be dictatorial, and unnecessarily severe in debate." Leebody, "Henry Cooke," 230.
151. Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, 204.
152. Leebody, "Henry Cooke," 231.
153. McBride, *Scripture Politics*, 216.

Scripture with a Southern Accent:

Understanding and Applying a Southern Presbyterian's View of the Bible

By Gabriel N.E. Fluhrer

A distinctive feature of evangelical Christianity is the doctrine of God's plenary, verbal inspiration of the Bible, resulting in an inerrant and infallible text in the original autographs. While other religions might venerate a sacred book, they are either offshoots of Christianity or hold to a fundamentally different understanding of what it means to possess God's word. Small wonder, then, that much controversy has surrounded this cardinal doctrine. In what follows, we will focus our attention on a recent criticism of the nineteenth century Southern Presbyterian theologian James Henley Thornwell's view of Biblical inspiration. The main goal of this paper is to clear away misinterpretations of Thornwell's work and then suggest some ways in which his view of Scripture can help Christians today.

Who was James Henley Thornwell?

James Henley Thornwell was born on December 9, 1812, in what is known today as the Pee Dee region of South Carolina. It was then called the Marlborough District. His father, James Thornwell, was of English descent and managed a local plantation. He died when Thornwell was only eight years old, leaving him and his mother destitute. There were few worse situations to find one's self in the nineteenth century antebellum South than that of a poor widow. But God cared for her and her child. Early in his life, two benefactors recognized the brilliance of the young Thornwell. As a result, he was afforded opportunities that others in his position at the time would not have enjoyed.[1]

Because of this kind providence, Thornwell was educated in a small school near Level Green, South Carolina. A contemporary from his childhood years recalls, "A large part of every night, while others were asleep, he spent at work upon the lessons assigned for the following day, and in reading the volumes of history and literature that were furnished by kind neighbors."[2] Thornwell's pattern of intense nocturnal study would continue for the rest of his life.

The young scholar matriculated to the College of South Carolina in 1829 (the present-day University of South Carolina), but was not accepted into the class for which he applied. This was a devastating blow to him, so he redoubled his efforts and gained entry shortly thereafter, to the junior class no less. During his time at university, he regularly studied fourteen hours a day, committing to memory large portions of the Bible, Shakespeare, and Milton's *Paradise Lost* (Palmer, 63). He graduated in 1831 at the age of nineteen.

From there, he moved to Sumter, South Carolina where, like many young graduates during this period, he became a private tutor. On May 6, 1832, Thornwell professed faith in Christ and was joined to the Concord Presbyterian Church in Sumter.[3] One biographer notes, "Thornwell was unable to point out the exact time he became a Christian" (Wells, 17). However, once he did profess faith, he immediately set about to enter the ministry. He studied briefly at Andover Seminary in Massachusetts, then Harvard. He despised the Northern climate, so he returned to South Carolina to complete his studies at Columbia Theological Seminary, which

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1. Benjamin Morgan Palmer, *The Life and Letters of James Henley Thornwell* (Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth Trust, 1986), 3–35.

2. John Miller Wells, *Southern Presbyterian Worthies* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1936), 13.

3. David B. Calhoun, *Our Southern Zion: Old Columbia Seminary (1828–1927)* (Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth Trust, 2012), 52.

was founded in 1828 and moved to the capital city of the Palmetto State in 1830.

Thornwell was licensed by the Harmony Presbytery in November 1834 and one of the professors, Dr. Goulding, remarked, "I feel like sitting at this young man's feet as learner" (Palmer, 127). He married Nancy White Witherspoon on December 3, 1835. Earlier that year, he had accepted the call to the newly organized Presbyterian work in Lancaster, South Carolina.

This charge did not last long. January 1, 1838 found Thornwell returning to the College to assume his duties as professor of Logic and *Belles Lettres*. Nor did this position endure. He was called to the pastorate of First Presbyterian Church in Columbia on January 1, 1840. His tenure here was even shorter: one year later, he returned to the College as chaplain and professor of Sacred Literature and the Evidences of Christianity.

Thornwell's commitment as a churchman was evident from the time he began his ministry. He attended the pivotal General Assembly of 1837, his first of ten, in Philadelphia. It was here that the Presbyterian Church in America split between the Old School and the New School. Briefly, the Old School complained that the New School was abandoning the theology of the Westminster Standards, while those on the New School side promoted the revivalism of the day, citing Jonathan Edwards as their inspiration. Given this dichotomy, the Old School party saw itself as the guardians of Reformed orthodoxy inherited from English and Continental Calvinists. To their way of thinking, the New School represented a dangerous compromise with New England theology and polity (the latter in the form of Congregationalism). Thornwell was decidedly Old School in his theology, a fact which will become more important as we proceed to his doctrine of Scripture.

For the rest of his life, Thornwell would go between serving as pastor of First Presbyterian Church in Columbia, president and/or professor at the South Carolina College, and professor at Columbia Seminary, the post he held when he died. Though brief, his career was distinguished; his written works fill four volumes. He was only forty-nine when he passed into glory on August 1, 1862. His final words were, "Wonderful! Beautiful! Nothing but space! Expanse! Expanse! Expanse!" He is buried in the historic Elmwood Cemetery in Columbia, next to his wife and daughter (Palmer, 524).

What Did Thornwell Believe About Scripture?

The concise biographical sketch above places Thornwell in context. He was an Old School Presbyterian committed unreservedly to the Westminster Standards. Hence, it should not surprise anyone that Thornwell affirmed and defended the Westminster doctrine of Scripture, what we would call today the *organic view* of the inspiration of the Bible. According to this position, the Bible is infallible (incapable of erring) and inerrant (without error in the original autographs), yet bears the marks of human authorship (i.e. different styles, life experiences, etc.). God's word, therefore, is inspired *organically* through the human agent. In addition, Westminster's view of Scripture is simply a summary of the historic belief that Christians, both East and West, have held since the early church. It is not an innovation. As one scholar summarizes, "The Confession does not give a specific theory of inspiration but simply states that the Scriptures 'are given by inspiration of God, to be the rule of faith and life' (1.2). This approach stands in contrast to other expressions of the day, such as those from Calvin or Leigh. Calvin once stated that the Holy Spirit 'dictated' the Scriptures, though he did not always maintain this conviction unreservedly."[4] Therefore, the Confession's doctrine of inspiration is very much against a dictation theory of inspiration, even if it does not state this contrast in stark terms.

What is the dictation theory to which the Confession is opposed? Essentially, this view teaches that the Bible was dictated directly to the human authors, making them little more than entranced automatons. To be sure, there are passages in the Bible where we are told that God dictates his words to the authors (i.e. Jer. 36:4, 32; Rev. 2:1, 8). But the dictation view goes beyond these texts, to the point of obscuring the reality of human agency in the process of divine inspiration. This theory is often caricatured as the Bible "being dropped from heaven, gilded edges and all." The main point to grasp is that, on the dictation view, the reality of human authorship is eclipsed, if not denied. It has never been the majority report in church history.

Recent scholarship has charged Thornwell with holding to the dictation view as opposed to the organic view. Specifically, renowned Southern historian James O. Farmer maintains that there is clear evidence in Thornwell's writings that he held to the dictation view. Farmer contends, "[Thornwell] asserted his belief in the plenary inspiration of the Bible. In 1849 he described his view of the Bible's genesis with the phrase 'verbal dictation,' adding that this is the only conception that 'makes the Bible what it professes to be—the Word of God.'"[5]

4. J.V. Fesko, *The Theology of the Westminster Standards: Historical Context and Theological Insights* (Wheaton: Crossway, 2014), 75.

5. James O. Farmer, T*he Metaphysical Confederacy: James Henley*

Therefore, regarding Thornwell's view of Biblical inspiration, he concludes, "The Biblical authors, in this view, were simply human conduits through which the divine message was delivered to man" (Farmer, 136). Farmer is citing two of Thornwell's review articles, which appeared in the 1849 and 1856 issues of the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, respectively. According to Farmer, it seems that Thornwell's adherence to the dictation view is unmistakable. From there, he goes on to discuss how Thornwell's understanding of inspiration affected nearly every area of his life.

Farmer is correct when he argues what Thornwell's view of the Bible *did*; it shaped every area of his life. He is incorrect when he argues what Thornwell's view of the Bible *was*; Thornwell did not hold to the dictation theory. Farmer's book was published first in 1986 and then went into a second edition in 1999. Hence, Morton Smith's watershed monograph *Studies in Southern Presbyterian Theology*[6] would have been available for Famer to reference. But Smith is not mentioned in Farmer's bibliography. This absence is a major weakness in Farmer's argument, inasmuch as Smith's book reveals that Thornwell did not hold to the dictation view. The evidence for Smith's conclusion is impressive and merits close reading.

Smith's study was written in the 1960's, a time when historic Calvinism was being overthrown in the Southern Presbyterian Church by those of a more liberal persuasion. Accordingly, his work focuses on two doctrines that Calvinists have always cherished, divine election and the inspiration of the Bible. Smith wants to show just how pervasive was the historic understanding of these doctrines in the forefathers of the Southern Presbyterian church. As a result, at the outset of his investigation Smith argues, "To the writer's knowledge there are no ministers of the Presbyterian Church in the United States who hold a mechanical dictation theory" of Biblical inspiration (Smith, 14). Therefore, Farmer's insistence that Thornwell held to the dictation theory would have been a novelty in Thornwell's day and in the recent past. The very fact that none of Thornwell's biographers mention his view of Scripture as innovative alerts the reader that Farmer's reading is on the wrong track.

Nonetheless Smith acknowledges that Thornwell's understanding of inspiration could be misunderstood as the dictation view, citing the same review that Farmer quoted from. Smith observes, "Taken out of context, this statement certainly gives the impression that… Thornwell was so naïve as to hold to a 'verbal dictation' theory of inspiration" (Smith, 128). But the review does not tell the whole story of Thornwell's views, as Smith highlights. "The fact is, that in the manuscript fragment of [Thornwell's] lecture on this subject, we have the definite refutation of this particular theory [i.e. of verbal dictation]" (Smith, 128).

The manuscripts Smith is referencing are limited to two fragmentary pieces in Thornwell's archived papers, now located in Columbia, South Carolina (Smith, 128). Since these artifacts represent Thornwell's mature thinking on this subject and arise from his lectures on systematic theology, we would not be overreaching to claim that they are the definitive statement of his understanding of inspiration. Thornwell begins by underscoring the relationship between inspiration and its effects. "All that we can do is to notice the end and apprehend the effect of inspiration, and we can only define what is, by relation to what it does." He goes on to argue, "Its effect, therefore, is to make the teaching of the inspired person the teaching of God. If it fails to do this, it is nothing…The effect to us, so far as the ground of faith is concerned, is just the same, *as if no human instrument had been employed at all." (*Smith, 128–129). In these statements, it is clear that Thornwell is simply summarizing the historic teaching of the church's doctrine of inspiration. After this citation from Thornwell's unpublished manuscripts, Smith points out that, in the same review cited by Farmer, Thornwell seems to use the term "dictation" as synonymous with "verbal inspiration" (Smith, 129–30). Hence, the ambiguity which originally aroused Farmer's suspicions.

Despite having the appearance of the dictation theory, Thornwell immediately refutes this view in the very next line of the manuscript. He writes, "It [i.e. the orthodox view] has been compared to *dictation*. The mistake there is that the man is passive. The analogy good, but the resemblance is a failure" (Smith, 129). Thornwell clearly disavows the dictation view in this statement.

Fascinatingly in one the review articles already mentioned, Thornwell disavows the dictation theory and even refers to his theory as "organic." He states his position in unambiguous terms:

> Mr. Morrell is not surely to learn that the theory of verbal inspiration contemplates something more than *organic influence*; that it represents the sentiments and language…of *the writers as well as of the Holy Ghost*. God employed the minds of the writers as well as of

Thornwell and the Synthesis of Southern Values (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1999), 136.

6. Morton H. Smith, *Studies in Southern Presbyterian Theology* (Philipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 1987).

> the Holy Ghost. God employed the minds of the Apostles, with all their faculties and powers, distinctively as minds, *and not as machines*, to communicate His own will in His own words to mankind (cited in Smith, 129).

A better statement of the classic organic view of inspiration than Thornwell articulates here would be difficult to find. As a result, it is evident that while he used the terms "mechanical dictation" as synonyms for the organic view, he clearly did not hold to the dictation theory.

The problem with Farmer's reading is that he does not seem to understand the historic doctrine of inspiration. He does not take into account that the Calvinism of Southern Presbyterians was refined, developed, and nuanced. Not only did they read Calvin himself carefully, as Palmer documents extensively;[7] they were descended from the progeny of the high Calvinism of Puritan England and Scotland that sprung up in the centuries that followed the Genevan reformer's work. The magisterial Reformers and their theological offspring saw themselves as recovering apostolic Christianity. The result was a view of Biblical inspiration that stood squarely on the shoulders of the church's uniform teaching on the subject, which was the organic view.

Farmer's error reveals a limitation in his method. Historians who ignore or do not take the time to understand the Reformed theology which weaves itself throughout the work of Thornwell and his peers do so at their own peril. When they do neglect this structural symmetry between Southern Presbyterians and the stream of historic Christianity in which they stood, the kind of missteps we have noticed in Farmer's work are inevitable.

What Can We Learn from Thornwell about Scripture?

We have concentrated on an a very narrow section of Thornwell's impressive body of work in order to scrutinize a misapprehension of his views. As Farmer correctly observed, Thornwell's belief about the nature of Scripture influenced everything else he did. Therefore, his affirmation of the historic Christian teaching regarding the nature of Biblical inspiration draws attention to the weaknesses of other views. For example, the Qur'an teaches the mechanical view of inspiration. As noted Islamic expert Daniel Janosik explains, "Muslims believe that the original Qur'an is written on a table that is eternally kept in heaven…Allah gave this message to Muhammad in order to preserve the true explanation of his law and nature".[8] The *Book of Mormon* suffers from the same mistaken view. Both of these texts, which claim to complete or supplement the Bible, suffer from a distorted conception of verbal inspiration. In these writings, the author is given God's word directly, becoming akin to a robot in the process.

The result, however, is not a text that is more plausibly God's word than the Bible. In fact, both these examples offer the reader striking portraits of religious texts that are hidebound—the very thing that a dictation view of inspiration was designed to avoid. Specifically, in both the Qur'an and the Book of Mormon, the wisdom, variety, poetry, and exalted language of the Bible are exchanged for bizarre accounts and repetitive, tedious laws. The reader is left with something very human, something that lacks the redemptive movement and eschatological transcendence which the Bible exhales on every page. In sum, the mechanical view of inspiration attempts to bypass the human element of true inspiration and results, ironically, in a text that is all too human.

By contrast, the view of inspiration championed by Thornwell results in a book whose authors, despite a vast intellectual and artistic variety, demonstrate an essential harmony over thousands of years (and pages) which is nothing short of breathtaking. From the hushed majesty of the Genesis creation account, to the thunderings of the prophets against wayward Israel, to the incomparable prose of Isaiah, to the staccato descriptions of Mark's gospel, to the triumphant apocalyptic imagery of Revelation, the Bible's diversity and unity are evidence that while written by men, its primary author is God himself. The organic theory of inspiration Thornwell defended accounts for the Bible's own teaching and overall style to a degree that no other view can even approach.

The second lesson we learn from Thornwell's view of inspiration is a humble submission to God's word combined with intellectual rigor. Again, by all accounts, Thornwell was a brilliant scholar from his earliest days. One more incident, which occurred during his tenure as the president of South Carolina College, should cement this impression.

I would venture that most of us have never been to a dinner party where the finer points of Aristotle's philosophy (in Greek, no less) were the topic of discussion for the group. Even fewer of us have probably ever been

7. Representative are Palmer's comments in *Life and Letters of Thornwell*, pp.532ff.

8. Daniel Janosik, *The Guide to Answering Islam: What Every Christian Needs to Know About Islam and the Rise of Radical Islam* (Cambridge, Ohio: Christian Publishing House, 2019), 42.

at a dinner party where the disputants in this were a renowned college president and a Harvard literature professor. So when Thornwell and George Bancroft, professor at Harvard, debated a certain reading of Aristotle at a New York dinner party in 1853, the distinguished guests took great delight in bearing witness to the two scholars' verbal fencing. As an aside, this kind of discussion have not been unusual at the time for a company like this; most of the guests probably had a working knowledge of Greek.

Shortly after this scene in New York, a beautiful new set of Aristotle's works for Thornwell from Dr. Bancroft arrived in South Carolina. Inscribed were the words, "A testimonial of regard to the Rev. Dr. J. H. Thornwell, the most learned of the learned." Moreover, Dr. Bancroft conceded Thornwell's interpretation of the point in question (Palmer, 536–37). Thornwell's broad learning is indisputable, as historian Eugene Genovese makes clear. "By common consent, he emerged as the greatest theologian in the South and among the greatest in the United States".[9]

Despite being a scholar of towering capability in a broad range of subjects—former U.S. Vice President and fellow South Carolinian John C. Calhoun once remarked, "I was not prepared for the thorough acquaintance he exhibited with the topics that are generally familiar only to statesmen" (Farmer, TMC, 153)—Thornwell submitted his imposing mind to the word of God. His problem was not ignorance of views which challenged his own; his complaint was that they fell far short of proving their claim to undo the classic view of inspiration. Instead, from his scholarly work to his preaching, the dominant theme is that the Bible is God's very word. As such, it is worthy of our most rigorous investigation with the unwavering confidence that it is, as one statesman is reputed to have said to the French monarch at one point, "the anvil that has worn out many hammers."

Christians today must recover this same commitment to high scholarship and humble submission to God's word. There has been much advancement in this regard over the past decades, but the task remains unfinished. Thornwell stands as yet another example in a long and distinguished line of believing intellectuals who championed an orthodox view of the Bible. While this view is laughable to large sections of society today, their scorn often arises more out of ignorance than reasoned debate. Thornwell stands as a model for us in this regard; oftentimes, he knew his opponents' arguments better than they did. If only the critics of the Bible exhibited the same spirit of free inquiry Thornwell demonstrated! Instead, the Western intellectual tradition has traded its proud Christian birthright for a mess of relativistic pottage. In this anti-intellectual climate, it should not surprise us that the dismissal of the Biblical view of inspiration comes not after careful refutation, but only by way of rhetorical gamesmanship. We could use a strong dose of Thornwell's brilliance, combined with his childlike trust.

Third, Thornwell's view of inspiration teaches us that principled Christian living begins only with the correct doctrine of Scripture. The chief objection to this final point surely is the glaring problem of Thornwell's racist views. If the Bible is the word of God and it is the kind of book Thornwell thought it was, then why did he hold such aberrant views regarding black people? The answer is somewhat ironic: it is only the highest conception of the Bible which not only explains but also refutes Thornwell's inconsistency in this regard.

A robust doctrine of inspiration *explains* Thornwell's racism because the Bible never tires of pointing out that most countercultural of truths, the doctrine of man's total depravity. If the man after God's own heart and the forefather according to the flesh of God in the flesh, King David, was capable of adultery, murder, covetousness, and a host of other sins, how much worse are we? Accordingly, any attempt to dismiss Thornwell's view of the Bible simply because he held racist views is an *ad hominem* argument. Only if we believe the Bible is true in all its parts can we explain how someone like Thornwell, so evidently gifted and used by God, could also be so wrong about black people.

But we must also be careful here. Thornwell's views on race, while wrong, are more complex than is appreciated generally. Again, Genovese helps us recognize this point. "'Thornwell, while holding black to be culturally inferior, assailed the scientific racism to which they constituted a separate species, and he held a cautiously hopeful view of the future of the race…to bring blacks into the church, he bravely stood against a hostile demonstration in Charleston and declared, 'We are not ashamed to call [the black man] our brother'" (cited in Genovese, 37–38). Certainly, his support of black people coming into the church in the Charleston episode does not excuse his overall racist views. But Genovese's remarks should gives us pause if we are trying to make Thornwell's views on race fit into the "either/or" box which colors so much current historical writing.

Continued on Page 219.

9. Eugene D. Genovese, *The Southern Front: History and Politics in the Cultural War* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1995), 32.

Nineteenth Century Southern Presbyterians: Some Theological and Pastoral Distinctives

By C. N. Willborn

Back in the twentieth century, Martyn Lloyd Jones gave a series of addresses before the faculty and students at Westminster Theological Seminary. Those addresses were subsequently published as *Preaching and Preachers*. In that work Lloyd Jones said concerning an eighteenth century American, Samuel Davies, "You Americans do not know one of your greatest preachers." For an assorted number of reasons that was true then. Equally true today is the ignorance concerning any number of fathers of the faith. Included would be a host of nineteenth century stalwarts for the faith. One of the reasons for the lack of knowledge concerning a certain sector of that century's faithful has to do with racism. Recognizing this truth, the faculty of the Protestant Reformed Theological Seminary invited the present author to address both the theological and pastoral contributions of "the Southern Presbyterians" for their fall theological lectures in 2019. These were delivered in two lectures. The content is offered here in hopes of edifying the entire church as we rediscover men who are too often and too long neglected. It has been said that Lloyd Jones's statement about Samuel Davies sparked renewed interest in the eighteenth century figure and lead to a republication of his sermons and subsequent articles and monographs on his life. Perhaps this modest survey of a few nineteenth century servants of Christ will bring these men into our everyday vocabulary for the building up of the church.

By necessity we must limit our attention to some of the leading representatives of the nineteenth century in the southern United States. Included are names of the stature of Charles Hodge and B. B. Warfield in the northern sector—James Henley Thornwell, John Lafayette Girardeau, and Robert Lewis Dabney. Of Dabney it was said, by Warfield no less, that he was one of the greatest teachers of theology in the United States. No small claim. The Scottish philosopher, Sir William Hamilton, had similar thoughts concerning James Henley Thornwell and his contributions to theology and moral philosophy. John L. Girardeau, in addition to being a philosophical theologian of renown, was known as "the Spurgeon of America," for his preaching prowess.

These men were lovers of truth, defenders of truth, and practitioners of the truth they mined from God's Word and from the generations of men who walked before them. In this cursory treatment of their theological and pastoral contributions, it is the desire of the author to help us move beyond petty dismissals of men who sinned and benefit from sinners saved by God's grace. To that end, we begin with the man reckoned as the greatest of the Southern Divines, by most estimates, James Henley Thornwell and his theological emphases and distinctives.

Southern Presbyterian Theological Distinctives

James Henley Thornwell (1812–62)

Thornwell was born into a poor family in the Pee Dee region of South Carolina. His father died when he was quite young and his mother assumed all responsibilities to rear her children. In the case of James, two local men of means came along side Mrs. Thornwell to aid her in his education, even providing him a scholarship to attend the South Carolina College (now University of South Carolina). He proved the ever-precocious child

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and completed his work, which originally pointed toward the legal profession. However, at some point he decided he was not so interested in law as in the metaphysical. As college concluded another change of heart and mind came when, overnight, he read through the Westminster Confession of Faith and the proof texts. He subsequently confessed his faith in Christ Jesus and set out in pursuit of the ministry of the gospel. After an aborted enrollment at Harvard (he found them less than impressive academically and lacking in Christian virtue) and a brief time at Andover Seminary, he returned to study with the men at Columbia Seminary. Ordained as a young man he pastored two rural churches in his home district of Lancaster County before returning to the College as a professor. He would spend the bulk of his adult life serving the state and the church in academic education at both the college and the seminary.

His adult life of labors was spent in the pursuit of and dissemination of truth. Like the early Reformers, he was an *ad fontes* man. The fount or spring from which all truth flows he determined was the Scriptures. He was eminently a biblical theologian. His biblical and theological convictions led him to certain theological emphases, which in his day were controversial. While controversial, I would submit they were all positive or constructive in their design. We shall consider four general headings—*jure Divino* Presbyterianism, the spiritual independence of the church, a biblical theological approach to ecclesiology, and inerrancy of the Scriptures.

We begin with *jure Divino* Presbyterianism. In a previous article in this journal,[1] we have addressed ecclesiological matters such as the use of boards to handle church affairs, the parity of eldership, and the likes. Thornwell believed strongly that God gave His precious church, the Bride of His dear Son, clear instruction on how she is to be governed. In plain English, this means that the Bible sets forth a representative or Presbyterian form of church governance. The rationale is this simple: If Christ loved the church and gave Himself up for her (Eph 5:25), if the Father loved those whom He justified, and adopted them into the household of faith, then surely He would not leave those chosen, regenerate, justified and adopted children to "figure it out on their own." He loved the church so much He provided all she needed to glorify and enjoy Him as the church. This is a topic over which Thornwell and Charles Hodge disagreed at various levels. For Hodge there was more discretionary power given the church than was allowable for the Southern metaphysical theologian. A representative expression of Thornwell's view can be seen in his junior and successor theologian in the Columbia Seminary, John L. Girardeau.[2] For Hodge's viewpoint see his *Church Polity*.[3]

Thornwell believed that Presbyterianism was given by divine law. It was established in the Bible explicitly, by example, and by good and necessary consequences.[4] The church does not have to go outside the Bible to know how to organize her order, governance, worship, or mission work. To do so would deny the very sufficiency of Scripture, according to Thornwell.

Directly associated with this topic is another distinctive of Thornwell, which is referred to as the spirituality doctrine of the church. It was Thornwell's firm conviction that the Scriptures gave the church her marching orders—go make disciples, baptizing, and teaching all that is commanded (Matt. 28: 19, 20). She was not to wield the sword. She was not a legislative body. The sword and national legislating was given solely to the civil magistrate. The doctrine is succinctly set forth in a statement penned by Thornwell and adopted by the first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church CSA (1861):

> The power of the church is exclusively spiritual; that of the state includes the exercise of force. The constitution of the church is a divine revelation; the constitution of the state must be determined by human reason and the course of providential events. The church has no right to construct or modify a government for the state, and the state has no right to frame a creed or polity for the church. They are as planets moving in different orbits, and unless each is confined to its own track, the consequences may be as disastrous in the moral world as collision of different spheres in the world of matter.[5]

1. To consider the theological controversies and contributions of the man see C. N. Willborn, "Hodge and Thornwell: 'Princes in Israel,'" The Confessional Presbyterian 8 (2012): 44–54; and C. N. Willborn, "James Henley Thornwell: An American Theologian," The Confessional Presbyterian 9 (2013): 5–20.

2. John L. Girardeau, "The Discretionary Power of the Church," in Sermons, ed. George Blackburn (1916; repr., Harrisonburg, VA: Sprinkle Publications, n.d.).

3. Also see Alan Strange, The Doctrine of the Spirituality of the Church in the Ecclesiology of Charles Hodge (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R, 2017).

4. Westminster Confession of Faith Chapter 1, which elaborates the reformed view of the Bible, gives helpful insights to Thornwell's viewpoint.

5. Minutes of the General Assembly of the PCCSA (1861), pp. 51–60. The text of the "Address" is also available in A Digest of the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Atlanta GA: Office of the General Assembly, 1966), 26–35; and The Distinctive Principles of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, 3rd ed. (Richmond, VA: PCP, n.d.

Thornwell would apply this definition to the corporate work of the church so as to disabuse churches from entering into political rhetoric, legislative peddling, and social trend setting or, more often, following the cultural hot topics. In other words, where it is perfectly fine for individual Christians to be involved in civil politics, labor for legislation that is morally good for society, and actively engage the social sphere of the world in which they live, it is not the place for the pulpit.[6] The church corporate is about ministerial and declarative powers alone that are aimed at gathering the elect through evangelism and edifying the gathered saints through the teaching and preaching ministry of the church.

Briefly, we draw your attention to two final distinctives of Thornwell and his theology. His was preeminently a Biblical-theological approach to ecclesiology. He was keen to draw his theology and practice from the Bible alone. So when he studied the biblical qualifications for bishops in 1 Timothy 3:1–7, he concluded there was one set of qualifications for elders. The elder is also called pastor and overseer (1 Peter 5:1–5 and Acts 20:17–28). He found the three terms—pastor, bishop/overseer, and elder—to be synonyms, not distinct offices. Therefore, he concluded the age-old practice, even within his own communion, to be misleading. Rather than drawing a hard line between pastors and elders, he saw the two as one. One office with distinct emphases.

His biblical theological commitment also led him to establish a complementary view of the offices of elder and deacon. The eldership is given the keys of the kingdom and the deacon the purse of the church. To confuse or commingle the two injures and hinders the church. It should be noted as well that Thornwell supported the use of deacons in the missionary enterprise, not limiting them to the jurisdiction of the local church. Rather he saw them as instrumental at all levels of the church courts—local, presbytery, and general assembly—as they exercised their role over fiscal and physical matters of the church. To put elders of either class—ruling or teaching—in charge of fiscal and physical concerns of the church was to take them from their natural and ordained ministry of prayer and word. To do so is to confuse "the purse and the keys."[7]

As just introduced, Thornwell was careful to exalt *Scripture* over reason and tradition. This drove his writings on the offices of the church—elder and deacon—but also his polemic against Rome and Romish superstitions. For instance, he was a participant in a not too uncommon ecclesiastical exercise of the nineteenth century and that concerned debating Roman Catholicism. Was Rome a true church? What about her many sacraments, which included a baptismal rite? What about the very nature of Scripture? In all this we see the first-generation Reformation and the Scottish Reformation's influence upon Thornwell. The *Confessio Scoticana* or *Scots Confession* of 1560 states well his position, a position he argued against Hodge and others:

> Two things are necessary for the right administration of the sacraments. The first is that they should be ministered by lawful ministers, and we declare that these are men appointed to preach the Word, unto whom God has given the power to preach the gospel, and who are lawfully called by some Kirk. The second is that they should be ministered in the elements and manner which God has appointed. Otherwise they cease to be the sacraments of Christ Jesus. This is why we abandon the teaching of the Roman Church and withdraw from its sacraments; firstly, because their ministers are not true ministers of Christ Jesus (indeed they even allow women, whom the Holy Ghost will not permit to preach in the congregation to baptize) and, secondly, because they have so adulterated both the sacraments with their own additions that no part of Christ's original act remains in its original simplicity (Scots Confession Chapter 22).[8]

[1871?]), 5–23; and James Henley Thornwell, The Collected Writings of James Henley Thornwell, ed. J.B. Adger and John L. Girardeau (1875; repr., Edinburg: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1974), 4:449.

6. A not so careful reading and understanding of public addresses by Thornwell, B. M. Palmer and others has led some to claim that these men did not maintain this viewpoint of the church and the ministerial work, which is only ministerial and declarative. See Christopher Cooper, "Binding Bodies and Liberating Souls: James Henley Thornwell's Vision for a Spiritual Church and a Christian Confederacy," The Confessional Presbyterian 9 (2013).

7. Thornwell, Collected Writings, 4:155.

8. The words are James Bulloch's modern English rendering (*The Scots Confession 1560,* ed. G. D. Henderson [1960], p. 76); cf. *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland,* ed. William Croft Dickson, 2 vols (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950), 2.269–270. It should be noted that five years later, the general assembly that year had to deal with the question of rebaptism. When the young, who had been baptized by a priest prior to 1560, were examined for partaking of the Lord's supper, and they had learned to and did actually reject the Roman Catholic teaching on the sacraments, baptism was not to be re-administered, "for no papists ministers baptism without water, and some form of words, which are the principals of the external sign. We ourselves were baptized by papists whose corruptions and abuses now we damn, cleaving only to the simple ordinance of Jesus Christ, and to the virtue of the Holy Spirit, which makes baptism to work in us the proper effects thereof, without any reiteration of the external sign" (spelling updated, *The Book of the Universall Kirk of Scotland,* ed. Alexander Peterkin [Edinburgh, 1839), p. 75). This may remove somewhat the discontinuity that is sometimes posited between the

Thornwell wrote extensively showing how Rome denied and denigrated the Holy Scriptures. His premise at every point was "what does the Scriptures say?" Because Rome added to and took away from the Bible, she had no sufficient Word, she was given to elevating their tradition. Perhaps worse than anything, they elevated fallen human reason to a place of authority. Once reason and/or tradition takes authoritative status, of any degree, Scriptures are not perspicuous, not sufficient, and certainly not perfect. Thornwell's arguments against Rome's view of authority continue sound to this day for they are based on the necessity, authority, perspicacity, and sufficiency of the holy Scriptures.

Finally, and while it is not unique to Thornwell, we should note that Thornwell was thoroughly Calvinian. In his collected works you will find an extensive outline and analysis of Calvin's *Institutes*.[9] This will distinguish the old Columbia Seminary theology from both Princeton and Union in Virginia where R L Dabney reigned for many years. In the cases of both Hodge and Dabney, Francis Turretin's *Institutes of Elenctic Theology* dominated.

John Lafayette Girardeau (1825–98)

Like Thornwell, Girardeau was a son of South Carolina. Named for his father and the Marquis de Lafayette, and being of French Huguenot descent, Girardeau was a thorough going Scottish Presbyterian. His publications included a defense of the Reformed practice of "no instrumentation" in corporate worship. While by his time this case was widely dismissed for instrumentation, even among American Presbyterians, he did garner considerable support from a number of hefty hitters like R L Dabney. Another of his books that garnered no little debate was his treatment of philosophical necessitarianism, particularly as branded by Jonathan Edwards. It was Girardeau's thesis that the Standards of the church were committed to what is known as a libertarian view of the fall of mankind.[10] For instance, the WCF reads: "Our first parents, being seduced by the subtilty and temptation of Satan, sinned, in eating the forbidden fruit. This their sin, God was pleased, according to his wise and holy counsel, to permit, having purposed to order it to his own glory" (6.1). The Larger Catechism likewise reads: "Our first parents being left to the freedom of their own will, through the temptation of Satan, transgressed the commandment of God in eating the forbidden fruit; and thereby fell from the estate of innocency wherein they were created" (WLC 21). And, as you might imagine, Girardeau argues for support on this point from Calvin. Additionally it is worth noting that a contemporary of Girardeau was the Scottish don, William Cunningham. He brought forth the same case, while admitting like Girardeau that a philosophical necessitarianism was arguable. Of note, the Scotsman said: "1st, there is nothing in the Calvinistic system of theology, or in the Westminster Confession of Faith, which *precludes* men from holding the doctrine of philosophical necessity. 2d, There is nothing in the Calvinistic system of theology, or in the Westminster Confession, which *requires* men to hold the doctrine of philosophical necessity."[11]

Cunningham believed, however, the case more proper for Biblical scholarship was the will in its theological relations. Girardeau took this angle and gave his book of 485 pages a title which expressed Cunningham's sentiment, *The Will in its Theological Relations* (1891). One of Girardeau's arguments centers on the covenant of works. Namely, was the probationary offer of life for perfect obedience a genuine, *bona fide* offer on God's part? If so, then Edward's necessitarian view was defeated. That, of course, was his position.

While on the topic of covenant and covenant theology, I'll mention another of Girardeau contribution. He was in the line of Thomas Boston, John Brown of Haddington, and John Dick when he held the covenant of redemption as distinguished from the covenant of grace to be superfluous, to use Turretin's conclusion. Rather than bifurcating the two, he held with his forerunners that the covenant of grace is an eternal covenant that God then expressed in successive *berith*-makings (to

first Scottish Reformers and their later theologians who defended the validity of Rome's baptism in their disputes with the Separatists.

9. *Collected Writings*, 1:597–650.

10. For a recent reconsideration of this topic see Oliver Crisp, "John Girardeau: Libertarian Calvinist?", Journal of Reformed Theology 8 (2014): 284–300 and "Libertarian Calvinism," in Deviant Calvinism (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2014), 71–96.

11. William Cunningham, The Reformers and the Theology of the Reformation (1862; repr. Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1989), 483 and Richard Muller, "Jonathan Edwards and the Absence of Free Choice: A Parting of the Ways in the Reformed Tradition" Jonathan Edwards Studies 1, no. 1 (2011), http:/jestudies.yale.edu/index.php/journal/article/view/63. The abstract to this latter article says: "Jonathan Edwards, frequently identified in modern discussions of his thought as the "greatest American theologian" and often regarded as an epitome of Calvinism for his teaching on the freedom of will, was, in his own time and for a century after his death, a much-debated thinker whose views had a polarizing effect in Reformed circles. Scholars have examined the reception of his ideas in America and have noted a rather pointed opposition both in New England and in the American South. The reception of Edwards' thought in Britain, however, has received far less attention, even though it offers a rather significant perspective on Edwards' place in the Reformed tradition."

anticipate Vos) in history,[12] thus, keeping the decree between God the Father and Son connected to the elect from eternity through time and space. In Girardeau's words: "It is one and the same covenant. Which, regarded in relation to the means employed and the end contemplated, is denominated the covenant of redemption, that is emphatically designated the covenant of grace when conceived in reference to its source, and to its unmerited application to sinners as the recipients of its benefits. It is peculiarly a covenant of grace to them, since its legal condition was fulfilled, not by themselves, but by another for them, guilty and corrupt."[13] He develops his argument in *The Federal Theology: Its Import and its Regulative Influence* (1881) and again in *Calvinism and Evangelical Arminianism* (1890). Once again, Girardeau found his position to be that of Westminster as expressed for example in WLC 31: "With whom was the covenant of grace made? The covenant of grace was made with Christ as the second Adam, and in him with all the elect as his seed."

Girardeau's commitment to covenant theology is notable in that he was, like his fellow southern Presbyterians, an international Calvinist. I have said already he was a devotee to the Scottish brand of Presbyterianism by conviction, but he was not parochial. This is seen in the opening paragraph of *The Federal Theology* when he laments a decline of interest in covenant theology.

> The theologians of the Dutch School, in their massive works, subjected it to a full, if not exhaustive, consideration; and their example was followed by some of the most illustrious divines of England and Scotland. And while Cunningham, Hodge, and our own Thornwell have trodden in their footsteps, and evinced in their discussions their sense of the importance of the federal system—a fact for which the present generation Calvinists should be devoutly thankful—it is to be feared that indications are beginning to manifest themselves of a growing tendency towards a departure from this type of theology" (*The Federal Theology,* 15, 16).

Notice first that he tips his hat to the Dutch School. That would be a reference to the seventeenth century leaders such as Wilhemus à Brakel, Johannes Cocceius, Gisbertus Voetius, and Hermann Witsius. Second, notice that he is concerned that even among Calvinist, and here he is mainly speaking of Presbyterians, there is a decline in interest. Thus, the title of his work, *The Federal Theology: Its Import and Its Regulative Influence.* Finally, Girardeau connects the dots for us between theology and preaching. If covenant/federal theology is lost or not properly understood and applied, preaching will also suffer.

> And as surely as the pulpit drifts away from [covenant theology], will it more and more cast its instructions in the mould of a wretched legalism; or losing the influence of this pervading genius of theological truth, and so lapsing from any thoroughgoing inculcation of doctrine, it will more and more neglect its heavenly call to be an instructor of Christ's people, and sink its high didactic office into that of a vapid and sensational haranguer (16).

Anyone who has read late nineteenth century sermons, but particularly early twentieth century products from Presbyterians in the United States, will recognize that Girardeau was rather prophetic. Indeed, our churches still suffer from a lack of proper doctrinal preaching. The result is too often "wretched legalism" and more often "vapid and sensational" harangue.

Another aspect of covenant theology is, of course, ecclesiology, and under this *loci* Girardeau developed a robust doctrine of the diaconate. Whereas Thornwell had done large work concerning the office of elder, Girardeau supplemented the Columbia ecclesiology with his writings on the office of deacon. Girardeau was working in the current of Thomas Chalmers' diaconal renaissance in the Church of Scotland and subsequently the Free Church of Scotland. His elder churchman and pastor as a college lad, Thomas Smyth, had reintroduced the deacon to a Presbyterian church that had largely obscured the office with a heavily ministerial/elder influence. Girardeau's contemporary and fellow scion of South Carolina, Thomas Peck, also wrote an excellent article on the office (see *Notes on Ecclesiology*). Numerous other Southerners, not the least being James Ramsey[14] of Virginia, devoted much ink to the office

12. For a thorough treatment of the Southern Presbyterians use of biblical theology before the age of Vos, see C. N. Willborn, "Biblical Theology in Southern Presbyterianism," in *The Hope Fulfilled,* ed. Robert Penny (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R, 2008).

13. John L. Girardeau, The Federal Theology: Its Import and its Regulative Influence (1881; reprinted Greenville, SC: A Press, 1994), 17,18. This was originally delivered as a address for the 50th anniversary of Columbia Seminary being in Columbia (it was begun in Georgia in 1828) and the 50th anniversary of George Howe's professorship at the same institution. You may find the original in Memorial Volume of the Semi-Centennial of the Theological Seminary in Columbia, South Carolina (Columbia, SC: Presbyterian Publishing House, 1884), 96–130.

14. See James Ramsey, The Deaconship, *The Southern Presbyterian Review* 12 (April 1859): 1–24. Cf. http://www.pcahistory.org/HCLibrary/periodicals/spr/v12/12–1–1.pdf [accessed October 31, 2019].

and its duties. None, however offered more insight than Girardeau in his 200 pages of articles in *The Southern Presbyterian Review*.[15] If one wishes to see a working statement of his contribution, one only has to consider chapter 9 of the Presbyterian Church in America Book of Church Order. A practical consideration of the office will be seen below when we present Girardeau's pastoral contributions.

One final aspect of Girardeau's theology was developed from a thread found in James Thornwell's work, and that is a beautiful treatment of the doctrine of adoption.[16] At the same time he was writing on the "apex of the gospel" (ala Professor John Murray), the topic was also a point of broad interest among our Scottish brethren. Namely, James Smith Candlish and Thomas Crawford were laboring to great lengths on the doctrine of the fatherhood of God and included therein the doctrine of adoption. To summarize, Crawford's contention was that Adam was created as a servant and son of God. Like Adam's righteousness/justified state, adoption was his created status, yet defectible, contingent on the covenant of works. Had Adam obeyed God (for however long the probation was set by God in eternity), he would have been confirmed indefectibly in his righteousness *and* sonship. Crawford displayed then the parallel we have in the second creation or new creation or regeneration where God declares believers just *and* adopted indefectibly. Furthermore, while we are both just and adopted, on the ground of Christ Jesus's work, we are forever servants of God. That is, we are *simul servus et filius* just as the first Adam in his created, prelapsarian condition.

As you can see thus far, there are some wonderful doctrinal treats hidden away in these men. Treats worthy of mining and enjoying. To this end we commend one last theologian from this period and geographical region and that is Robert Lewis Dabney.

Robert Lewis Dabney (1820–98)

As staunch a Carolinian as was Girardeau, Dabney was equally or more so a Virginian. A Presbyterian son, he would serve the church as a pastor before settling into a lengthy and esteemed academic career. Teaching for many years as church historian and then as systematic theologian at Union Seminary in Virginia before moving to Austin, Texas, where he was on the founding faculty of the University of Texas, Dabney was a widely respected theologian and philosopher.

One of the most significant theological influences upon Dabney was the Swiss-Italian Reformed Scholastic, Francis Turretin (1623–87). Those familiar with his theology lectures will recognized Turretin's influence, but also that of George Hill of St Andrews and John Dick of the United Secession Church. Throughout his theological lectures he referenced vast numbers of past scholars as well as his contemporaries like James Thornwell and Charles Hodge.

Dabney was no blind follower of any man, however, for it was often the case that he took umbrage to positions held by highly revered men. Charles Hodge and Jonathan Edwards, Sr. were among those with whom he disagreed on various issues. Examples include Edwards's view of man's ability. Suffice it to say, Dabney thought Edwards gave fallen man too much credit. Like Archibald Alexander and Hodge, Dabney criticized Edwards' view of virtue and natural ability and believed it opened the door to the positivist school of the nineteenth century and the revivalism that so burdened the land. With the Hodges (Charles and A. A.) he criticized the mediate imputation of Adam's guilt and corruption which Edwards held. This view is "that we are condemned with Adam only mediately through, and in consequence of, our having, by natural generation, corrupt natures like his."[17] More often we will find Reformed theologians upholding the immediate imputation of Adam's guilt and corruption. Thus, without reference to our own actions, we are condemned. Therefore, "every human soul is born into the world under forfeiture resulting from our just legal responsibility for Adam's action as our federal head and representative" (Hodge, 110).

A notable point where Dabney followed both his contemporary Charles Hodge and Turretin was on the doctrine of adoption. Here he demurred from the position of a host of scholarship, including John Calvin, William Ames, John Owen, Thomas Boston, and contemporaries like Breckinridge, Thornwell, and Girardeau. His position was simple: adoption is part of the legal act of God which justifies a sinner. Justification is "both a pardon and an adoption."[18] Westminster Confession of Faith 12 presents Adoption as a second, albeit concurrent, legal act of God and, thus, a *loci* distinct from

15. For an exemplary and helpful article from this series see John L. Girardeau, "The Importance of the Office of Deacon," *The Southern Presbyterian Review* 32 (January 1881): 1-29. Cf. http://www.pcahistory.org/HCLibrary/periodicals/spr/v32/32–1–1.pdf [accessed October 31, 2019].

16. See John L. Girardeau, Discussions of Theological Questions (1905; repr., Harrisonburg, VA: Sprinkle Publications, 1986).

17. A.A. Hodge, The Atonement (reprint; Memphis, TN: Footstool Publications, 1987), 109.

18. Robert L. Dabney, Systematic Theology [hereafter ST] (1871; rpt. Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1985), 627.

Justification. Despite Dabney's dismissive air toward the doctrine, the nineteenth century saw much published on the doctrine and so a development of the biblical theological importance of it for the Christian life. Examples would be those mentioned above in Scotland, James Candlish and Thomas Crawford, and Girardeau in the States. Additional contributions came from R. J. Breckinridge, uncle to B. B Warfield, and the Scots-Irish Presbyterian, Thomas Houston.

One other doctrinal area in which Dabney is known is his position on Adam's sin and how it was communicated to his progeny. B. B. Warfield termed Dabney's view as the "agnostic" view. Dabney set forth his view in articles which challenged Charles Hodge's *Romans* commentary on Romans 5. Dabney's position is that the "guilt (obligation to punishment) of his first sin" alone was imputed to his progeny. On the subject of corruption that followed Adam's first sin, Dabney believes we cannot say. Thus, the "agnostic" accusation or label. We don't know if Adam's corruption was imputed, but we do know his guilt was. This flows from Dabney's demurring at a radical denial of mediate imputation in favor of a solely immediate imputation. Guilt and corruption are ours by virtue, says Dabney, of both a "natural and federal union with their fallen head" (Dabney, 344).[19]

Finally, we would present four areas where Dabney continues to have abiding relevance for the church. Certainly one could argue for more than four, but these appear to be of critical and abiding weight.

First, we shall simply state his incisive views into economics and education. In Dabney we find a renaissance man in the purest sense of the word. He was an architect and builder. His handiwork can be seen in a number of buildings standing today.[20] But particularly we see his breadth of knowledge displayed in his writings on economics, education, philosophy, and theology. He was greatly distressed about industrialization at the expense of agriculture. Further, he remonstrated against the leveling effect in education. That is, governmental provision of a lowest-common-denominator-education for scholars concerned him. His prophetic voice resounds today, though he be dead.

Second, briefly consider his view of worship. The influence of revivalism was inordinate in his day and continues to weld disproportionate influence today. The question of "for whom is worship designed" is always a critical consideration. For Dabney the answer was God. God is the audience. Yes, worshipers receive blessings from God from and through the act of worship, but God is the only proper object of one's worship. Therefore, the church is behooved to submit to the instruction of God when it comes to worship. Dabney was a careful adherent to the Westminster Confession of Faith, Chapter 21. It is God's prerogative as to the elements of worship. Thus, worship is regulated by God alone. Personal preferences must be acknowledged and checked. God's preferences are to be acknowledged and followed. God's word as the sole guide to our worship and as it is preached were priorities for Dabney—a lesson for the church today.[21]

A third area of relevance relates to doctrinal fidelity. In 1897 Dabney delivered an address which was published as "The Doctrinal Contents of the Westminster Confession of Faith."[22] He believed a confession could be had for the church because of the very nature of Scripture. Because the Scripture is perspicuous and sufficient for doctrine and life, it is then capable of composition and distribution. Indeed, it is by nature a communication from God to man. A confession is nothing more than the Bible in summary fashion. Because the Confession of Faith is a statement of what the Bible teaches, it is then trustworthy. This truth is essential if we are to be able to live in peace with one another and make progress toward uniformity in the worship and work of the church of the living God—another lesson for the church today.

The final emphasis of Dabney's theology which serves the church well in every generation, concerns the doctrine of sanctification. The church always struggles with "the Christian life." There is the tension between antinomianism and legalism. To put it another way, is there a role for the law of God in our daily growth in grace? Another way to ask that same question is do you believe in good works and perseverance of the saints? Today the trend is to fear the words "good works" and "perseverance." Both suggest something we are required to do. So, in our effeminate church age, we prefer to settle for "grace" and "preservation" rather than a grace that saves and perseveres in and through the redeemed. The word law is lumped in with works and perseverance, and

19. For an extended treatment see Robert L. Dabney, Discussions (1891; Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1982), 1:143–68. Also, see George Hutchinson, The Problem of Original Sin in American Presbyterian Theology (1972; repr., Toccoa Falls, GA: Sola Fide, 2014).

20. Examples include Tinkling Spring Presbyterian Church in Fishersville, Virginia and the College Church on the campus of Hampden-Sydney University, Farmville, Virginia.

21. For a number of articles that relate to worship see Discussions by Robert L. Dabney, vol. 5, ed. J.H. Varner (Harrisonburg, VA: Sprinkle Publications, 1999).

22. Ibid, 119–42. This address was presented to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States in 1897, in commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the Westminster Assembly.

for some the minute one mentions law, then the determination is made that one is no longer a proponent of grace. Our doctrinal standards on this state: "Although they that are regenerate, and believe in Christ, be delivered from the moral law as a covenant of works, so as thereby they are neither justified nor condemned; yet, besides the general uses thereof common to them with all men, it is of special use, to show them how much they are bound to Christ for his fulfilling it, and enduring the curse thereof in their stead, and for their good; and thereby to provoke them to more thankfulness, and *to express the same in their greater care to conform themselves thereunto as the rule of their obedience*" (WLC 97, emphasis added). Our Lord Jesus was more straightforward when he said, "If you love me, you will keep my commandments" (Jn 14:15).

Dabney held clearly that the Christian was bound by love to the holy standard, which is set forth in the law of God. This law Paul called "holy and righteous and good" (Rom 7:12). Perhaps Dabney's teaching can best be summarized in theological terms by his friend and master theologian James Henley Thornwell, when the South Carolinian wrote:

> Those who deny that the law of God is the measure of duty, or that personal holiness should be sought by Christians, are those alone who can properly be charged with Antinomian principles…. The natural vibration of the mind is from the extreme of legalism to that of licentiousness, and nothing but the grace of God can fix it in the proper medium of Divine truth. The Gospel, like its blessed Master, is always crucified between two thieves—legalists of all sorts on the one hand and Antinomians on the other; the former [legalists] robbing the Saviour of the glory of his work *for* us, and the other [antinomians] robbing him of the glory of his work *within* us."[23]

Dabney was no perfect man. He became embittered after the War and this led him to incorrect judgments. He was wrongheaded, for example, concerning the general incompetency of black men for service in Christ's church. Nevertheless, he and others of his generation deserve our attention for they loved a forgiving God, they trusted a conquering King, and they walked in large measure with the Spirit of holiness. The effects of this conversion are seen in a tender scene just shortly before Dabney entered his heavenly rest. It occurred in Columbia, South Carolina late in 1897. George Blackburn recorded this beautiful story for our blessings. I recount it for the strengthening of Christ's church today.

> When, therefore, Dr. Dabney, himself afflicted with blindness, heard of the partial paralysis of his friend [Dr. Girardeau], he came to Columbia to visit him. Their communion was sweet and in a measure the spirit of other days seemed to come back on them. On Sunday, Dr Dabney preached to the large congregation … on the power of love. The sermon was one of extraordinary power, and when he came in his discourse to the love of Jesus for his aged servants many in the congregation were weeping. Dr. Girardeau himself was deeply moved, while the hearty congregational singing, unaccompanied by any instrument of music, seemed to greatly affect Dr. Dabney. When the service was over the two men came down the aisle together; they were men of imposing presence, each like the son of a king; their faces showed the influence of chastening grace; their foreheads betokened the mighty intellects behind them; venerable men! dignity, goodness, and greatness sat with ease and naturalness upon them. Dr. Girardeau said: "Doctor, that was a glorious sermon this morning." Dr. Dabney replied, "This has been a sweet service to me, and the singing carries me back to old Tinkling Spring." Dr. Girardeau said: "But what will it be in heaven?" The answer of Dr. Dabney was lost in the trampling of the congregation. And so blind, and lame these princes of Israel walked on, talking of the past and future worship of God. A few months after this meeting they both joined the general assembly and church of the first born in the majestic worship of their God and Saviour.[24]

Southern Presbyterian Pastoral Distinctions

Having concluded our survey of some of the theological emphases and distinctives of the major Southern theologians in the nineteenth century, let us turn our attention briefly to their Pastoral Contributions. The nineteenth century saw no small amount of effort devoted to the doctrine of the church and the attending pastoral labors for the bride of Christ. In Scotland we had both major and popular works on the church by men such as James Bannerman, Douglas Bannerman,

23. James Henley Thornwell, "Antinomianisn," in The Collected Writings of JHT (1871; rpt. Edinburg: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1986), 2:383, 385. This article appeared as an appendix to a republication of Robert Traill's Vindication which Thornwell brought to print in 1840.

24. George Blackburn, ed., The Life Work of John L. Girardeau (Columbia, SC: The State Company, 1916), 368.

and William Cunningham.[25] Here in the United States a number of works flowed from the pens of Presbyterian scholars.[26] Alongside these general works on ecclesiology came a number of works related to the pastor and his labors in the church. Authors would include such notables as Thomas Murphy, William Swan Plumer, and W. G. T. Shedd in the United States and Patrick Fairbairn in Scotland. Aside from these monographs a plethora of men wrote in journals for the church and academy.

We could follow the writings of a recognized Southern pastor and professor at two institutions, William Plumer, and find plenty that reflected the actual work of countless ministers in the United States, including the southern portion of our country. However, in this paper we shall simply provide a pastoral theology from the life of one notable Southerner, John L. Girardeau. You are familiar with Girardeau from our above reflections on his theological contributions. In addition to tracing his pastoral, I will intersperse other contributions from his regional contemporaries.

First, his pastoral ministry spanned almost three decades. His pastorates were both rural and urban. His congregations were integrated, with a large number of the memberships of each of his churches being slaves from the low country of South Carolina. His move into Charleston in 1855 brought him to a mission work directed to the slaves of Charleston. He was preaching weekly to crowds of 500 plus on Anson Street. In 1859 a new building was built which seated 1,500. He preached to packed houses twice each Lord's day. By the way, the new building was located on Calhoun Street near Meeting Street. That was then and is now a most prominent location in the Holy City, as it was and is called today. He would remain the pastor of Zion Presbyterian Church until 1875, when federal and societal pressures brought about organic separation and segregation of the black and white memberships in the Presbyterian Church United States (The Southern Presbyterian Church).

Second, Girardeau put together a thorough going handbook for pastoral labors, which involved elders, deacons, and the overseers. The overseers were black men, members of the church, who were given responsibility caring for the "classes" to which they were assigned. The "classes" were groups of fifty (50) slave members living in various parts of town. These overseers would give regular reports on the spiritual and physical welfare of their assigned shepherding group. The elders and deacons would then act or delegate as they thought best for the members in need. The principle was taken from Jethro's instruction to Moses (Exod. 18) and Jesus's directive to the disciples to divide the crowds into groups of fifty and one hundred (Mark 6:40; Luke 9:12ff).[27] If one of the flock or a neighbor were found sick, steps were taken to attend to them.

Girardeau was known to the community as well as his elders, deacons and overseers. He was loved by the masses of Charleston. In or around 1860, a young black man of Charleston was invited to attend Zion by one of the older black members. The youngster replied, "But your pastor is white isn't he?" To which the older black man, a slave in the community, responded: "Yas, he face is white, but he heart is black."

To help our present readers to understand how great was the affection between the pastor, a white man, and his flock—made up of both free and enslaved blacks, as well as white members—we insert here a copy of a letter that was mailed to Girardeau upon the conclusion of the Civil War. It was written by men who had formerly been slaves and were of recent free. Their letter was mailed from war-ravaged Charleston to the northeastern part of South Carolina. We have transcribed from the original handwritten letter, maintaining authenticity of the spelling.

> Charleston So Ca. July 27, 1865
>
> To Revd. J. L. Gerrerdeau,
>
> Revd Sir & Pastor,
> We the undersigned members of Zion Presbyterian Church embrace this opportunity as one among the many good ones we have enjoyed in the past and in doing so you have our best wishishs for you health & that of you loving family, hoping all are enjoying that blessings of good health and realizing that fulfillment of god words [:] those that put their truss in him shall never want. The past relations we have enjoyed together for many years as pastor and people are still in its bud in our every heart therefore we would well come you still as our pastor. Pastor we have been long praying for

25. James Bannerman, *The Church of Christ,* 2 vols (1869), Douglas Bannerman, *The Scriptural Doctrine of the Church* (1887); William Cunningham, *Discussions on Church Principles* (1863).

26. Charles Hodge, Church Polity (1878; repr., Seoul, NY: Westminster Publishing House, 2001); John Mason, Essays on the Church of God (1832; repr., Taylors, SC: The Presbyterian Press, 2005); Stuart Robinson, The Church of God (1858; repr., Willow Grove, PA: The Committee on Christian Education, 2009); Thomas Peck, Notes on Ecclesiology (1892; repr., Taylors, SC: Presbyterian Press, 2005).

27. For the practical outworking of this "proportioned" ministry, see C. N. Willborn, "The Gospel Work in the Diaconate: 'A Ministry Proportioned in Number'" The Confessional Presbyterian Journal 10 (2014).

peace that we have together prayed for time and agamen [again]. God in his grate merceys have sent it. The war has ended as god would have it. The civilize world well come it and the race of mankind ever rejoices over it. Masters are not very agreeable now at the church as in the past. The Acon [read "Achan" of the OT] is still in the camp striveing. If the peoples would only agree upon forming new relations we have no will to do so until you are herd from. Now in writing our purpose to inform you that you past congregation will be the same in future and till death provide. Past relations with you are considered the same and on you part a complyance to the new order of things seat forth by the general government of the United States of America and that of the Presbyterian churches of the same.

Reply is earnestly solicited By those who now would renew there wishishs for you will fair.

Yours Revd Sir and Pastor
Messrs. Paul Trescoat
Wm. Price
J[acky] Morrison
A. G. Wend (check membership for spelling)
H. R. Spencer
S[amuel] Robertson (Samuel Robinson ?)
B. Wilkerson
S. Dawkins
Thomas Savage
Wm. Williams

An honest reading of this letter[28] confirms the love that existed between these men, as representatives of Zion Presbyterian Church and their pastor. Girardeau would return to them and help them re-establish their church, ordaining several of these very men to the office of elder in 1869. The church would continue to grow until his departure in 1875.

The same sort of reputation was garnered by B. M. Palmer while in New Orleans for forty plus years. During several outbreaks of malaria, Palmer would go house-to-house in New Orleans and visit the houses marked by the black sign in the window. He went all the while believing the disease was communicable. Only later would we learn it was not a communicable disease. Because of this self-sacrificial pastoral labor, he would earn the respect of the citizens of New Orleans and the state of Louisiana.

Mercy ministry was not the lone area where these men spent no little efforts. This brings us back to considering Dr. Girardeau and his labors on behalf of the soul of his parishioners.

Third, Girardeau engaged his elders in the spiritual ministry of the church—particularly the teaching of the people. They held weekly catechetical classes for the membership—black and white members alike. The Westminster Catechisms were used as the basis of the training. Here is what we read from one of his "scholars" Louisa Cheves Stoney: "Dr. Girardeau … considered [WSC 31] the most difficult and important."[29] The question and answer is "What is effectual calling? Effectual calling is the work of God's Spirit [2 Tim. 1:8, 9; Eph. 1:18–20], whereby, convincing us of our sin and misery [Acts 2:37], enlightening our minds in the knowledge of Christ [Acts 26:18], and renewing our wills [Ezek. 11:19; 36:26,27], he doth persuade and enable us to embrace Jesus Christ, freely offered to us in the gospel [John 6:44, 45; Phil. 2:13; Deut. 30:6; Eph. 2:5]. On a pastoral note, Mrs. Stoney concluded this note by saying: Dr. Girardeau … a preacher whose sermons were never too long and can never be forgotten by the throngs of people that hung on his words. His tender kindness to the children was great; dignity forgotten, he would play games and tell B'Rabbit stories which he could do to perfection. But the children had to earn the pleasure by reciting a question from the Shorter Catechism … (*Autobiographical Notes, Letters, and Reflections,* 198).

The black scholars (as students were called back then) were similarly taught, but often using a catechism Girardeau composed for those who were not as well educated. *A Catechism for the Oral Instructions of Coloured Persons who are Inquirers Concerning Religion or Candidates for Admission into the Church* was published in 1860. Along with questions, similar to those of a children's catechism, he interspersed hymns and Psalms to help with the memorization and learning of the doctrines.

Additional Lesson III.
The Law of God.

Q. Has God given us a Law?
A. Yes; God has given us a Law
…
Q. Can you keep the Law so as to be justified and saved?

28. A copy of this letter in its original appearance was given to the Avery Research Center of the College of Charleston by this author. Researchers can find it most readily at that institution. See the manuscript collection, Zion-Olivet United Presbyterian Church records, 1854–1991 (bulk 1960-1980) [AMN 1030].

29. Thomas Smyth, Autobiographical Notes, Letters and Reflections, Louisa Cheves Stoney, ed. (Charleston, SC: Walker, Evans, Cogswell Company, 1914), 198.

A. No; I cannot keep the Law so as to be justified and saved.
Q. Can the Law ever justify the sinner?
A. No; the Law can never justify the sinner.
Q. Ho alone can you be justified and saved?
A. I can alone be justified and saved, by believing on the Lord Jesus Christ.
Q. But are you not bound to obey the Law as a rule of life and conduct?
A. Yes; I am bound to obey the Law as a rule of life and conduct?
Q. Whose strength alone will enable you to obey the Law?
A. Christ's strength alone will enable me to obey the Law.
Q. How can you get Christ's strength?
A. I can get Christ's strength by prayer.
Let us sing——

C. M. [Rochester.]
"Oh that the Lord would guide my ways
To keep his statutes still!
Oh that my God would grant me grace
To know and do His will!
Make me to walk in Thy commands,
'Tis a delightful road;
Nor let my head, nor heart, nor hands,
Offend against my God."[30]

His model was so successful, a loud number of Charlestonians were convinced that he was breaking state law by teaching slaves to read and write. He was breaking the spirit of the law, but not the letter. This emphasis on catechism, with the Psalms and hymns added in, proved to enhance the worship of this segment of the congregation. For one thing, they were able to sing those very Psalms and hymns with gusto in the context of corporate worship although a number of them could not read.

Their growing knowledge of the teaching of the Scriptures also provided them with greater ability to engage the preaching of the word from their pastor. By the way, this would have been true in a number of sectors of the South where others utilized the same approach. Examples would include James Smylie in Mississippi, Charles Stillman in Alabama, and C. C. Jones and his successors in Georgia. This brings us to the last aspect of pastoral care I wish to address and that is preaching.

A number of men were known for their pulpit prowess. Benjamin M. Palmer (1818–1902) is best known for his ministry at First Presbyterian Church, Columbia, SC (1843–55) and First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans, LA (1856–1902). James Henley Thornwell, of whom we have spoken already, was also known for his sermons, which were described as "logic in ignition." In addition to Thornwell's renown academic career at Southern Carolina College (now University of South Carolina) as a philosopher and rhetorician, he pastored three churches, including First Presbyterian Church in Columbia after Palmer's departure. But, of most special note among the Southern Stalwarts, as Douglas Kelley has labeled them, was John L. Girardeau.

Here is a sample of Girardeau's pulpit power taken from his sermon from Psalm 23, "Christ's Pastoral Presence with His Dying People."

> It is true that the believer must die; but in dying he is privileged to suffer with his Master, that he may rise and reign with him. It is true that the believer must die; but death now constitutes part of a wholesome discipline which prepares him for glory; it is a process by which he is purged from dross, casts off the slough of corruption, and is purified for his admission into the holy presence of God and the sanctified communion of saints. It is true that he must walk through the dark valley; but the Conqueror of Death descends into it by his side, illuminates its darkness by the radiance of his presence, protects him from the assaults of a now powerless foe, and bearing in his hands the keys of death and the invisible world, peacefully dismisses the departing saint from sin to holiness, and from the stormy trials of earth to the joy and peace of an everlasting rest.

Once again from this masterpiece:

> The Sufferer, who, for us, expired on the cross of Calvary, endured a species of death which was as singular as it was comprehensive and exhaustive. In body, he suffered the keen and protracted tortures of crucifixion; and in spirit, reviled by foes, deserted by friends and abandoned of God, he descended alone into the valley of the death-shade, which was not only veiled

30. John L. Giradeau, *A Catechism for the Oral Instruction of Coloured Persons who are Inquirers concerning Religion, Candidates for Admission into the Church* (Charleston: Printed by Evans & Cogswell, 1860), 24, 25–26. The song is the eleventh part of Psalm 119, first and last stanzas, as printed by the PCUSA. Cf. *Psalms and Hymns, adapted to Public Worship* (1830; Philadelphia: Published for the General Assembly by Solomon Allen, 1833), 210–211. The tune is not assigned in the PCUSA hymnal in editions through 1860. While it may or may not have been customary by the time, Rochester is assigned to this section of Watt's rendition of Psalm 119 as early as 1830. Cf. James Hastings, *The Christian Psalmist: Or, Watts' Psalms and Hymns, with Copious Selections* (1830).

> in impenetrable gloom, but swept by the tempests of avenging wrath. Furnished with such an experience, the Good Shepherd ministers with exquisite sympathy at the couch of the dying believer. He knows his doubts, his apprehensions, his fears; and, moved by a compassion which naught but a common suffering could produce, he makes all the bed under the expiring saint, smooths his last pillow, and "wipes his latest tear away."[31]

Perhaps no sermon was every preached more often upon request within the Southern United States than Girardeau's "The Last Judgment." Here I quote from the conclusion:

> The judicial process ends; the books are closed, the Judge rises, and the Supreme Court of the world adjourns. The separate destinies of human beings are now evolved. Collected around the person of their glorious Lord, the jubilant saints begin their triumphal march to the portals of their heavenly home. Onward they sweep in majestic array, hallelujahs are bursting from every lip, and as they come in view of the shining gates, hark! They sing: "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in!" And, again, as in the ascension from Olivet of the victor of sin, death and hell, the challenge of angelic sentries is shouted from the battlements of heaven: "Who is the King of glory?" And then the response is rolled back in thunder from ten thousand times ten thousand voices: "The Lord, strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle, the Lord of hosts, He is the King of glory. Lift up your heads, O ye gates, even lift them up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in!"
>
> …Then rising and waving their palms of victory m the morning air of an endless day, with a sound like the noise of many waters, or the voice of mighty thunderings,—hark, they chant again: "Glory and honor and power, and might and dominion, and wisdom and thanksgiving and blessing be unto Him that sits upon the throne and unto the Lamb forever!" Redemption is completed, and the pauseless chorus of everlasting praise begins.
>
> …Would that we could say this is all: this is the glorious destiny of an unsevered and unmutilated race! But from the left hand of the judgment-bar a funeral procession of lost human beings, in the train of devils, slowly and reluctantly wend their way to the frowning gates of hell. They defile through those gloomy portals over which despair reads the fatal legend: "Those who enter here leave hope behind." The irrefragable bolts of the eternal jail are shot by penal justice behind them; and between them and a lost and irrecoverable paradise yawn the terrific jaws of an uncrossable chasm—a gulf wide, deep, and dark as starless midnight, save as the profound abyss is gilded by some mocking rays that may straggle into it from a far distant and inaccessible glory (Sermons, 38).

So ends the most famous of nineteenth century Southern sermons preached by the "Spurgeon of America."

I could move to Thornwell or certainly Benjamin Morgan Palmer for more examples of powerful and effectual preaching that marked the Southern landscape, but time is our enemy.[32]

Conclusion

These men were powerful in the pulpit. They were pastoral in their tender mercies to the poor, needy, and sick. Their contributions to theology and its teaching continue to have abiding relevance. Time and anachronistic history have not treated them well, but they deserve better. Men of clay feet? Yes. Like you and me. Men of God? By all means.▪

31. Southern Presbyterian Pulpit (Richmond, VA: The Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1896), 80, 82

32. See Benjamin Morgan Palmer, Sermons of Rev. B. M. Palmer (reprint; Harrisonburg, VA: Sprinkle Publications, 2002).

Why are Ecclesiastical Feast Days in the Reformed Church Order?

By R. D. Anderson

The church orders of modern Reformed church federations around the world generally go back in principle to the order ratified by the Synod of Dort in 1618/19. In the line of Dort, they usually contain some reference to the observance of "ecclesiastical feast days." As an example, allow me to quote from article 65 of the church order of the Free Reformed Churches of Australia:

> **ARTICLE 65: Ecclesiastical feast days**
> On Christmas Day, Good Friday, Easter Sunday, Ascension Day, and at Pentecost the consistory shall call the congregation together for church services. The sacred events which the congregation commemorates in particular on these days shall therein be proclaimed.

A church order is a list of agreements which the churches make in common so that they can better give each other mutual support and discipline. But if this is the case, why do they usually contain an article on church services at feast days, days which are not specifically commanded in Scripture, but on which there is a long standing tradition of celebration? Additionally, 1. do churches really need to bind each other to such days, and 2. was that really the original intention of this church order article?

In the following, I would briefly like to review the history that led to the formulation of this church order article at the time of the Reformation in the Lowlands. We need to bear in mind that the Reformed churches organised themselves in a united federation which expressed itself nationally in the national synod. The churches in each province of the Lowlands also came together in provincial synods (see the map on the next page). The region of the largest province, that of Holland, was divided into two "particular" synodical regions of North and South.

1573–1619

Already in 1573 we see the topic coming to the floor of the Particular Synod of North Holland, that year held in Enkhuizen.

> **1573 Particular Synod of North Holland**[1]
> Also decided in respect of feast days, that in common no feast days are to be held other than Easter (Sunday) and the day thereafter, Pentecost (Sunday) and the day thereafter, Christmas, and similarly New Year's day and Ascension day.

The churches in South Holland were somewhat stricter. A year later their Synod gathered in Dordrecht, making the following pronouncement:

> **1574 Particular Synod of South Holland**[2]
> Respecting the feast days which are in addition to the Sunday: it has been decided to rest content only with the Sunday. Nevertheless, the normal material relating

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1. 9. "Is oyck besloten aengaende die vierdaegen, dat men eendrachtelyck ende anders niet onderhouden zal dan Paesschendach ende daechs daernae, Pincxterdach ende daechs daernae, Christi geboortedach, desgelycx Nyeuwejaersdach ende Hemelvaertsdach." *Acta der Provinciale en Particuliere Synoden, gehouden in de noordelijke Nederlanden gedurende de jaren 1572–1620*, 8 vols., verzameld en uitgegeven door Dr. J. Reitsma en Dr. S.D. van Veen (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1892–1899) 1.17. All translations into English are my own.

2. 53. "Aengaende de feestdaghen neffens den Sondach is besloten, dat men met den Sondach alleen tevreden syn sal. Doch sal men de ghewoonlicke materie van der gheboorte Christi Sondaechs voor den Christdach in der kercke handelen ende het volck van de afdoeninghe deses feestdachs vermanen ende oock van derselve materie op den Christdach predicken, soo hij valt op een predickdach. Men sal oock op Paesch ende Pinxterdach van der verrijsenisse Christi ende seijndinghe des H. Gheestes leeren mueghen, twelck in de vrijheijt der dienaren staen sal." *Acta der Provinciale en Particuliere Synoden,* 2.134.

Republic of the Seven United Netherlands in the 18th century (1715–1785) showing provincial boundaries. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

to the birth of Christ shall be handled on the Sunday before Christmas day together with an admonition to the people not to observe Christmas day. If Christmas day falls on a Sunday, the same material shall be preached on that day. It is also permitted to preach on the resurrection and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on Easter Sunday and Pentecost Sunday, the which is left to the freedom of the ministers.

This seems clear enough. Behind the scenes, however, there was a political battle going on between the Roman Catholic forces and the Protestants. The Dutch war for independence from Roman Catholic Spain had begun in 1568, and would last until 1648 (known as the Eighty Years' War). The celebration of these extra days came right in the middle of this conflict. The Reformed churches needed to be careful to steer a righteous course between

all manner of Roman Catholic superstitions, which had become associated with these days, and an overzealous extremism which could easily lead to political riots.[3] We see that reflected in the decision of the Particular Synod of South Holland held in Rotterdam a year later:

> **1575 Particular Synod of South Holland[4]**
> As much as concerns feast days: The government shall be petitioned that they allow everyone to open his shop and to work six days in accordance with the fourth commandment of our Lord. And if the government desires to ordain any others besides the Sunday, the delegated ministers will petition parliament that they inform them in such a way that they may consider how much and how far one can permit in this matter, so that on the one hand people do not fall into superstition as warned by Paul in Gal. 4, and on the other hand that people will not be led to fight too fiercely against the aforesaid government because of certain feast days.

Three years later, a national synod was finally able to be held in Dordrecht. By this time it was slowly becoming clear that the political will to be rid of these extra feast days was weak. On 12 July 1578 the government made a "declaration of religious freedom" in which the various Roman Catholic feast days were made compulsory for protestants. The synod in its response attempted to minimise the damage by steering the churches away from any special ways of celebrating these feast days, and by keeping them as "normal" days.

> **1578 National Synod of Dort[5]**
> It was indeed to be desired that the freedom from God to work six days be permitted in the church, and that only the Sunday be celebrated. Nevertheless since certain other feast days are maintained by authority of the government, namely, Christmas day and the day thereafter, likewise the day after Easter and the day after Pentecost and in some places new years day and ascension day, the ministers shall do their best to teach the congregation to transform unproductive and harmful idleness into a holy and profitable exercise by sermons in which they particularly deal with the birth and resurrection of Christ, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and suchlike articles of the faith. The ministers of churches in those cities where yet more feast days are observed by authority of the government shall do likewise. In the meantime all the churches shall work to make the use of all feast days except Christmas day (since Easter and Pentecost fall on Sunday) as normal as possible, and as soon as is fitting to abolish them.

It is interesting to note how close the decision of this synod was to the position of John Calvin, when confronted (among other things) with the reimposition of certain feast days by the magistrates of Geneva in 1538 and again (during his second tenure in Geneva) in 1544. Calvin had argued that these days could be tolerated if they were not turned into pseudo-sabbath days, so that after the morning service the people could be free to return to work.[6]

The attempts of Dutch churches to diminish the significance of the feast days in the hope of abolishing them altogether in due time, however, were to little avail. By 1581 the goals of the churches had been reduced. It did not any longer seem possible to be rid of *all* the extra feast days. Their goals were now modified towards working for a minimal list.[7] The churches in Zeeland

3. The first fifty years of this war involved only Spain and the Netherlands (1568–1618), but this exploded during the last thirty years to envelop most of Europe, known as the Thirty Years' War.

4. 12. "Soeveel als die veestdagen angaet, men sal die owerheyt bidden, dat sij ses dagen nae des Heeren 4 gebot eenen ijegelicken toelaeten synen winckel te openen ende te wercken. Ende soe die owerheyt enige andere ordoneren wilde behalven de Sondach, sullen die gecommitteerde ministers den Staten bidden, dat se hun sulcx willen te kennen gheven, opdat deselve ministers bedencken mogen, hoeveel ende verre men hierinne sal toelaeten, opdat men ter ener syden in gheen superstitien en verfa1le, als Paulus den Gal. 4 waerschout, noch ter ander sijde om enigen veestdagen tegen de vorsz. owerheyt te hart strijden." *Acta der Provinciale en Particuliere Synoden*, 2.169.

5. 75 (cap. 4, 23) "Het ware wel te wensschen dat de vryheyt van ses daghen te aerbeyden van God toeghelaten in der Kercke ghehouden ende de Sondagh alleen ghevyert mocht worden. Nochtans dewyle somighe andere feestdaghen door authoriteyt der Ouerheyt onderhouden werden, te weten den Christdagh metten navolghenden dagh, item den tweeden Paeschdagh ende tweede Pynxterdagh ende in somighe plaetsen den iaersdagh ende hemelvaerts dagh, soo sullen de Dienaers neersticheyt doen datse met predicatien in den welcken sy in sonderheyt van de gheboorte ende verrysenisse Christi seyndinghe des H. Geestes ende derghelycke artykelen des gheloofs, de ghemeynte leeren sullen den onnutten ende schadelicken ledichganck in een heylighe ende profytelicke oeffeninghe veranderen. Het selfde sullen de Kerckendienaren in dien Steden doen daer meer Feestdaghen door de authoriteyt der Ouericheyt onderhouden worden. Hierentusschen sullen alle Kercken aerbeyden, dat het ghewoonlick ghebruyck aller feestdaghen behaluen den Christdagh (dewyle Paesschen ende Pyncxteren op den Sondagh koemen) soo vele moghelick is, ende op het aldervoeghelickste affghedaen werden." *Acta van de Nederlandsche Synoden der zestiende eeuw*, edited by F. L. Rutgers (Dordrecht: J. P. Van den Tol, 1889, repr. 1980), 252–53.

6. See Chris Coldwell, "In Translatione: John Calvin's Letters to the Ministers of Montbéliard (1543–1544): The Genevan Reformer's Advice and Views of the Liturgical Calendar," *The Confessional Presbyterian* 13 (2017): 202, 206–207.

7. It should be noted, however, that the Acts of this synod had still not reached the rural regions of Gelderland by 1581 as noted in the Acts of the Provincial Synod of Gelderland held in Arnhem, 1581. See *Acta*, Reitsma and van Veen, 4p.17 (art. 8).

formulated this list at their Provincial Synod meeting in Vlissingen, February 1581 as follows:

> **1581 Provincial Synod of Zeeland**[8]
> Concerning the feast days it has been decided, that in all of Zeeland there shall be a united custom to preach on Christmas day, Easter (Sun)day, Pentecost (Sun)day together with the day following, and not on any other feast day anymore.

Later that year the National Synod met and decided,

> **1581 National Synod of Middelburg**[9]
> The congregations shall remonstrate their governments that the feast days, except the Sunday, Christmas day and ascension day be abolished. But in the places where more feast days are held by order of the government, the ministers shall work by means of sermons to transform the unproductive and harmful idleness into a holy and profitable exercise.

We see evidence of the outworking of this attempt to reduce the number of feast days in 1583, both in the Provincial Synod of South Holland held in 's-Gravenhage, where the churches were again directed to remonstrate the government, as well as the Provincial Synod of Gelderland which admonished those churches, where "the feast days of the papists" were still held, to cease and conform to the National Synod of 1581.[10] In 1593 the Provincial Synod meeting in Briel had to admit that no progress had been made, but nevertheless directed the deputies to continue as there was occasion.[11] Such remonstrations, however, seemed to have had decidedly little effect and by 1586 this direction was tacitly dropped:

> **1586 National Synod of 's-Gravenhage**[12]
> The congregations shall observe in addition to the Sunday, Christmas day, Easter [Sunday] and Pentecost [Sunday]: but in the places where more feast days are held by order of the government in memory of the benefits of Christ (such as the circumcision of Christ and Ascension day), the ministers shall work so that by means of sermons the idleness of the people may be transformed into a holy and profitable exercise.

This resignation, however, did not stop the Provincial Synods of South Holland held in Delft 1587, 's-Gravenhage 1591, Delft 1596, Schoonhoven 1597, Dordrecht 1598, and Delft 1616 from remonstrating the government again and again on this point.[13] In North Holland, the churches were able to be satisfied that their goal had been reached.[14] In both Zeeland and Friesland this reduced list was also promulgated and appears to have been heeded without much problem.[15] In Gelderland the Provincial Synod was still struggling with the issue in 1599 and directed that the publication or celebration of "Papist feast days" was to be punished.[16] In Drente the Provincial Synod of 1603 (held in Beilen) ordered the churches to stick to the church order on this matter, adding that those who contravene the rule be seriously admonished.[17] In Groningen the Provincial Synod of 1614 (held in Appingedam) was also becoming more serious in its attempt to induce conformity. The synod ordered that there be uniformity in the celebration of feast days and that those churches which did not conform (that is, those churches which observed *more* feast days than listed by the national synod) were to be severely censured by the classis and non-conformance was to be reported to the next Provincial Synod.[18]

It was not only additional days for celebrating Christ's circumcision or ascension which caused some degree

8. 10. "Aengaende de feestdaghen is verordent, dat men in geheel Zeelandt eenderley gebruyck houden sal om te prediken op den Christdach, Paesdach, Pinxterdach met den navolgenden dach eens, ende op geen ander feestdaghen meer." *Acta der Provinciale en Particuliere Synoden*, 5.7.

9. 50. "De Ghemeijnten sullen bij haren Ouericheden aenhouden dat de feestdaghen, vutghenomsn (*sic.*) den Sondach Christdach ende hemelvaertsdach, afghedaen werden. Maer ter plaetse daer meer feestdaghen door beuel der Ouericheijt ghehouden werden, sullen de Dienaers arbeijden datse met predicken den onnutten ende schadelicken ledichganck in een heijlliche ende nutte oeffeninghe veranderen." *Acta,* Rutgers, p. 394 (art. 50).

10. *Acta der Provinciale en Particuliere Synoden*, 2.246 (sitting 18th June) and 4.29 (art. 18).

11. *Acta der Provinciale en Particuliere Synoden*, 3.10 (art. 22).

12. 60. "De Ghemeynten sullen onderhouden, beneffens den Sondagh, Christ-dagh, Paesschen ende Pincxsteren: Maer ter plaetsen daer meer Feest-dagen, door bevel der Overheden ghehouden werden, tot ghedaghtenisse der weldaden Christi (als de besnijdenisse Christi ende Hemelvaerts-dagh) sullen de Dienaers arbeyden dat sy met Predicken den ledigh-ganck des volcx in een Heylige ende nutte oeffeninghe veranderen." *Acta,* Rutgers, 501.

13. *Acta der Provinciale en Particuliere Synoden*, 2.308 (art. 60), 2.399 (art.25) and 3.68 (art. 16), 3.88 (art. 20), 3.108 (art. 13) 3.323 (gravamina art.31).

14. *Acta der Provinciale en Particuliere Synoden*, 1.223 (art. 37).

15. Both the Provincial Synod of Zeeland 1591 meeting in Middelburg and that of Friesland meeting in Sneek 1593 simply stated this reduced list or referred to the National Synod without seeing the need for any reprimand or encouragement to remonstrate local government. In Friesland, however, the Provincial Synod meeting in Bolswaard 1608 directed the churches to be unified in preaching on Ascension day. *Acta der Provinciale en Particuliere Synoden*, 5.26 (art. 56) and 6.75 (art. 6) 6.177 (art. 3).

16. *Acta der Provinciale en Particuliere Synoden*, 4.77 (art. 22).

17. *Acta der Provinciale en Particuliere Synoden*, 8.57 (art. 16).

18. *Acta der Provinciale en Particuliere Synoden*, 7.242–43 (art. 12).

of turmoil. The celebration of Good Friday became a contentious issue too. The first we read of Good Friday is in 1589, when it was reported to the provincial synod of South Holland meeting in Gouda that several churches were holding evening services on Good Friday. The synod reacted as follows:

> **1589 Provincial Synod of South Holland**[19]
> With respect to the second clause concerning the feast days, placards have been posted.[20] In this way the ministers together have taken in hand to act diligently in conformity to the regulation. In that we are given to understand that there are still places where evening services are held on Good Friday, the synod has declared that this is unedifying and therefore the classes wherein this occurs shall take action to oppose these.

The classis of Nijmegen in 1611 forbade Good Friday services and even attached a financial penalty for those daring to observe it. The only group in the Netherlands to sanction the observance of Good Friday were the Remonstrants (Arminians) who incorporated it in their church order of 1612. Finally, the churches of various provinces remonstrated the National synod of Dordrecht 1618/19 to bring about uniformity in the observance of feast days.[21] This synod gave the following ruling:

> **1619 National Synod of Dort**[22]
> The committees have all handed in their advice concerning the last tabled objections, and concerning each has been decided as follows:
>
> 1. The churches shall observe in addition to the Lord's day, also Christmas day, Easter [Sunday] and Pentecost [Sunday] together with the following day. And since in most cities and provinces of the Netherlands the day of Circumcision and the Ascension of Christ are also observed, the ministers everywhere shall remonstrate the government so that in those regions where it is not the case, a uniform practice may be maintained.

And so we see that the last national synod of the age continued the attempt to reduce the feast days to a bare minimum. Another national synod would not be held until 1816 under very different circumstances.

The Seventeenth Century after Dort

During the seventeenth century, however, questions began to arise as to the nature of this article of the church order. Did it make this minimal list of feast days compulsory? Or was the list to be treated as an absolute maximum? The questions arose from various different (sometimes non-Reformed) quarters. Addressing these matters, we find the single most important church political theologian of the century, Gijsbert Voet, generally known by his Latin name "Voetius." Voetius had the honour of being the youngest delegate to the great national synod of Dort in 1618/19 while still in his twenties. His church political commentaries and tracts have been used over and over again through the centuries to shed light on the church order. In the following quotation we see him dealing with objections to the church order "partly from those who do not support presbyterian polity, and partly from those who eagerly support it." Objection # 4 concerns our topic:

> *Objection*: Annual feast days, as they are commonly so called, are established by the articles of the Lowlands [i.e. the church order]. *Response*: Those articles are purely tolerating and limiting, not positive and prescriptive, as I have abundantly demonstrated in my *Disputation Concerning Feasts* 3. inserted in *Parti Select. Dispp.* I will not repeat matters here. Therefore such articles ought not to be pressed against churches or ministers, who are able εὐτάκτως ("in an orderly fashion") and

19. 30. "Opt IIde articule aengaende de feestdagen is verhaelt, dat daeraff een placcaet is uutgegaen. Soe hebben de predicanten eensamentlick aengenomen neerstlicheyt te doen hen daerna te reguleren. Ende alsoe men verstaet, dat noch op eenige plaetsen opten Goeden Vrydach by nachte wort gepredict, soe heeft de synode dat onstichtlick verclaert ende dat daeromme de classe, daer sulcx geschiet, tselve weeren sal." *Acta der Provinciale en Particuliere Synoden*, 2.345 (art. 30).

20. The reference seems to be to the second part of the article of the general synod on feast days where it is said that where the magistrates ordain extra feast days the ministers must do their best by the preaching to transform the idleness of the people into a holy and profitable exercise. "Placards" were formal posters, usually with a seal, informing the people of the town of important items. The implication seems to be that these placards warned the people against idleness on these extra free days.

21. For example, the Provincial Synod of Groningen (held in Groningen) 1618. *Acta der Provinciale en Particuliere Synoden*, 7.343.

22. De Collegiën hebben elk hunne adviezen ingebracht over de laatst voorgestelde bezwaren, en is over elk in het bizonder aldus besloten: 1. "De Kerken zullen onderhouden, behalve den dag des Heeren, ook den Christdag, Paschen en Pinksteren, met den volgenden dag. En dewijl, in de meeste steden en Provinciën van Nederland, daarenboven nog onderhouden worden de dag der Besnijdenis, en der Hemelvaart van Christus, zullen de Predikanten overal, waar dit nog niet in gebruik is, bij de Overheid arbeiden, dat in dezen deele met de andere Kerken een een parige voet mag worden gehouden." *Acta of Handelingen der Nationale Synode te Dordrecht in de jaren 1618 en 1619* (Houten: Den Hertog, 1987), p. 938 (Post Acta 162nd sitting. art.1).

> with edification to procure their abolition or at least diminution before the magistrates and their people.[23]

Some years later he returned to the topic, adding:

> Concerning the observance of the day of Christ's birth, ascension, etc. We do not interpret, as indeed here scandalisers are accustomed to do, this observance to be commanded and imposed, but its usage and tolerance to be limited; a fact that we have shown elsewhere (in the disputation *De Sabbatho* ...) to harmonise with the intent of the legislators (although the parenthesis subjoined by the Synod of Dordrecht 1578 was omitted in 1586 in the [Synod of the] city of the Hague).[24]

The disputation here referred to, *De Sabbatho et Festis*, was held in 1638 and published in a collection of Voetius' disputations some years later. Towards the end of the second (lengthy) appendix he discusses the varied nature of the articles contained in the church order.[25] In this discussion he distinguishes between those articles which are prescriptive commands to the churches, and those which are "partly permissive, or concessive, or tolerating; partly limiting, so that if it must be, at least it will be this and nothing more." He continues:

> Such articles are not characteristic or intrinsic or voluntary impulses having proceeded from the heart of the church; but occasional, extrinsic (just as an eclipse is a characteristic phenomenon of the moon), ἐπείσακτος ("having been brought in"), imposed from elsewhere, burdensome to the churches, in and of themselves in an absolute sense unwelcome; to which Synods were summoned, compelled, and coerced to receive, insert, and admit, as in the manner of a transaction, in order to avoid worse disagreeable and bad situations.

Among the articles cited in this category are those concerning the right of patronage in the election of ministers, the presence of the civil magistrate at synods, and the observance of feast days. The first two articles are thankfully no longer required, and you will not find them in modern Reformed church orders based on the order of Dort. The third article in this category of articles, which are really only there because of the pressures of the civil magistrate and the stubbornness of the people, is the article on feast days! Voetius continues:

> Of the like kind is the article concerning the observance of those days, which our synods did not willingly furnish or institute because they saw in them or expected from them a better way or greater edification, but because of the necessity imposed by the magistrate and the people they allowed observance in 1578, when, after all attempts—both the observance having at this point been discontinued and in addition the synodical decree established in 1574, at that point of time they were not able to abrogate it; and they restricted it as far as they were able; none the less they at that same time declared their desire and attitude concerning a better and safer way in non-observance. They did not repeat this declaration at the national synod of Middelburg in 1581: because they saw that they would gain nothing, and that

23. "IV. *obj.* Festa anniversaria, quae vulgo ita dicuntur, Canonibus Belgicis stabiliuntur. *Resp.* Canones illi sunt pure tolerativi, & limitantes, non positivi & praescribentes, uti abunde probavi in *Disp. de Festis* 3. *Parti Select. Disp*p. insertâ: Nec hic repeto. Non debent ergo tanquam tales, urgeri contra Ecclesias aut Ministros, qui apud Magistratum & populum suum εὐτάκτως & cum aedificatione procurare possint eorum abolitionem aut saltem diminutionem." *Politica Ecclesiastica*, pars I, liber I, tractatus II (Amsterdam: Waesberge, 1663), p. 294.

24. "de observatione diei nativitatis Christi, ascensionis, &c. Non interpretamur, ut quidem hic schandalizati solent, mandari hoc & imponi, sed consuetudinem ejusque tolerantiam limitari; quod convenire scopo legislatorum (quamvis parenthesis anno 1578. in Synodo Dordracenâ adjecta, anno 1586. in Hagae-comitanâ omissa sit) alibi docuimus. 3. *part. sel. disp*p. *tit.* de Sabbatho, &c." *Politica Ecclesiastica*, pars III, liber I, tractatus III, cap. V (Amsterdam: Waesberge, 1676), p. 173.

25. The ensuing quotations from this disputation can be found in G. Voetius, *Selectarum Disputationum Theologicarum pars tertia* (Utrecht: Waesberge, 1659), 1344–45. The Latin reads as follows: "*Alii* partim permittentes, seu admittentes, seu tolerantes; partim limitantes, ut si fieri debeat, saltem hoc fiat, & nihil ulterius.… Tales Canones non sunt motus proprii, nec intrinseci, nec spontanei ex corde Ecclesiae profecti; sed occasionati, extrinseci (quomodo eclipsis est propria passio lunae), ἐπείσακτος, aliunde impositi, Ecclesiis onerosi, absolutè & in se ingrati; ad quos concipiendos, inserendos, & quasi per modum transactionis admittendos Synodi invitae compulsae & coactae fuerunt, ad majora incommoda & mala evitanda.… Ejusdem generis canon est, de observatione istorum dierum: quam Synodi nostr[a]e sponte non affectârunt; nec instituerunt, quod meliorem viam ac majorem aedificationem in eâ viderent, aut ab eâ expectarent: sed propter necessitatem à Magistratu & populo impositam, cum post omnia tentata, & observationem jam intermissam, ac decretum Synodicum anno 1574. conditum, tunc temporis abrogare non possent, eam anno 1578. admiserunt; & restrinxerunt, quousque poterant; nihilominus votum & sensum suum de meliori ac tutiori via in non-observatione, ibidem declarârunt. Quam declarationem anno 1581. in Synodo Nationali Middelburgensi non repetierunt: quod viderent se nihil profecturos, & magis abrogationem illam desiderari, quamâ sperari posse. Ex Historicâ hâc relatione, desumtâ ex Actis & Canonibus trium Synodorum modo cit. satis constare arbitror, Belgicas Ecclesias cum Theologis suis minimè dubitasse & fluctuasse, aut sibi contradixisse, aut sententiam suam de observationis illius sive necessitate, sive utilitate mutasse (tam enim indocti & instabiles non erant eximii illi Theologi Belgici, quorum praestantiores ex Scholâ Genevensi prodierant)…."

its abrogation was more a desire than something to be hoped for. From this historical report taken from the acts and articles of the three synods just quoted, I judge it to be sufficiently established that the churches of the Lowlands with their theologians minimally doubted and fluctuated, or contradicted themselves, or changed their thinking—whether by necessity or by utility—concerning that observance (for those exceptional theologians of the Lowlands were not so unlearned and unstable, of whom the more excellent ones have come from the school at Geneva)….

What Voetius wrote was not just theoretical. He had stated that the article on feast days was limiting in character, giving an absolute maximum permissible number of extra days of observance. However, there was nothing to stop churches and ministers in an orderly way reducing this number. In fact quite a number of churches and ministers of the later seventeenth century ended up not observing any feast days!

Nineteenth Century

Due to political influence, it was to be several hundred years before the next national synod took place. That was in 1816, after the Netherlands had been freed from Napoleon. This Synod was, however, completely in the hands of the new Dutch king, who changed the whole character of the church federation, taking away discipline in matters of doctrine and giving himself enormous influence in the church. It was not long before the faithful felt compelled to secede from what had become extreme liberalism. The secession was led by Rev. Hendrick de Cock. The first synod of the seceded Reformed Churches was held in Amsterdam in 1836. Once again, feast days were also a topic that needed to be dealt with:

1836 Amsterdam[26]

Given that the Holy Scripture just as much admonishes the believers *to stand in the freedom with which Christ has made us free*, as to comply with the divine commandments, so ought one in the congregation of Christ to carefully watch out that, besides the precise sanctification of the Lord's Day, people are not compelled to observe the so-called feast days which the Lord has *not* commanded in His Word. The Lord's Day has been set apart by God Himself, and we cannot and may not add to it any feast by human decree. The six work days are given by God in order to work; people may indeed gather together on those days to be edified from and according to God's Word, provided that the conscience of men is not bound to the observance of annually returning feast days appointed by men; the conscience must be left completely free in this matter.

At the next synod a year later, similar sentiments were declared:

1837 Utrecht[27]

Given that the maintenance of feast days is not commanded in God's Word, no necessity ought ever to be laid on someone; much less must these days be equated to the day of rest. However, given that no work is done on these days, one ought to use them as much as possible in an edifying manner.

Twenty-First Century

Most Reformed churches from the continental tradition in our own day use an adapted version of the church order of Dort 1618/19. It is therefore rather interesting that while most of the articles which were non-prescriptive and "limiting" in nature have been left out of modern Reformed church orders, the article on feast days has usually been maintained. This probably has to do with the fact that during the last century the observance of several feast days has become a well-known and accepted phenomenon among the people. Of particular interest is the fact that many Reformed churches in English-speaking countries have actually *increased* the number of feast days by adding Good Friday. The celebration of Good Friday has indeed a longer history in

26. "ART. 63. *Feestdagen.* Daar de Heilige Schrift even sterk de geloovigen vermaant, *om te staan in de vrijheid, waarmede Christus hen heeft vrijgemaakt*, als tot het in acht nemen der goddelijke ordonnantiën, zoo zal men zich in de gemeente Christi zorgvuldig wachten, om, nevens de stipte heiliging van 's Heeren dag, de menschen te verpligten tot het vieren van zoogenaamde Feestdagen, welke de Heere *niet* in Zijn Woord verordineerd heeft. De dag des Heeren is door God zelven geheiligd, en wij kunnen en mogen daarbij door menschelijke bepalingen geene andere feestelijkheid voegen. De zes werkdagen zijn van God gegeven, om te arbeiden; men zal op die dagen wel te zamen komen, om uit en naar den Woorde Gods gesticht te worden, mits men maar niet de conscientie der menschen binde tot de onderhouding van door menschen vastbepaalde en jaarlijks geregeld wederkeerende feestdagen; men zal in deze het gemoed volkomen vrij laten." *Handelingen van de Opzieners der Gemeente Jesu Christi, vergaderd te Amsterdam, den 2den Maart en volgende dagen, Ao 1836* (Amsterdam: H. Höveker, 1836), p. 31.

27. "Daar de onderhouding van feestdagen niet in Gods Woord wordt voorgeschreven, zoo mag men nooit eenigcn nood daarvan aan iemand opleggen; veel minder dezelve gelijkstellen met den rustdag. Daar echter, waar rnen op die dagen niet werkt, zal men dezelve zoo veel mogeıijk stichteliijk zoeken door te brengen." *Handelingen van de Opzieners der Gemeente Jesu Christi, vergaderd te Utrecht, den 28sten September en volgende dagen, Ao 1837* (Amsterdam: H. Höveker, 1838), p. 55.

English-speaking countries than in the Netherlands. The fact remains, however, that the purpose of this article of the church order was *always* to limit the observance of feast days. This should mean that no church in a Reformed federation of churches has the right to add the observance of extra feast days *in addition* to those listed in the church order. The history also suggests that it should be possible for regions to agree to limit the list even further, although it is doubtful that the church order had the intent to permit individual churches to take such action without respect for the churches around them. Time and again we see the synods from the Reformation era emphasising the desire for a uniformity in practice. However, this desire for uniformity was in the first place a desire to *limit* the number of feast days observed among the churches, never to stimulate churches to *increase* the number of feast days observed.

Conclusion

We asked at the beginning, 1. do churches really need to bind each other to such days, and 2. was that really the original intention of this church order article? The overview of the historical background to this article of the church order regarding feast days shows without a doubt that no-one's conscience ought to be bound to this article or to feast day observance. In other words, church discipline may never be applied merely for the sake of non-attendance of such feast day services. The article is *not* prescriptive; that is, it is not a command. It is an agreement to limit the number of days observed as feast days in addition to the Christian sabbath or rest day in honour of our Lord. While the consistory does call to worship on these days, such a call to worship cannot be compared to those which are extended on the Lord's Day, which we are specifically *commanded* by God himself to observe as a day of worship and rest. A consistory may duly admonish members who out of laziness or lack of zeal do not attend worship on feast days, but due caution should be exercised with members who by conviction of conscience with respect to purity of worship believe that they ought not to gather together on days not specifically commanded by our Lord.

As a final note, it is of interest to note that there is at least one modern Reformed federation with a church order still based on that of the Synod of Dort, which has gone further than that Synod in limiting the influence of feast days. The Canadian Reformed Churches seem to have better captured the limiting spirit of this article of the church order by allowing consistories the freedom to decide for themselves whether or not to hold worship services on these days. Their article 53 reads:[28]

> Each year the Churches shall, in the manner decided upon by the consistory, commemorate the birth, death, resurrection, and ascension of the Lord Jesus Christ, as well as His outpouring of the Holy Spirit.▪

28. *Book of Praise: Anglo-Genevan Psalter* (Winniperg, Manitoba: Standing Committee for the Publication of the Book of Praise of the Canadian Reformed Churches, 2010), 638.

In Brief: Calvin Preaching on December 25, 1550/51

"Now, I see here today more people that I am accustomed to having at the sermon. Why is that? It is Christmas day. And who told you this? You poor beasts. That is a fitting euphemism for all of you who have come here today to honor Noel. Did you think you would be honoring God? Consider what sort of obedience to God your coming displays. In your mind, you are celebrating a holiday for God, or turning today into one but so much for that. In truth, as you have often been admonished, it is good to set aside one day out of the year in which we are reminded of all the good that has occurred because of Christ's birth in the world, and in which we hear the story of his birth retold, which will be done Sunday. But if you think that Jesus Christ was born today, you are as crazed as wild beasts. For when you elevate one day alone for the purpose of worshiping God, you have just turned it into an idol. True, you insist that you have done so for the honor of God, but it is more for the honor of the devil.

… It matters not whether we recall our Lord's nativity on a Wednesday, Thursday, or some other day. But when we insist on establishing a service of worship based on our whim, we blaspheme God, and create an idol, though we have done it all in the name of God. And when you worship God in the idleness of a holiday spirit, that is a heavy sin to bear, and one which attracts others about it, until we reach the height of iniquity. Therefore, let us pay attention to what Micah is saying here, that God must not only strip away things that are bad in themselves, but must also eliminate anything that might foster superstition. Once we have understood that, we will no longer find it strange that Noel is not being observed today, but that on Sunday we will celebrate the Lord's Supper and recite the story of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ." John Calvin, *Sermons on the Book of Micah*, trans. Benjamin W. Farley (Phillipsburg: P&R Publishing, 2003), 302–304.▪

Luther on Public Worship:
Serving God and Being Served by Him

By Clif Daniell

When thinking about Martin Luther and the Protestant Reformation, one does not often consider topics like worship. Understandably, other polemical matters, such as indulgences, papal authority, and justification, normally get the most headlines. However, Luther had much to say about the public gathering of God's people. In a sermon preached at the dedication of the castle church in Torgau, the reformer declared, "This new house should be so ordered that nothing occurs in it but that our dear Lord himself speaks with us through his holy word, and we in turn speak with him through prayer and praise."[1] Bound up within this quote is a subtle critique of late medieval Roman Catholicism. The church of the 16th century largely saw public worship as an opportunity to serve God, in order to gain his favor. It was, in essence, an exchange between the human and divine where man's service was offered and God's grace was then given.[2] However, Luther's comments at Torgau hint at an altogether different theology and practice. In public worship, God first serves man and, responsively, man serves him. Among the gathered assembly, there is divine activity, which creates and compels corporate expressions of faith. This main point can be unpacked by considering Luther on worship, preaching, and liturgy.

Luther on Worship

Nearly six months after the posting of *The 95 Thesis*, Luther was asked to further explain his ideas before a gathering of his Augustinian order. It was an opportunity for him to not only defend his claims but to further flesh them out. For this meeting, he penned what has been called *The Heidelberg Disputation*. Little is known about the specific debates that took place, except to say Luther's ideas were presented and some, in particular the Heidelberg theology professors, took issue with them. This was largely because there was less of a focus on indulgences and more of a critique of late medieval scholastic theology.[3] And at the heart of the reformer's evaluation, there was a distinction between theologians of glory and theologians of the cross.[4]

A theologian of glory attempts to approach God with his achievements in hand, but a theologian of the cross recognizes that he dare not come before the Holy One in this manner. In fact, because of his sinful condition, he cannot come at all. Instead, God must come to him, and he has in the cross of Christ. For Luther, these ideas strongly shaped his views on worship, leading to the conclusion that man is not principally a giver but a receiver in the public assembly. It is God who is the primary active agent in worship.[5]

The Active God

Mankind is natively a worshipper. According to Luther, a person either adores the creator or created things.[6] For him, there was no third state where, out of indifference or uncertainty, one worships nothing. Neither could there be a bowing to both. Man either exercises

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1. Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke* (Weimarer Ausgabe, hereafter *WA*), 120 vols. (Weimar, 1883–2009). WA 49, p. 588, quoted in Hans-Christoph Schmidt Lauber, "The Lutheran Tradition in the German Lands," in *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*, ed. Geoffrey Wainwright and Karen Westerfield Tucker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 396.

2. Luther, "Concerning the Order of Public Worship," in *Luther's Works* (hereafter *LW*), ed. Helmut Lehmann and Jaroslav Pelikan, et al. 53 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1955–65), 53.11.

3. Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: His Road to Reformation 1483–1521* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 215, 231.

4. See *LW,* 31.52, theses 20 & 21.

5. Dennis Ngien, "Worship as Radical Reversal in Martin Luther's *Theologia Crucis*," *Reformation 12* (2007): 1–2.

6. Luther, *Commentary on Romans,* trans J. Theodore Mueller (Kregel: Grand Rapids, 1954), 71.

faith in God or trusts in idols.[7] In Luther's mind, much of Roman Catholic/late medieval worship was idolatrous. The churchgoer of the 16th century was to follow the prescribed ecclesiastical incantations or engage in the appropriate penitential deeds and aid would come from God. The worshipper could even be delivered from sin in this life and in purgatory by participating in the various elements of the mass.[8] They were to simply do their best (*facere quod in se est*), and God would do the rest. In fact, he was obligated to do so. In establishing a *facere quod in se est* pact with mankind, God made himself duty bound to grant grace when 'appropriate worship' was given.[9] Public worship, then, was an exchange, where a level of sincere service was rendered to God and, as a result, he served the worshipper.

Yet, in many respects, Luther saw this inversely—God acting, man responding. For him, the late medieval understanding of public worship was inherently a theology of glory.[10] It was mankind ascending the ladder to heaven in order to speak with God and gain his favor. However, to Luther, such an idea was untenable, especially given man's bondage to sin and weakness. The reformer declared,

> "How, then, are endeavors after good made by those who one and all are ignorant of God, and neither regard nor seek God? How have they a power that is profitable for good, when they all go out of their way from good, and are utterly unprofitable?"[11]

Since mankind is so undone before a holy God, he cannot freely choose to do the 'best' necessary to enter into God's presence for worship. He is unrighteous and so are his works. There is nothing in man that will rightly turn him to God. Even those led by the Spirit are caused a great deal of trouble by their original condition. How much more those outside of Christ?[12] Therefore, both the non-Christian and the Christian cannot do the works necessary to warrant God's favor in worship. Neither congruous (*facere quod in se est*) nor condign merit *(gratia gratum faciens*) provide a sufficient basis for approaching the divine.[13] Medieval corporate piety, then, crumbles and collapses on the basis of man's native enslavement to sin, as does the notion that he is the primary giver in public worship. Instead, God is the active agent amongst the gathered people.

God's Service to Man

From the beginning, God has always been the one who graciously initiated service to man. Genesis 1:1, "In the beginning God made…." Creation itself was a free act on the part of the divine.[14] In specifically making man, God gave life and original righteousness to Adam and Eve, and this was without their contribution or participation.[15] They were passive receivers, and none of this changed post-fall. In fact, God's initiative only became clearer. After the Garden, man's attitude towards God can be summed up as, he does not "care for God's righteousness, nor obeys him, but all fight the divine truth."[16] He is habitually addicted to the worship of false gods. Whatever pious acts in worship he may do, they do not constitute acceptable service to God. They are either done out of fear of judgment or for self-glorification. Man, then, is in rebellion and, worse, is spiritually dead in his trespasses.

He is incapable of giving service to God. But in Jesus Christ God has not left man to destruction. He has actively revealed himself as the only redeemer for mankind. The impetus was upon him to work, and out of love he did. "Almighty God did not spare his own Son, but delivered him to a most shameful death, that he might be made a curse and sin for me, a cursed sinner, that I might be blessed, the child and heir of God."[17] At the Cross, Christ came to the rebel and paid his punishment. On Golgotha's hill, Jesus' death secured everlasting life for spiritually dead sinners. Therefore, God has actively served man, in both creation and in Christ, without his contribution or participation and in spite of his weakness and sin.

Surely then, he who has taken this kind of loving initiative has not suddenly switched and made it so that man first serves God in worship? For Luther such an

7. Vilmos Vajta, *Luther on Worship: An Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958), 5–6.

8. Luther, "Heidelberg Disputation," *Luther's Basic Theological Writings*, ed. Timothy Lull (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 344–345.

9. Heiko Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), 132.

10. Even though Luther does not specifically say medieval worship was a theology of glory, he certainly implies it given his overall critique of scholastic theology and practice, which was centered on worship. See Luther's *Disputation against Scholastic Theology* (*LW* 31, 9–16) and the *Heidelberg Disputation* (*LW* 31, 39–58). See also Carl Trueman, *Luther on the Christian Life* (Wheaton: Crossway, 2015) 60–61.

11. Martin Luther, *The Bondage of the Will*, trans. J. I. Packer and O. R. Johnston (Grand Rapids: Flemming Revell, 1995), 280.

12. Luther, *The Bondage of the Will*, pp. 296, 317.

13. Luther, *The Bondage of the Will*, pp. 292, 295.

14. Louis Berkhof, *Systematic Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 129–130.

15. Robert Kolb and Charles Arand, *The Genius of Luther's Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 28.

16. Luther, *Commentary on Romans,* p. 71.

17. Luther, *Commentary on Galatians,* ed Alister McGrath and J. I. Packer (Crossway: Grand Rapids, 1998), 157.

idea was a manifestation of a theology of glory. It was a way for men to revel in their wisdom and achievement.[18] In the Heidelberg Disputation, Luther was declaring that the late medieval scholastic approach to worship was inconsistent with the natural identity of transgressors.[19] Man is simply unable to serve God in worship without him first being served the Gospel of Christ by God.

This means that a *facere quod in se est* approach to worship is contrary to the logic of the Cross. Christ became weak and 'foolish' via imputation in order to save a wayward people. Sinners are brought into the presence of God for worship through his sacrificial death. However, they can only do so conscious of their own weakness and foolishness, trusting in the work of Christ alone to declare them righteous. The problem, then, with a late medieval scholastic understanding of public worship was that it elevated man's effort and minimized Christ's work.[20] It promoted hubris and vain glory, while neglecting the sinfulness of man and humble faith in the Savior. It made the worshipper a theologian of glory rather than of the Cross. Moreover, it turned God into one who must be placated by man's service, instead of the one who seeks to save the lost. God is the

> "one who gives, not takes, who offers, not asks for it … in short, who does and gives all things and needs no one, and who does everything freely, out of pure grace and without merit, for the unworthy and underserving, yes, the lost and damned."[21]

He is the principle giver and not receiver. Man is the primary one being served in worship. His service is one of faith and repentance, trust and praise. It was for worship that God made and redeemed a lost people. It is among the gathered for worship that he continues to remind them that in creation and in Christ's Cross he has served and still serves them in their weakness. Yet for Luther, how does God actively give within the context of the public assembly? What does he use to serve sinners?

Luther on Preaching

On May 4, 1521, Luther found himself at the Wartburg Castle. For nearly a year it would be his home. In order to keep Luther alive, Fredrick the Wise had whisked him away from Worms to a location not even revealed to the prince. It would be "Luther's Patmos."[22] While he was gone, problems surfaced in Wittenberg. After debates arose concerning whether to reform the mass, Andreas Karlstadt, on Christmas of 1521, departed from the traditional worship service. He wore no priestly garments, altered the liturgy, and gave out both the bread and wine to communicants. These changes didn't necessarily go against Luther's personal views, but they did create commotion throughout the city. Mob riots ensued, proclaiming freedom from religious oppression. Others saw it as desecration of holy things. Tension was high in the city, and it only got worse. Two days later, the sparks that had set the town of Zwickau aflame with extremist teaching came to Wittenberg in the form of the arrival of the Zwickau prophets.[23]

Over the next few months, Karlstadt and others sought to bring even more reforms to the city. Images in worship were not to be tolerated. The Lord's Supper was to be given in both kinds—bread and wine. Pastors in local parishes were allowed to conduct worship in a variety of ways. Doing so only caused the city to further descend into a state of chaos. By early 1522, Wittenberg was in religious and social disarray.[24] There was a growing sentiment that only Luther could bring stability. At first, Fredrick the Wise was reluctant to allow him to come out of hiding. But eventually, on March 6, 1522, Luther returned to Wittenberg with the task of restoring order.[25]

Yet, what would he do to bring reform? Luther believed that some of the things being espoused by Karlstadt and others were true, but they and many in the city had abused their evangelical freedom. They had sought reform by force, and thus were causing people to overlook Christ.[26] What was the reformer's methodology for handling the chaotic situation in Wittenberg? Luther preached. One week after his arrival, he daily preached a series of eight sermons, in public worship, which recaptured the hearts and minds of the people and put down the attitudes and actions of the Wittenberg radicals.[27] And it is here at this moment that Luther put into practice his belief that God was

18. McCulloch, *The Reformation* (New York: Penguin, 2003), 125.
19. See *LW* 31.52, theses 3, 13, & 14.
20. Luther, "Heidelberg Disputation," *Luther's Basic Theological Writings*, 22–23.
21. Luther, *Admonition on the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood*, 1530; *WA* 30, p. 603, quoted in Wainwright and Tucker, *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*, p. 396.
22. Roland Bainton, *Here I Stand* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1950), 191–193.
23. Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luther in Mid-Career 1521–1539*. ed. Karin Bornkamm, trans. E. Theodore Bachmann (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 51–52.
24. Bornkamm, 58–60.
25. Bornkamm, 67–68.
26. Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: Shaping and Defining the Reformation 1521–1532* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 52.
27. Bornkamm,73–74.

especially active through the proclaiming of the Word. If peace was going to be found in Wittenberg, it would only happen because the Scriptures were rightly being heralded.[28] For Luther, it was the declaration of the Word of God in public worship that would bring reformation. Man only has the power to speak the word, and not the ability to accomplish the appropriate results.[29] Only the active God can do that, and he does it through Gospel proclamation.

Anfechtungen and the Need for Preaching

With Wittenberg in turmoil, there was a need for biblical preaching. However, lying underneath the religious and social issues in the city, was a more basic problem. As discussed earlier, man's fallen condition is such that he cannot serve God in worship. *Facere quod in se est* is impossible because his status is labeled 'spiritually incapacitated.' Yet, for Luther a person's sinfulness was not simply a 'state of being,' but also an experiential reality best described as *Anfechtungen*. In one sense, this word refers to the attacks of the Devil to tempt and torture the souls of sinners.[30] It is his creation of noise to drown out the preached Word. Satan hates the Scriptures and seeks to either distort or distract men from its right proclamation. According to Luther, this was one reason why Wittenberg was boiling in 1522. Satan was at work misleading people and muddling the Word.[31]

Yet, *Anfechtungen* also refers to a personal struggle which includes "all the doubt, turmoil, pang, tremor, panic, despair, desolation, and desperation which invade the spirit of man."[32] It is the suffering and trouble sinners endure given the general effects of the fall and one's own personal sins. Furthermore, it is the sense of angst that men feel as they come to the realization of how undone and unpleasant they are to a holy God.[33] It is like what Jonah felt as the great fish came upon him, swallowing and taking him down to the place where there was no light and life. Overwhelmed with despair, Jonah cried out to God for salvation. So also, the sinner is overcome with misery, especially as he stands before a holy God's wrath and condemnation.[34]

However, experiences of *Anfechtungen* do not go away post conversion. In fact, they may become more prevalent throughout the Christian's life.[35] This is certainly because the attacks of the Devil increase, and one's native attachment to the world does not vanish. Additionally, there is also a sense in which the believer ought to still feel despair due to his recurrent struggle with sin. He continues to sense its pull, and guilt persistently weighs him down. Doubt may even flood his mind, causing him to ask, "Is Christ really for me?"

For Luther, the goal in this life is not to rid the Believer of these experiences, necessarily. Instead, Luther's response to *Anfechtungen* is to accept it as the Christian's struggle—"a kind of seesaw between despair and hope."[36] It is a part of the Believer's life, one that is even fostered and fueled by preaching in public worship. As the Law is proclaimed, God is serving the Christian, by reminding him of specific sins. Convinced by the Spirit of his weakness and foolishness, his soul becomes burdened with sorrow. Through the preaching of the Law, God makes him see his need, which is a necessary preparation for the Gospel. Luther declared, "If I were to live long enough I would write a book about *Anfechtungen* without which nobody can understand the Scriptures or know the fear and love of God."[37] It is into this sense of spiritual angst that the proclamation of the Gospel then comes, lifting the head of the weary transgressor. The preaching of the Law brings the sinner low, so that the work of Christ can lift him up. In public worship, he is forced to honestly look inside himself and then is led to gaze outside to the crucified and risen Savior for salvation. *Anfechtungen,* hence, is stirred up and soothed by biblical preaching. Perhaps Luther believed that what was lying behind many of the problems in Wittenberg in 1522 was a more basic issue best described as *Anfechtungen*. Moreover, it seems he understood what they really needed was the Gospel heralded.

An Audible Word Preached

If the Word was the foundation of Luther's reformation, the framing of the church in Germany would take place only through its preaching. Luther believed the preached Word was the "real medium" that would bring salvation to sinners and biblical change to the church.[38]

28. Carlos Erie, *War Against the Idols* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 68. Carl Trueman makes the same point and connections between Luther's Eight Sermons in Wittenberg (1522) and the 'reformation' that ensued. Carl Trueman, *Luther on the Christian Life*, pp. 94–95.

29. Luther, "Eight Sermons at Wittenberg," *Luther's Basic Theological Writings*, p. 293.

30. Timothy George, *Theology of the Reformers* (Nashville: Broadman & Holdman, 1988), 105.

31. Luther, "Eight Sermons at Wittenberg," *Luther's Basic Theological Writings*, p. 291.

32. Bainton, *Here I Stand*, p. 42.

33. Kolb and Arand, *The Genius of Luther's Theology*, p. 50.

34. Bainton, *Here I Stand,* p. 357.

35. Trueman, *Luther on the Christian Life*, p. 123.

36. Trueman, *Luther on the Christian Life*, p. 123.

37. George, *Theology of the Reformers*, p. 324.

38. Brecht, *Martin Luther: Shaping and Defining the Reformation*, p. 64.

Ideologically, this was in many ways similar to what the Fourth Lateran Council declared in 1215.[39]

> Since just as the body is fed with material food so the soul is fed with spiritual food, according to the words, 'man shall not live by bread alone but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God…. We therefore decree by this general constitution that bishops are to appoint suitable men to carry out with profit this duty of sacred preaching, men who are powerful in word and deed.[40]

However, much of medieval practice sidelined the preaching of the Scriptures. While the Word was frequently read in worship, over time its proclamation was squeezed out of the liturgy, in favor of more ceremonial elements.[41] But for Luther, the audible Word declared to the gathered assembly was central. God was actively serving people through it. In his mind, words were powerful. They shaped reality.[42] When a man and a woman stood before the local parish priest and said their wedding vows, it created a new reality—a union between them.

In a similar fashion, Luther argued that God's Word did the same except on a grander scale. "God speaks a mere word, and immediately the birds are brought forth from the water. If the word is spoken, all things are possible, so that out of the water are made fish or birds."[43] Divine speech is powerful enough to create what it has called for. And the same can be said for the Word that is Christ. His coming is powerful and efficacious for the salvation of the lost. Christ is God's preaching to sinners that there is hope of forgiveness and new life. And his death and resurrection create what has been called for—redemption for those enslaved to Satan, sin, and death.[44] As the Gospel of Christ is heralded in worship, God is taking the initiative to humble the proud through the proclamation of the Law and then to build them back up through the announcement of the Gospel.

Therefore, in preaching, Luther says, "To be sure, I do hear the sermon; however, I am wont to ask: 'Who is speaking? The pastor? By no means! You do not hear the pastor. Of course, the voice is his, but the words he employs are really spoken by God."[45] Through the feeble instrumentation of words, God is at work serving sinners. Since they cannot reach up to him, he takes the initiative and lowers himself in a way they can understand.[46] Through the preaching of the Word, God humbles himself, using human language to describe divine truth and to create new realities. As the Law is heralded, God brings the commands to bear upon the sinner's soul, and by the Spirit, makes him low. As the Gospel is declared, he lifts up the drooping heads of the guilt-laden and condemned transgressor, and he declares the one whose faith is in Christ to be righteous. For one filled with *Anfechtungen*, the greatest need was to look outside the self, to the Christ announced in the Word.[47]

Given that God is actively at work through the proclamation of the Word to apply both the Law and the Gospel, Luther believed preaching was to be central in the public assembly of the church. In fact, if there was no preaching there was no real worship of God taking place, because at the heart of biblical worship was God serving sinners through the heralding of the Scriptures.[48] That is why Luther said, "Therefore, when God's Word is not preached, one had better neither sing nor read, or even come together."[49] Without the audible Word being given to the people, they remained in their idolatrous state, functioning like theologians of glory. To come together without the Word being central would only further encourage the exaltation of man. But with biblical preaching being the 'chief thing' in the worship service, reformation could take place, because through it, God was at work.

In 1522, when Luther returned to Wittenberg, finding that a revolution of sorts had erupted, he "literally preached the Reformation back onto a steady course, winning over popular opinion and putting down radical elements."[50] God used the Word proclaimed and worked his will. In Luther's own words, "I simply taught,

39. John Witvliet, *Worship in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Karin Maag and John Witvliet (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 3.

40. Canon 10, *De predicatoribus instituendis,* Fourth Lateran Council (1215), trans. Norman P. Tanner, S.J., *Decrees of Ecumenical Councils,* vol. 1 (Washington: George Washington University Press, 1990), 239.

41. Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church,* vol. 3 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), xvi.

42. Trueman, *Luther on the Christian Life*, pp. 83–84.

43. Luther, *LW* 1.49, quoted in Carl Trueman, *Luther on the Christian Life,* p. 86.

44. Kolb and Arand, *The Genius of Luther's Theology*, pp. 180–181.

45. Luther, *LW* 22.528, quoted in H.S. Wilson, "Luther on Preaching as God Speaking," *The Pastoral Luther*, ed. by Timothy Wengert (Grand Rapids: Eerdman's, 2009), 102.

46. H.S. Wilson, "Luther on Preaching as God Speaking," *The Pastoral Luther*, ed. Timothy Wengert (Grand Rapids: Eerdman's, 2009), 104.

47. Carl Trueman, *Luther on the Christian Life*, p. 134.

48. Ngien, "Worship as Radical Reversal in Martin Luther's *Theologia Crucis*," p. 10.

49. Luther, *LW* 53.11.

50. Trueman, *Luther on the Christian Life*, p. 94.

preached, and wrote God's Word … I did nothing; the Word did everything."[51] In 1522, the active God used his proclaimed Word in public worship, saving the Reformation in Wittenberg, and likely Luther as well.

A Sacramental Word Preached

In Luther's second sermon after returning from Wartburg, he reminded them that "the chief characteristics of Christians [is] that their whole life and being is faith and love."[52] Hence, this faith must never be endangered, and love must never compel unless it is of biblical necessity. As a negative example, Luther then discussed the medieval mass. In his own words, "The mass is an evil thing, and God is displeased with it, because it is performed as if it were a sacrifice and work of merit."[53] The Eucharistic theology of the late Middle Ages viewed the Lord's Supper as an offering to God from the priest. He presented the bread and wine on behalf of the people. In return, God infused grace and brought blessing upon the participants. The Supper, then, was an action initiated by man and responded to by God.[54] It was a human attempt to satisfy divine justice.[55] Once the work was done, God was placated and there was an automatic conveyance of favor. The change in status was brought about not mainly because of the finished work of Christ, but due to the sacrifice offered in the mass.

However, Luther saw this sacrament not predominantly as a *sacrificium,* but instead, as a *beneficium*.[56] He said, "The mass is not a benefit God accepts but rather one that he gives; it is not a good deed that we do, but rather it does good to us."[57] The Lord's Supper is God speaking a word of grace and love. It is his promise that Christ's death was for sinners. As a testator, Jesus was crucified on the Cross, suffering wrath. As a resurrected and ascended "promiser," he now gives, in the receiving of the bread and wine, confirmation that sins are forgiven.[58] Christ's very presence at the holy meal assures one of an eternal inheritance that was purchased at Calvary. For Luther, Christ's real presence, then, was key. Without it, the Savior was not proclaiming the Gospel, comfort was not really being given by God, and therefore, the Supper was nothing more than a human activated ceremony.[59]

But given his theology of worship, Luther understood that the Lord was the active giver in this sacrament. He was the Host, hospitably serving his people.[60] In fact, he saw it as God's preaching in a different way. Christ presence and attachment to the words of institution made it so that the partaking of this holy meal was more than the eating of bread and drinking of wine. Jesus' words "broken for you" and "for the forgiveness of sins," made the Supper effectual to accomplish its intended outcome. As these phrases were declared and the elements given, God was preaching a visible word and imparting the forgiveness of sins.[61]

To the soul wrestling with *Anfechtungen*, the mass, as Luther understood it, was a source of strength in the fight against the flesh, the world, and the Devil. Additionally, it was to be viewed as nourishment for the weary saint. As the burdens of living in a fallen world press in, as guilt and sadness weigh down, as adversaries attack, the Believer was to fly to Christ in the Supper.[62] There the message of the Gospel is proclaimed through words and visible signs giving help, hope, and joy. Therefore, just as with the audible Word, the sacramental Word is the remedy for *Anfechtungen*. It comes to the sinner from outside, as God's gracious service.[63] It is what brings the Christian back from despair to hope. To Luther, in 1522, the people of Wittenberg needed this visible proclamation. Amid the uncertainty and ungodliness found in the city, he proclaimed, the "bread is a comfort for the sorrowing, a healing for the sick, a life for the dying, a food for all the hungry, and a rich treasure for all the poor and needy."[64] It is Christ personally and actively announcing through the ordinary means of words, bread, and wine that salvation was come to sinners because of his death and resurrection.

A Response to the Preached Word

In his seventh Invocavit sermon, Luther ended by saying, "let this be a warning to you, for God will not have his Word revealed and preached in vain…. You are not heeding it at all and you are playing around with all kinds of tomfoolery which does not amount to

51. Luther, *LW* 51.77.
52. Luther, "Eight Sermons at Wittenberg," *Luther's Basic Theological Writings*, p. 292.
53. "Eight Sermons at Wittenberg," p. 292.
54. Helmar Junghans. "Luther on the Reform of Worship," *Lutheran Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (September 1, 1999): 319.
55. Vajta, *Luther on Worship*, p. 55.
56. Vajta, *Luther on Worship*, p. 27.
57. Luther, *A Treatise on the New Testament, that is, the Holy Mass*, 1520; *WA* 6, p. 364, quoted in Wainwright and Tucker, *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*, p. 396.
58. Luther, "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church," *Luther's Basic Theological Writings*, pp. 212–213.
59. "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church," 220.
60. Kolb and Arand, *The Genuis of Luther's Theology,* p. 198.
61. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: Reformation of the Church and Dogma (1300–1700)*, v. 4 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 179–180.
62. Trueman, *Luther on the Christian Life*, p. 146.
63. Trueman, *Luther on the Christian Life*, 156.
64. Luther, "Eight Sermons at Wittenberg," pp. 303–304.

anything."[65] Why were they being chided? They were not rightly responding to the audible and sacramental Word that had been previous declared to them. God serves sinners through the preaching in the pulpit and at the Table. However, those who hear and partake are to respond with faith. It is to be their reply to God's service in the Law and the Gospel. In public worship, the sinner is humbled as sins of omission and commission are detailed. And then, they are encouraged and comforted as Christ's saving work is preached. Such Good News appeals for faith to be exercised.

Luther believed, as the Word in both forms went forth in the worship service, that God was actively creating new life and calling for corporate expressions of faith. There was to be a receiving and responding to the promise of God in the Cross, which manifests itself in humble praise and thanks.[66] Most definitely, the divine service of Law and Gospel is primary, but man's response of faith is called for; in fact, it is required. [67] As man's condition and God's catholicon are proclaimed, confession is expected and trust in Christ is needed, lest *Anfechtungen* overwhelm the soul, ungodliness characterize the Believer, and the Devil ruin the church. When Luther returned home from the Wartburg Castle, this is exactly what he found happening in Wittenberg. Believers were afflicted. Saints were acting more like sinners, and Satan was at work.

Some of the issues Karlstadt and others were attempting to address, Luther agreed needed to be reformed. On these matters, it wasn't necessarily what these "zealots" were saying, but how they and the people as a whole were responding to the Word of God already preached to them. There was little humility, patience, or compassion accompanying their efforts to change the church.[68] For Luther, that meant the people were not listening. And yet, what did he do? He preached, trusting that God would actively work through his audible and sacramental Word, comforting those afflicted with *Anfechtungen,* and calling for faith and the fruit of obedience. He believed that in worship God would serve his people, and they were to respond by gratefully and rightly serving him in return. With this theology of worship in hand, Luther then constructed a new liturgy.

Luther on Liturgy

After Luther returned to Wittenberg in 1523, he was cautious about making changes to the public worship service. This was not the case with other more "zealous" reformers, like Thomas Muntzer and Johannes Lang.[69] They quickly established new liturgies for worship that were in the vernacular of the people. However, Luther got rid of similar changes Karlstadt made in 1522. The following year, he did introduce a purified Latin mass for the city. Even though the preaching was to be in German, everything else in the liturgy was basically unchanged.[70] Luther intentionally waited to make further liturgical revisions. One reason was because he wanted an ascetically pleasing liturgy.[71] Some of the early reforms made to orders of worship were pragmatic in nature and, therefore, lacked beauty and overall appeal. Others, were simply too conservative, dressing the old mass in new language.[72] Composing the kind of liturgy Luther wanted would take time.

Another reason for the delay was due to pastoral sensitivity. The reformer understood that change would not come easy, especially when dealing with a medieval liturgy that people were accustomed too for such a long period of time. Luther wanted to be sensitive not to unnecessarily injure consciences. Neither did he want to "stir up the fickle and fastidious, who delight only in novelty and tire of it as quickly, when it has worn off." [73] He knew that following in the footsteps of "Anabaptist extremists" would only lead to disaster. History would prove him right.[74] And yet, disaster of a different kind would not escape him.

Luther's caution to bring liturgical reform was also the result of the tumultuous times he lived in. Wittenberg had just come out of a chaotic situation in 1523. Zealots were continuing to take reform too far, too fast. The Catholic Church was still railing against him, and the persecution of Protestants was on the rise. Yet, the most disturbing was the Peasants' War in 1525. Luther wrote, "The affair of the peasants has quieted down everywhere after almost one hundred thousand have been killed, so many children orphaned, and the rest so robbed of their livelihood that the appearance of Germany was never more miserable than now."[75] This war solidified in his mind the importance of pastoral sensitivity and patience in instituting liturgical reform. Yet,

65. "Eight Sermons at Wittenberg," p. 304.
66. Hans-Martin Barth, *The Theology of Martin Luther* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013), 226, 234.
67. Vajta, *Luther on Worship*, p. 47.
68. Luther, "Eight Sermons at Wittenberg," p. 304.
69. Lewis Spitz, *The Protestant Reformation 1517–1559* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2001), 116.
70. Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church,* vol. 4 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 34–35.
71. Trueman, *Luther on the Christian Life,* p. 101.
72. Bornkamm, *Luther in Mid-Career 1521–1530*, p. 467.
73. Luther, *LW* 53.19.
74. Spitz, *The Protestant Reformation 1517–1559,* pp. 109–110.
75. Bornkamm, *Luther in Mid-Career 1521–1530*, p. 399.

it also reminded him of the need for divinely directed change in the area of worship. If it is in this context that the human heart is primarily quickened and shaped by God's service of sinners, then the writing of a new liturgy ought to be of the utmost importance.

A New Liturgy

After years of work, Luther officially introduced a new order of worship on Christmas of 1525. He did not want this to become a "new law" for all churches to follow. He believed some liberty was allowable, but that love for fellow believers and sensitivity to the non-Christian should guide areas of evangelical freedom in worship. For Luther, uniformity was important for the purposes of encouraging the brethren and evangelizing the lost.[76] Hence, the German Mass should be adopted in Wittenberg, but not necessarily elsewhere. This was simply his contribution to the many orders of worship that were already in existence. However, Luther's liturgy was new and, in some ways, even unique. Elements of the Roman Mass that supported a *facere quod in se est* attitude were removed. Luther did not want the service to even hint at being a *sacrificium*. It was to be viewed as a *beneficium*, where God was active through the audible and visible Word. And yet, Luther called for and provided aides to help people respond with faith and praise. God's service and man's response were both important in the new liturgy, and this point is most obviously seen through the fact that it was in German. If the average person could not understand what was being said, then he could not receive the Law and Gospel from God, and neither could he respond rightly with faith. Composing the liturgy in the vernacular was a significant initial step in matching up Luther's theology of worship with his liturgical practice.

The liturgy began with a hymn or psalm, oftentimes Psalm 34.[77] It was followed by a collect and then a reading from Paul's epistle, both done in a monotone chant. Afterwards, a German hymn was sung, another reading was given, this time from the Gospels, with the congregation, next, singing the Apostle's Creed.[78] Then a passage from the Gospels was preached.[79] Towards the end of the service the Lord's Prayer was to be paraphrased, followed by instruction for those taking the Supper, a collect, and then the benediction. This new liturgy put feet to Luther's understanding of God's activity and man's responsiveness in worship, and the foundation of it was the Word and sacrament. It was only as God served his people the 'means of grace' in worship that corporate expressions of faith could be created. Thus for Luther, Scripture was paramount. So much so, everything could be spared in the public assembly except the Bible.[80] As the Reformed would later say in explaining the regulative principle of worship, it was to be read, preached, seen, sung, and prayed.[81] And, the most important part of the service was the audible Word. Without Bible preaching, worship was an idolatrous attempt to earn God's favor and, in the end, of no spiritual benefit. With it the worshipper is given the mirror of the Law, where the true self is seen—a sinner deserving condemnation. And then the message of the Gospel is offered, where a different declaration is heard—a saint receiving forgiveness through Jesus Christ. For Luther, as both of these truths were heralded, the people of God were reminded of their need for a Savior, that Christ was this deliverer, and, subsequently, moved to trust in him. Clearly, the preaching of the Word was meant to affect the hearer experientially, leading one from repentance to faith to devotion.

Yet, the experiential side to Luther's liturgy was not disconnected from a catechetical one. Instruction in the truths of God were important because they shaped the heart, mind, and will of the people. Specifically, the various services held throughout the week sought to move worshippers through the Decalogue, the Apostle's Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the sacraments, stressing various heads of doctrine.[82] Doing so would help those who wanted to be Christians to know what they were to believe, do, and leave undone, and it would further admonish and encourage those who already loved God and his Word.[83] This catechetical emphasis in worship was one of the things that drove Luther to create

Continued on Page 219.

76. Brecht, *Martin Luther: Shaping and Defining the Reformation*, p. 254.

77. Bornkamm, *Luther in Mid-Career 1521–1530*, p. 475.

78. Martin Luther, *LW* 53.69–78.

79. Brecht, *Martin Luther: Shaping and Defining the Reformation*, p. 255–256. Luther encouraged other passages of Scriptures to be preached on throughout the rest of the week, but on Sunday the Gospels were to be the focus of proclamation since they most clearly and simply expounded Christ and his work.

80. Martin Luther, "Concerning the Order of Public Worship," *Luther's Basic Theological Writings*, p. 309.

81. This does not mean that Luther should be grouped in the Reformed camp regarding the "Regulative Principle for Public Worship. His was a "normative principle"—whatever is not specifically forbidden by Scripture is allowable. See Terry Johnson, "The Regulative Principle of Worship" in *The Worship of God* (Ross-shire, UK: Mentor Press, 2005), 13, and Nick Needham, "Worship Through the Ages" in *Give Praise to God,* ed. Phillip Ryken, Derek Thomas, and Ligon Duncan (Phillipsburg: P & R Publishing, 2003), 397–398.

82. Luther, LW 53, p. 68-69.

83. Luther, *LW* 53.64.

The Missiological Implications of Herman Bavinck's Doctrine of the Trinity

By Thiago Machado Silva

Two main misunderstandings have developed in recent missiological scholarship, especially in Latin America. One misunderstanding exposed by a number of modern Christian scholars and theologians is that missiology is the heart of and reference point for all theology.[1] The second misunderstanding is to see only Christology as the starting point for missiology.[2] However, the purpose of this study is to respond to these missiological misunderstandings, demonstrating that the doctrine of the Trinity provides a better ground for the mission of the church. In other words, the Trinity is the center and the foundation for all theology. Consequently, a theology of mission is incomplete, and the work of missions is ineffective without a correct view of the Triune God and his relationship with the world. The framework and the basis for missiology is ultimately the being and the work of the Trinity (i.e., the Trinity is the center of all theology, therefore, Christian missions must be Trinitarian).

In developing a Trinitarian missiology, the work of Herman Bavinck (1854–1921), is of critical importance. First, because for him, "Scripture alone is the final ground for the doctrine of the Trinity." Second, "The entire creation and especially humankind is a work of the triune God … [and] will exhibit the image of the triune God." Finally, the doctrine of the Trinity uncovers and preserves "the connectedness between nature and grace, between creation and re-creation. The God who created and sustained us is also he who re-creates us in his image."[3] Therefore, Bavinck's doctrine of the Trinity and his trinitarian system of thought offer some important missiological implications and a solid basis for missions and missionary work.

The primary concern here is to give an exposition of Herman Bavinck's doctrine of the Trinity and to extrapolate the missiological implications of his understanding

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1. See: David J. Bosch, "Theological education in missionary perspective," *Missiology* X/1 (1982): 13–33; David Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission, (*Orbis: New York, 1991); M. Laing, "Recovering missional ecclesiology in theological education," *International Review of Mission* 98, 1 (2009): 12–24; Martin Kähler, *Schriften zur Christologie und Mission* (Munich: Kaiser, 1971), 190. Bosch affirms that, "the history and theology of early Christianity are, first of all, 'mission history' and 'mission theology.'" [David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 9,15]. Similarly, Martin Kähler writes, "mission is the mother of all theology." [Martin Kähler, *Schriften zur Christologie und Mission*, 190].

2. Scherer J. A., "Missiology as a discipline and what it includes," in *New Directions in Mission and Evangelization 2: Theological Foundations* (Maryknoll, NY: Grbis, 1994), 173–87; Michael Frost and Alan Hirsch, *The Shaping of Things to Come: Innovation and Mission for the 21 Century Church* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 2003); Samuel Escobar, "The Search for a Missiological Christology in Latin America," in *Emerging Voices in Global Christian Theology*, ed. William A. Dyrness, (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1994); Samuel Escobar, "Evangelical theology in Latin America: the development of a missiological Christology." *Missiology* 19, no. 3 (1991): 315–332; Daniel A. Rodríguez, "No longer foreigners and aliens: toward a missiological christology for Hispanics in the United States," *Missiology* 31, no. 1 (2003): 51–67; Robert J. Schreiter, "Jesus Christ and mission: the cruciality of Christology," *Missiology* 18, no. 4 (1990): 429–437. Bosch affirms that "a theological foundation for mission is only possible with reference to the point of departure of our faith: God's self-communication in Christ as the basis which logically precedes and is fundamental to every other reflection." [David Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, 22–23]. For Bosch, Christology is the point of departure and the foundation for missiology. Following the same line of thought, Michael Frost and Alan Hirsch claim that Christology is the starting point that defines one's missiology and consequently determines one's ecclesiology. Escobar also proposes that biblical Christology is the foundation for theology of mission. See: Frost and Hirsch, *The Shaping of Things to Come*, 209; Samuel Escobar, "Beyond Liberation Theology: Evangelical Missiology in Latin America," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 6, no. 3 (1982): 113.

3. See: Herman Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics*, 4 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003–2008), 2.329–330. Hereafter, *RD*.

of this crucial Christian doctrine. We will focus on Herman Bavinck's trinitarian missiology because, unlike the missiology of his nephew J. H. Bavinck (1895–1964), it has not received much attention. First, we will work with primary and secondary sources on Bavinck's doctrine of the Trinity, including the relation between the ontological and economic Trinity and the doctrine of the *pactum salutis* (the intra-trinitarian pact of redemption). Second, we will analyze the missional character of Bavinck's trinitarian theology in order to determine how the Trinity is related to human culture, and consequently, to missions. Finally, I will provide some personal reflections on Bavinck's trinitarian missiology.

1. Bavinck's Doctrine of the Trinity

The doctrine of the Trinity is the central theme for all Bavinck's theology. For him, the trinitarian nature of God is taught throughout Scripture. In fact, for Bavinck, the doctrine of the Trinity is only acquired through the revelation of Scripture, not by reason or nature. He says, "over against all those who want to base the doctrine of the Trinity on rational grounds, we must undoubtedly maintain that we owe our knowledge of this doctrine solely to God's special revelation. Scripture alone is the final ground for the doctrine of the Trinity. Reason can at most somewhat clarify this doctrine a posteriori" (Bavinck, *RD,* 2.329). He suggests in his Prolegomena that

> [t]he doctrine of the Trinity is of incalculable importance for the Christian religion. The entire Christian belief system, all of special revelation, stands or falls with the confession of God's Trinity. It is the core of the Christian faith, the root of all its dogmas, the basic content of the new covenant…. In the doctrine of the Trinity we feel the heartbeat of God's entire revelation for the redemption of humanity. (*RD,* 1. 333–334).

Bavinck understood that the doctrine of the Trinity does not begin with the Church fathers, but in Holy Scripture. In his *Reformed Dogmatics*, Bavinck begins his explanation of the doctrine of the Trinity by affirming that the Trinity is already planted in the Old Testament, although not fully developed; in the Old Testament we have the seeds of this doctrine. He says, "This [trinitarian] revelation already begins in the Old Testament" (*RD,* 2.261). In the work of creation, Bavinck sees a threefold cause: Elohim (plural form of the name of God) created the world "by speaking his word and sending out his Spirit" (*RD,* 2.261). There is also a threefold cause in the work of re-recreation. He writes that in re-creation

> It is no longer only Elohim, but YHWH who reveals him and makes himself known as the God of the covenant…. It is again by his word that he makes himself known, and saves and preserves his people (Ps. 107:20)…. And now, just as yhwh in his work of re-creation reveals himself objectively by his Word, in the angel of yhwh, he does this subjectively in and by his spirit. The spirit of God is the principle of all life and well-being, of all the gifts and powers in the sphere of revelation. (*RD,* 2.262–263).

According to Bavinck, "A threefold divine principle underlies creation as well as re-creation and sustains the entire economy of Old Testament revelation" (*RD,* 2.256). Creation and re-creation in the Old Testament are a work of God, the Word (*Logos*), and the Spirit.

> After the Old Testament period, the doctrine of the Trinity was further developed by intertestamental Judaism. Bavinck affirms that Divine Wisdom was hypostatized, and trinitarian doctrine was influenced by Philo, Plato's doctrine of ideas, Stoic's doctrine of the logos, Greek dualism, and Jewish theology.[4] According to Bavinck, "While this development shares language with the New Testament, its world of ideas is quite different" (*RD,* 2.256).

The true development of the doctrine of the Trinity happened in the New Testament period. What was implicit in the Old Testament now became explicit in the New Testament. As Bavinck states, "In the events of the incarnation of the Son and the outpouring of the Spirit, this one true God reveals himself as Father, Son, and Spirit."[5] In the New Testament one can see more clearly that God is a Triune God and that, like in creation and re-creation, there is also a threefold work of God in salvation. Through the revelation of the New Testament

4. For a more detailed description of the directions of the doctrine of the Trinity in the Intertestamental Judaism, see *RD,* 2.264–268.

5. Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics*,2.269. Bavinck explains that the New Testament principles are not new, but the same as the Old Testament principles. He writes, "They are the same principles that were operative also in the event of creation and the entire economy of the Old Testament. The Father, who bears this name mostly in relation to the Son and to his children, is the same as he who can be called Father, and also the same as the Creator of all things…. The Son, who bears this name especially because of his utterly unique relation to God, is identical with the Logos, through whom the Father created all things…. And the Holy Spirit, who received his name especially with a view to his work in the church, is the same Spirit who jointly with the Father and the Son beautifies and completes all things in the creation." See Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics*,2.269.

one learns that "all salvation, every blessing, and blessedness have their threefold cause in God, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit" (*RD,* 2.270).

The Father is the Father in relation to the Son (John 14:6–13; 17:25–26), and according to Bavinck, he is "the first in the order of existence (John 5:26) and hence the Father both in creation and re-creation, from whom all things exist (1 Cor. 8:6)."[6] The Son is the Son of the Father. He is the *Logos*, the word that became flesh. Through the Son, the transcendent God become immanent in relation to his creature. Bavinck clarifies that the Son

> was fully able to reveal the Father because from all eternity he participated in his divine nature, his divine life, his divine love, and so on, and was by nature Logos. Since God communicated himself to the Logos, the Logos could communicate himself to us. The Logos is the absolute revelation of God, for from all eternity God communicated himself in all his fullness to him.[7]

The Holy Spirit in the New Testament is the same Spirit that was active in the Old Testament. In Bavinck's words, "It is the same Spirit who at one time spoke through the prophets (Matt. 22:43; Mark 12:36; Acts 1:16; 28:25; Heb. 3:7; 10:15; 1 Pet. 1:10–11; 2 Pet. 1:21), testified in the days of Noah (1 Pet. 3:19–20), was resisted by Israel (Acts 7:51), and produced faith (2 Cor. 4:13), who would descend on the Messiah and dwell in the church (Matt. 12:18; Luke 4:18–19; Acts 2:16–18)" (*RD,* 2.277). The Holy Spirit is the third person of the triune God. Through the work of the Spirit, God's elected people are united with the Son and have communion with the Father, and as the Son glorifies the Father, so the Spirit glorifies the Son and the Father; as the Son points to the Father, the Holy Spirit points to the Son and to the Father.

Although there are these trinitarian elements in Scripture, Bavinck says that we still do not have a fully developed doctrine of the Trinity. However,

> it does teach us that the one name of God is only fully unfolded in that of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. It very clearly and plainly declares that all God's outgoing works (*ad extra*), both in creation and re-creation, have a threefold divine cause. It leaves no doubt whatever that this threefold cause constitutes three distinct subjects who relate to each other as persons. And so Scripture contains all the data from which theology has constructed the dogma of the Trinity. (*RD,* 2.279).

From the Apostolic Fathers to Ireanaeus, Tertullian, and Origen; from Nicaea to Augustine, the doctrine began to be fully developed as a response against heresies that emerged throughout the centuries, such as Arianism and Sabellianism. Arianism is a non-trinitarian doctrine that "places the Son somewhere between God and the created universe"[8] denying the divinity of the Son. Sabellianism comes from the teachings of Sabellius, who believed that there is only one God that operates in different forms: as Father in creation, as Son in redemption, and as Spirit in sanctification. Father, Son, and Spirit are only different names or modes of the one God. Both Arianism and Sabellianism failed to maintain the triunity of God.[9]

1.1. Ontological and Economic Trinity

For Bavinck, it was fundamental to maintain the triunity of God. He claims, "To the church the doctrine of the Trinity was the dogma and hence the mystery par excellence. The essence of Christianity—the absolute self-revelation of God in the person of Christ and the absolute self-communication of God in the Holy Spirit—could only be maintained, the church believed, if it had its foundation and first principle in the ontological Trinity" (*RD,* 2.296). Here Bavinck makes an

6. Bavinck, *RD,* 2.272. Bavinck writes, "Thus, both in the Old and in the New Testament, God is the Father who occupies first place. His is the purpose (Acts 4:28; Eph. 1:11), the good pleasure (Matt. 11:26; Eph. 1:9), the initiative in creation and re-creation (Ps. 33:6; John 3:16), the kingdom and the power (ἐξουσια, δυναμις, Matt. 6:13 kjv; Rom. 1:20; Eph. 1:19), the righteousness (Gen. 18:25; Deut. 32:4; John 17:25; Rom. 3:26; 2 Tim. 4:8), the goodness, wisdom, immortality, unapproachable light (Matt. 19:17; Rom. 16:27; 1 Tim. 6:16)."

7. Bavinck, *RD,* 2.274. With regards to the Son, Bavinck wonderfully affirms that he is the Son "by nature and from eternity. He is elevated far above angels and prophets (Matt. 13:32; 21:27; 22:2) and sustains a unique relation to God (Matt. 11:27). He is the beloved Son in whom the Father is well-pleased (Matt. 3:17; 17:5; Mark 1:11; 9:7; Luke 3:22; 9:35), the only begotten Son (John 1:18; 3:16; 1 John 4:9ff.), God's own Son (Rom. 8:32), the eternal Son (John 17:5, 24; Heb. 1:5ff.; 5:5–6) whom the Father gave to have life in himself (ζωην ἐχειν ἐν ἑαυτῳ, John 5:26); he is equal to the Father in knowledge (Matt. 11:27), honor (John 5:23), creative and re-creative power (John 1:3; 5:21, 27), activity (John 10:28–30), and dominion (Matt. 11:27; Luke 10:22; 22:29; John 16:15; 17:10); and he was condemned to death precisely on account of his Sonship (John 10:33; Matt. 26:63ff.)." See Bavinck, *RD,* 2.275.

8. Bavinck, *RD,* 2.291. According to Bavinck, Arianism appeared first in the form of *subordinationism*, which believed that the Son is eternal but inferior and subordinate to the Father. Then it appeared in the form of *Socianism*, which held that the Father is the one true God, the Son is a holy human being created by God, and the Spirit is nothing more than a divine power.

9. For a more detailed description of the development of the doctrine of the Trinity throughout history, see Bavinck, *RD,* 2.279–296. For Bavinck, it was Athanasius, the three Cappadocians, and Augustine [that] elaborate and complete the doctrine of the Trinity [on the basis of the Nicene Confession]. See Bavinck, *RD,* 2.285.

important distinction between the ontological Trinity and the economic Trinity.

The ontological Trinity is the Trinity in itself, the being of the triune God, and the economic Trinity is how each one of the Persons in the Trinity (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) work in creation and redemption. In order to better understanding this distinction, one needs to understand the distinction between essence and person. Bavinck clings to the Reformed tradition and makes this distinction. He says that "the distinction between this divine essence and the three persons in God has its analogy in the life of creatures. Here, too, we make a distinction between the nature of persons and the persons themselves. Paul, John, and Peter all possess the same human nature but, as individual persons they are distinct from that nature and from each other."[10] In the Godhead, there is only one essence but three persons: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. There is unity in essence and diversity in persons. Bavinck clarifies

> As in the ontological Trinity the Father is first in the order of subsistence, the Son second, the Spirit third, so also in the history of revelation the Father preceded the Son, and the Son in turn preceded the Holy Spirit. The "economy" of the Father was especially that of the Old Testament (Heb. 1:1); the "economy" of the Son started with the incarnation; and the "economy" of the Holy Spirit began on the Day of Pentecost (John 7:39; 14:16–17). The Father came without having been sent, the Son came after being sent by the Father (Matt. 10:40; Mark 9:37; Luke 9:48; John 3:16; 5:23, 30, 37; 6:28ff.; etc.), and the Holy Spirit only came because he was sent both by the Father and the Son (John 14:26; 16:7). (*RD,* 2.320).

In the ontological Trinity Bavinck studies the meaning of the word "essence" and "person" and the relation between "essence" and "person" and between the persons of the Trinity among themselves. Bavinck states that in the ontological Trinity there is unity in diversity, one essence in three persons. He argues that, "the persons, though distinct, are not separate. They are the same in essence, one in essence, and the same being. They are not separated by time or space or anything else. They all share in the same divine nature and perfections. It is one and the same divine nature that exists in each person individually and in all of them collectively" (*RD,* 2.300). With regards to the essence, we affirm that there is only one eternal, omnipresent, omnipotent, and good God, and with regards to the persons of the Godhead, we affirm that this one God reveals himself as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. In other words, there is unity in the divine essence and diversity in the divine persons.

Bavinck explains the distinctions among the three persons following Augustine's path. He says that the Father is unbegotten, the Son is eternally begotten from the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. He affirms that "The Father, the Son, and the Spirit, accordingly, are distinct subjects in the one divine essence. As such they bear different names, have distinct personal properties, and always appear in a certain order, but in their "inward" and "outward" relations. The distinctness of the individual persons, therefore, arises totally from the so-called "personal properties": (1) paternity ("unbegottenness," active generation, and active spiration); (2) filiation or sonship, passive generation, active spiration; (3) procession or passive spiration" (*RD,* 2.305).

The term "person" (*persona*) signifies that the three persons in the divine being are not "modes" of appearance (modalism), but each one in the Trinity (Father, Son, and Spirit) have a distinct existence of their own. Each one shares the same essence but different personal attributes. The Father is unbegotten; i.e., as the first person of the Trinity he has a prominent role. According to Bavinck, "This name of "Father," accordingly, is not a metaphor derived from the earth and attributed to God. Exactly the opposite is true: fatherhood on earth is but a distant and vague reflection of the fatherhood of God (Eph. 3:14–15). God is Father in the true and complete sense of the term" (*RD,* 2.307). The second person of the Trinity is the Son; he is the Son in relation to the Father. Bavinck states that, "In Scripture he bears several names that denote his relation to the Father, such as word, wisdom, logos, son, the firstborn, only-begotten and only son, the image of God, image (εἰκων), substance (ὑποστασις), stamp (χαρακτηρ) [cf. Heb. 1:3]" (*RD,* 2.308). He is the one eternally generated from the Father, and in the words of Bavinck with regards to the second person of the Trinity, "God's offspring is eternal" (*RD,* 2.310). The Spirit is the third person of the Trinity and his property is "procession." The Holy Spirit is

10. Bavinck, *RD,* 2.299. In this distinction between essence and person, Bavinck follows Aquinas who affirmed that, "In a divine person there is nothing to presuppose but essence, and relation or property. Whence, since the persons agree in essence, it only remains to be said that the persons are distinguished from each other by the relations. Secondly: because the distinction of the divine persons is not to be so understood as if what is common to them all is divided, because the common essence remains undivided; but the distinguishing principles themselves must constitute the things which are distinct. Now the relations or the properties distinguish or constitute the hypostases or persons, inasmuch as they are themselves the subsisting persons; as paternity is the Father, and filiation is the Son, because in God the abstract and the concrete do not differ.' (*Summa Theologiae*, 1.40.2).

not merely a power or a spiritual force, but he is a person and he is God, such as the Father and the Son. As Bavinck says, "Scripture establishes beyond any doubt that the Holy Spirit is the subjective principle of all salvation, of regeneration, faith, conversion, repentance, sanctification, and so on; in other words, that there is no communion with the Father and the Son except in and through the Holy Spirit" (*RD,* 2.312).

Thus, according to Bavinck, in the ontological being of God—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit –, "the Trinity can neither be augmented nor diminished: it is complete" (*RD,* 2.313). Once the eternal ontological trinity—the being of the triune God (*ad intra*)—is recognized, taught, and confessed in Bavinck's theology, he turns to the economic Trinity—the revelation and work of the triune God (*ad extra*)—and his redemptive activity in history. The economic Trinity speaks of how the divine Persons "manifest themselves outwardly (*ad extra*) in their revelations and works" (*RD,* 2.318). The way God acts and relates to his creature in the world (economic Trinity) is a reflection of who God is (ontological Trinity). Or, as Bavinck writes, "the 'ontological' Trinity is mirrored in the 'economic' Trinity" (*RD,* 2.318).

Every work of God *ad extra* has one source, which is God. But they manifest and come into being through the work of each one of the persons in the Godhead, "each of whom plays a special role and fulfills a special task, both in the works of creation and in those of redemption and sanctification" (*RD,* 2.319). According to Bavinck, "all things proceed from the Father, are accomplished by the Son, and are completed in the Holy Spirit." (*RD,* 2.319–320). The works *ad extra*, such as creation, providence, incarnation, sanctification, and so on, says Bavinck, "are works of the Trinity as a whole," although, "in an 'economic' sense, the work of creation is more specifically assigned to the Father, the work of redemption to the Son, the work of sanctification to the Holy Spirit" (*RD,* 2.320).

1.2. The Pactum Salutis

One important trinitarian doctrine, which is fundamental to the purpose of this article, is the *pactum salutis*. In volume 2 of his *Reformed Dogmatics*, inside the realm of the covenant of grace,[11] Bavinck elaborates the *pactum salutis*, which he also calls the counsel of peace, or the covenant of redemption. He is not alone in his formulation of the *pactum salutis*. He lists some historical figures that wrote on this doctrine. He says,

> This last-mentioned covenant occurs, briefly and materially, already in Olevianus, Junius, Gomarus, and others and was then further developed at length by Cloppenburg and Cocceius. It subsequently received a fixed place in dogmatics in Burman, Braun, Witsius, Vitringa, Turretin, Leydekker, Mastricht, Marck, Moor, and Brakel, in order finally to be opposed by Deurhof, Wesselius, and others and gradually to be banished from dogmatics altogether.[12]

In the *pactum salutis*, Bavinck includes the whole Trinity in the work of redemption. In his work, *Our Reasonable Faith*, he writes, "the counsel of redemption is itself a covenant—a covenant in which each of the three Persons, so to speak, receives His own work and achieves His own task."[13] It is an intra-trinitarian covenant among Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, with regards

11. Covenant of grace is the covenant God established with humans immediately after the fall of Genesis 3, and it is grounded not in our virtues and merits, but in God's grace and mercy. According to Bavinck, "Sin, accordingly, is different from misery; its character is ethical, not physical. It is a violation of God's commandment and a severance of his communion. Consequently, that communion can only be reestablished from the side of God and at a certain point in time. From the very first moment of its revelation, grace assumes the form of a covenant, a covenant that arises, not by a natural process, but by a historical act and hence gives rise to a rich history of grace." See: *RD,* 3.197.

12. Bavinck, *RD,* 3.213. Bavinck also mentions K. Olevianus, *Het wezen van het Genadeverbond*, in *Geschriften* (Den Haag: Het Reformatische Boek, 1963), §1; F. Junius, *Theses theologicae*, in *Opuscula theologica selecta*, ed. Abraham Kuyper (Amsterdam: Muller, 1882), c. 25, th. 21; F. Gomarus, *Opera theologica omnia* (Amsterdam: J. Jansson, 1664), on Matt. 3:13; Luke 2:21; 19:1; J. Arminius, *De sacerdotio Christi*, in *The Writings of James Arminius*, trans. James Nichols and W. R. Begnall, 3 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1952), I, 2–51; W. Ames, *De morte Christi*, in *Medulla theologica*, 12 vols. (Amsterdam: Loannem Lanssonium, 1628), I, 5; G. Voetius, *Selectae disputationes theologicae*, 5 vols. (Utrecht, 1648–69), II, 266; A. Essenius, *Dissertatione de subjectione Christi ad legem divinam* (Utrecht: Antonii Smytegelt, 1666), X, 2. For a more detailed historical description and development of this doctrine, see Richard Muller, "Toward the *Pactum Salutis*: Locating the Origins of a Concept," *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 18 (2007): 11–65. It seems also that Augustine himself was already pointing toward a *Pactum Salutis* when he wrote, "What we are saying may perhaps be easier to sort out if we put the question this way, crude though it is: In what manner did God send his Son? Did he tell him to come, giving him an order he complied with by coming, or did he ask him to, or did he merely suggest it? Well, whichever way it was done, it was certainly done by word. But God's Word is his Son. So when the Father sent him by word, what happened was that he was sent by the Father and his Word. Hence it is by the Father and the Son that the Son was sent, because the Son is the Father's Word. Would anyone adopt so blasphemous an opinion as to suppose that it was by a word in time that the Father sent the eternal Son to appear in the course of time in the flesh? Though it is true that in the Word of God which was in the beginning with God and was God, that is to say in the Wisdom of God, there was timelessly contained the time in which that Wisdom was to appear in the flesh." (*De Trinitate*, II.2.9).

13. Bavinck, *Our Reasonable Faith*, trans. Henry Zylstra (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1956), 273.

to his redemptive work in the world, and this eternal intra-trinitarian covenant is the basis and the foundation for the covenant of grace between God and humans established in history. He claims that, "the counsel of redemption, fixed in eternity, and the covenant of grace with which man is acquainted immediately after the fall, and which is then set up, stand in the closest relationships with each other. They are so closely related that the one stands or falls with the other."[14] According to Bavinck, the *pactum salutis* is the "principle, the motivating power, and the guarantee of the work of redemption in time."[15]

> This pact of salvation, however, further forms the link between the eternal work of God toward salvation and what he does to that end in time. The covenant of grace revealed in time does not hang in the air but rests on an eternal, unchanging foundation. It is firmly grounded in the counsel and covenant of the triune God and is the application and execution of it that infallibly follows. Indeed, in the covenant of grace established by God with humanity in time, human beings are not the active and acting initiators, but it is again the triune God who, having designed the work of re-creation, now brings it about. (*RD,* 3.215).

Therefore, to say that the *pactum salutis* is the foundation for the covenant of grace is also to say that the covenant of redemption within the ontological Trinity made in eternity is the basis for the redemptive work of the economic Trinity in history, after the fall. As Bavinck states, "the covenant of grace was ready-made from all eternity in the pact of salvation of the three persons and was realized by Christ from the moment the fall occurred. Christ does not begin to work only with and after his incarnation, and the Holy Spirit does not first begin his work with the outpouring on the day of Pentecost (*RD,* 3.215).

> The pact of salvation makes known to us the relationships and life of the three persons in the Divine Being as a covenantal life, a life of consummate self-consciousness and freedom. Here, within the Divine Being, the covenant flourishes to the full…. The greatest freedom and the most perfect agreement coincide. The work of salvation is an undertaking of three persons in which all cooperate and each performs a special task…. It is the triune God alone, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, who together conceive, determine, carry out and complete the entire work of salvation. (*RD,* 3.214–215).

Bavinck's *pactum salutis* is firmly grounded in Scripture and it flows from his treatment of the doctrine of the Trinity. He relates the eternal intra-trinitarian covenant of redemption to its historical fulfillment; that is, the *pactum salutis* established in eternity between Father, Son, and Holy Spirit comes to action in history in the covenant of grace established between the Trinity and the first human beings.

> The covenant of grace is raised up in time and is continued from generation to generation is nothing other than the working out and the impression or imprint of the covenant that is fixed in the Eternal Being. As in the counsel of God, so in history each of the Persons appears. The Father is the source, the Son is the Achiever, and the Holy Spirit is the one who applies our salvation.[16]

In volume 4 of his *Reformed Dogmatics*, Bavinck links the *pactum salutis* with soteriology, more specifically our union with Christ, justification, and sanctification. He writes, "our being made righteous rests in God's decree and in the *pactum salutis*" (*RD*, 4.178), and "the mystical union starts already in the pact of redemption (*pactum salutis*)" (*RD,* 4.250). Bavinck points to the fact that, "already in the pact of salvation (*pactum salutis*) Christ positioned himself in relation to his own and assumed their place as mediator." (*RD,* 4.214). In other words, Bavinck suggests that every aspect of the *ordo salutis* is a result and an expression of the *pactum salutis*. Bavinck claims

> For election is from eternity: the pact of redemption that includes the atonement of the Mediator for his own is from eternity. All that happens in time, especially the work of salvation, is continually traced in Scripture to God's decree in eternity. Justification could not occur in time were it not securely established in eternity. But this does not yet make it advisable to speak of an eternal Justification or of a Justification from eternity. For Scripture nowhere models this usage. (*RD,* 4.216).

Bavinck ends his treatment of the doctrine of the Trinity with three statements. First, the doctrine of the Trinity and the distinction between ontological and economic Trinity provides knowledge of the fulness of the one true and living God. Second, the doctrine of the Trinity is extremally important for the doctrine of creation

14. Bavinck, *Our Reasonable Faith*, 272.
15. Bavinck, *Our Reasonable Faith*, 273.
16. Bavinck, *Our Reasonable Faith*, 273.

that can be maintain only on the basis of a triune God. Third, the doctrine of the Trinity is fundamental for the Christian religion, because "the entire Christian belief system, all of special revelation, stands or falls with the confession of God's Trinity" (*RD,* 2.333).

In the doctrine of the Trinity Bavinck finds the central point for all his theology, as John Bolt claims, "His heart and mind sought a trinitarian synthesis of Christianity and culture, a Christian worldview that incorporated what was best and true in both pietism and modernism, while above all honoring the theological and confessional richness of the Reformed tradition dating from Calvin."[17] It is in the doctrine of the Trinity that we can find unity in Bavinck's system of thought. Now we turn to Bavinck's trinitarian worldview in order to determine how the Trinity is related to human culture and consequently, to missions.

2. The Missional Character of Bavinck's Trinitarian Theology

According to Bavinck's biblical worldview (Creation, Fall, and Redemption), the triune God is active and working in our whole Christian life, from the beginning to the end. We are chosen and saved by the Father, through the objective work of the Son, by the internal and subjective work of the Holy Spirit. We are preserved and blessed by God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Briefly, that is the redemptive story of Scripture, and it can be summarized in Bavinck's words, "the essence of the Christian religion consists in the reality that the creation of the Father, ruined by sin, is restored in the death of the Son of God, and re-created by the grace of the Holy Spirit into a kingdom of God" (*RD,* 1.112). That is the essence of Bavinck's trinitarian worldview and theology.

Bavinck's trinitarian theology is missional in its essence, first of all, because his doctrine of the Trinity is a fundamental tool against non-Christian worldviews and other pagan systems of thought such as Deism, pantheism, monism, and materialism. He explains that Deism cuts every relationship between God the Creator and his creatures; Pantheism identifies God the Creator with his creatures cutting every distinction between them; Monism also believes that there is no distinction between God and creation, that the world is made of only one material substance, and there is no such thing as God, spirit, or soul (cf. *RD,* 2.331). In the chapter of Creation, Bavinck writes

> Pantheism attempts to explain the world dynamically; materialism attempts to do so mechanically. But both strive to see the whole as governed by a single principle. In pantheism the world may be a living organism, of which God is the soul; in materialism it is a mechanism that is brought about by the union and separation of atoms. But in both systems an unconscious blind fate is elevated to the throne of the universe. Both fail to appreciate the richness and diversity of the world; erase the boundaries between heaven and earth, matter and spirit, soul and body, man and animal, intellect and will, time and eternity, Creator and creature, being and nonbeing; and dissolve all distinctions in a bath of deadly uniformity. Both deny the existence of a conscious purpose and cannot point to a cause or a destiny for the existence of the world and its history. (*RD,* 2.435).

Only the Christian worldview maintains the unity and diversity of creation and the correct distinction between creature and Creator. Consequently, the Christian answer for all these heretical worldviews is found in the doctrine of the Trinity, for this reason, humans can only find rest in the confession of the triune God of Scripture. Bavinck writes, "the Christian doctrine of the Trinity makes God known as essentially distinct from the world, yet having a blessed life of his own. God is a plenitude of life, an "ocean of being." He is not "without offspring" (ἀγονος). He is the absolute Being, the eternal One, who is and was and is to come, and in that way the ever-living and ever-productive One" (*RD,* 2.331).

> Here is a unity that does not destroy but rather maintains diversity, and a diversity that does not come at the expense of unity, but rather unfolds it in its riches. In virtue of this unity the world can, metaphorically, be called an organism, in which all the parts are connected with each other and influence each other reciprocally. Heaven and earth, man and animal, soul and body, truth and life, art and science, religion and morality, state and church, family and society, and so on, though they are all distinct, are not separated. There is a wide range of connections between them; an organic, or if you will, an ethical bond holds them all together. (*RD,* 2.435).

Therefore, Bavinck's doctrine of the Trinity places us in right relationship with God and consequently with our culture. In paganism, pantheism, materialism, and all other non-Christian worldviews, according to Bavinck, the distinction between creature and Creator is lost; people do not stand in right relationship with the Creator and consequently, they stand in a confusing relationship with each other and with the world.

17. John Bolt (ed.), "Grace and Nature," In Bavinck, *RD,* 1.15.

> In paganism a human being does not stand in the right relationship to God, and therefore not to the world either. Similarly, in pantheism and materialism the relation of human beings to nature is fundamentally corrupted. One moment man considers himself infinitely superior to nature and believes that it no longer has any secrets for him. The next moment he experiences nature as a dark and mysterious power that he does not understand, whose riddles he cannot solve, and from whose power he cannot free himself. Intellectualism and mysticism alternate. Unbelief makes way for superstition, and materialism turns into occultism. (*RD,* 2.438).

According to Bavinck, paganism, pantheism, and materialism are pagan worldviews that have been present in the world since always, and as Nelson D. Kloosterman observes, "when Bavinck came on the scene in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, evolutionism and naturalism had begun to dominate the sciences. Already the socio-political thought and philosophy of Ernst Troeltsch, Charles Darwin, Karl Marx, Leo Tolstoy, Immanuel Kant, Friedrich Schleiermacher, and the like, had achieved international stature and acceptance."[18] Cornelis van der Kooi writes that Bavinck "was deeply impressed by the facts of the modernization of the society and concerned about the cultural effects that these changes in society have for Christian faith and theology."[19] Bavinck observes that only in the biblical worldview "a human being is placed in the right relation to the world because he has been put in the right relation to God" (*RD,* 2.438). For Bavinck, the Christian trinitarian worldview overcome these cultural challenges by placing us in right relation to the triune God and consequently to the world.

We know ourselves to be children of the Father, redeemed by the Son, and in communion with both through the Holy Spirit. Every blessing, both spiritual and material, comes to us from the triune God. In that name we are baptized; that name sums up our confession; that name is the source of all the blessings that come down to us; to that name we will forever bring thanksgiving and honor; in that name we find rest for our souls and peace for our conscience. Christians have a God above them, before them, and within them. Our salvation, both in this life and in the life to come, is bound up with the doctrine of the Trinity" (*RD,* 1.334).

Second, because his doctrine of creation reflects the Trinity and gives us a 'point of contact' with the world around us. Bavinck writes, "just as God is one in essence and distinct in persons, so also the work of creation is one and undivided, while in its unity it is still rich in diversity" (*RD,* 2.422). The ontology (being) of the creation reflects the triune Creator-God, in whom there is perfect unity and perfect diversity, and the creation, as distinct from the Creator, possesses a relative unity and relative diversity. As James Eglinton rightly affirms, "Trinity *ad intra* leads to organism *ad extra*…. God as the archetypal (triune) unity-in-diversity is the basis for all subsequent (triniform) ectypal cosmic unity-in-diversity,"[20] and in his *Neo-Calvinism and the French Revolution*, he claims that, "one of the central themes in Bavinck's worldview was the distinction between God as being and the creation as becoming."[21] Nathaniel Gray Sutanto claims that, "Creation displays an organic ontology of diversities in unity precisely because in God there is an archetypal unity and diversity."[22] The consequence of humans reflecting the Trinity and being created in the image of the triune God is that, the mission of the church is incomplete unless one comes to the confession of the Trinity; in other words, there is not Christian mission without the confession of the triune God. Otherwise, "the Christian mind remains unsatisfied until all of existence is referred back to the triune God and until the confession of God's Trinity functions at the center of our thought and life" (*RD,* 2.330).

Third, by taking into account the biblical notion of "being sent", Bavinck's Trinitarian theology helps us see how our missionary labors fit into what God always has been doing. Bavinck's Trinitarian thought helps us to see the missionary need around us, to know how to speak to that need, and to understand our equipping and calling in that great work. This "sending" idea speaks of the work of the economic Trinity and it is a historical result of the intra-trinitarian *pactum salutis* established in eternity. Influenced by Augustine,[23] Bavinck argues that, "the Father came without having been sent, the Son

18. Nelson D. Kloosterman, "The Legacy of Herman Bavinck," *'Banner of Truth* (October, 2008). Available at https://banneroftruth.org/ (Accessed in February 04, 2019).

19. Cornelis van der Kooi, "Herman Bavinck and Karl Barth on Christian Faith and Culture," *Calvin Theological Journal* 45 (2010): 72–78, at 72.

20. James Eglinton, *Trinity and Organism: Towards a New Reading of Herman Bavinck's Organic Motif*, T&T Clark Studies in Systematic Theology 17 (London: T&T Clark, 2012), 80.

21. James Eglinton, *Neo-Calvinism and the French Revolution*, Bloomsbury T&T Clark (London: T&T Clark, 2014), 59.

22. Nathaniel Gray Sutanto, "Herman Bavinck on the Image of God and Original Sin," *'International Journal Of Systematic Theology* 18, no. 2 (2016): 175.

23. Augustine writes, "So too the trinity together produced both the Father's voice and the Son's flesh and the Holy Spirit's dove, though each of these single things has reference to a single person… the three are inseparably at work in each of the things which are

came after being sent by the Father (Matt. 10:40; Mark 9:37; Luke 9:48; John 3:16; 5:23, 30, 37; 6:28ff.; etc.), and the Holy Spirit only came because he was sent both by the Father and the Son (John 14:26; 16:7)" (*RD,* 2.320), and finally, the church was sent by the triune God into the world with a mission. Bavinck explains, "while the Son and the Spirit have visibly appeared in the incarnation and the outpouring, their mission is completed in their invisible coming into the hearts of all believers, in the church of the Son, in the temple of the Holy Spirit. There has been an eternal procession of the Son and the Spirit from the Father in order that, through and in them, he himself should come to his people and finally be "all in all" (*RD,* 2.321–322). And he goes on to conclude that, "God by his Spirit now moves from the temple on Zion to take up residence in the body of Christ's church, which is, consequently, born on this very day as a mission and world church" (*RD,* 3.501). According to John Bolt, this "trinitarian perspective rooted in revelation … is the foundation of the Bavinck tradition's missional character."[24] As Bolt writes,

> With respect to God, "mission" refers to the intratrinitarian notion of sending, the sending of the Son by the Father, and the sending of the Holy Spirit by the Father and the Son. With respect to the church, "mission" refers to the dominical command to "go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you" (Matt. 28:18–20). [25]

As the Son was sent by the Father and the Holy Spirit was sent by the Father and the Son, so the church, entrusted with the gospel, was sent by the Son in the power of the Holy Spirit.[26] His view of the church and its catholicity is a result of his trinitarian theology and "is based on the conviction that Christianity is a world religion that should govern all people and sanctify all creatures irrespective of geography, nationality, place, and time."[27] Bavinck claims that Christianity is "universal and capable of permeating and sanctifying all others [religions]."[28] The church that is catholic was sent by the Trinity into the world with the gospel that redeems and sanctifies, and his view is fully grounded in Scripture.

Bavinck explains that the first five books of Scripture (Genesis to Deuteronomy) begin with the creation of the entire cosmos and a vision of the whole humanity, and conclude by focusing attention on a small people and its concerns about holiness and cult.[29] According to Bavinck, "the law of YHWH regulates everything even to the smallest minutiae. Not only the priests but also the kings; not only the cultic and the moral but also the civil and social and political dimensions of life are governed by the one law of God. Here we encounter an inner catholicity, a religion that encompasses the whole person in the wholeness of life."[30] And he goes on to conclude that, "this prophecy was fulfilled in the fullness of time. And again it is noteworthy that the foundation on which the church is built is just as broad as that of Israel. God so loved the world, the cosmos, that he sent his only Son, the one by whom all things were created."[31] In Christ, God is reconciling the world with himself (2 Cor. 5:19), and according to Bavinck

> Christianity knows no boundaries beyond those which God himself has in his good pleasure established; no boundaries of race or age, class, or status, nationality, or language. Sin has corrupted much; in fact, everything. The guilt of human sin is immeasurable; the pollution that always accompanies it penetrates every structure of humanity and the world. Nonetheless sin does not dominate and corrupt without God's abundant grace in Christ triumphing even more (Rom. 5:15–20). The blood of Christ cleanses us from all sin, it is able to restore everything.[32]

mentioned as having the proper function of manifesting the Father or the Son or the Holy Spirit." Cf.: *De Trinitate*, IV.5.30. Augustine also affirms that, "Since then it was a work of the Father and the Son that the Son should appear in the flesh, the one who so appeared in the flesh is appropriately said to have been sent, and the one who did not to have done the sending." Cf.: *De Trinitate*, II.2.9. And finally, "Not because one is greater and the other less, but because one is the Father and the other the Son; one is the begetter, the other begotten; the first is the one from whom the sent one is; the other is the one who is from the sender." Cf.: *De Trinitate*, IV.5.27.

24. John Bolt, "The Missional Character of the (Herman and J.H.) Bavinck Tradition," *The Bavinck Review* 5 (2014): 55.

25. John Bolt, "The Missional Character of the (Herman and J.H.) Bavinck Tradition," 44.

26. Cf.: John 20:21–22: "Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you: as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost." According to the Gospel of John, it seems that the sending of the Church is bound to the sending of the Holy Spirit; the two go together, in other words, the sending of the church is only possible with the sending of the Holy Spirit. For a much more detailed account of Bavinck's view on the catholicity of the church, see Herman Bavinck, "The Catholicity of Christianity and the Church," *Calvin Theological Journal* 27 (1992): 220–251.

27. Bavinck, "The Catholicity of Christianity and the Church," 221.

28. Bavinck, "The Catholicity of Christianity," 221–222.

29. Bavinck, "The Catholicity of Christianity," 222.

30. Bavinck, "The Catholicity of Christianity," 222.

31. Bavinck, "The Catholicity of Christianity and the Church," 223.

32. Bavinck, "The Catholicity of Christianity and the Church," 224.

From this restored people, the church is born as an organic community of people, not limited to the walls of the temple, and as Bavinck writes, "no matter how small and insignificant it thus appeared, this church was truly catholic, heir of the future, proclaimer of a joy destined for all creatures."[33] According to Bavinck, the catholic presence of the church in the world "follows directly from the unity of God himself, from the unity of the divine mediator between God and humanity, from the unity of the Spirit, from the unity of truth, from the unity of the covenant and the unity of salvation."[34] Bavinck's understanding is that the catholicity of the church is a recurring theme throughout the New Testament, and it is based on the unity of the Trinity.

In the Middle Ages, Bavinck claims, every aspect of life encountered the church. The church was the center of life as the temple was the center of the city. However, "a new worldview has arisen that does, to be sure, grant freedom of religion to all that is itself unconnected with Christianity and the church and seeks to eliminate the latter from public life in order to relegate them to private life and thus to reduce them to sectarian phenomena… The contemporary culture takes place without reference to Christianity and church."[35] For this very reason, Bavinck recognizes modern society's need for the gospel. Since the fall of Genesis 3, every aspect of creation has been corrupted by sin; "humanity as a whole, and every person in particular, is burdened with guilt, defiled, and subject to ruin and death. . . [and] all people are sinners and that all need the forgiving love of the Father, redemption by Christ, the renewal of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:38; 5:31; 10:43; etc.)" (*RD,* 3.78, 79). Since the forgiving love of the Father, the redemption of the Son, and the renewal of the Holy Spirit are found in the gospel entrusted to the church, in order for one to see humans forgiven, redeemed, and renewed by the triune God, one needs to understand that the primary mission of the church in this world is to preach and teach the gospel, because the gospel is the only medicine against the disease of sin that has damaged the world; the gospel fights sin and points humans to the Trinity. According to Bavinck, the gospel

> only battles sin looks at all men from the same perspective. It knows no social positions or classes, no rich or poor; it only knows sinners and offers the same grace to all indiscriminately. Thus it proclaim the eternal worth of every human being. It also maintains the possibility of redemption for those who have fallen the lowest, points all people to the same way of redemption—the way of regeneration, faith, and conversion—and subsequently creates a spiritual community for all believers, which is rooted in Christ and for that reason permanently surpasses all human associations and survives them by far.[36]

The summary of Bavinck's theology and missiology is this, "that the creation of the Father, ruined by sin, is restored in the death of the Son of God and re-created by the grace of the Holy Spirit into a kingdom of God" (*RD,* 1.112). Bavinck's Trinitarian nature of mission brings all three persons of the Godhead into focus in mission theology, and in doing that, it uncovers and preserves the relationship between nature and grace, between creation and re-creation. "The God who created and sustained us is also he who re-creates us in his image. Grace, though superior to nature, is not in conflict with it. While restoring what has been corrupted in it by sin, it also clarifies and perfects what is still left in it of God's revelation" (*RD,* 2.330). Therefore, as we have attempted to demonstrate in this study, Bavinck's trinitarian theology provides a reorientation of thinking by placing the triune God at the center of theology in general and mission in particular. As Bavinck rightly concludes, "the Christian mind remains unsatisfied until all of existence is referred back to the triune God, and until the confession of God's Trinity functions at the center of our thought and life" (*RD,* 2.330).

Thus, Bavinck defines the essence of Christianity—including Christian missions—in trinitarian terms. Moreover, since all creatures have the unmistakable seal of the Trinity (created in the image of the triune God), one can be sure that our investigation of reality will not be able to arrive at an adequate conclusion unless one come to the confession of the Trinity. Bavinck, following the line of Augustine, claims that the human mind remains unsatisfied until our whole existence turns to the triune God. The Trinity is the origin, type, model, and image of all other systems, including the church's mission.

3. Personal Reflections

If the above analysis of Bavinck's trinitarian theology is correct, I suggest that a few personal reflections follow. Christian mission is essentially God's work. In such way, the triune God is the author and the source of power for all missionary activity. That is, the Christian mission is related to the Triune God, and this means that from the beginning to the end the Christian mission is

33. Bavinck, "The Catholicity of Christianity and the Church," 225.
34. Bavinck, "The Catholicity of Christianity and the Church," 227.
35. Bavinck, "The Catholicity of Christianity and the Church," 244.
36. Herman Bavinck, *Essays on Religion, Science, and Society* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008), 142.

God's mission, not human's. Therefore, as the body of Christ, the church does not promote Christian mission, the church is the servant or instrument of the true agent who promotes the mission in the world: the triune God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Christian mission is born in the heart of God, operates in history by the power of the Holy Spirit, and points to the glorification of Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior.

God the Father is a missionary God because it is he who is the owner of the field and sends his workers to the field (See Psalm 105:17; Acts 9:17; Luke 10:2; Matt. 9:37,38). Christian mission proceeds from the Father. God the Son is a missionary God because in him we find the full realization of the God's mission. Jesus' mission in the world was to seek and to save the lost (Luke 19:10). Jesus came to this world as a result of a divine commissioning, and he harmonized his own mission given by the Father with the mission that he gave to his disciples, when he said: "As the Father has sent me, so have I sent you." (John 20:21). Note the order of the "sendings" in this passage. First, the Son of God was sent by the Father, which makes Jesus the first and divine missionary. He, in turn, sent his disciples, making them missionaries of the gospel. Jesus' actions throughout his ministry had a missionary character. Mission is the historical realization on behalf of all mankind through the incarnation, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Finally, God the Holy Spirit is a missionary God because he is the driving force of God's mission. In Acts 1:8 we have the understanding of the person and work of the Holy Spirit as being highly missional in character and purpose. The church at Pentecost readily and spontaneously became missionary in its essence by being empowered by the Holy Spirit, therefore, Holy Spirit and mission cannot be separated or detached from each other.

That being said, it is clear that the church is missionary in a derived sense, for it is the triune God who sends and empowers the church for mission. The church is not the incarnation of Jesus, but it is the continuation of his ministry by the power of the Holy Spirit; the church acts in the power of the Spirit, which is the transforming force of human life and society. In this way, Christian mission, according to Bavinck, is defined and determined by the Trinity.

For this reason, there is a desperate need for a mission theology that is not anthropocentric or ecclesiocentric, but theocentric. An anthropocentric missiology rests in human needs and makes humans the center of mission, and an ecclesiocentric missiology rests in the responsability and the initiative of the church in preaching the gospel, while a theocentric missiology rests in God and his initiative of saving and redeeming humans. In other words, both anthropocentric and ecclesiocentric missiologies are from below, while a Trinitarian missiology if from above; it begins with the Triune God. Bavinck's trinitarian theology provides for that need by placing the Trinity as the center for all theology and missiology. Bavinck says, "In the doctrine of the Trinity we feel the heartbeat of God's entire revelation for the redemption of humanity" (*RD,* 2.333). In fact, all other areas of theology flow from the Trinity; theology and Christian missions stand or fall with the doctrine of the Trinity. Only in the creation of the Father, the incarnation of the Son, and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit can one find salvation and eternal life. The message of the church must be that there is no redemption apart from the triune God, or in Bavinck's words, "our salvation, both in this life and in the life to come, is bound up with the doctrine of the Trinity." (*RD,* 2.334). For Bavinck, the message proclaimed by the church is not only that Jesus saves, but that the triune God—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—save.

Conclusion

In this article, we have argued that the framework and the basis for missiology is ultimately the being and the work of the Trinity; i.e., the Trinity is the center of all theology, therefore, Christian mission must be Trinitarian. As we have seen in Bavinck's theology, unlike Martin Kähler's and other's understanding, mission is not the mother of all theology, the Trinity is. And unlike Bosch and others, the point of departure for mission is not Christology, but the Trinity. As we have demonstrated, the missional character of Bavinck's theology is based on the doctrine of the Trinity, specifically the relationship between the ontological and the economic Trinity; his trinitarian worldview—creation, fall, redemption—is the only worldview able to overcome our pagan and idolatrous culture by means of the gospel that is the only medicine for the disease of sin.

It is also clear in Bavinck's trinitarian system of thought that, every other area of theology, such as Christology, ecclesiology, including missiology, flows from the doctrine of the Trinity, therefore, it is suggested that the doctrine of the Trinity is the central theme in Herman Bavinck's theology and it provides the fundamental ground for Christian mission, the framework for our understanding of cultural challenges, and the basis for the missionary activity of the church. In fact, there is no church, mission, or theology without the Trinity.▪

Full Redemption: The Puritan Doctrine of Glorification

By B. E. Franks

For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren. Moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them he also glorified (Romans 8:29–30).

These words from Paul have provided theologians with the skeletal structure for the *ordo salutis*. Each element of the order of salvation which Paul lays out has been carefully studied and discussed by generations of theologians. Elements such as justification remain controversial topics that generate much discussion today.[1] Other elements of the *ordo salutis* are, however, often overlooked or underdeveloped. The last link in the "chain" which Paul develops serves as a fitting case in point: glorification. The doctrine of glorification is rarely discussed today outside of systematic theologies, but it plays an important role in the church's understanding of key areas of theology including soteriology and eschatology. What does a healthy and biblical doctrine of glorification look like? How can the church properly articulate and apply this doctrine in a way that is biblically faithful and pastorally helpful? The Puritan tradition provides answers to these questions.[2] The Puritans provide a model for how the doctrine of glorification can be both articulated and applied.

To demonstrate this thesis, we will consider three examples of Puritan discussions of glorification. Following the Puritan pattern, we will consider the doctrine, followed by the uses of the doctrine. First, we will examine the doctrine of glorification as articulated in *The Westminster Standards*, after which we will consider several Puritan funeral sermons to see how the doctrine of glorification was applied in a practical and pastoral context. Finally, we will survey the discussion of glorification found in volume four of Wilhelmus à Brakel's classic work *The Christian's Reasonable Service*.[3]

The Doctrine of Glorification in the Westminster Standards

The Westminster Standards is the classic consensus summary of Puritan theology. To understand what the *Standards* say about the subject of glorification, however, requires care and attention. While there is no separate chapter on glorification in the Confession of Faith, the doctrine is discussed at a number of points in the *Standards*.[4] Within the confession itself, the doctrine is referenced in at least half a dozen different chapters and it is covered in both the larger and shorter catechisms as well.[5] The fullest

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1. For a helpful contemporary assessment and overview of the doctrine from a Reformed perspective, see J.V. Fesko, *Justification: Understanding the Classic Reformed Doctrine* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2008).

2. For a general overview of the Puritan doctrine of glorification, see Andrew Hynes, *Puritans and Salvation: The 17th Century Puritan Approach to Man's Salvation* (Mustang, OK: Tate Publishing & Enterprises, 2015), 147–164.

3. The rational for including à Brakel in a discussion of Puritan theology is given later in the paper. For a brief biography of à Brakel and thematic overview of *The Christian's Reasonable Service*, see Bartel Elshout, *The Pastoral and Practical Theology of Wilhelmus à Brakel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 1997).

4. While some might claim that the absence of a distinct chapter on the subject shows that the Westminster Divines did not value the doctrine of glorification, this is not the case. To understand the problems with this approach, see J.V. Fesko, *The Spirit of the Age: The 19th Century Debate over the Holy Spirit and the Westminster Confession* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2017), 28–30.

5. References to the doctrine of glorification can be found in

discussion of the doctrine can be found in chapter 32 of the confession and in questions 82–90 of the Larger Catechism. Questions 37–38 of the shorter catechism offer what is perhaps the best summary of the Puritan doctrine of glorification ever written.

Chapter 32 of the Confession of Faith is entitled "Of the State of Men After Death, and of the Resurrection of the Dead." This chapter deals with what is sometimes called "personal eschatology" and is worth quoting in full:

> 1. The bodies of men, after death, return to dust, and see corruption: but their souls, which neither die nor sleep, having an immortal subsistence, immediately return to God who gave them: the souls of the righteous, being then made perfect in holiness, are received into the highest heavens, where they behold the face of God, in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies. And the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, where they remain in torments and utter darkness, reserved to the judgment of the great day. Besides these two places, for souls separated from their bodies, the Scripture acknowledgeth none.
>
> 2. At the last day, such as are found alive shall not die, but be changed: and all the dead shall be raised up, with the selfsame bodies, and none other (although with different qualities), which shall be united again to their souls forever.
>
> 3. The bodies of the unjust shall, by the power of Christ, be raised to dishonor: the bodies of the just, by his Spirit, unto honor; and be made conformable to his own glorious body.

Paragraph one discusses the fate of men's bodies and souls after death and rejects both the Anabaptist notion of "soul sleep" and the Romanist doctrine of purgatory.[6] Throughout their discussion, the Westminster Divines were careful to distinguish between believers and unbelievers. While both the believer and the unbeliever will experience a separation between body and soul upon death (and both will also experience a permanent reunion between body and soul at the Last Judgment), the destination for these two parties could not be more different. The believers are to be, "made perfect in holiness, are received into the highest heavens, where they behold the face of God, in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies," whereas the souls of the wicked will be condemned to, "torments and utter darkness" until the judgment day.

Thematically, there is a natural movement from the first paragraph to the final paragraphs. The events which are described in paragraph one have been taking place since the very first man drew his very last breath, but paragraphs two and three describe what will take place on the last day for all of humanity. Paragraph one describes how death changes men's state while paragraphs two and three describe how the resurrection will confirm men's state for all eternity. While the first paragraph meditates on the separation that will take place between men's bodies and souls, these latter paragraphs explore the permanent reunion of bodies and souls that will take place at the last day.

One theme that is emphasized in the confession's discussion of personal eschatology is the ongoing importance of the body. Contrary to the teachings of Platonism and the heresies of Gnosticism, the Divines maintain that the body and the soul will dwell together for all eternity.[7] The focus of the chapter is not on trying to imagine what all the details of a glorified life might look like. Instead, the Divines draw the attention of believers and unbelievers to the realities of death, life after death, and the eternity that awaits them.

While the confession emphasizes the connections between the doctrine of glorification and eschatology, the larger catechism draws out the connections between the doctrine of glorification and union with Christ. This difference in approach is not a deviation from the doctrine of the confession but is, instead, a development of it in new ways. Robert Letham notes that while the various aspects of redemption are often separated by time, they are nonetheless logically and spiritually brought together in the doctrine of union with Christ. Letham

Confession of Faith (hereafter WCF) 3.5, 8.1, 9.5, 18.1–2, 26.1, and 32.1–3, along with Westminster Shorter Catechism (hereafter WSC) 37–38, and Westminster Larger Catechism (hereafter WLC) 65, 74, and 82–90. See *The Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms* (Lawrenceville, GA: Committee for Christian Education and Publications, 2007).

6. See the discussion in J.V. Fesko, *The Theology of the Westminster Standards* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Publishers, 2017), 368–371.

7. As one author put it: "The Scriptures assure us that at the resurrection of the dead we shall be raised 'imperishable', with bodies characterized by 'glory' and 'power'. These will be real physical bodies even though they are 'spiritual bodies'—that is, bodies characterized by the glory and power of the spiritual realm (1 Cor. 15:42–44). And lest we forget, the confession reminds us that this reunion of soul and body is permanent. It is a union that will last 'forever'. All people will in some sense live forever, although for those who are isolated from God their eternal existence will be experienced as an eternal death." Chad Van Dixhoorn, *Confessing the Faith: A Reader's Guide to the Westminster Confession of Faith* (Edinburgh, UK: Banner of Truth Trust, 2014), 432.

draws out the connection between union with Christ and the doctrine of glorification when he says, "What the Larger Catechism brings to the fore is that all these are aspects of union and communion with Christ in grace and glory. At no point should they be isolated from union with Christ. The Assembly displayed, not two different views of the way of salvation, but one view seen from complementary vantage points."[8] This is in keeping with Paul's statements in Romans 8:29–30, which lists glorification as the last link in the great and glorious chain of redemption.

The larger catechism introduces its discussion of glorification with question 82: "*What is the communion in glory which the members of the invisible church have with Christ?* A. The communion in glory which the members of the invisible church have with Christ, is in this life, immediately after death, and at last perfected at the resurrection and day of judgment."[9] These three stages provide the believer with a framework to understand and anticipate the communion in glory which he has with Christ and because of Christ.[10]

The first stage of the believer's communion in glory with Christ is one of anticipation. The tastes of glory which a believer gets in this life are perhaps better thought of as foretastes of glory.[11] Ever mindful to draw out the differences between the privileges of the believer and the punishments of the unbeliever, the Divines note that believers, "enjoy the sense of God's love, peace of conscience, joy in the Holy Ghost, and hope of glory" while to the wicked, a "sense of God's revenging wrath, horror of conscience, and a fearful expectation of judgment, are … the beginning of their torments which they shall endure after death" (WLC Q&A 83).

The second stage of the believer's communion in glory with Christ is marked by joyful rest mixed with eager longing. There is a tension between the "already" and the "not-yet" for those who have died, just as there is for those who still live (although the believer in glory has far more of the "already" than any believer does on earth). For while death brings the believer into the "highest heavens, where they behold the face of God in light and glory" and their souls are "made perfect in holiness," they are, nevertheless, still waiting for "the full redemption of their bodies."[12] But this is not an anxious waiting. The WLC puts it beautifully when it says that the bodies of believers, "rest in their graves as in their beds, till at the Last Day they be again united to their souls."[13]

The third, and final, stage of the believer's communion in glory with Christ is what Vos calls, "the perfection of glory at the resurrection."[14] The resurrection marks the beginning of the end for the believer—yet this is an end without end! At the resurrection, all men will be reunited with their bodies and judged by Christ, but the believer will be acquitted by Christ and ushered into everlasting glory while the unbeliever will be condemned by Christ and ushered into everlasting sorrow.[15]

What, then, is the Puritan doctrine of glorification? For the members of the Westminster Assembly (and the Puritan consensus that they represented), glorification was a rich and wonderful doctrine that was closely connected with both soteriology (through the doctrine of union with Christ and the *ordo salutis*) and eschatology (through its connection with the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead and the final judgment). The doctrine of glorification highlights the difference between the eternal state of the believer and the unbeliever and serves as a motive to encourage the righteous and convict the rebellious.[16] The question that remains to be answered is: how did the Puritans use this doctrine?

8. Robert Letham, *The Westminster Assembly: Reading its Theology in Historical Context* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2009), 246.

9. The background to this question is found in WLC Q. 65: "*What special benefits do the members of the invisible church enjoy by Christ?* A. The members of the invisible church by Christ enjoy union and communion with him in grace and glory." Questions 66–81 describe what union and communion in grace look like, while questions 82–90 discuss union and communion in glory.

10. In his commentary on the confession, J.G. Vos asks the question: "What are the three stages in which God's people receive glory? (a) They receive the first fruits of glory during the present life; (b) they enter the state of glory at their death; (c) they receive the perfection of glory at the resurrection." Johannes G. Vos, *The Westminster Larger Catechism: A Commentary* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2002), 193.

11. Question 83 of the WLC describes this stage as an experience of "the first-fruits of glory with Christ, as they are members of him their head, and so in him are interested in that glory which he is fully possessed of." Vos explains that to be "interested" in glory, "does not mean that they are eager to learn about it, but rather that they are entitled to a share in the glory which Christ now enjoys in heaven." Elsewhere, Vos explains that the believer gets a taste of glory as, "a deposit, a token payment, or a payment on account, which is made as evidence of good faith in promising that the balance shall be paid in due time." Vos, *The Westminster Larger Catechism: A Commentary,* 194.

12. Each of these phrases is quoted from WLC Q. 86.

13. WLC. Q. 86. Robert Letham draws out the vivid contrast which is made here between the righteous and the wicked: "The souls of the wicked, however, are cast into hell immediately upon death. There they are in torments and utter darkness. They are kept there, awaiting not the life of the world to come, but the final judgment. Their bodies will be 'kept in their graves, as in their prisons' (LC 86). The contrast between the righteous resting in their beds and the wicked kept in their prisons in striking." Letham, *The Westminster Assembly: Reading its Theology in Historical Context,* 361–362.

14. Vos, *The Westminster Larger Catechism: A Commentary,* 194.

15. WLC Q. 87–90.

16. Perhaps the best summary of the doctrine is found in questions 37–38 of the WSC: "Q. 37. *What benefits do believers receive from Christ*

The Use of Glorification in Puritan Funeral Sermons

Puritan funeral sermons provide a fascinating lens through which we can see how the Puritans communicated confessional theology in a pastoral context. Puritan funeral sermons are a genre in their own right and represent a significant body of literature.[17] The scope of this paper will only permit a survey of two brief sermons, but even a small sampling from this corpus is enough to demonstrate the pastoral warmth and wisdom that the Puritans used in applying the doctrine of glorification at funerals.

In 1639, a London printer published a funeral sermon preached by the great Puritan Richard Sibbes (1577–1635) entitled *The Redemption of Bodies*.[18] Sibbes was famously referred to as "the heavenly Doctor", a moniker which is borne out by the sermon under consideration.[19] In *The Redemption of Bodies*, Sibbes exposits the text of Philippians 3:21, "Who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself." A fitting companion to this sermon is Thomas Brooks' (1608–1680) well-known message *A Believer's Last Day is His Best Day*.[20] This sermon was preached by Brooks on June 28th, 1651 at the funeral of a woman named Martha Randoll and is an exposition of Ecclesiastes 7:1, "A good name is better than precious ointment, and the day of death than the day of one's birth."

In keeping with the practice of Puritan funeral sermons at the time, neither Brooks nor Sibbes make much reference to the lives of the people whose funerals they were preaching.[21] Though there are a number of differences in their sermons, both messages focus the attention of their hearers on one great theme: the change which death brings. Sibbes (in developing Paul's statement that the believer's vile body will be changed to be like Christ's glorious body) emphasizes the change which death brings to a man's body, while Brooks (in defending his proposition that a believer's "dying-day is better than his birthday"[22]) emphasizes the change which death brings to a man's situation. Both see death as an agent of change. Sibbes unpacks Paul's description of man's body as "vile" with this claim that, "The best men's bodies in this world are vile."[23] They are vile because they are taken from the earth, base in this life, and vile both in death and after death.[24] Sibbes makes use of this doctrine by arguing that a recognition of the vileness of one's body abates pride and demonstrates the foolishness of structuring one's life around the body. As the congregation sat before the casket, Sibbes pleaded with his hearers saying, "If our bodies be vile, base bodies, while we live here, let us not offend God for anything to gratify our vile bodies."[25] In place of a vile fallen frame, Sibbes declares to the believer that, "He that made us will make us again…. His first coming was to change our souls, to deliver them from the bondage of Satan. His second coming shall be to deliver our bodies from the bondage of corruption…. Our bodies shall be like his glorious body, even as our souls are like Christ's soul. For this is certain. We are renewed in grace, not to the image of the first Adam, but to the image of the second Adam."[26]

As was stated above, while Sibbes focused on the

at death? A. The souls of believers are at their death made perfect in holiness, and do immediately pass into glory; and their bodies, being still united to Christ, do rest in their graves till the resurrection. Q. 38. *What benefits do believers receive from Christ at the resurrection?* A. At the resurrection, believers being raised up in glory, shall be openly acknowledged and acquitted in the day of judgment, and made perfectly blessed in the full enjoying of God to all eternity."

17. For a helpful and thorough analysis of the development, structure, and themes of Puritan funeral sermons, see Selmer Neville Westby, *The Puritan Funeral Sermon in Seventeenth Century England* (PhD. Diss., University of Southern California, 1970). Also of interest is Emory Elliott, "The Development of the Puritan Funeral Sermon and Elegy: 1660–1750," *Early American Literature* 15, no. 2 (1980): 151–64. For a useful collection of Puritan funeral sermons, see Daniel Featley et al., *Threnoikos: The House of Mourning, Furnished with Directions for Preparations to Meditations of Consolations at the Hour of Death: Delivered in LVI. Sermons, Preached at the Funerals of Divers Faithful Servants of Christ* (London, 1672).

18. Found in Richard Sibbes, *The Works of Richard Sibbes*, Vol. 5 (Edinburg, UK: Banner of Truth, 1977), 155–173.

19. One biography says that Sibbes earned this name by, "his godly preaching and heavenly manner of life. Izaac Walton wrote of Sibbes: Of this blest man, let this just praise be given, Heaven was in him, before he was in heaven." Joel R. Beeke & Randall J. Pederson, *Meet the Puritans: With a Guide to Modern Reprints* (Grand Rapids MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2006), 535.

20. Found in Thomas Brooks, *The Works of Thomas Brooks*, Vol. 6 (Edinburg, UK: Banner of Truth, 1980), 387–408. For a brief guide to Brooks' life and writings, see Beeke & Pederson, *Meet the Puritans: With a Guide to Modern Reprints,* 96–100.

21. Westby traces the shifting attitudes towards eulogizing in Puritan funeral sermons in chapter two of his dissertation. See Westby, *The Puritan Funeral Sermon in Seventeenth Century England,* 18–44.

22. Brooks, *The Works of Thomas Brooks,* Vol. 6, 394.

23. Sibbes, *The Works of Richard Sibbes,* Vol. 5, 162.

24. Sibbes summarizes his argument by saying, "In this respect it is a vile body. And in all passages of our life, in respect of labour, and pain, and sicknesses, and diseases, and likewise for indisposing the soul, that it is an instrument to ill. And in death itself more vile than in life; and after death most of all vile. So you see they are vile bodies every way." Sibbes, *The Works of Richard Sibbes,* Vol. 5, 163–164.

25. Sibbes, *The Works of Richard Sibbes,* Vol. 5, 164.

26. Sibbes, *The Works of Richard Sibbes,* Vol. 5, 165.

change death brings to a man's body, Brooks focused on the change death brings to a man's situation. His sermon falls into two basic parts. In the first part, he outlines six ways in which death, for those who believe, is a change for the better.[27] In the second part, he outlines four uses for this doctrine (although if one counts Brooks' sub-points, there are actually seventeen uses that he draws from the doctrine).[28] As one might expect from Brooks, he develops each of these points in bold and beautiful language. Speaking of the change which death will bring to the believer's enjoyments of God, he notes that our enjoyment of God will be clear, complete, consistent, and changeless.[29] Brooks calls on his hearers to consider that glory that believers should anticipate when he says, "Here they receive grace for grace, but in heaven they shall receive glory for glory. God keeps the best wine till last; the best of God, Christ, and heaven is behind. Here we have but some sips, some tastes of God; fulness is reserved for a glorious state."[30]

Both preachers develop their doctrine of glorification in keeping with the teaching of the *Westminster Standards* as developed above.[31] They saw their sermons as occasions to draw their hearers to a solemn consideration of their own standing before God. Commenting on the themes of Puritan funeral sermons, Westby notes that:

> Death was the great watershed between two states of being, and the preachers devoted great care to picturing the area which lay just before and just beyond the exquisite boundary. They dwelt on the last moments of life, because it was in these, finally, that the decision between heaven and hell was made by all who had not lived closely in Christ or who had by a recurrence of sin fallen away from sanctity. In the Puritan view, all eternity and the nature of the sinner's punishment could hang in the balance at the moment of death.[32]

The funeral sermons of Puritans drew out the doctrines of glorification in a way that pressed home the need for their hearers to repent. They did not develop themes of glorification in way that was merely doctrinal or intellectual, nor did they seek to eulogize the body that lay before them. Rather, they saw the funeral sermon as a critical opportunity to draw their living hearers into eternity and to press home the significance of their death and their personal standing before God. The goal of Puritan funeral sermons, as stated in the *Westminster Directory for Public Worship*, was to "put [men] in remembrance of their duties."[33] Both Sibbes and Brooks provide rich examples of the way in which Puritan pastors fulfilled this aim. Both men followed the Puritan pattern of applying the doctrine of glorification to the personal redemption of their hearers. To use theological terminology, Puritan funeral sermons located the doctrine of glorification under the heading of soteriology more than eschatology. While they did not ignore the eschatological implications of the doctrine, their goal was to show their hearers their need for personal redemption and the blessings that come to those who have been redeemed.

The Doctrine and Use of Glorification in à Brakel's: *The Christian's Reasonable Service*

In à Brakel's well-loved work, *The Christian's Reasonable Service*, glorification is dealt with under the heading of eschatology rather than soteriology.[34] Before we explore à Brakel's work on this subject, it is necessary to explain why à Brakel should be included with a discussion of Puritan theology. Wilhelmus à Brakel was a leading figure in the *Nadere Reformatie*, the Dutch Further Reformation. Although à Brakel wrote in a different country, context, and language than that of the

27. Brooks' reasons are: (1) death is a change of place, (2) death is a change of company, (3) death is a change of employment, (4) death is a change of enjoyments, (5) death is the last change, (6) death is a change that brings unchangeable rest. Brooks, *The Works of Thomas Brooks,* Vol. 6, 394–400.

28. Brooks' four main uses are: (1) we should not mourn immoderately at the death of any believer, (2) we should not fear death, (3) the prospect of death should stir us up to prepare for our dying-day, (4) if a believer's dying day is his best day, then a wicked man's last day must be his worst day. Brooks, *The Works of Thomas Brooks,* Vol. 6, 400–408.

29. To read the fully developed subpoints, see Brooks, *The Works of Thomas Brooks,* Vol. 6, 396–398.

30. Brooks, *The Works of Thomas Brooks,* Vol. 6, 397.

31. Though the *Westminster Standards* had not yet been written when Sibbes preached *The Redemption of Bodies*, his theology is nonetheless consistent with what would become the later Puritan consensus.

32. Westby, *The Puritan Funeral Sermon in Seventeenth Century England,* 172.

33. In the chapter "Concerning Burial of the Dead", the *Westminster Directory for Public Worship* says, "we judge it very convenient, that the Christian friends, which accompany the dead body to the place appointed for publick burial, do apply themselves to meditations and conferences suitable to the occasion and that the minister, as upon other occasions, so at this time, if he be present, may put them in remembrance of their duty." Westminster Assembly, *Westminster Directory of Public Worship (*Fearn, Ross-shire: Christian Heritage, 2008), 120.

34. Wilhelmus à Brakel, *The Christian's Reasonable Service*, Vol. 4 (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 1995), 303–372.

English Puritans, his theology was cut from the same cloth. As one scholar put it, "à Brakel's work bridges English Puritanism and the equally rich heritage of the *Nadere Reformatie*…. Those who have acquired a taste for the spiritual delicacies found in Puritan writings will find their spiritual appetite amply satisfied by the rich treasures found in *The Christian's Reasonable Service* of Wilhelmus à Brakel."[35] The benefits of including à Brakel in the discussion are numerous. Because à Brakel writes at the turn of the 18th century, he provides a case study in the continuity which exists between the Puritan tradition and the Dutch "Puritans" on the subject of glorification. Also, as a Dutch theologian, à Brakel shows the abiding value of the Puritan doctrine outside of the immediate English context.

Given this context, it should be unsurprising to find that there is significant overlap between the theology of glorification laid out in the *Westminster Standards* and à Brakel's discussion in his *Christian's Reasonable Service*. À Brakel covers four main headings under the category of Eschatology: (1) concerning death and the state of the soul after death,[36] (2) the resurrection of the dead,[37] (3) concerning the last judgment and the end of the world,[38] and (4) concerning eternal glory.[39] The first two sections of à Brakel cover the same ground as chapter 32 of the Westminster Confession of Faith (and his titles are nearly identical to that of the confession on this point). À Brakel follows chapter 32, paragraph 1 of the confession in rejecting the twin errors of soul sleep and purgatory.[40] He also maintains the Westminster view of the relationship between the souls and bodies of men. He argues that death brings men's bodies to the ground and their souls into either heaven (if they are believers) or hell (if they are unbelievers).[41] The bodies of both believers and unbelievers await the resurrection on the last day, when they will be reunited with their souls for all eternity. Again, echoing the view of the confession, à Brakel defends the view that both believers and unbelievers will receive resurrection bodies and that men's resurrection bodies will be the same bodies that they had on earth.[42] There is not a single point at which à Brakel's doctrine of glorification contradicts the view laid out in the Westminster Confession of Faith.

Not only is à Brakel's doctrine consistent with that of the English Puritans, there is also overlap in the how both use and apply that doctrine. À Brakel brings together the doctrinal clarity of the *Standards* with the experiential warmth and application of the Puritan funeral sermons that have already been discussed. He intersperses his doctrinal discussion with pointed applications, and in keeping with the general approach of the Puritans, he is careful to always address both the believer and the unbeliever.

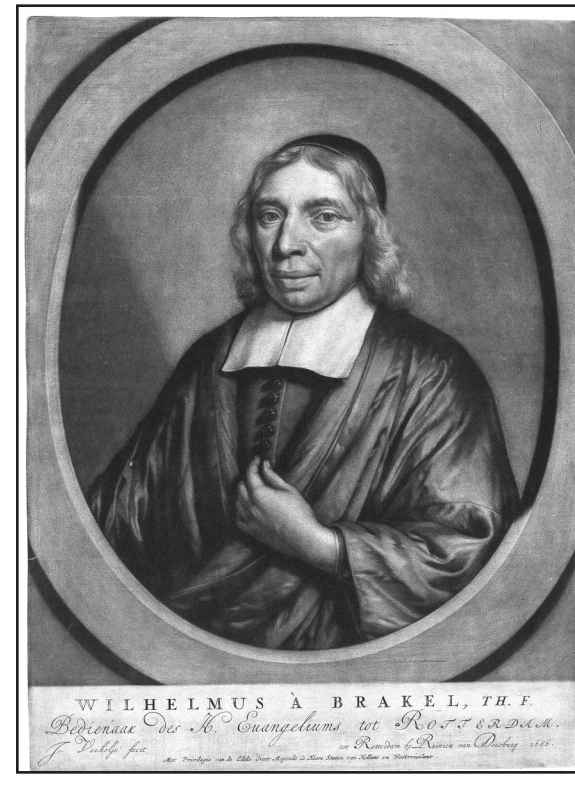
In his discussion of the change which death brings, à Brakel comforts the believer by echoing Brooks' argument that death is a friend of believers. He does this by arguing that the death of believers is not a punishment, but a blessing.[43] When writing about the resurrection of the dead, he echoes Sibbes' argument that the coming resurrection of the body should move believers to use their bodies now for the glory of God.[44] In his discussion of the state of the soul after death, à Brakel has an extended exhortation, "to Set One's House in Order," urging both believers and unbelievers to pay careful attention to the state of their souls.[45] He reminds his readers that all men must die and that this fact must change the way they interact with both the godly and the ungodly.[46] Though à Brakel is writing a systematic theology, he continually presses his readers to attend to their souls in light of the doctrines that are being developed. Just as the English Puritans did in their funeral sermons, à Brakel seeks to put men in remembrance of their duties.

It would be a mistake, however, to suggest that à Brakel does nothing more than repeat what the English Puritans had said before him. For example, when one compares à Brakel's discussion of glorification with that of the Westminster Confession of Faith, it becomes clear that while the basic structure of their doctrine is the same, they develop that doctrine in different ways. There are a number of areas where à Brakel's discussion goes beyond what is covered in the *Standards*. One example would be in the practical applications which he makes to his readers that are mentioned above. Further examples are found particularly in the final section of his discussion of eschatology, "Concerning Eternal Glory."[47]

35. Elshout, *The Pastoral and Practical Theology of Wilhelmus à Brakel,* 13–14.
36. à Brakel, *The Christian's Reasonable Service,* Vol. 4, 303–326.
37. à Brakel, *The Christian's Reasonable Service,* Vol. 4, 327–338.
38. à Brakel, *The Christian's Reasonable Service,* Vol. 4, 339–356.
39. à Brakel, *The Christian's Reasonable Service,* Vol. 4, 357–372.
40. à Brakel, *The Christian's Reasonable Service,* Vol. 4, 316–326.
41. à Brakel, *The Christian's Reasonable Service,* Vol. 4, 303–315.
42. à Brakel, *The Christian's Reasonable Service,* Vol. 4, 329–335.
43. Compare: Brooks, *The Works of Thomas Brooks,* Vol. 6, 394–400; and à Brakel, *The Christian's Reasonable Service,* Vol. 4, 304–307.
44. Compare: Sibbes, *The Works of Richard Sibbes,* Vol. 5, 164, 172–173; and à Brakel, *The Christian's Reasonable Service,* Vol. 4, 337–338.
45. à Brakel, *The Christian's Reasonable Service,* Vol. 4, 311–316.
46. à Brakel, *The Christian's Reasonable Service,* Vol. 4, 307–311.
47. à Brakel, *The Christian's Reasonable Service,* Vol. 4, 357–372.

The Westminster Confession says very little about the actual state of believers in glory.[48] À Brakel takes up several questions that the *Standards* either do not address, or address only briefly. For example, he addresses the question of whether believers will have different measures of glory in heaven.[49] He also addresses the common question: will believers be able to recognize one another in heaven?[50] Perhaps his greatest contribution comes in the form of his warm-hearted exhortation for believers to meditate on the theme of eternal glory in their walk here on earth. À Brakel encourages his readers to press on, saying, "let this glory be your goal, and pursue it so that you may enter heaven while being in a full run."[51]

Even a relatively brief survey of the Puritan doctrine of glorification makes several things clear. First, through writings spanning more than a century (written by men who represent diverse contexts and cultures), the Puritan doctrine of glorification was consistently maintained and articulated. Second, in various contexts and works, the Puritans labored to connect this doctrine with the spiritual situation and needs of their hearers. They were not content to merely develop a doctrine of glorification which stayed at the level of the abstract but were careful to connect this doctrine with other doctrines. They infused their discussion of soteriology, union with Christ, death, the resurrection, and eternity with themes of glory. They used this doctrine as a source of great encouragement to believers as well as a source of sober warning to unbelievers. In the writings of the Puritans, the doctrine of glorification is both clearly articulated and compellingly applied. These writings can serve as a model for the contemporary church as it prepares for the glory that is to come.▪



Wilhelmus à Brakel (1635–1711), minister in Exmorra, Stavoren, Harlingen, Leeuwarden and Rotterdam. Through his *De Redelijke Godsdienst* (*The Christian's Reasonable Service*), written during his twenty-eight year ministry in Rotterdam, à Brakel became the most acclaimed of the theologians of the *Nadere Reformatie* (Dutch Further Reformation).

48. WCF 32.3 merely states that, "the bodies of the just, by his Spirit, [shall be raised] unto honor; and be made conformable to his own glorious body." Questions 86 and 90 of the larger catechism are more specific than the confession but still do not cover the subject in as much depth as à Brakel does.

49. à Brakel offers a qualified "yes." He maintains that those who have suffered and done more for Christ in this life will have a fuller measure of glory than others, however, "all they who are glorified will be filled with felicity to overflowing; that is, as much as they can endure. Thus, there neither will be a desire for more, nor will this be possible[…. As one vessel can, however, contain more than another vessel, while yet all being full, we believe that also the one will excel the other in glory." à Brakel, *The Christian's Reasonable Service,* Vol. 4, 358–360.

50. Again, à Brakel answers this question in the affirmative. Our enjoyment will be found in fellowship with the godly as well as in fellowship with God. As he puts it, "They shall thus not be occupied with the immediate beholding of God only, without thinking of each other. Rather, as glorified men they shall fellowship together, unitedly glorifying God." à Brakel, *The Christian's Reasonable Service,* Vol. 4, 361.

51. à Brakel, *The Christian's Reasonable Service,* Vol. 4, 369. As he draws his discussion of eternal glory to a close, à Brakel offers a final exhortation, "Believers, you may therefore anticipate that such glory will shortly be your portion. Thus, hasten to complete your task, and be an example of godliness, faith, and courage; and hope upon glory. Make this glory, and the way which leads to it, known to others and lead them along unto felicity, so that you may join the Lord Jesus in saying, 'I have glorified Thee on earth: I have finished the work which Thou gavest Me to do…I have manifested Thy name unto … men. And now, O Father, glorify Thou Me!' (John 17:4–6). HALLELUJAH!" à Brakel, *The Christian's Reasonable Service,* Vol. 4, 370.

Approaching a Heavenly Reality in a Temporal Realm: Robert Bruce's Theology of the Sacrament

By Frank L. Bartoe IV

There is often an attempt to bridge the gap that exists between the reality that the Scriptures describe in that eternal realm of glory and the reality that we seem to know best in this temporal realm. Is it possible to not only glimpse that reality that seems to be separated by this worldly reality, but truly engage the reality that resides in the heavenly realm? Alternatively, is it always to remain as a distant aspect of reality that will only be experienced when we arrive on the shores of glory? The heavenly reality is separated by the uncrossable temporal chasm that shall not be traversed until God's providential calling to the eternal realm. Although some would attempt to suggest an unmovable divide that exists between the temporal and eternal realm, nonetheless, some dare to rush that wall of division and remove the supposed obstacles that stand between them and the heavenly realities that are found in Scripture. This removal of those obstacles is done with an end in sight, which is to glimpse and grasp, to the fullest extent possible, the glorious reality that is known to reside in the realm of the heavens. Not only grasp, but experience it here, in the fullest sense possible, in the temporal realm which Robert Bruce describes as "that heavenly life offered in the word and sacraments' that ye may begin your heaven here, and get the full fruition of the life to come, and that in the righteous merits of Christ Jesus."[1] If this were not a possibility, it might be asked why God would have stooped down to his creatures and provided a supernatural revelation of himself, as well as establish the Sacraments for the church to participate. If he did not intend for his people to experience or 'taste' or to be "partakers of that heavenly life" in order that "ye may begin your heaven here," there would be a contrariety of absurdities.

Many questions surface when the concept of heavenly reality is considered, primarily when there is an apparent degree of separation between the heavenly reality and the temporal realm. So, what is it that defines that heavenly reality? How can we, in a temporal realm, know—or better yet, experience—the reality that resides in the heavenly realm? Furthermore, what does the construct of that defined heavenly reality look like for the child of God? Not just what the reality looks like: more specifically, what does that heavenly reality look like in the temporal realm? It would seem that the latter portion of this question is more pertinent, in some sense, to us who reside in the temporal realm. Also, this latter question bears with it a great degree of weight and difficulty, for it would seem that to suggest that the heavenly reality can be identified, as well as understood, in the temporal realm brings us to an issue of mystery. Perhaps, on the surface, this may appear grandiose in its consideration, and probably for some a fanciful attempt to approach something that is a phantom with no real substance or content in this earthly realm of reality—it is chasing a phantom that is encapsulated in mystery. That is, how can one genuinely hope to approach a realm that is not of this realm, and not only approach that realm, but experience that realm to the extent that it can be known and understood?

The questions mentioned above about the possible connectivity and mystery surrounding the ability to be in one realm (temporal) and experience another realm (heavenly reality) seems to be a driving factor for Bruce's desire to explore the nature of the Lord's Supper. That is, the Lord's Supper encapsulates a degree of mystery, but also a great degree of glorious reality that some might dismiss as 'just' bread and wine. Hence,

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1. Robert Bruce, "Upon the Preparation to the Lord's Supper," in *Sermons*, ed. William Cunningham (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1843), 157. Hereafter *Sermons*.

the reason these questions seem to be the most appropriate, because Bruce does not merely present a familiar doctrine of the sacrament and leave it. Instead, for Bruce, there is a substantive reality that is to be engaged and experienced, which is encapsulated within the construct of the two realms (temporal/heavenly) coming face-to-face in the Lord's Supper. Consider the following remarks in the opening of his first sermon on the Lord's Supper, *Upon the Sacraments in General*, which presents an overall perspective of the substantive reality that Bruce identifies in the Lord's Supper:

> There is na thing in this warld, nor out of this warld, mair to be wished of everye ane of you, mair to be craved and sought everie ane of you, nor to be conjoyned with Christ Iesus, nor anis to be maid ane with the God of glory, Christ Iesus. This heavenly and celestial conjunction is purchased and brought about be twa special meanes: It is brought about be the mena of the word, and preaching of the gospel; and it is brought about be the meane of the sacraments and ministration thereof.[2]

It is a stretching forth, or, as Bruce identifies it, the craving and seeking of the soul, by the mercy of God, to grasp, obtain, and secure a piece of the non-temporal realm. That is, to interact with a reality which is situated in the heavenly realm, which is a "heavenly and celestial conjunction" between the soul and its Redeemer that has been purchased by Christ. Therefore, as a result, the sacrament for Bruce is a fully implicative connecting point in the temporal realm that provides access to an eternal spiritual reality—the heavenly realm—while residing in the temporal realm. This connectivity between the two realms, for Bruce, is not just the mere ability to approach the heavenly reality, because that would seem to be an unnecessary limitation; instead, it is the ability to approach as well as fully enter into an aspect of that heavenly reality. Moreover, within this ability to approach the divine reality, there is an ability, to an extent, to grip, know, and experience it in the temporal realm. Likewise, the gripping of this heavenly realm is a necessity that establishes the basis for the other aspects of encountering this reality. The knowledge of this divine reality in the temporal realm has a perceptible characteristic that assists a fallen man, redeemed in Christ, to have a real knowledge of the heavenly realm. Lastly, the experiential aspect of this Sacrament, for Bruce, contains a sweet solidifying nature that is inherent within the gripping and knowing this heavenly reality while residing in the temporal realm. It is this gripping, knowing, and experiencing the realm of heavenly reality while residing in this temporal realm that Bruce uses to construct a network of connectivity between the two realms. This connectivity brings the child of God, through the Sacrament, face to face with this glorious truth of the Sacrament that can, indeed, be held, known intimately, and experienced prior to his life in heaven.

An Instrument of Insight—Analogy

If we are to give a brief consideration to the historical content that lies behind the thought that Bruce is developing throughout his sermons, we might ask whether Bruce's understanding is unique or whether he was promoting something new in his knowledge of the Sacrament. It is clear that Bruce was aware of other reformed positions on the doctrine of the Sacraments, at least, when we consider the content and substance of his understanding of the scriptural position on the Sacraments. However, due to the lack of writings and references throughout his sermons, it can be a challenge to say that this was from this author or that author. So are we to think that Bruce's understanding is unique, or that he was developing something new in his understanding of sacramental theology?

I would suggest that the analogy of proportionality is a fundamental component of Bruce's sacramental theology, and that the fact that we find this concept in Bruce's work would further suggest that he was aware of what John Calvin (1504–1559) and Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562) had to say about the Lord's Supper. This awareness on Bruce's part would have exposed him to a deep historical well to draw from when setting forth a scriptural position on the Sacraments, especially in light of Calvin's assessment of Vermigli's works on the Sacrament. "The whole doctrine of the Eucharist [Lord's Supper]," Calvin asserts, "was crowned by Peter Martyr, who left nothing more to be done."[3]

In addition, Bruce's approach to establishing the doctrine found in the Sacraments is interlaced with his reformed theology and his philosophical understandings of Aristotle and Aquinas. More specifically, this concept of the analogy of proportionality is a theory that originates with Aristotle and is incorporated by Aquinas,[4] which functions as the foundation for Bruce to build his defense of the reformed position, not only of

2. "Upon the Sacraments in General," in *Sermons*, 5.

3. J. K. S. Reid, *Calvin: Theological Treatises* (Louisville, KY; London: Westminster John Knox Press, 1954), 292.

4. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Truth*, trans. Robert W. Mulligan, S.J. (Eugene, OR. Wipf & Stock, 1952), q. 2, art. 3. "A thing is said to be proportionate to another in two ways. In one way, a proportion is noted

the Lord's Supper against transubstantiation, but also, for his theories of accommodation and of knowledge, which are intrinsically linked together.

This concept of the analogy of proportionality seems to be a significant instrument employed by Bruce to construct the framework and understanding of how it is that God has made it possible for sinful man to approach a heavenly realm while residing in a temporal realm. That is, Bruce uses this concept to identify and explain the nature of sacramental theology that speaks of an analogical revelation that is accommodating to the capacity of man's fallen nature. Therefore, I would suggest that this analogy of proportionality is a primary thread; and if one were to remove this thread of analogy, the whole of his position would unravel and lack the ability to convey the scriptural reality in the Lord's Supper.

The significance of the concept should not be underestimated, because it functions as a linking mechanism between different realms of reality, such as the temporal and eternal realms. Also, there is an intrinsic link between the concept of accommodation and the analogy of proportionality:[5] that is, the analogy of proportionality appears to be inherently embedded within the doctrine of accommodation. At the bottom of this aspect of accommodation from the Creator to the creature is a subject-object connection that is fundamental to the relationship between the Creator and the creature, especially in the area of communication (knowledge), truth, and reality. The most concise and connecting statement of these two concepts (accommodation and analogy), for Bruce, is found in his sermon on 1 Cor. xi. 23, *Upon the Lord's Supper in Particular*, where he notes the benefits and the thankful heart that is related to the Sacrament that was instituted, and as a result we should "render to him heartie thankes that he hes [has] come downe as familiarilie to us, bowed the heavens, as it were, and given us the body and blood of his awin [own] Son."[6] It is essential to note the relationship between accommodation and the concept of the analogy of proportionality as Bruce draws out in the previous statement. This is to say that the inherent necessity is derived from the fact that our capacity is on a creaturely level and consists of creaturely limitations, so the Creator has to "come downe as familiarilie to us." Not only did God come down, but he did it in such a manner as to acclimatize to our limited sinful capacity. This notion of God coming down speaks directly to the doctrine of *accomodatio*, which demonstrates the fact that God adapts himself to the capacity of the creature in revealing himself. The doctrine of accommodation was a fundamental doctrine found in the writings of John Calvin and other reformed men of that time.

Bruce echoes this thought in his sermon on *Psalm LXXVI*, but in this specific reference he draws out other aspects of this accommodation, specifically its gracious nature, as well as the manner that he revealed himself which would be most fitted to our fallen nature. "The Lord sheweth himself," says Bruce, "exceeding gracious towards his people … that he hath revealed himself so homelie and so familiarlie to her, beside all the rest of the world, in sik sort that he hath made her acquaint with him, and made himself well known to her."[7] There is something to this "familiarilie to us," for Bruce, because it speaks to the extent which the Creator God went to make himself known to his creatures; this was done in "that he hath revealed himself." This aspect of familiarity is a profound view of revelation that illustrates the divine accommodation to the fallen creature and employed earthly signs, which would indicate an analogical nature of the revelation given by God.

This divine accommodation is inherently linked to man being created in the image of God, although the reach is much greater than just the image of God in man.

between two things. For example, we say that four is proportioned to two since its proportion two is double. In a second way, they are proportioned as by a proportionality. For example, we say that six and eight are proportionate because, just as six is the double of three, so eight is the double of four; for proportionality is a similarity of proportions." Q. 2, art. 11. See St. Thomas Aquinas, *Basic Writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas,* Vol. 1, ed. Anton C. Pegis (Random House: New York, 1944), 93. *The Summa Theologica*, I, q. 12, art. 1, ad 4. "Proportion is twofold. In one sense it means a certain relation of quantity to another, according to which double, treble, and equal are species of proportion. In another sense, every relation of one thing to another is called proportion. And in this sense there can be a proportion of the creature to God, in as much as it is related to Him as the effect to its cause, and as potentiality to act; and in this way a created intellect can be proportioned to know God."

5. Fran O'Rourke, *Pseudo-Dionysius and the Metaphysics of Aquinas* (Notre Dame, Indiana University of Notre Dame Press, 2005). The author deals with Pseudo-Dionysius' knowledge of God in part one (first two chapters) of this book. Interesting to note that Pseudo-Dionysius "works out in great detail how we may know God from a knowledge of God's creatures, how that knowledge is limited, and how the soul may ascend to union with God." O'Rourke points out, "It will be most expedient to begin with the form of analogy of proportionality used by Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. He characterized our knowledge of God as analogous in the sense that it must be transformed down to something compatible with out limited nature, and understood proportionality subjectively as referring to how a human subject transforms knowledge of the divine." See Diogenes Allen, *Philosophy for Understanding Theology* (Atlanta, John Knox Press, 1985), 90.

6. "Upon the Lord's Supper in Particular," in *Sermons*, 37.

7. "Upon the Psalm LXXVI," in *Sermons*, 281.

That is, the whole of creation declares the power of God and is revealed. It could be stated that this relationship is embedded within the fabric of our existence (being), that is, God has created man in his image and within that image, he has infused knowledge of the Creator.[8] The fabric of this embedded reality is something that Bruce will identify as a significant factor for a man being directed back to the Creator. "For, as to the creatures," says Bruce, "there is never a creature that God created, but it is stamped with his awin stamp, and every creature bears his image; and looking to the image of God in the creature, suld it not draw thee to him … for his awin image in his creature suld lead thee to himself."[9] Bruce is well aware of the remaining corruption of the old man that does cause a man to stumble over himself, and as a result of this corruption man sets his "heart upon the creature, and to leave the Creator."[10] Nonetheless, the boundless love of God has so designed his relationship with his creatures, that through the redeeming work of Christ the creature is, once again, drawn and led to the Creator.

In addition, there is another inherent link to be identified in Bruce's approach to his sacramental theology, because there is a connection between Bruce's theory of accommodation and the element of analogy that he employs in his sacramental theology. It could be suggested that the two are building blocks of the same foundation or, perhaps, the one is the outworking of the other. That is, without the concept of accommodation there could be no talk of the analogy of proportionality, because the Creator would have remained hidden from his creatures and the creature would continue locked up in their inability to know the Creator, and this would be diametrically opposed to God's creative order. The penetrating nature of analogy is pointed out by Gerald B. Phelan, who notes that the "corporeal sense is arrested at the surface of the thing perceived; but the intellect penetrates into the very depths of the object and, conceiving within itself, as in the womb of the spirit, a likeness of the thing, sees it as it is there to be seen."[11] Indeed, it is this reality that, for Bruce, is a true reflection of the "goodness of the ever-living God who has invented so many wonderful modes of conjunction, all in order that we might be conjoined to Him, and that this great and mystical conjunction between the God of glory and us may be increased."[12] A significant factor of this increase is brought about by God's design of man to be recipients of his revelation. For Bruce, this also speaks to the necessity of this analogy to exist, at least, in the temporal realm; and it would seem that the necessity is removed when one transitions from the temporal realm to being in the presence of—or face-to-face with—Christ. Therefore, the necessity of the analogy of proportionality is twofold: one, to meet the creaturely capacity to understand a heavenly reality that is contained in the Sacrament; and second, because Christ is no longer physically present for us to have a visual perception of him.

First, the necessity of the analogy of proportionality is a fundamental aspect of our temporal reality that allows for us, in our human capacity, to encounter, experience, and know heavenly realities—more specifically, the reality of the Sacrament. That is, there must be a "likeness and proportion between these two [sign and thing signified]," says Bruce, "for if there were no proportion and analogy between the sign and the thing signified by the sign, there could be no Sacrament nor any relation between them."[13] It would seem to be a pointless venture to attempt to draw out the significance of an object that bears no relation to the substance of that reality. Therefore, this thread of the conceptual construct must exist in order for us to benefit from the reality of

8. Scott Oliphint, *Covenantal Apologetics: Principles and Practice in Defense of Our Faith* (Crossway, Wheaton, IL., 2013), 103. This is something that the professor of Apologetics at Westminster, K. Scott Oliphint refers to as the "psychological knowledge" rather than epistemological. Dr. Oliphint points out a distinction to made in reference to knowledge, he notes, "It is a knowledge, we could say, that is presupposed by any (perhaps all) other knowledge. For this reason, it may be best to think of it as more psychological than epistemological." He continues, "That is, knowledge that is initially and centrally focused in the soul (*psyche*), rather than centrally focused in the mind." This distinction of psychological and epistemological could use additional research on its implications. Furthermore, it suggests that there is an aspect of the subject-object relation that is in play here. The subject and object relation is internalized when it comes to the true knowledge of God, and that is projected externally to creation when a man has a regenerate mind. It has to be connected to the self-conscious connectivity in a similar manner that God is entirely a self-contained system; however, our pretended self-contained system has to be circumvented with the Spirit of God to reveal our true nature internally because nature cannot do this. This is the reason man's knowledge of creation does not bring him to God but holds him accountable for that which is suppressed internally to give light of understanding of salvation...an internal dispersion is projected on the external objects of creation. This self-contained or self-sustained system characteristic of God does not translate to man; once again, man is not metaphysically like God; instead, he is to be ethically like God. However, within the confines of man's soul, we find a containment or a system that is corrupted and finite.

9. "Upon the Preparation to the Lord's Supper." 155–156.

10. "The Christian Race," in *Sermons*, 388.

11. Rev. Gerald B. Phelan, *St. Thomas and Analogy* (Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1973), 5.

12. Robert Bruce, *The Mystery of the Lord's Supper: Sermons by Robert Bruce*, ed. Thomas F. Torrance (Scotland: Christian Focus Publications, 2005), 49.

13. *The Mystery of the Lord's Supper,* 48.

the Sacrament. So if we could not make the necessary correlation or connection between the elements that are found in the Sacrament, it would seem that the items have no real significance, at least insofar as they relate to the reality conveyed in the Sacrament. If this were the case, it would bring about several absurdities into any attempt to understand the Sacrament.

Secondly, the analogy of proportionality and the sign are not a contemporaneous existence of the analogy and Christ being present to my physical eye, because this would suggest an absurdity. Accordingly, Bruce asks: "Is not the sign in the Sacrament appointed to lead me to Christ, and to point out Christ to me?"[14] What other purposes would, or could the sign serve if Christ was present to my eyes? What "need would I have of the bread?" asks Bruce, "If I saw Him present with my own eye, as I see the bread." [15] What Bruce is describing, in setting the relational reality together with the sign and the thing signified, is that this relational reality is a crucial component in understanding the substance of the reality contained within the sign offered up in the Lord's Supper. "Thus in the first place," says Bruce, "this conjunction consists in relation which arises from a certain similitude and likeness which the one has to the other."[16] This relational component is, to an extent, the construct of reality that God has acclimatized within the framework of creation. Bruce has effectively tethered the whole of our reality construct to know, rightly, the Creator.

This understanding provides the foundation, as well as the necessity of understanding how God indeed does condescend to his creatures and in doing so has constructed creation in such a manner that his creatures might know the manifold goodness of God. However, he did not stop there, but so created the constitutional construct man's soul (mind, intellect, affectionsetc.) and the world, so that it might speak of the truths of an incomprehensible God (Creator). Additionally, God devised such laws of creation and the internal structure of man's soul that, through the analogy of proportionality, as Bruce would state, we could have a glimpse of the spiritual reality of our Creator and Redeemer. Clearly, Bruce was not the only one declaring this truth; instead, he found himself in good company regarding this concept of the God who has stooped down to his creatures that he might make himself known to the degree that they could understand. We see this very fundamental concept permeating the theology of John Calvin and his *Institutes*. However, Bruce's approach to working out the reality of this accommodation in his employment of the notion of the analogy of proportionality was unique, at least, in the sense of employing this Aristotelean-Thomistic concept of analogy to explain the reality of the Sacrament.

Therefore, according to Bruce, the relation that he finds in the Lord's Supper and explained by the analogy of proportionality should be considered as the "suiting of the sign … to strengthen and confirm his weak faith, quhilk is weak in us all...then, for the strengthening of his weak faith, it was necessair that he should have sought a sign."[17] Once again, we find the rationale for this nature of the analogy of proportionality connected with the weakness of our faith. Bruce makes the following connection with this aspect of analogy, and as a result he puts forth the effort of drawing out the significance of signs and their stabilizing nature to a weak faith. This is a central thought in Bruce's fourth sermon, *Upon Isaiah, Chapter XXXVIII*. "The king seeketh a sign…," says Bruce, "to strengthen his beleef in the Lord's promise. He beleeveth the promise, yet his beleef was weak; and to strengthen his weak beleefe he seeketh the sign."[18] It is essential to note the connectivity between the sign sought and offered and the relation of belief to the sign. In this case, the sign is sought to establish, further, the belief of the King. By design, the Creator has established the nature of our reality construct that it is continuously reliant upon him for existence and meaning, because "the finite cannot fully receive what is infinite. Nor is the creature able to comprehend its creator totally and perfectly."[19] This limitation or restriction of man's ability to grasp God is "according to their capacity."[20] Therefore, the truth of

14. *The Mystery of the Lord's Supper,* 44.
15. *The Mystery of the Lord's Supper,* 44.
16. *The Mystery of the Lord's Supper,* 48.
17. "Upon Isaiah, Chapter XXXVIII," in *Sermons*, 198.
18. "Upon Isaiah, Chapter XXXVIII," 215.
19. "Upon Isaiah, Chapter XXXVIII," 118.
20. Ibid, 119. See Wolfgangus Musculus, *Common Places of Christian Religion*, translated by John Man of Merton Colledge in Oxforde (London: Henry Bynneman, 1578), 1071. "For those matters which be so hidden and far from our sense, that thee lieth no way unto them, neither by thinking, saying, hearing, feeling, talking, nor reasoning, they indeed cannot be known. Much less those things can be known, which be not at all, nor ever were in the nature of things, neither shall be at any season. Again, unless there capacity of understanding in him which would be know, whereby he may be able to know what, and of what sort the same is which he doth see, hear, handle, smell, and taste, and he hath understand and know nothing more than the beast which does lack reason, no not in those things which; be within the compass of all our senses, and be of themselves most manifest. What is of more understanding next after God, than an angel: and yet for all that the Angels cannot know the thoughts of mans heart, much less the secrets of God, unless that they be opened unto them. For the Lord is the sear of our hearts, the depth of which is otherwise

what Bruce sets forth in his doctrine on the Lord's Supper is echoing the teaching of Calvin, especially when we consider it in light of Calvin's teaching on knowledge of God, which clarified that "all knowledge of God is analogical and sacramental, not direct. This is what revelation means."[21] It is the analogical and sacramental nature of reality that is identified and built upon, hence, the manifold goodness of God in stooping down to his fallen creation and in creating an environment where God is ultimate yet knowable to the creatures made in his image.

It is in light of Bruce's use of the analogy of proportionality that we need to consider some of the critical components of this analogy of proportionality. In the previous section, there were two crucial components introduced, and they play a vital role in the construct of analogy, that is, the subject-object relational reality and the notion of perception. As has been noted elsewhere, Bruce's sacramental theology is comprehensive in its structural format. Therefore, we need to look more closely at the role that perception plays in his sacramental theology, more specifically, as it relates to the issue of potential distance that may exist between the two realms (temporal and heavenly). Also, it is necessary that we give further consideration to what is entailed in the subject-object relational reality in the Sacrament. The latter will be considered first, and we will return to Bruce's definition of perception and its significance in closing the gap that exists between the temporal and heavenly realm after considering the subject-object relation.

The Conjunctive Connectivity of the Subject-Object Relation

We find, within Bruce's understanding of the Sacrament, an inherent connectivity that consists of the subject-object relation when the child of God approaches the Supper. That is, within this relational construct there is a linking element that in some mysterious manner the physical object is exposed to a spiritual reality, and that reality is fully experienced, at least, to the extent that it is possible. One of the questions that must be addressed pertains to the importance or significance of this relational dynamics and, more specifically, to the impact on those who participate in the sacrament of the Supper.

There is something more than surface level that unfolds in this relational connectivity; that is to say, the subject-object relation has a dynamic dimension to it that is different from encountering other aspects of creation. For example, one can encounter a tree and stand in a subject-object relation of knowledge; however, within that relation, there is nothing more than an object (the tree) that stands with no real significance conveyed to the subject. This same insignificant subject-object relation could be said for a good deal of creation; however, when a redeemed soul approaches the Sacrament of the Supper, the dimensional dynamics of that relationship are transforming and implicative on the subject that is exposed to the object, in this case, the elements of the sacrament, and the relationship becomes more complicated. You have a creaturely element (man as subject) and the creaturely elements (bread and wine as objects) in this relationship. However, in this, it is not merely the creature (subject) standing in relation to the creature (object), because in this particular instance there is an unveiling to a dimension of reality that is not found in the other creaturely objects in the subject-object relationship. Therefore, for Bruce, there is transporting factor to be considered in this relationship, and this transporting factor is the communication of reality: a more real reality.

The connectivity of the subject and the object is brought about by the gracious work of Christ through the Spirit of God, and this gracious work unites, to some extent, our grasping of the object and the spiritual substance that resides behind the object presented. That is, Bruce makes it clear that this linking aspect of the physical object and the spiritual reality must be grounded in the heart that has been renewed by the Spirit of God. There is a conjunction, in other words, a 'secret conjunction' that is "brought about be [by] faith, and be [by] the Halie Spirit." It is the latter that makes the reality of truly taking hold of the body and blood of Christ, or, as Bruce states, it is the manner which we faith-grip ahold of the body and blood of Christ.[22] To suggest otherwise would be contrary to the scriptural reality which leads Bruce to ask: "Quhat [what] availes the faith, that fleets in the fantasie, and brings a naked knowledge, without the opening of the hart, and consent of the will?"[23] This 'naked knowledge' is what he identifies as knowledge lacking the faith or knowledge that is derived from a heart that is not rooted in faith. So, the separation or the 'great' divide between the two

unsearchable. Again: what is more clearer than the Sun and yet for all that, those things which have not reason, are not able to know what the Sun is, and what the course and use of it is."

21. T.H.L. Parker, *The Doctrine of the Knowledge of God* (Grand Rapids, MI. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1959), 109.

22. "Upon the Lord's Supper in Particular," 60.

23. "Upon the Lord's Supper in Particular," 60.

realms are not necessarily the two realms, themselves; instead, a knowledge that is not clothed in faith. It is not that the Christian does not, in some sense, encounter this heavenly reality all around him; however, there is something more to be found in approaching the Supper that is a reality that is more real - an ultimate reality.

It should not surprise us to approach an area of duality in the reality that surrounds the elements, for Bruce, especially in light of the construct of the subject-object relationship and the varying dimension of that relation. It is with a proper understanding of Bruce's construct of the subject-object relation that we can consider another aspect of the nature of the reality that is encapsulated when the sacrament of the Supper is encountered. Bruce points out that there is a dual apprehension to be considered with the Lord's Supper, and from these two apprehensions he makes the connecting point of the spiritual reality in the heart and mind of a person.[24] This subject-object relation directs us back to the fundamental aspect of Bruce's understanding of the Supper: that is, the approaching, glimpsing, and experiencing of a heavenly reality in the temporal realm. This idea of duality should not be taken to be a parallel reality that does not interact; instead, it should be considered as a fully interactive heavenly reality that intrudes into the temporal time-space realm and confronts us.

In some sense, it would appear that, for Bruce, the redeemed soul approaching the sacrament of the Supper, especially, for the first time is an actual first encounter with a more real reality than ever before encountered. This more real reality is the result of what had taken place prior to approaching the table with a redeemed soul, that is, "the Lord being to scatter the cluds of our natural mind and understanding," says Bruce, "and begin to chase away this thick mist of the dark saull, and places therein a spunk of heavenly light, quhilk flowis out of Christ" (Bruce, "Upon the Preparation to the Lord's Supper," 123). The redeeming work of Christ applied by the Spirit of God to a "dark saull" that has the darkness replaced by a "spunk of heavenly light" will cause the objects of reality to be differently perceived. That is, the objects of reality seem to have their facades peeled away; this peeling away of the various facades of reality brings into greater focus that which is real, or more real. So, Bruce identifies this unveiling of what is real because "we see that all things in the world, besiude the living God, are vanities, deceivable allurements, unconstant shaddowes, fleetand and flowand without ony byding, and then we see that our hearts and minds was set on ill contiuallie" (Ibid., 123). It is here that we see the various unstable layers that were covering the kernel of reality that Bruce wants to expose and to expose this kernel there needs to be a peeling away of these instabilities, such as, the "deceivable allurements, unconstant shaddowes, fleetand and flowand without ony byding" (Ibid., 123).

The network of reality and its construction is being reconstituted by the work of the Spirit, through Christ, and the result is that reality is redefined, and the significance of that reality has a greater impact on the subject exposed to that reality. We could say that reality has become more real than it was prior to the work of the Spirit. So, it would seem that there is an aspect of gradation in our reality, especially, when the mind is transformed from this world of darkness into a realm of light; because this unveiling with light is considered the "first work of the Spirit" (Ibid., 124) that removes the instability that is characterized by Bruce as "unconstant, shaddowes, fleetand, flowand, without ony byding" (Ibid., 123). However, we should not banish the speculative nature that may be considered as a part of the gradation of reality, because it is merely a means to convey the intensity of the reality that is being encountered by the soul when it comes to Christ, especially in the Sacrament. Bruce states it in the following words: "it were ane idle and ane foolish thing for me to see my salvation, except I get grace to be partaker of it" (Ibid., 123).

Therefore, the gradation of reality is twofold, at least here, in regards to the twofold apprehension that the real reality requires congruity between both modes of apprehension. So, it is as if one looks upon the object that can be mentally perceived, yet does not have the capacity to fully comprehend the nature of reality before him. Thus the dualities in apprehension can exist apart from one another; however, true apprehension cannot exist without the congruity between both the mind and the heart apprehending in unity. That is to say, "apprehension of the mind" (Ibid., 125), according to Bruce, "is not enough, except ye get the apprehension of the heart also" (Ibid., 125). The conviction of the conjoining necessity of the two apprehensions is something that Bruce goes to great lengths to illustrate, in order to make clear that the reality of one has no real existence without the reality of the other. He drives home this conjoining necessity with the following consideration:

> For look in quhat place the eye serves to thy bodie; in that same room serves knowledge and understanding to thy saull; and looke in quhat place thy hand and thy mouth, the taist and the stomach, serves to thy body

24. "Upon the Preparation to the Lord's Supper," 124–126.

> in that same room serves the hart and affection to thy saull; sa that as our bodie cannot be nourished except our hand take, and our mouth eat the meat. [25]

It is important to point out that Bruce's understanding of this reality is somewhat comprehensive, at least to the extent that we are capable of experiencing and knowing reality through the various senses God has set within the creation of man. Are not all of the numerous facets of man's ability to know and to be engaged in knowing and serving in a manner that it was created? Has not the construct of man been done in such a way that there is a capacity to know, experience, as well as appreciate the reality around them? For what purpose does an eye serve if is it not capable of seeing? What benefit is there to a soul that is not capable of knowledge and understanding? What purpose would the mouth serve if it was incapable of consuming and tasting the required nutrients for the body?

Therefore, to suggest that one can imbibe in the sacrament of the Supper and is lacking the conjoining of apprehensions (mind and heart), because "our saules cannot feed on Christ, except we gripp him, and embrace him heartelie be our will and affection" (Ibid., 127). So what would appear to the natural mind to be an incongruity of two realms of reality (heavenly and temporal), is not incongruous at all for the one who with conjoined apprehension (mind and heart) "feed[s] on Christ." Furthermore, there is another dimension to this conjoined necessity that Bruce makes sure to identify and this he relates to the construct (the content of conjoining)—that is, there is a necessity of the right content in the conjoining of the mind and heart. That conjoining rightfully consists in "hearing the word preach be him that is sent" and the receiving of the sacraments. Accordingly, Bruce points out that the "word and the sacraments are not able of themselfis to nurish this faith in us, except the working of the Halie Spirit be conjoyned with their ministrerie" (Ibid., 128).

Consequently, the whole frame of reality is bound together by various aspects of conjoining (mind-heart and word-sacrament); however, this frame of reality does not exist in a vacuum. Instead, this conjoining nature is a what Bruce identifies as a "spiritual band," and this band is "for ye man understand this principle in the Scriptures of God; our saull cannot be joined nor bound with the flesh of Christ, nor the flesh of Christ cannot be joined with our saull, but be ane spiritual band … he is conjoyned with us be ane spirituall band, that is, be the power and the virtue of his Halie Spirit."[26] Hence, it the grounding of this conjoining reality that is brought about by the "working of the Halie Spirit" that conjoins and makes it an effective reality where the heavenly realm comes face-to-face with the temporal realm in the Supper. It is impossible for it to be otherwise, because "this heavenly light and supernatural understanding," Bruce says, is "whereby we see God [and] is proper only to the true members of Christ Jesus…. This supernatural light and understanding is offered by the Word, and is given to us by the Spirit of God; for the natural man, as long as he remaineth in his naturalitie, cannot perceive the things of God."[27]

Closing the Gap of the Two Realms—Perception

In the previous section, we addressed some of the various characteristics of analogy as it pertains to the comprehension. However, we need to give further consideration to Bruce's understanding of perception. There is another aspect to the nature of perception that needs to be considered, that is, we need to identify the full functionality of the nature of perception as it relates to the Sacrament, at least, in Bruce's understanding of the Sacrament. Therefore, it is essential for us to consider the details of Bruce's concept of perception and its ability to close the gap that exists between the possible distance between the temporal and heavenly realm.

It could be asked whether we perceive or have a perception of the one without the other. Bruce has already answered this question; however, there is something more to this conjoining reality, which pertains to the function of perception. What is it that creates distance from one object or another? Is it the physical relation of one object to another that should define the distance? Is it the locality of one object to another that should determine the distance of an object from another? Although, these are, indeed, measurements that can be employed to identify the distance of an object, there

25. "Upon the Preparation to the Lord's Supper," 127.

26. "Upon the Lord's Supper in Particular," 66. Bruce reiterates, in the following words that seriousness of the relationship of the conjoining that takes place and must stay in place. "Take me away," Bruce says, "ane of thir twa things fra the sacrament, ye tyne the relation, and, tyning the relation, ye tyne the sacrament. Confound me ane of thir two with the uther; make ather a confusion or permixion of them, ye tyne th relation, and, tyning the relation, ye tyne the sacrament. Turne me over the ane into the uther, sa that the substance of the ane starts up and vanishes in the uther, ye tyne the relation, and sa ye tyne the sacrament. Then, as in every sacrament there is a relation, sa, to kepe the relation, ye man ever kepe twa things severally in the sacrament." See Bruce's *Upon the Sacrament in General*, 8.

27. "Upon the Psalm LXXVI," 282.

is another aspect that Bruce introduces in consideration of the concept of distance between one object and another—perception.

This concept of perception is a fundamental aspect of Bruce's sacramental theology, so much so that he devotes a good portion of two out of four sermons on 1 Corinthians 11:28, *Upon the Lord's Supper in Particular* (1589), to addressing the nature of perception and the characteristics of perception as it relates to our experience of the Sacraments. In doing this, Bruce employs his understanding of perception to draw the two realms (temporal and heavenly) closer together: he uses the concept of perception to close the gap that exists between the temporal and heavenly realm—more specifically, as it pertains to the two different realms having some form of contact here in the temporal realm.

Midway through his third sermon, *Upon the Lord's Supper in Particular*, Bruce is responding to the Papist corrupted perspective on the presence of the blood and body of Christ. In doing so, he dials in on the importance of a proper scriptural understanding of perception and its relation to our understanding of what is meant by being 'present.' In his response to the Papists, Bruce offers up what he conceives to be the solution of the potential issues that surround the presence of the blood and body of Christ; however, in addition, he provides a means for also dealing with the gap that exists between the two realms. He asks: "Quhat we mean be [by] the word "present;" how a thing is said to be present and absent?"[28] This becomes the basis of setting forth the difference to be found in something being present or absent, and, for Bruce, this is directly situated in one's ability to perceive or not perceive. "I say, things are said to be present," Bruce states, "as they are perceived be [by] ony outwarde or inward sense, and as they are perceived be [by] ony of the senses, sa are they present" (Ibid., 95). This response serves to illustrate the comprehensive inner-connectivity or the reticulating nature of Bruce's understanding of the Lord's Supper.

This perception is not limited to the ability to see, as we would typically associate it with perception; instead, for Bruce, there is a comprehensive nature to this perception, and it is all-inclusive, whether it be an outward or inward perception. So, for example, "gif it be perceaved be [by] the outward sight of the eye, be [by] the outward hearing of the ear, be [by] the outward feeling of the hand, or taist of the mouth, it is outwardlie present" (Ibid., 95). Some correlation exists with the inward nature of perception as well, so, "gif ony thing be perceaved be [by] the inward eye, be the inward taist and feeling of the saull, this thing cannot be outwardle present, but it man [must] be spirituallie and inwardly present to the saull" (Ibid., 95). And it is from this observation that Bruce concludes that the nature of distance (present or absent) is directly related to the capacity of perception: that is, if something is not perceived outwardly, then it must be outwardly absent; if something is not perceived inwardly, then it must be inwardly absent. Therefore, "everie thing is present as it is perceaved" (Ibid., 95). So the notion of distance or the potential gap between the temporal realm and heavenly finds a possible solution in what Bruce identifies in perception. For Bruce, the matter of distance that we may contrive in our minds between the temporal realm and heavenly realm is, perhaps, not as great as we would make it be. Instead, we need to change the terms of our understanding of what is meant by something being at a distance (present or absent) from us or something that is not present, rather, absent from our presence. "It is not distance of place," says Bruce, "that makes a thing absent, or propinquitie of place that makes a thing present" (Ibid., 95–96). That is, for Bruce, the distance has more to do with one's perception, he states that "it is only the perception of ony thing, be ony of thy senses, that makes a thing present, and the not perception that makes a thing absent" (Ibid., 95–96).

This identification of the nature of present or absent and the necessary distinction that Bruce draws out here, is sure to have rippling implications throughout the whole understanding of the reality contained, as well as experienced when one approaches the Lord's Supper. What Bruce is doing, is establishing boundaries that cannot be crossed, regardless, of one's attempt to cross them. In this case, the distance that exists cannot be closed by man's natural capacity to perceive; instead, it requires more than what man is capable of doing, that is, perceiving inwardly, which he has noted on several occasions throughout his sermons that it is a spiritual perception. So, let us take this concept of perception as it relates to distance (present or absent) in reference to the capacity to perceive outwardly or inwardly and consider it in reference to the Sacrament.

"I call signs in the Sacraments," says Bruce, "whatever I perceive and take up by my outward senses."[29] There is a great deal of content contained in the "whatever I perceive" in the sign of the Sacrament, which Bruce is not willing to minimize because the significance of the reality found in the bread and the wine, that is, he is not willing to accept a simple one-to-one correlation (bread

28. "Upon the Lord's Supper in Particular," 95.
29. *The Mystery of the Lord's Supper: Sermons by Robert Bruce,* 34.

= body, wine = blood). If Bruce were to settle for the simple correlation of the (bread=body, wine=blood) he would be betraying his system that he has built, more specifically, the very notion of the analogy of proportionality would be leveled to the ground and bear no real meaning if it was a one-to-one correlation. Instead, what we find in the perceivability is the chief function of the "signs in the Sacraments," according to Bruce, "they are instruments to deliver and exhibit the thing they signify, and not only because of their representation are they called signs" (Ibid., 36). Instead, "I call them signs," says Bruce, "because they have the Body and Blood of Christ conjoined with them" (Ibid., 35). The weight of reality that transports from what is signified and conveyed to the man who comes into contact, by faith, with the bread and the wine is the weight of a heavenly reality that lies behind the thing signified and conveyed to the man of faith. This is of utmost necessity, because if they merely represented or signified something absent, "then any picture or dead image," Bruce declares, "would be a Sacrament, for with every picture the thing signified comes into your mind" (Ibid., 36). He illustrates this by a picture of a king which will, inevitably, produce an image of the king in our mind, so that we will conclude that this picture is the king's picture. "If, therefore," Bruce concludes, "the sign of the Sacrament did no more than that, all pictures would be Sacraments" (Ibid., 36). With this imagery, Bruce is responding to the corruption of the Roman Catholic Church and their employment of images. At the same time, he is establishing the basis of God's accommodating nature of revelation to the fallen man to glimpse, know, and experience a realm that is outside the temporal.

It should be noted that the reality contained in the Sacrament, for Bruce, cannot exist as a mere picture or image—at least, not for the child of God. Instead, it is a substantive reality, not only an exhibition of reality; it also "delivers the thing that it signifies to the soul and heart, as soon as the sign is delivered to the mouth" (*Mystery of the Lord's Supper,* 36). Therefore, "it is for this reason, especially, that it is called a sign," (Ibid., 36) and, in essence, it would be as if the king in the picture described above were to step out of the frame and become a reality that you can grasp, know, and experience. It is clear that there is no "picture of the king that will deliver the king to you," just as there is "no other image that will exhibit the reality of which it is the image; therefore no image be a Sacrament" (Ibid., 36).

The spiritual necessity that must reside within the capacity of perception is a fundamental reality that must be intertwined with the ability to accurately perceive the reality God has set forth in the Lord's Supper. It is here that we should note that perception is more than perception because the image of the perception does not necessarily make it a reality. However, that is not the case with regard to the Sacrament, because the perception of the reality contained within the Sacrament brings the heavenly reality home to the soul "as soon as the sign is delivered to the mouth," says Bruce (Ibid., 36). Here we have the temporal realm acting as an access point to grasp, experience, and know the heavenly reality within the Sacrament. This is only fitting, especially when we consider that the "Lord has appointed the Sacraments as hands to deliver and exhibit the things signified"(Ibid., 36). As a result, we can approach the true penetrating nature of this analogy of proportionality, particularly when it has been coupled with a soul that is redeemed in Christ, because there is another level to be explored, understood, and grasped. That is, the corporeal sign in this temporal realm is not the end of the weighty reality which is being conveyed. Instead, in Bruce's sacramental theology, it becomes a type of access point to the more substantive reality—the heavenly realm—while yet in the temporal. The latter part is indicative of the employment of the analogy of proportionality, and there is no place where it is more fittingly appropriated than in dealing with the Sacrament.

Although the sign of the thing signified draws the attention of the perception on the surface (i.e., the bread is perceived by the eyes of the person participating), this is only the beginning of engaging the reality. This is the beginning, because the intellect needs to be coupled with faith, which allows it to breach the surface of the object and arrive at the depths of the object. By the illuminating power of the Spirit, perception is now accompanied by the comprehension of the "likeness of the thing, [and] sees it as it is there to be seen."[30] So, there is a presuppositional aspect to the penetrating nature of analogy, and this presuppositional aspect is that the analogy must be seated within the proper setting of a redeemed soul. Consequently, unless the analogy of proportionality has been coupled with a soul that is redeemed in Christ, it is incapable of reaching another level to be explored, understood, and grasped; the analogy is incapable of coming to fruition, and it will lack the necessary structure and substance to truly function. The fundamental significance of the spiritual perception and the full functionality of the analogy of proportionality is expressed by Bruce's answer to the question: what

30. Rev. Gerald B. Phelan, *St. Thomas and Analogy* (Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1973), 5.

kind of perception is necessary for the Lord's Supper? "I establish," Bruce answers, "no kind of perception of Christ but a ſpirituall perception; he cannot be received nor perceived but be faith; and faith is ſpirituall. Therefore, in the sacrament, I establish only a ſpirituall perception of Christ, and not ane orall, carnall, or fleshie perception. This is the ground."[31]

Therefore, in our limited capacity as fallen creatures, we can yet encounter heavenly reality; however, before this can happen there is the fundamental necessity of conjoining that must take place between a ſpiritually renewed heart and mind. Subsequently, the two must come together for perception to move from the object and glimpse the depths of the heavenly reality that God has conveyed to his children through the bread and wine. It is not possible for the depths of this reality to be experienced, nor is there any other way to close the gap between the temporal realm and the heavenly realm. Any attempt to close the gap outside the scriptural bounds and a consideration of man's fallen nature is sure to end in all kinds of absurdities—so much so, that we can let "the heart of man devise, imagine, and wish; he durſt never have excogitat to have sik a thing as the Son of God; he durſt never have presumed to have pearsed the clouds, to have gane sa heigh, and to have craved the Son of God, in his flesh, to be the food of his saull."[32]

The Locality of Converging Reality: the Soul

Up to this point, there have been various aſpects of reality both in the heavenly and temporal realm. We have identified the conjoining aſpect of this reality that is solidified in the Holy Spirit. Also, we have considered the aſpect of diſtance as it pertains to the perception and absence of an object in relation to another object. All of this ſpeaks to the comprehensive nature of Bruce's understanding of sacramental theology, and all of this would seem to amount to nothing more than the image of the king on your wall if this sacramental reality was not, somehow, connected with the experience of the believer. So, we need to ask, where does the heavenly reality and the temporal realm converge? The answer to this queſtion directs us to another congealing aſpect of this encountering of a heavenly reality in the temporal realm. Also, the answer brings us to the edges of the experiential aſpect of Bruce's sacramental understanding: that is, it is a thriving reality throughout the whole of man, not just some theoretical reality to be known. Instead, the Converging of this reality, for Bruce, is centered in the very place that God has eſtablished his image—the soul of man. As a result of this converging point, we find the outworking of this glorious encounter between two realms manifeſting experientially for the child of God.

It would appear that in the process of experiencing the Lord's Supper, there is a movement from getting a glimpse at an aperture of reality to an exceedingly more significant ultimate reality identified in the heavenly realm. Thus it is an incremental exposure that continuously betrays its truth and glory in the Supper, and as the exposure increases, there is a correſponding expanding of the boundary of reality. Let me repeat that: it is an expanding boundary of the reality that is found in the soul of a redeemed child of God, as well as the temporal realm expanding to the out edges of the heavenly realm. For Bruce, this is the very nature of the Sacrament: that is, it is a glorious inter-relation of both the temporal and heavenly realms that are interacting, so to ſpeak, within the soul—so much so, that Bruce, in his third sermon, *Upon the Lord's Supper in Particular*, ſtates that,

> [Chriſt] is ſpirituallie and heavenlie present to thy saull, and the mouth of thy saull, quhilk is faith; for it were a preposterous thing to make the thing signfie present to thy bellie, or to the mouth or eye of thy bould for gif as were, it suld not be ſpirituallie present; because every thing is present as it accords to awin nature: It is a bodlie thing, it is bodilie present; and gif it be a heavenlie thing, it is ſpiritualie present.[33]

Accordingly, the existence of this present, not absent, reality in the soul brings about a more momentous outworking of the sacraments, because the "sacraments are appointed that I might have him mair fullie in my saull; that I might have the bounds of it enlarged; that he may make the better residence in me."[34] Bruce notes that this experience is meant to increase the boundaries of my soul, and "he hes greater bounds in thy saull be the receaving of the sacrament."[35] What is this greater bounds or enlarging of the boundaries in the soul? Is it not the converging of two realms coming face-to-face with each other through the fact that Chriſt "is ſpirituallie and heavenlie present to thy saull, and the mouth of thy suall quhilk is faith"?[36] He continues, "For be the sacrament my faith is nourished, the bounds of my

31. "Upon the Lord's Supper in Particular," 48.
32. "Upon the Lord's Supper in Particular," 48.
33. "Upon the Lord's Supper in Particular," 97.
34. "Upon the Sacraments in General," 29.
35. "Upon the Lord's Supper in Particular," 49.
36. "Upon the Lord's Supper in Particular," 97.

saull is enlarged, and sa, quhere I had but a little grip of Christ before, as it were betwixt my finger and my thumbe, now I get him in my haill hande; and ay the mair that my faith growes, the better grip I get of Christ Jesus."[37] This is the congruity found in a soul that has grasped hold of Christ, not only in our knowledge but in our ability to experience a heavenly realm while residing in a temporal realm.

Any who might question the experiential aspect of this relation reality between the temporal and the heavenly, as it meets in the soul who approaches the Lord's Supper, need only read the last sermon listed in Robert Bruce's Sermons, which is fittingly titled, *The Christian Race, The Heavenly Footman*. In this sermon, Bruce expounds the active reality found in Hebrews XII. 1, "Wherefore, seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us." It would seem that even in this selection of text we see Bruce directing us to the reality that is encountered with the Lord's Supper, that is, what great cloud encompasses us when we approach the table? What great weight are we laying aside when we encounter the element of the Lord's Supper? What great degree of patience and encouragement is offered up in the bread, and the wine for the child of God? Thus it is most fitting that this text would conclude his work on the Sacrament, especially the experiential application of the reality of the two realms. This reality Bruce depicts in the following:

> And, first, (says he,) cast off every thing that presses down, every weight that holds you down, and every thing that glues you to the earth and to the world; whatever it be that suffers not your heart to ascend upward, or to aspire to that heavenly kingdom, but holds your nose perpetually gruntling upon the earth, and glues your soul to the ground, and to the world, that is a burden to you; whatever earthly thin it be that thou sets thy affection, desire, and lust upon, that earthly thing is a burden to thee; it glues thy heart to the creature, and conjoins thee so with the earth, that it is not possible that thy heart can look upward; therefore it is necessary that their weights and burdens be taken off the heart and affection, that the affection which is in the hear may have greater liberty to go forward in the race, and get the prize.[38]

Therefore, we should "dress our hearts" with such a reality and seek to be a people of God that "have felt in experience his inward and outward deliveries, both in soul and in body."[39] That is to say, that our affections are to be moved by the heavenly truths, and not just moved, but defined by an expression of the glorious heavenly truth that is found when we approach a portion of that heavenly kingdom in the Sacrament.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to explore some of the various filaments that are twined together in Bruce's understanding of the reality that is contained within the Lord's Supper and identify some of the fundamentals aspects that are necessary for us to understand the substantive reality that is rolled up in the Lord's Supper. We have seen that throughout the whole construct of Bruce's understanding of the Sacrament is a network of connectivity that binds it altogether, that is, there are individual aspects to this reality; however, the reality would not be what it is without the bonding together the individual aspects of this reality in order to know the whole. So, Bruce's approach, it would appear, was an ongoing effort to peel back the layers of this weighty doctrine to exposes the various aspects of the reality contained in the kernel of the Lord's Supper. In performing such a task, he has exposed the ultimate reality in the Sacrament, and Bruce shows how this substantive reality converges as a glorious truth within the soul of a child of God.

Therefore, the glorious reality that is encapsulated in this Sacrament is a realm of connectivity that, in some sense, draws two realms (temporal and heavenly) together and this connectivity between the two realms is a foretaste of that ultimate reality that awaits the child of God in glory, a "heavenly life offered in the word and sacraments." This sacramental reality "testifies," says Bruce, "siklike, of our new birth, that we are begotten spiritually to a heavenly life; it testifies, siklike, of the joyning of us in the body of Christ." Yet, there is more to this than a mere testimony; rather, "it is a testimony, sa it is a seal."[40] Although for Bruce there is more than this testimony and seal, because the reality of the testimony and seal must take root within the heart of man. So it does, indeed, testify and seal up this reality in our hearts, "make us in our harts," says Bruce, "to feele the taist of that heavenly life begun in us; that we are translated fra death, in the quhilk we were conceaved, and imped in the body of Christ." So it is, the manner that God has so designed for the soul of man to be "fed and nurisched to that heavenly

37. "Upon the Lord's Supper in Particular," 50.
38. "The Christian Race," 387.
39. "Upon the Psalm LXXVI," 280.
40. "Upon the Psalm LXXVI," 38–39.

life."[41] Hence, it is the glorious translation from the temporal reality into a heavenly experience of reality that awaits the soul in Christ.

For Bruce, this ability for the temporal and the eternal to come into contact with one another is the incredible capacity of a Christ-redeemed soul to be "partakers of that heavenly life offered in the word and sacraments."[42] Undeniably, it is through Christ that God delivers "spiritual and heavenly things"[43] and it cannot be other than it is, that is, for one to grip, know, and experience this heavenly reality in the temporal requires more than something natural. "Now, the thing signified is of ane uther nature;" says Bruce, "for it is ane heavenly and spirituall thing, therefore, this heavenly thing is not given be an earthly man." As a result of the nature of this thing being "heavenly and spirituall," it is an impossibility for "this uncorruptible thing is not given be ane natural and corruptible man; but Christ Iesus hes locked up and reserved the ministries of this heavenly thing to himselfe onely."[44] This simple, yet complex, reality drives us to the core of the heavenly reality and its source for us in this temporal realm. Hence, the reason that those who would come to this table with the natural un-regenerated mind are no closer to the heavenly reality since the natural soul has not the capacity to grasp that reality outside of Christ, because "Christ Iesus, the Mediator, gives you the heavenlie thing in the sacrament."[45]

It is through Christ, as the Mediator, that any child of God is able to approach the heavenly realm while here in the temporal. So, properly does Bruce conclude the fifth, in a series of five sermons titled: *Upon the Preparation to the Lord's Supper*, with a summation of the glorious complexity of reality that exists within the Sacrament that allows for the Christian to stand in the temporal realm and grasp, know, and experience the heavenly realm. "Therefore," Bruce concludes, "the Lord of his mercie illuminates your minds, and work some measure of faith and love in your hearts; that ye may be partakers of that heavenly life offered in the word and sacraments; that ye may begin your heaven here, and get the full fruition of the life to come, and that in the righteous merits of Christ Iesus."[46]■

***In Brief:* Robert Bruce**

Robert Bruce, born 1554, second son of Sir Alexander B. of Airth and Janet, daughter of Lord Livingston and great-granddaughter of James I. [of Scotland]); educated at St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews; M.A. (1572); studied law in Paris and practised his profession in Edinburgh. He was on his way to becoming a judge, but a remarkable spiritual experience "on the last night of August 1581" sent him to study for the Church. He as licensed by the Presbytery of St. Andrews in 1587, and almost immediately called to this charge. He was Moderator of the Assembly summoned to meet on 6th February 1588 to consider means of defence against the threatened invasion of the Spanish Armada. In October 1589, when James VI (who both respected and feared him) sailed to Norway to fetch his bride, and parties in Edinburgh were somewhat excited, the King appointed Bruce an extra-ordinary Privy Councillor, and such was his influence that he kept all quiet, and on his Majesty's return received a cordial letter of thanks, 19th February 1589–90. He crowned the Queen 17th March 1590, and was again Moderator May 1592. His power and success as a preacher were very remarkable, and he continued to enjoy the King's favour till 1596, when, giving offence by his opposition to James's prelatic tendencies, he, with others, was banished from Edinburgh. He was allowed to return after a time, and in May 1598 was admitted to the Little Kirk. At first he refused the imposition of hands, not judging it an essential part of the ordination ceremony, but ultimately he consented to accept it "as a ceremony of entry only." In August 1600 the Gowrie Conspiracy took place, and Bruce being one of those who entertained doubts as to the treason of the Ruthvens, refused to offer up thanks in the manner prescribed for the King's deliverance. As a result (and spite of the efforts of his friends to get the matter settled), Bruce was ordered to quit Edinburgh, and prohibited from preaching anywhere in the kingdom upon pain of death. The last thirty years of his life were spent in various places. From 1605 to 1609 he was confined to Inverness, where he met with much hard treatment from Lord Enzie and others, but where his preaching was much appreciated by his friends. On a vacancy he supplied the charge of Forres for a time, after which, on the solicitation of his son, he received permission to return to his patrimonial estate of Kinnaird, near Stirling, where he repaired at his own expense the church of Larbert, and discharged all the duties of the ministry, officiating sometimes also at Stirling. Occasionally he resided on his other property at Monkland. "Whereever he had an opportunity of preaching, great crowds attended; he preached with remarkable power, and his own life being in full accord with his preaching, the influence he attained was almost without parallel in the history of the Scottish Church." In 1620 he was again banished to Inverness, where, broken in

41. "Upon the Psalm LXXVI," 39.
42. "Upon the Preparation to the Lord's Supper," 157.
43. "Upon the Sacraments in General," 11.
44. "Upon the Sacraments in General," 24–35.
45. "Upon the Sacraments in General," 25.
46. "Upon the Preparation to the Lord's Supper," 157.

health and in increasing weakness, he remained till 1624. On King James's death in 1625 the severity against him was much mitigated, and by King Charles's order he was allowed to return to Kinnaird, where he died 27th July 1631. In person he was tall and dignified, with a majestic countenance and venerable appearance in the pulpit. He had a knowledge of the Scriptures beyond most of his time. Andrew Melville described him as a "hero adorned with every virtue, a constant confessor and almost martyr to the Lord Jesus," whilst Livingstone of Ancrum said: "Mr. Robert Bruce I several times heard, and in my opinion never man spoke with greater power since the Apostles' days…." Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae; the succession of ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation,* volume 1 (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1915), 54–55.

Robert Bruce, engraved by J. Stewart from an original miniature in the possession of James Bruce, Esquire, of Kinnaird.

"Mr. Robert Bruce [1554–1631], minister at Edinburgh. He began to preach about the year 1590, and died about the year 1632. He was second son of the laird of Airth, from whom he had the estate of Kinnaird, and was bred in France at the law, designed to have been one of the Lords of Session; but coming home, he was moved by the Spirit of the Lord to set to the ministry, and having studied sometime at St Andrews, when he began to preach there were found more than ordinary gifts in him, so as he was most earnestly and unanimously called to be minister at Edinburgh, but for a long while only preached, and could not be moved to take on the charge till one of the ministers by advice of the rest entrapped him. For that minister on day giving the communion had desired Mr. Robert, who was to preach in the afternoon, to sit by him, and when he himself had served two or three tables he removed out of the church, as being shortly to return, but sent in word to Mr. Robert Bruce by some of the elders, that he would not return at that time, and that therefore Mr. Robert behooved to serve the rest of the table, or else the work must be given over. When, therefore, the eyes of the elders and the whole people were on him, and many also called out, he did go on, and celebrated [administered] the communion to the rest with such assistance and motion, as had not been seen in that place before, and for that cause he would not thereafter receive in the ordinary way the imposition of hands, seeing before he had the material of it, to wit, the approbation of all the ministry, and had already celebrated the communion, which was not, by a new ordination to be made void.

No man in his time spoke with such evidence and power of the Spirit: no man had so many seals of conversion; yea, many of his hearers thought no man since the apostles spoke with such power. He had a notable faculty in searching deep in the Scriptures, and of making the most dark mysteries most plain, but especially in dealing with every one's conscience. He was much exercised in conscience himself opposing Episcopacy that was creeping in; and because he would not join in giving thanks for the delivery of Gowrie's Conspiracy, for which he saw not sufficient evidence, the king removed him from Edinburgh. He was at first imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, after that confined in Inverness, yet at last he got liberty to dwell in his own house of Kinnaird, where the paroch of Laber having neither church nor stipend, he repaired the church, and discharged all the parts of a minister, and many from other parts came to hear him. I was there his hearer for a great part of the summer 1627…." John Livingstone, "Memorable Characteristics and Remarkable Passages of Divine Providence," in *Select Biographies,* 2 vols., ed. W. K. Tweedie, (Edinburgh: Printed for the Wodrow Society, [1845]), 1.305–306.▪

The Discipline of Baptized Members: Are Baptized Members Subject to the Judicial Process of the Church?

By Gavin Beers

Introduction

The Reformed have historically identified three marks of the visible church. First, the preaching of the true Apostolic doctrine of the gospel. Second, the administration of the two sacraments appointed by Christ. Third, the Biblical government and discipline of the church. church members are under its discipline, but a related area of confusion concerns how baptized members, who have not yet communed at the Lord's table, stand in relation to this. How should a Kirk Session deal with a baptized member who has grown up in the church but fallen into sin and turned their back on the means of Grace and pastoral care?

Most Reformed churches have helpful books of church order but few of them address this specific case, leaving local sessions unsure how to proceed, or wondering if indeed they should act at all. This problem is not new; Presbyterian and Continental Reformed churches have wrestled with it since the sixteenth century and have laid down helpful principles and practices along the way. At the same time there has been a lack of consensus and the question has been vigorously debated in both traditions, largely over the same points.

The Question Stated

The specific question we address is, should baptized, non-communicant church members be subject to the *formal* discipline of the church, up to and including excommunication? This question naturally raises others, such as: at what age might a formal process of discipline become relevant? What sins might it be initiated for? How can someone be excommunicated if they have not communicated at the Lord's Table? Some of these will be addressed as we proceed.

Related Issues

Children are not recognized as church members in Baptist and Evangelical congregations and so what we are considering is a distinctly Reformed and Presbyterian issue. This highlights the fact that our subject is not merely one of church order, but it is a theological question.

A Question of Covenant Theology

The discipline of baptized church members is ultimately a question of how we see them covenanted to Christ in His church. When we baptize and apply the sign of God's covenant to our children, we recognize them as members of the visible church and included in God's covenant of Grace.[1] This was their status in the Old Testament where God said to Abraham, "And I will establish my covenant between me and thee and thy seed after thee in their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee and to thy seed after thee" (Gen. 17:7). The same promise is reiterated in the

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1. By Covenant of Grace we understand God's covenant made with sinners in time, in which he promises to be their God and the God of their children after them, through Christ the mediator, who they must receive by faith alone. This covenant is distinct from the eternal Covenant of Redemption that God the Father makes with His Son and all His elect people in Him. These two covenants stand in relation to each other in that the Covenant of Grace is God's appointed means in time to bring all those given to the Son in the Covenant of Redemption to faith in Him.

New Testament, "For the promise is unto you and your children, and to all who are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call" (Acts 2:39). So the Westminster Confession of Faith, in its codification of the doctrine of the church states:

> The visible church, which is also catholic or universal under the Gospel (not confined to one nation, as before under the law), consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion; and of their children.[2]

This covenant status brings the children of the church under privileges, responsibilities and sanctions. God has covenanted to be their God and they live under His covenant promises but they can come short of them (Heb. 4:1–2). They can break the covenant and bring its sanctions on themselves. As their covenant status is inextricably linked to their membership of the visible church, the discipline of the visible church then bears upon this relation.

The Relation Between the Church and the Family

The church of Christ is made up of individuals to whom God chooses to administer His covenant, with the inclusion of families. This introduces a potential tension between parental and church authority. It is important therefore to recognize that God has instituted the church and the family with their own distinct jurisdiction and government. In the family, God has given parents authority to instruct their children and to discipline them with the rod of correction (Eph. 6:4; Prov. 22:15; 29:15). In the church God has given elders authority to instruct her members and to discipline them with keys of the kingdom (Heb. 13:17; Matt. 16:18; 18:17–18). One helpful way to think of this distinct jurisdiction in relation to our question is that it was the church by its authority that baptized the children into membership, not the parents. This authority has ongoing relevance in the baptized member's life.

The Nature of Church Discipline.

As we work through the historical debates over the discipline of baptized members, we will see that lines were drawn around different understandings of what the church is and what her discipline is. Some saw the church more in terms of a voluntary society and therefore only those who voluntarily commit to her by profession of faith are under her formal discipline. This group also tended to define excommunication in narrow terms in relation to the Lord's Table, arguing that if a person had not communicated at the Lord's Table they could not be excommunicated. Others rejected the voluntary view of the church and considered her as the sovereignly constituted covenant people of God. From here they considered all who God included in church membership to be under her whole discipline, and they viewed excommunication not only as a cutting off from the Lord's Table, but as a removal from the visible church.

Historical Review

Taking our starting point in the Old Testament church it is clear that the Israel's circumcised youth were under covenant discipline. In Deuteronomy 21:18–21 a rebellious son was taken by his parents to the elders who, upon finding him guilty, executed a judicial sentence that removed him from the covenant people by death. We might ask if this has any bearing on the formal discipline of baptized children today?

Moving into the New Testament the Old Testament covenantal principle of household inclusion in the church continues. Furthermore, when Paul wrote to the church in a certain place, e.g. Ephesus or Colosse, he included the children as part of the congregation and placed the responsibility of obedience as much on them as other members (Eph. 6:1ff). In Corinth, where there was a case of church discipline for immorality in the congregation (1 Cor. 5), Paul goes on to address the covenant status of children in the same Epistle as *holy* or set apart to God (1 Cor. 7:14). While this does not constitute an example of formal discipline of a non-communing baptized member, it does provide a New Testament theology of who is a member of the church from which individuals are being cut off.

Early Church and the Reformation Period.

Moving into the post apostolic history of the church we find evidence that the early church exercised a disciplinary care over her baptized children. An 1812 Committee report to the US Presbyterian General Assembly on the church's relation to her baptized children,[3] records:

2. *Westminster Confession of Faith* (Glasgow: Free Presbyterian, 2003), 25.2, 106–107.

3. John B. Romeyn, "The Duty of the Church in the Instruction and Discipline of Her Baptized Children," in *Home, The School and the Church; or the Presbyterian Education Repository*, ed. C. Van

> The Primitive Church considered herself as the common mother of all baptized children and exercised a corresponding care over them, that they might be trained up as a generation to serve the Lord.[4]

The report goes on to demonstrate that discipline was applied to baptized members for delinquent behaviour and cites Augustine in the fourth century on the matter.[5] Augustine speaks of "stripes," being used, not only by parents, but by bishops in their consistories.[6] Two centuries later one of the rules of Isidore of Seville was that baptized members who were still in their minority "should not be punished by excommunication, but according to the quality of their negligence or offence, be corrected with congruous stripes."[7] It appears from these examples that children in their minority were disciplined corporally and when out of their minority they would be subject to a formal process that could lead to excommunication. While we believe that such corporal discipline of children by the church is a confusion of her jurisdiction with that of the parent, what is apparent here is a clear recognition that the church had authority over all of her baptized children.

The Reformed church of the sixteenth century was also conscious that her baptized children were under her care. W. Van't Spijker[8] has written a helpful article from a Dutch perspective which highlights the views of some key individuals. He begins with Martin Bucer who instructed young children in a catechism on the nature of church discipline and their relation to it. After teaching them that the keys of the kingdom are in the hands of church officers and are to be used "to warn against and punish sins, to bind and excommunicate those who refuse to repent;" and "to loose and in grace receive those who desire to repent." He asks the child:

> What am I to learn from this?
>
> a) To readily allow myself to be warned and punished;
>
> b) To readily warn my neighbour;
>
> c) To value highly, and diligently make use of church discipline and comfort.[9]

Van't Spijker then considers John à Lasco (1499–1560) and Martin Micron (1523–59), who together ministered to the Dutch Refugee congregations in London in the mid-sixteenth Century. À Lasco drafted a book of church order and Micron later described their practice of discipline in his work *Christian Ordinances:*[10]

> When they have reached the age of (around) 14 years and have not been taught sufficiently the principles of the Christian life or they live licentiously, and they despise the private admonitions of the brethren, then the ministers shall admonish and rebuke them in the light of the Word of God. The ministers also shall investigate the cause of their ignorance or licentiousness with the purpose to lead them to a godly life. If it appears that the parents are in part to be blamed for their children's licentiousness, then they shall first be admonished. If the parents despise these admonitions, then they shall be rebuked for their gross sin in accordance with Christian order and discipline. If, however, it appears that the children alone are to be blamed and not the parents, then one shall comfort the parents and consult with them as to how the unruliness of the

Rensselaer, 10 vols. (Philadelphia: [Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church], 1850-1860), 5.27–68.

4. Romeyn, "The Duty of the Church," 39.

5. The report cites *Epis. 159, to Marcellinus*. This is Letter 133 in the modern numbering. See Augustine, *Letters, NPNF1,* page 470–471. "Do not lose now that fatherly care which you maintained when prosecuting the examination, in doing which you extracted the confession of such horrid crimes, not by stretching them on the rack, not by furrowing their flesh with iron claws, not by scorching them with flames, but by beating them with rods, a mode of correction used by schoolmasters, and by parents themselves in chastising children, and often also by bishops in the sentences awarded by them."

6. Romeyn, "The Duty of the Church," 40. Cf. Benedict, *Codex Regularum,* chp. 17, De excommunicatis, Migne, PL 103, col. 569. In minori aetate constituti non sunt coercendi sententia excommunicationis, sed pro qualitate negligentiae congruis emendandi sunt plagis.

7. Romeyn, 40.

8. W. Van't Spijker, "De Tucht over Doopleden," *Ambtelijk Contact*, 1 November 1982, 6–9, www.digibron.nl (accessed 21 February 2019). Quotations here are from a somewhat abridged English translation by Pastor L. W. Bilkes of the Free Reformed Churches of North America, in *Diakonia*, Vol.11, No.1 (June 1997): 7–19. See also Pieter VanderMeyden, *Church Discipline of Baptized Members*, in *Officebearers Journal*, Vol. 1 (Spring 2018): 15–36, published by the Theological Education Committee, Free Reformed Churches of North America.

9. Van't Spijker, *De Tucht*. Martin Bucer, Der kürtzer Catechismus und erklarung der xii stücken Christlichs glaubens (1537). See the text in *Martin Bucers Deutche Schriften,* vol. 6/3, *Martin Bucers Katechismen aus den Jarhren 1534, 1537, 1543,* ed. Robert Stupperich (Gutersloh, 1987). See also Van't Spijker, *The Ecclesiastical Offices in the Thought of Martin Bucer,* Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought v. 57 (Brill, 1996), 162.

10. Martin Micron was assistant minister to à Lasco in the Dutch Refugees church in London. In 1554 he published a work in Dutch entitled *Christian Ordinances of the Dutch Refugees Churches in London.* Van't Spijker quotes from this work. See Martinus Mikron (Microen), *De christlicke ordinancien der Nederlantscher ghemeynten Christi, die vanden christelicken prince co. Edewaerdt den VI. in't iaer 1550. te Londen inghestelt was* (Gedruckt buyten London: doer Collinus Volckwinner, 1554). See John à Lasco, *Forma ac Ratio*, in *Joannis à Lasco Opera,* ed. Abraham Kuyper, Vol. 2 (Amsterdam, 1866), 1–283.

> children can best be curbed. In the meantime the ministers of the Word shall reprimand and rebuke (though with wisdom) these children by impressing upon them the divine threats. If nevertheless in this way they do not mend their ways, then they shall not be admitted to the use of the Lord's Supper until they shall have come to repentance. If despite keeping them from the Lord's Supper and rebuking them, some one among these children is not touched but rather continues in all wickedness to despise his parents (which sin in accordance with God's ordinance ought to be punished with death), then when he will have reached the age of 18 or 20, he will be excommunicated from the congregation as a despiser of the grace and of the covenant of God, and the congregation shall grieve over him for following the world. From the excommunication of such children, one can learn that it is not sufficient to have received the seal of the covenant, baptism, in our young years. We dishonour Christ while having his Name on our forehead, unless our life is in accordance with His Name.[11]

So baptized children were under the oversight of the church elders who exercised care alongside their parents and as a help to them. If parental correction was rejected, the minister and elders rebuked the baptized youth directly and if he did not repent, he was formally disciplined. Deuteronomy 21:18–21 was appealed to as a relevant Scriptural text and excommunication was "from the congregation as a despiser of the grace and covenant of God."

Debates in the Dutch Reformed Churches.

The Refugee Church procedure was clear but later in the same century a question was asked to the Synod of Dordt in 1578:[12] "Are children who have been baptized in the Reformed congregation, when they have reached years of discretion, subject to church discipline, and will those who after they have been admonished continue to harden their hearts be excommunicated, although they have not yet professed their faith and have not yet partaken of the Lord's Supper?"[13] The answer of the Synod was that baptized members should be admonished in general in the public preaching but that excommunication should only be used against those "to whom the covenant of God had been sealed in their participation in the Lord's supper."[14] À Lasco's position was rejected and moving into the seventeenth century Gisbertus Voetius (1588–1676) was influential in consolidating the view of the 1578 Synod. Voetius considered baptized children as incomplete church members who were under church discipline only as it pertained to nurture and therefore not the subjects of excommunication. The reason he gave for this was that they had not voluntarily or consciously entered the congregation of believers.[15]

Jacobus Koelman (1632–95) disagreed with Voetius' position and believed it to be contrary to the "Form of Baptism"[16] which declared baptized children to be sanctified in Christ and members of the church. For Koelman their inclusion in the church brought with it the obligation to live in obedience to God as members of the covenant and so he argued that if they go delinquent, they are to be removed from the church and regarded as publicans. Furthermore, he challenged the idea that baptized members were only under the discipline of nurture by asking on what basis did the church have the right to discipline by admonition but not to excommunicate.[17]

So, a difference of opinion on our question arose early in the history of the Dutch Reformed churches. The same difference was later found in the Secession churches[18] in the nineteenth Century. Hendrik DeCock, like Koelman, considered church membership to be based on God's promise and therefore baptized children were considered members because they were included in this promise. As members they were therefore subject to church discipline, including excommunication. H. P. Scholte looked at the issue more narrowly like Voetius and denied formal discipline should be applied. In 1857

11. Van't Spijker, *De Tucht*.

12. The 1578 Synod of Dordrecht met from June 2–18, and was the first properly National Synod of the dutch Reformed Church.

13. Van't Spijker, *De Tucht*.

14. Van't Spijker, *De Tucht*.

15. Van't Spijker comments "Voetius expresses some restriction with regard to the membership of non-communicant members." For this he quotes William Ames (*Medulla* I, 32, 13): "Nevertheless the young children are not complete members of the church in the sense that they can participate in the actions of fellowship or partake of all privileges of the church."

16. The form for the administration of infant baptism in the Dutch Reformed Churches first appeared in a 1566 edition of the Dutch Psalter edited by Petrus Dathenus.

17. Van't Spijker, *De Tucht*.

18. The 1834 Secession from the established Dutch Church (NHK) was led by a number of young ministers (de Cock, Scholte, van Raalte, Brummelkamp). They publicly opposed the toleration of heresies within the NHK, together with the imposition of man-made uninspired materials of praise into the public worship of God. They also promoted a return to the Reformed Confessions and vowed to return to the national Church when it returned to its former adherence to these things. The years that followed were confusing and a proliferation of small groups appeared. Two of these finally united and formed the Christelijke Gereformeerded Kerk in 1869.

the issue came to the Synod[19] who refused to lay down any specific rules on the matter.[20]

After the union of 1892 the Gereformerdeerde Kerken[21] examined the matter and in 1896 a report was submitted which took Voetius' position. In 1925 the Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerken addressed the subject and adopted a procedure to be followed.[22] Some of the key features of this report are summarized as follows:

> a. It is agreed in principle that baptized members are under the discipline of the church.
>
> b. This discipline is to be applied in different ways at different stages, i.e. to members under 16, between 16–21 and over 21 years old.
>
> c. Members under the age of 16 should only be admonished. Over 16 they become subject to formal process.
>
> d. While arguing for liability to formal process the procedure stops short of using the language of excommunication.
>
> e. However, the end of the process is a public pronouncement that the person no longer belongs to the church.

Debates in the Presbyterian Tradition.

The debates in the Presbyterian tradition revolved around the same issues to those of their continental brothers but the question seems to have arisen later, with most of the discussion taking place in the nineteenth Century. We have seen that the Westminster Confession of Faith views the children of believers as members of the visible church. This is affirmed in the Assembly's Directory of Public Worship in the Form of Baptism.

> The promise is made to believers and their seed; and that the seed and posterity of the faithful, born within the church, have, by their birth, interest in the covenant, and right to the seal of it, and to the outward privileges of the church, under the gospel, no less than the children of Abraham in the time of the Old Testament … That children, by baptism, are solemnly received into the bosom of the visible church, distinguished from the world, and them that are without, and united with believers; and that all who are baptized in the name of Christ, do renounce, and by their baptism are bound to fight against the devil, the world, and the flesh: That they are Christians, and federally holy before baptism, and therefore are they baptized….[23]

In her General Assembly of 1642 the Church of Scotland decreed: "Every Presbytery is enjoined to proceed against non-communing members."[24] There does not appear to be any reference to the age this process would be relevant from but Steuart of Pardovan, writing in the early 1700's, records that male children over the age of fourteen were judged to be out of their minority and could be summoned before the church judicatories and charged with offences.[25]

In America, the 1789 Book of Discipline of the Presbyterian Church addresses the question of baptized members and discipline in these words:

19. The Synod of the Gereformerde Kerk.

20. "The synod, upon thorough deliberation, is of the opinion that no specific rules should be laid down for this. Rather, it should be left to the modest judgment of the councils to deal with them in meekness as faithfully and edifyingly as possible." Quoted in Van't Spijker, *De Tucht*.

21. In 1892 part of the Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk joined with the Doleantie to form the Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland. The Doleantie, led by Abraham Kuyper, had left the national Church in 1886.

22. This is reproduced in Van't Spijker, *De Tucht*.

23. "The Directory for the Publick Worship of God," in *The Westminster Confession of Faith; the Larger and Shorter Catechism,* etc. (Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1855), 382–383.

24. Romeyn, "The Duty of the Church," 36. The Act referred to is Act Sess. 7. 3. August 1642 in *A true copy of the whole printed acts of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, beginning at the Assembly holden at Glasgow the 27. day of November 1638; and ending at the Assembly, holden at Edinburgh the 6. day of August. 1649* (1682), 120. The Act reads "The Assembly would enjoyn every Presbyterie to proceed against Non-communicants, whether Papists or others, according to the Act of Parliament made thereanent. And suchlike, that Acts of Parliament against prophaners of the Sabbath be put to execution." In a footnote Romeyn states, "A similar rule is contained in the discipline of the French Reformed Churches, chap. 12, can. 11, Quick's Synodicon, Vol. 1." John Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata, or, the Acts, Decisions, Decrees, and Canons of thouse famous National Councils of the Reformed Churches in France,* 2 vols. (London, 1692), xlviii.

25. Walter Steuart Pardovan, *Collections and Observations Concerning the Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: W. Gray, 1770), 215. Pardovan writes "When minors are convened before church judicatories, their curators are not to be cited as before civil courts, though they may be acquainted therewith, that their pupils may receive suitable advice and instruction from them. A minor, that is a male past fourteen, and a female past twelve years of age, may be called before church judicatories, when guilty; as for pupils under that age, it will be rare if ever they be concerned as delinquents, except "ubi militia supplet ætatem," that is, where strength of nature is as far advanced in them as it useth to be in others of riper years."

> All baptized persons are members of the church, are under its care, and subject to its government and discipline; and when they have arrived at the years of discretion, they are bound to perform all the duties of church members.[26]

The first query raised concerning this was brought to the 1798 General Assembly who answered that the statement was clear on the matter.[27] Questions arose again about a decade later and in 1811 the Synod of Kentucky submitted an overture to the General Assembly asking:

> What steps should the church take with baptized youth, not in communion, but arrived at the age of maturity, should such youth prove disorderly or contumacious?[28]

The Assembly appointed a Committee of three men—Dr. Samuel Miller, Rev. W. B. Romeyn and Rev. James B. Richards to prepare a report for the next General Assembly. The report which was largely the work of Romeyn, was submitted to the 1812 general assembly who ordered it to be published and sent down to presbyteries for consideration. Several presbyteries reported their views to the 1814 Assembly where it was discussed in a number of sessions, but on the final day "the subject was indefinitely postponed."[29] The matter was left as it was in the documents of the church.

The report runs to around forty pages, and the argument proceeds by establishing from Scripture and the Reformed Confessions that baptized children are members of the church. Because they are members of the church they are subject to Christian discipline—just as children are subject to the rule of the house, so baptized members are subject to the rule of the church. Discipline is then broken up into its two component parts of instruction and correction with the duty of the church to instruct her baptized children comprising the largest section in the report. The duty of the church to administer discipline to her baptized Children is addressed next and here the image used in the early church, of the church as the mother of all her baptized members, is invoked. It is then argued that the administration of such discipline is a duty that lies on all those in ecclesiastical authority and a privilege of all those under it, and this applies to all three aspects of discipline—admonition, suspension and excommunication. Appeal is made to the practice of the Old Testament church of admitting its circumcised youth to the full responsibilities of membership at the age of thirteen when they became a "son of the commandment,"[30] which implied they would then bear personal responsibility to perform all the duties of covenant membership. Argument is also made from Genesis 17:14, which refers to the formal *cutting off* of members for the stated purpose of breaking God's covenant. From this it is urged that if baptized members do not fulfil the duties of church membership when they come of age, then they should be excommunicated. As the chief duty of membership is to exercise faith in Christ as Saviour it is reasoned that failure to believe and profess faith should make them liable to excommunication.

It is not our intention to discuss the propriety of their conclusion at this point but simply to note that the report clearly acknowledged that baptized members are under the church's formal discipline and can be excommunicated.

The Revised Book of Discipline

Discussion of the 1812 report was indefinitely postponed by the 1814 General Assembly and the matter was left as it was stated in the book of discipline. Four decades later controversy arose when a Committee was appointed in 1857 to revise the book of Discipline.[31] The committee included Charles Hodge and Robert J. Breckinridge, with James Henley Thornwell as chairman. When their work was circulated to the church a number of proposed changes were met with varying degrees of opposition, but the most fiercely contested issue was the proposed change to the paragraph on baptized members. The revised book recast the original statement as follows:

> All baptized persons, being members of the church, are under its government and training, and when they have arrived at years of discretion, they are bound to perform all the duties of members. Only those, however, who have made a profession of faith in Christ, are proper subjects of judicial prosecution.[32]

26. *The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia 1789), 175.

27. Old School, "The Relation of Baptized Children to the Church—No 1,"' *Central Presbyterian* 5.41 (October 13, 1856): 165.

28. Romeyn, "The Duty of the Church," 27. This is quoted in an editorial introduction to Romeyn's report.

29. Romeyn, 28.

30. This is a reference to the Jewish tradition of religious initiation when a boy undergoes his Bar-mitzvah.

31. During this time, in 1837, the Presbyterian Church split into its Old School and New School factions. The subsequent debate over the revision of the book of discipline took place in the Old School Assembly, but the discussion of the matter extended far beyond Church courts with articles appearing in many Presbyterian and other religious periodicals.

32. *Revised Book of Discipline Prepared by the Committee of the*

Here the word *discipline* was replaced with *training* and the formal process of discipline was reserved for communicant members alone. Thornwell as chairman of the committee was active in defence of the proposed changes against its critics. Some of these were found in the committee itself, with Charles Hodge publicising his disagreement with the new statement.[33] R. L. Dabney was prominent among the critics in the wider church and he and Thornwell debated the change,[34] with Thornwell defending his position in the *Southern Presbyterian Review*.[35] Many other articles appeared in Presbyterian periodicals, including an ongoing seven-month debate in the *Central Presbyterian* between Rev. George D. Armstrong and a writer calling himself 'Old School.' Armstrong rejected the idea that non-communing members could be subject to judicial process and excommunication, while Old School defended the older book of discipline.[36] The Baptists chimed in too, with one article in the *Richmond Herald* noting the revision was "a manifest departure from Presbyterian Paedobaptism of the Old School."[37] This would not have allayed the fears of many who thought the changes were moving the church to a more Baptistic view of church membership.

In the end, the revisions to the book of discipline did not go through. Larger events took over that would split the church in 1861 into its Northern and Southern bodies. The Northern Church reverted to the position of the original book of order while Thornwell's view prevailed in the South into the twentieth century, but in that century conservative Presbyterian churches were to revert to the position of the older book of discipline. The *Book of Order* of the Presbyterian Church in America (PCA) states: "All baptized persons, being members of the Church are subject to its discipline and entitled to the benefits thereof."[38] The Orthodox Presbyterian Church (OPC) is more precise in specifying the inclusion of baptized members in the judicial discipline of the church: "All members of the church, both communicants and those who are members by virtue of baptism only, are under the care of the church, and subject to ecclesiastical discipline including administrative and judicial discipline."[39] The Presbyterian Reformed Church (PRC) includes a statement directly from the original 1789 Constitution and book of order: "Inasmuch as all baptized persons are members of the church, they are under its care, and subject to its government and discipline."[40] The Practice of the Free Church of Scotland, which is adhered to by the Free Church of Scotland (Continuing), states in its chapter on discipline:

> *With whom it deals*: Church discipline is concerned with those who belong to the Church as baptized or communicant members. Besides, the Church has a duty to all, and especially to those in regular attendance at worship services, to testify "of righteousness, temperance and judgement to come," but this is not strictly within its disciplinary function.[41]

> *Initiation of Process*: It is normally the duty of the Kirk Session to initiate a process of discipline affecting the membership of the congregation apart from the minister. Membership includes baptized and communicant members who adhere to the congregation.[42]

The Main Views

From this history two main views on the relation of baptized members to the discipline of the church emerge; one that sees the applicability of formal discipline to all members of the church and the other that reserves such discipline for communicant members. There are various nuanced positions within both these views but we will now examine each main view and make the case that baptized children are under the

General Assembly, August 1858, 25. Accessed at http://www.pcahistory.org. The original book of order had stated "All baptized persons are members of the church, are under its care, and subject to its government and discipline; and when they have arrived at the years of discretion, they are bound to perform all the duties of church members."

33. Charles Hodge, *Discussions in Church Polity* (New York: Scriber & Sons, 1878), 215–218.

34. Their exchange can be found respectively in Robert L. Dabney, *Discussions,* Vol. 2. (Sprinkle, 1982), 312–392, and, James Henley Thornwell, *The Collected Writings of James Henley Thornwell,* Vol. 4 Ecclesiastical (Banner of Truth, 1986), 298–380.

35. *Southern Presbyterian Review*, Vol. 12, #3 (April 1859): 378–406. See also Vol. 13, # 1 (1860): 1–39. We will refer to these articles as they are reproduced in *The Collected Writings*.

36. The original exchange is entitled "The Relation of Baptized Children to the Church," published in *The Central Presbyterian,* Vol. 5, #39–55 (1860), Vol. 6, #1,(1861).

37. Peter J. Wallace, *"The Bond of Union": The Old School Presbyterian Church and the American Nation, 1837–1861*, Doctoral Dissertation (The University of Notre Dame, 2004), 600.

38. *The Book of Church Order of the Presbyterian Church in America,* 6th Edition, 27–2 (Lawrenceville, GA. 2009), www.pcahistory.org (accessed 21 February 2019).

39. *The Book of Church Order of the Presbyterian Church* (Willow Grove, PA), 87, www.opc.org (accessed 21 February 2019).

40. *The Book of Discipline of the Presbyterian Reformed Church*, article 70, https://presbyterianreformed.org (accessed 21 February 2019).

41. *The Practice of the Free Church of Scotland In Her Several Courts*, 8th Edition (Knox Press, Edinburgh, 1995), 89.

42. *The Practice of the Free Church of Scotland*, 94

discipline of the church and subject to formal process up to and including excommunication. We will proceed by first looking at the arguments against this position and then answer each of these in turn as a means of establishing the case.

Arguments Against the Formal Discipline of Baptized members.

Some of these arguments were introduced when looking at the history of the Dutch church and we did not rehearse them when working through the Presbyterian history. They are summarized below in six key points.

1. The Church is a Voluntary Society.

In the seventeenth century Voetius articulated this view. He wrote at a time when the *Independentists*[43] were pressing their conviction that the holiness of the church demanded a membership based on the choice of faith. While Voetius opposed their view and argued from the doctrine of the covenant that baptized children were members of the church, he saw this as membership in an incomplete sense. As a consequence, Voetius believed they could not be formally disciplined because they had not consciously entered the fellowship of believers.[44] In the U.S.A. Thornwell saw the church as a voluntary society with voluntary assent of its members necessary for their discipline. Peter Wallace comments on Thornwell's position: "The Thornwellian view assumed a theory of republicanism that insisted upon the consent of the governed—or in this case, the consent of the disciplined."[45] So the argument here is that if the baptized member has not voluntarily professed faith, then the church cannot make them the subject of formal discipline.[46]

2. Baptized Members do not have all the Privileges of Church Membership.

All sides of the debate agree to this in principle. For instance, baptized members are not automatically given a right to the Lord's Table,[47] nor can they hold office in the church or, if still in their minority, vote to elect office bearers. Some however press this further to conclude that liability to formal process is another of the aspects of church membership that baptized members do not have a right to. There is certainly force in the logic of the argument—if baptism does not immediately entitle to all the privileges of church membership, then it is not automatic that baptized members should be deemed liable to formal disciplinary process.

3. Church Discipline requires Spiritual Life in the one being Disciplined.

Thornwell stated the position in this way: "Church Discipline is for the living and not for the dead."[48] Therefore, evidence of life, asserted in a profession of faith, was a condition of being under the discipline of the Church. For Thornwell: "To those who profess no faith in Christ it is as absurd to dispense the spiritual censures of the Church, as it would be to tie a dead man to the whipping post and chastise him with rods."[49]

4. The Purpose of Church Discipline.

Thornwell and others make a presumption of regeneration, expressed in profession of faith, to be the condition of church discipline. It follows that they view the purpose of church discipline in only corrective and restorative terms. Yes, discipline is established to glorify Christ, clear the good name of the church, recover the offender and warn the other members of the church. However, it is never a means to awaken the dead in conversion.[50] If this is so, then why would the church formally censure a baptized non-communing member? What would its purpose be if "Faith is an indispensable condition of the benefit of discipline?"[51]

43. Van't Spijker, *De Tucht*. The Independentists had Congregationalist leanings, pressing the autonomy of the local church in the federation and also the authority of the congregation in relation to the local elders.

44. Van't Spijker, *De Tucht*.

45. Wallace, *"The Bond of Union,"* 620.

46. Thornwell's view of the Church raises concerns in other related aspects. He describes the Church as "the complete realization of the decree of election" and so seems to conflate the covenant and election. Thornwell, *Collected Writings*, Vol. 4, 350–351. Further he goes on to define the visible church as "the society or congregation of those who profess true religion," leaving out their children which the Westminster Confession of Faith is careful to include (WCF 25:2).

47. This is assuming a majority view in the history of the Reformed Church over against the doctrine of Paedo-Communion.

48. Thornwell, 4.328.

49. Thornwell, 4.328.

50. Thornwell, 4.329, "Discipline is for the living and not for the dead. It is not an ordinance for conversion, but an ordinance for repentance." Here Thornwell denies that discipline can be used in any sense as a means of conversion. In so doing he employs the term repentance in a narrow way that excludes it from initial conversion. He likewise speaks of conversion in a strict sense relating to the beginning of the Christian life. Others speak of conversion more broadly as the fruit of regeneration with initial and continuing repentance and faith as component parts.

51. Thornwell, 4.329.

5. The Subjects of Excommunication

Here it is argued that only those who partake at the Lord's Table can be the proper subjects of formal discipline, because if there has been no communion then there can be no ex-communion. In light of this Thornwell taught that excommunication removed the offender from the communion of saints in that they were denied access to the Lord's Table for an indefinite period of time.[52] As a non-communicant member had never had this privilege, it could not be taken from him. This was the position of the 1578 Synod of Dordt which asserted, "therefore excommunication shall not be used except against those to whom the covenant of God is sealed anew through the Lord's Supper."[53] Voetius also argued on this basis against the formal discipline of baptized members: "I don't see how the actual church discipline can be applied to them, in view of the fact that they never by profession of faith in the church covenant were admitted to the Lord's Supper fellowship. How then could they be excluded from it?"[54]

6. The Nature of Excommunication.

We saw that Thornwell denied the propriety of disciplining non-communicant members because he considered excommunication as a removal of the right to participation at the Lord's Table. His view appears to be behind the statement in the revised book of discipline, but it was not peculiar to him in the American debates of this period. Rev. George D. Armstrong argued a similar position in his debate with 'Old School' in the *Central Presbyterian* (1860–61).[55]

In distinction to this, Dabney argued that excommunication excluded someone not only from the Lord's Table, but from the church itself, and put them on the same footing as a heathen man, i.e. the unbaptized or in Old Testament terms, the uncircumcised.[56] Thornwell considered this view "absurd"[57] and argued that if this were the case, then an excommunicated person who repented would have to be re-baptized to enter church communion again and then and we would all be Anabaptists.[58] While there is a degree to which Thornwell and Dabney are talking past each other in their debates, there is also a real difference in how they view excommunication.

Arguments in Favor of the Formal Discipline of Baptized members.

The view we are arguing for is that baptized members are the proper subjects of ecclesiastical discipline, up to and including excommunication. To make our case we will respond to each of the previous arguments.

1. The Church is not a Voluntary Society.

To Thornwell the voluntary nature of the church was an aspect of her glory,[59] but we contend that he did not get that view from Scripture. The church is the visible kingdom and covenant people of God. God Himself has sovereignly determined those He would include in it and therefore who we should recognize as members. God appeared to Abraham and declared, "I am almighty God" (Gen. 17:1). He sovereignly and unilaterally established His covenant with Abraham and his seed and did not wait for Isaac's choice before He included him in it, held out its promises to him or threatened its sanctions (v. 14). In the same way the baptized child in the New Testament church does not choose whether he will be born into God's covenant, nor can he choose to opt out of its sanctions because he did not voluntarily agree to them. These sanctions are administered through the discipline of the church, including being cut off (excommunicated) for breaking the covenant. To take an analogy from civic life, a citizen cannot avoid the penalties of the law of the country he was born in because he never personally chose to live under them. Dabney argues from this:

> "Now it is just as much God's ordinance for mankind that his people shall live under ecclesiastical government, and that their children shall be subjected to ecclesiastical jurisdiction by birth. They have no option allowed them by God…."[60]

The church is not a voluntary society, but it is a tragic irony that we frequently hear the argument that it is, not from the pen of godly theologians, but from the lips

52. Thornwell, 4.324, 343.
53. Van't Spijker, *De Tucht*.
54. Van't Spijker, *De Tucht*.
55. "The Relation of Baptized Children to the Church," *The Central Presbyterian,* 5, #39–55 (1860), 6, #1 (1861). Armstrong argues that baptized members are not in the communion of the Church and so the excommunication of non-communicants is impossible (5:39; 5:40; 5:41).
56. Brian T. Wingard, *As the Lord Puts Words in her Mouth: The Supremacy of Scripture in the Ecclesiology of James Henley Thornwell and its Influence upon the Presbyterian Churches of the South,* Doctoral Dissertation (Westminster Theological Seminary, 1992), 185.
57. Thornwell, 4.339.
58. Thornwell, 4.343–344.
59. Wallace, *"The Bond of Union."*
60. Dabney, *Discussions*, Vol. 2, 386.

erring baptized members. They refuse the calls of their elders, reject the letters of their pastor and the formal citations of their Kirk Session on this basis, saying, "I never joined your church. I never asked for your care. Please do not contact me again."

2. Baptized members do not have all privileges of membership, but are under Church discipline.

The argument is proposed that because baptized members do not automatically have the right to all the privileges of church membership, e.g. the Lord's Table, it does not follow that they are the subjects of formal disciplinary process. Additionally, if a profession of faith is required for communing at the table, it should not be thought strange if the same condition is a requirement for formal church discipline. This argument does not hold for the following reasons:

a. *Scriptural:* Scripture explicitly places a condition on coming to the Lord's Table. Paul makes personal self-examination and an ability to discern the Lord's body a precondition of partaking of the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. 11:28–29). God also gives the keys of the kingdom to the elders of the church to open and shut the privilege of communion to people on the basis of a credible profession of faith, but Scripture places no such explicit stipulation on baptized members in regard to being subject to church discipline (Matt. 16:19; 18:18; 1 Cor. 4:1).

b. *Analogical:* If we look again to civic life, we find different levels of privilege and responsibility given to citizens of a nation. Dabney highlights this while pointing out all citizens are subject to the law and judicial penalty: "In the state, all citizens are not entitled to all grades of privilege, nor liable to all kinds of public duty... but all are alike subject to those general laws which prosecute crime judicially." To this it might be replied that the analogy does not fit, and the church is more like a school for her baptized members where there is no judicial prosecution. Dabney responds: "There is no school on earth where pupils may break all the rules, and uniformly neglect the instructions, and yet the master have not power to declare their connection with the school severed."[61]

c. *Logical*: It is argued that while baptized members are not subject to the formal discipline of the church, they are under her general discipline and nurture, and that consequently they may be admonished but not excommunicated. To this the question must be asked that Koelman asked of the Voetians,[62]—what is the basis for this distinction? In other words, what right does the church have to admonish and rebuke its baptized members but not formally discipline them? Furthermore, how would that general rebuke be any different from and constitute a privilege to the baptized member beyond the general rebuke that might go out to all unbaptized people from the Word in their station and circumstances? It appears to be a claim for a distinction without any biblical foundation, that reduces the privilege of the baptized to no more than a general admonition of the Word of God.[63]

The argument of equivalence from the stipulated condition for partaking of the Lord's Supper to the case of formal church discipline does not hold for the reasons above, and therefore we reject the claim that because baptized members are not automatically entitled to all privileges of church membership, they are therefore not under her formal discipline until they profess faith.

3. Administration of Church Discipline is not based on the presumed regeneracy of the subject.

Thornwell articulated this vividly. For him, church discipline is for the living and not for the dead and therefore you may as well tie a corpse to a post and whip it as discipline a baptized non-communing member.[64]

There is much that could be said in response to this, including his invalid assumption of the unregeneracy of all baptized non-communing members, but the thing we would highlight is that the argument is in the end self-defeating—especially when it comes to excommunication. It defeats itself because if discipline is predicated on the presence of life, and excommunication is the declaration that the person is not to be regarded as a Christian, but a heathen man and a publican, the end of the process is a presumption of non-regeneration, which means that in retrospect the whole basis for the disciplinary process crumbles. To put it in Thornwell's own terms, all along you have been whipping a corpse.

61. Dabney, *Discussions*, Vol. 2, 386, 388.

62. Van't Spijker, *De Tucht*.

63. *The Practice of the Free Church,* page 89, seems to make a better distinction at this point in identifying whom the discipline of the Church concerns. It says "Church discipline is concerned with those who belong to the Church as baptized or communicant members. Besides, the Church has a duty to all, and especially to those in regular attendance at worship services, to testify "of righteousness, temperance and judgement to come," but this is not strictly within its disciplinary function." Here the right of baptized members to discipline is preserved while the general admonition and rebuke of the Word is still to be brought to the those who are not members.

64. Thornwell, 4.329.

Indeed, in a strange statement Thornwell seems to concede the point himself, saying: "When men show by their contumacy that they were not sons, they are then cut off from the church, on the very ground that they are incapable of discipline."[65]

Here he seems to detach excommunication from discipline so that the end of the process is an announcement that such people cannot really be disciplined, or that their discipline has failed. They are, according to Thornwell, "cut off," or we might say disciplined, on the basis "that they are incapable of discipline," which does not make a whole lot of sense. This is not how the Bible views discipline. In Scripture ecclesiastical discipline is the application of the rules of God's Word to those God tells us to include as members of His church, in a kingdom that Jesus tells us is mixed. The church does not baptize children on the presumption they are regenerate; nor do we admit someone into communicant membership in the knowledge that they are regenerate, but on the basis of a credible profession of faith; and so we do not discipline any member—baptized or communicant—on the basis that they are regenerate. We include them in God's church and hold them to God's standard.

4. The Purpose of Church Discipline.

Associated with the previous point and the idea that church discipline is only for the spiritually alive (and the assumption that baptized members are not), it is claimed that non-communing members should not be disciplined because such discipline is never a means of conversion.[66] Again, there appears to be a logical force to this argument. But if it were true, then the church should not excommunicate anyone. Or, more specifically, we should never see excommunication as a means of the recovery of the individual who is being declared by that censure a non-Christian. When a communing member is excommunicated, we are not simply saying he is backslidden, the church is declaring him to be apostate and judicially hands him over to Satan, yet with mercy in mind too (1 Cor. 5:4–5; 1 Tim. 1:20).

With this understanding Dabney asks, if the Spirit may use discipline to recover a backsliding believer (and we could add the recovery of an apostate professing believer), why could he not use the church's discipline to awaken a delinquent baptized member.[67] Calvin, while not explicitly referring to our case, notes that one of the ends of church discipline is the awakening of the one to whom it is applied: "The third purpose is that those overcome by shame for their baseness begin to repent. They who under gentler treatment would have become more stubborn so profit by chastisement of their own evil as to be awakened when they feel the rod."[68]

The Canons of Dordt also state that "Grace is conferred through admonitions…."[69] And if this is so, may we not argue from the lesser to the greater that this could be said not only of admonition but of the whole disciplinary process of the church, including the suspension and excommunication of the offender? I believe we can and that this is of immense importance because the whole disciplinary process of the church is then a spiritual privilege granted to the baptized member, and if the church denies its application, it robs them of a great covenant mercy in failing to employ a means that may be used by God to bring them to repentance.

5. The Nature and Subjects of Excommunication.

We have learned that the debate frequently hinges on a broader or narrower view of excommunication. Does this only apply to communing members and refer to the Lord's Supper? Or does it refer to all members of the church and the removal from the communion of saints in the visible church.

We contend that Scripture supports the latter because in the first place, *baptized members are members of the church.* In the end this is what the debate is about. Do our children belong to the church? Are they members of the church? Are they under her authority? The Bible answers yes to all these questions.

Secondly, *baptized members are in the covenant:* they are included in its promise and are marked by its sign and seal. We are warranted with the Apostle Paul to view them as federally holy (1 Cor. 7:14), distinct from and therefore not of the world.[70]

65. Thornwell, 4.328. Wallace, "*The Bond of Union*," 603. Wallace points out the inconsistency of Thornwell's reasoning at this point, saying, "Excommunication, for Thornwell, was not really discipline at all, but the declaration that discipline had failed."

66. Thornwell, 4.329.

67. Dabney, *Discussions*, Vol. 2, 390.

68. John Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Vol. 2. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1967), 4:12:5, p. 1233. He goes on to refer this to 2 Thessalonians 3:14 and 1 Corinthians 5:5.

69. Canons of Dordrecht, Third and fourth head, article 17, in *Three Forms of Unity and Ecumenical Creeds* (Mission Committee of the Protestant Reformed Churches of North America, 1999), 63.

70. Thornwell speaks starkly of the status of baptized members that they are "in the Church but of the world." In relation to them being of the world he continues, "As of the world, they are included in the universal sentence of exclusion which bars the communion of saints against the impenitent and profane." See *Collected Writings,* 4.347. This appears to be Thornwell's default assumption of the spiritual status of non-communing members and baptized children. His Covenant

Thirdly, *baptized members can break that covenant of which they are members*. This was clearly the case in the Old Testament when something concrete was broken (Gen. 17:14). The book of Hebrews makes plain that covenant breaking remains a reality for baptized members of the New Testament church and warns that the consequences in the present dispensation are even more severe than the former (Heb. 3:7–4:7; 10:26–31).

In the fourth place, *this covenant breaking in the Old Testament was sanctioned with excommunication*, "That soul shall be cut off from my people" (Gen. 17:14). This happened in the case of Ishmael when he mocked Isaac the child of the covenant (Gen. 21:9–12). It happened again when Esau despised his birthright and was cut out of the spiritual inheritance of Israel (Gen. 25, 27).

Furthermore, *excommunication functions in the same way in the New Testament* where it is not simply losing the privilege of the Lord's Table for an indefinite period of time, but being cast out of the people of God and judicially given the status of the heathen man and publican (Matt. 18:17).

Now all these things are not merely applicable to communicant members but to all members of the church. The baptized member, while he may not have communed with Christ at the Lord's Table, has communed with Christ outwardly in the means of grace. In Jesus' picture of the true vine in John 15 he is one of the branches externally connected to Him but perhaps void of that vital union of life. According to Hebrews 6:4–8, he has been in some sense enlightened, tasted the good word of God and the powers of the world to come. He may even be said to be in an outward sense *sanctified* or set apart by the blood of Jesus Christ (Heb. 10:29). He cannot excommunicate himself from this ecclesiastical communion because Christ put the keys of the kingdom in the hand of elders; they open and shut. Therefore, a delinquent baptized member should be subject to the formal discipline of the church up to and including the censure of excommunication.

Many of the church's children have testified to the weight of these truths in their own lives. The thought of their covenant privilege and the fearful reality of covenant breaking were prominent in their own spiritual experience. Such truths weighed heavily on them and they knew it would be worse for them than for Sodom in the day of judgment if they rejected these blessings. What we are dealing with here is baptized members throwing all such privilege away like trash—and will the church not act? Will she not warn? Will she not bring the sanctions of God's covenant administration in this world to bear on such members? Oh that she would, and that it would be blessed to the good of many souls.

II. Practical Observations on the Discipline of Baptized Members

Having established this principle, we proceed to the second main part of this article to deal with some practical questions of how discipline might be implemented, at what age formal process should become relevant, and for what judicial discipline might be instigated.

Baptized Members and the Discipline of Instruction

The cases that arise in our kirk sessions concern the process of judicial discipline. To address these properly however, we must see them in the broader context of biblical discipline.

The 1789 book of discipline of the Presbyterian Church in the United States stated, "All baptized persons are members of the church, are under its care, and subject to its government and discipline; and when they have arrived at the years of discretion, they are bound to perform all the duties of church members."[71] The proposed revision to the book of order in 1857 intended to replace this with:

> All baptized persons, being members of the church, are under its government and training, and when they have arrived at years of discretion, they are bound to perform all the duties of members. Only those, however, who have made a profession of faith in Christ, are proper subjects of judicial prosecution.[72]

In changing the word *discipline* to *training*, the revision proposed to reduce the whole discipline of baptized members to this. While we believe this intention was misguided, the suggestion does highlight the vital point that training is a fundamental component of discipline. The English word *discipline* is found only once in the Authorized Version of the Bible, in Job 36:10. "He openeth also their ear to discipline, and commandeth that they return from iniquity." It translates the Hebrew word מוּסָר and, of its fifty occurrences in the Old Testament, it is rendered "instruction" thirty times. The word is derived from a verb (יָסַר) meaning to chasten,

Theology certainly seems to take him toward a more Baptistic view than an historical Reformed view of the Church and her children.

71. *The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia 1789), 175.

72. *Revised Book of Discipline*, 25.

admonish or instruct, and is one of a group of words in Old Testament wisdom literature that concern instruction and correction. It is translated "instruction" twice in Proverbs 1:1–3:

> The proverbs of Solomon the son of David, king of Israel; To know wisdom and instruction; to perceive the words of understanding; To receive the instruction of wisdom, justice, and judgment, and equity.

The English word *discipline* reflects this broader meaning as it is derived from the Latin *disciplina*, meaning *instruction*. This is linked in turn to the word *discipulus*—a disciple or a learner by instruction. The same thought is conveyed in the Greek word μαθητης, which is translated "disciple" in the New Testament, where a disciple is one who has been baptized in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and who is under the whole instruction of the church. Jesus says, "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations," or literally *make disciples of* (μαθητευω) all nations, "baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you…" (Matt. 28:19–20). Then, concerning the whole training and discipline of children, parents are commanded to bring their children up in the "nurture (παιδεια) and admonition of the Lord," (Eph. 6:4), where instruction and correction are conspicuously joined together.

All the above terms help us to understand the biblical concept of discipline and therefore, long before we get to any judicial process, a foundation of instruction must be laid as the proper context in which this may function. If the church would be biblical in its approach to discipline, she must be faithful in the following three areas of instruction of its baptized members.

Baptized Members Must Be Brought Up in the Context of Covenantal Instruction

In the Reformation period, as the church moved away from the medieval sacramental system which employed baptism and confirmation as means of conveying grace *ex opere operata*,[73] the Reformers emphasised the implication of baptism as a sign and seal of the covenant of grace, and the covenant privilege of instruction of the baptized member in and by the church. The largest section of the 1812 committee report to the U.S Presbyterian Church General Assembly is devoted to the church's duty to instruct baptized members as the first element of that discipline. It notes that the Reformed churches of Bohemia, France, Holland, and Scotland required that schools be set up under the oversight of the eldership in every congregation, before appealing to the Synod of Dort, who decreed that a threefold method of catechising should be observed. The first, called "domestic," was to be performed by the parents. The second was "scholastic" and was the responsibility of the schoolmaster. The third was "ecclesiastic" and was the duty of the pastor and elders of the church.[74] They were to be the instructors of baptized children in connection with and in addition to their parents. As they exercised this responsibility, the children of the church would receive instruction and develop a relationship with their church officers—they would be "accustomed to their company and trained up under their eye."[75] In other words, the pastor and elders would get to know and be known by the baptized members of the church in the process of instruction.

Around the same time as the 1812 report, there were various other discussions and Acts of the General Assembly with a direct bearing on the instruction of baptized youth. In 1809, the Assembly resolved that inquiry be made by presbyteries of all sessions within their bounds:

> Whether a proper pastoral care be exercised over baptized children in their congregations, that they learn the principles of religion, and walk in newness of life before God; and that said Presbyteries do direct all sessions that are delinquent in this respect, to attend to it carefully and without delay.[76]

In 1816 Assembly recommendations were sent down to local congregations that they each establish a Bible class for the youth. A detailed course of instruction including Bible recitation, doctrinal instruction and principles of worship was supplied. This Bible class was to be in addition to the catechetical instruction referred to earlier.[77]

73. *Ex opere operata*: "by the work performed." It refers to the medieval scholastic and Roman Catholic view that the correct performance of the sacraments by the church conveys grace to the recipient, unless he places an obstacle in the way of that grace.

74. Romeyn, "The Duty of the Church," 40.

75. Romeyn, 51. This principle would agree with Paul's counsel to the Thessalonians "And we beseech you, brethren, to know them which labor among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; And to esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake. *And* be at peace among yourselves" (1 Thess. 5:12–13).

76. *A Digest Compiled from the Records of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, and from the Records of the Late Synod of New York and Philadelphia* (Philadelphia R. P. McCullough 1820), 78.

77. *A Digest*, 108–111.

Two years later, the Assembly of 1818 resolved that in each congregation the privileges and responsibilities of baptized members should be regularly explained to them:

> Resolved, the General Assembly recommend, and they do hereby recommend to the pastors and sessions of the different churches under their care, to assemble as often as they may deem necessary during the year, the baptized children with their parents, to recommend said children in prayer to God, explain to them the nature and obligations of their baptism, and the relation which they sustain to the church.[78]

All these recommendations should be strongly considered by presbyteries and kirk sessions today, and with part of this biblical, catechetical, and covenantal instruction being focused on "the relation which they sustain to the Church," they should be informed that their membership of the church implies that they are under her judicial discipline. This would leave all in no doubt, without excuse, and indeed with the expectation that the session has the authority and will use it to instigate formal process against them as members of the church, if so required.[79]

Baptized Members Must Be Brought Up in the Context of Discriminatory Preaching.

It should go without saying that all baptized members should be present from their earliest days, with all other members of the church, in the appointed worship services. They ought not be separated from the congregation into their own "children's church" while God is speaking to His church in the public preaching of the Word. Furthermore, as they are present, they should be addressed from the pulpit by the pastor in the sermon as a specific group of hearers. Paul's writing suggests a model of this as he addresses husbands, wives, parents, children, servants and masters, with the particular requirements of the Word of God to them (Eph. 5:22–6:9). Then, beyond addressing them directly in the sermon, pastors should be conscious of all baptized members in their pulpit preparation and pitch sermons at a level so that as many of them can glean as much as possible from their youngest years. His task is to communicate God's truth and to feed Christ's sheep, including the lambs of the flock.

The members of the visible church being addressed by the Word of God are a mixed group of hearers. Not every member is united to Christ by true faith and therefore we do not presume our baptized members are regenerated. They need the whole Word of God, as it relates to their whole person and life, and so it is vital that the preaching is discriminatory and applicatory. This will serve as the first level of ecclesiastical discipline. Joel Beeke describes this kind of preaching:

> Discriminatory preaching defines the difference between the Christian and the non-Christian. Discriminatory preaching is the key by which the kingdom of heaven is opened to believers and shut against unbelievers.[80]

Such preaching will discriminate between Christian virtue and counterfeit fruit, between the healthy Christian and those who are backslidden in heart. It will strengthen true hope and shatter false confidence. Beeke defines applicatory preaching as that which "applies the text to every aspect of the hearer's life and spiritual need. In this way it seeks to promote a religion that's truly a power, not a mere form (2 Tim. 3:5)."[81] When baptized members are exposed to this kind of ministry, they will be confronted with the law and the gospel. They will be addressed with evangelistic preaching in calls to repent and believe in Christ freely offered to them, as well as with summons to Christian discipleship. They will be confronted with the obligations of the covenant, encouraged with its precious promises and pressed with their calling to bear the reproach of Christ in the world, as those who have given their names up to him in baptism.[82] Fearful warnings will also be given to them against despising their privileges and of apostasy from the Lord.

Ministers of the gospel should be conscious of their need to so discriminate with and apply God's Word in their preaching, and the other elders in the session must employ their authority to ensure that this

78. *A Digest*, 111.

79. This agrees with the teaching of Bucer's Catechism referred to earlier. After teaching them that the keys of the kingdom are in the hands of church officers and are used "(a) To warn against and punish sins, to bind and excommunicate those who refuse to repent; (b) to loose and in grace receive those who desire to repent," he asks the child: "*What am I to learn from this?* Answer: (a) To readily allow myself to be warned and punished; (b) to readily warn my neighbour; (c) to value highly, and diligently make use of church discipline and comfort. W. Van't Spijker, "De Tucht over Doopleden," citing translation by L. W. Bilkes.

80. Joel Beeke and Ray Lanning, "The Transforming Power Of Scripture," in *Sola Scriptura, The Protestant Position on the Bible*, ed. Don Kistler (Reformation Trust, 2009), 126.

81. Beeke and Lanning, 127.

82. Larger Catechism Question 167. In *Westminster Confession of Faith* (Free Presbyterian, Glasgow, 2003), 257–258.

is taking place in the pulpit by holding the minister to his task.

Baptized Members Must Be Brought Up in the Context of Pastoral Visitation

Baptized members are among the people of the Lord's pasture and the "sheep of his hand," Psalm. 95:7. This Psalm is taken up in the New Testament and applied to the church in Hebrews 3–4, whose members are warned not to do what Israel did in the wilderness in the days of Moses. As members of the Lord's flock, Christ's undershepherds are therefore to tend to all baptized members in the exercise of their pastoral care.

The 1812 report calls this "one of the principal means of disciplining our baptized members,"[83] and quotes the whole of the 1708 Act of the Church of Scotland General Assembly anent pastoral visitation. That Act stipulated that the minister was to visit the homes of members of the congregation, going with the elder who was appointed over that parish district. After acquainting themselves with the needs of the family, they would prayerfully go for an arranged visit. The Act provides substantial direction in thirteen points, with the seventh concerning children in the home:

> The minister is to apply his discourse to the children, as they are capable, with affectionate seriousness; showing them the advantages of knowing, loving, seeking, and serving God, and remembering their Creator and Redeemer in the days of their youth, and honouring their parents; and to remember how they are dedicated to God in baptism; and when of age, and fit, and after due instruction of the nature of the Covenant of Grace, and seals thereof, to excite them to engage themselves personally to the Lord, and to desire, and pray for, and take the first opportunity they can of partaking of the Lord's Supper; to be specially careful how they communicate at first … exciting them also to daily reading of the Scriptures and to secret prayer and sanctifying of the Lord's day.[84]

In summary then, the judicial discipline of baptized members is to be built upon and to function within the context of thorough teaching. There is to be covenant instruction and catechism training by the elders in the church as well as pastoral visitation and counsel administered in the home. Discriminatory and applicatory preaching from the pulpit should take place at the heart of it all. In this way, the baptized member will grow up knowing they were being addressed, instructed, watched for, prayed for and loved by the pastor and elders of the church. In the event of discipline, they will not only know certain things about discipline, but they will know and be known by the people disciplining them.

Baptized Members and The Discipline of Censure

The conclusion of the 1812 Committee report proposed that baptized members who come to years and do not profess their faith in Christ should be excommunicated for this failure of unbelief. This was deemed consistent with the 1789 Book of Discipline that stated, "they are bound to perform all the duties of church members."[85] As it is the chief duty of baptized members to believe in Christ, their failure to do so was considered censurable. It is our conviction that this conclusion lacks an important degree of nuance, and vital Scriptural support. We will elaborate as we examine the issue of what baptized members should and should not be judicially disciplined for.

Before we get into specific details, we need to clarify two things in connection with church censure. The first is to refresh our understanding of church membership. Church membership, as sealed by Christian baptism, is a recognition that a person is in the administration of God's covenant of grace. Baptism distinguishes them from the world, engages them to Christ and His service; it marks the boundaries of the visible church, but it does not automatically entitle the baptized person to all the benefits of church membership. The second is excommunication, which is the public censure that recognizes the covenant of grace sealed in baptism has been renounced, and the person is being cut off from the church by Christ's appointed ecclesiastical government. Bearing these two things in mind, the question of judicial discipline will be viewed in connection with what constitutes a violation or a renunciation of this covenant, which can be done in relation to profession of faith or moral scandal.

The Discipline of Baptized Members for Unbelief

The kind of unbelief we refer to here is not that of a baptized person who grows to adulthood in the church but cannot say that he knows he has believed to the

83. Romeyn, "The Duty of the Church," 40.

84. *An Abridgment of the Acts of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland from the year 1638 to 1810 Inclusive* (Edinburgh, Abernethy and Walker, 1811), 344.

85. *The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia 1789), 175.

saving of the soul i.e. one who does not have the kind of profession of faith that will bring him to the Lord's Table.[86] The presence of such members may appear to complicate church life somewhat or bring a degree of confusion into someone's understanding of covenant theology, but there is nothing in scripture by precept or example to suggest that such baptized members should be excommunicated. In the Word of God, they are still included among the covenant people of God. There is no precedent in the Old Testament for someone who was circumcised, growing up and being excommunicated because he was not able to say he knew he was circumcised in heart. Nor is there such a case in the New Testament of a baptized person being put out of the church for not being assured of his interest in Christ or having knowledge that he was born again.

This brings us to an intimately related matter: what constitutes a profession of faith? It is a question that the Reformed have historically wrestled with, and it is important to any who subscribe to the Westminster Confession of Faith. The Confession understands the nature of the visible church in relation to this:

> The visible church, which is also catholic or universal under the Gospel (not confined to one nation, as before under the law), consists of *all those throughout the world that profess the true religion; and of their children*: and is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation.[87]

Who then are "all those that profess the true religion"? Are they only those who know they are born again? Or only those who come to the Lord's Table? Do people who do not have the confidence to come to the Table, not profess the true religion in any way? Are they to be viewed as outside the visible church? Historically, the majority of the Reformed have answered that those who profess the true religion, and assent to the faith confessed by the church, and remain within her, should be counted as baptized members.[88] Remember that baptism does not entitle one to all the benefits of church membership: they will not come to the Lord's Table, but they remain in the church, and if they have children and are bringing them up in the church, they will have them baptized. In relation to unbelief they will remain members until such times as they renounce their baptism and God's covenant by professing anything other than the true religion.

So, a denial of Christianity in any of its cardinal truths would constitute a disciplinary offence. If someone were to deny the Trinity, reject the incarnation or engage in idolatry, this would be demonstrable unbelief that should be censured by the church as a renunciation of the truth of the gospel sealed to him in baptism. It is not sufficient to remove his name from the roll of baptized members,[89] he is in the act of apostatising from the truth and the church should warn, instruct, reason, and plead with him and, if he does not amend, then judicially excommunicate him because apostasy against Christ before partaking of the Lord's Supper is the same sin in kind, but not degree, as apostasy after partaking of the Lord's Supper.[90]

Others who maintain this outward profession of faith and remain in the church should be probed, pastored and disciplined under the discriminatory preaching of the Word. They should be warned that the church is mixed and if they do not have true faith, they will perish among the chaff or with the foolish virgins in the day of the Lord (Matt. 3:12; 25:1–13). At the same time, they should be encouraged and drawn to hope in Christ if it is a lack of assurance of faith they wrestle with. Someone may object to this—but if they do not believe in Christ, then they have broken God's covenant and should therefore be disciplined. In response, we would say that God does not require the church to censure all sin, and especially heart sin. Adultery manifest in the life is censurable, but adultery in the heart is not. So there is an unbelief that the Lord will censure Himself, which He does not put into the hand of the church, but tells us that the wheat and tares will grow together until the end (Matt. 13:24–30). Then there is a form of

86. Reformed churches have not agreed on what constitutes a profession of faith required for participation at the Lord's Table. Some have looked for an objective confession of the truth of the Christian religion that is uncontradicted by the person's life. Others have sought a subjective confession of personal regeneration. A middle position between these two extremes, and which in the author's opinion is the most biblical, is to require confession of the truth of the Christian religion together with a profession of heart willingness to rest on Christ, to count the cost of Christian discipleship and submit to Christ as Lord.

87. *The Westminster Confession of Faith* (Johnston and Hunter, 1855), 107–108.

88. A change takes place over this question in American Presbyterianism in the eighteenth century as a fall out from the "Halfway Covenant" dispute among the New England Congregational Churches. As a result of this, covenant theology appears to have become more predominantly viewed in relation to personal conversion and a sensitivity to its corporate aspects was diminished.

89. This was another issue in the Book of Discipline Controversy—the proposed revision advised they should be simply removed from the roll.

90. This thought concerning degrees in the sin of apostasy was gleaned in discussion with Rev. Michael Spangler, and I am thankful for his insight.

demonstrable unbelief that the Lord requires the church to act against, when someone renounces their baptism by denial of the true religion or apostasy from truth.

The Discipline of Baptized Members for Moral Scandal

Cases of moral scandal predominate in the scriptural examples of ecclesiastical discipline. In Deuteronomy 21:17–22, the incorrigible youth was cut off from the people of God for his open rebellion against God's Law and refusal to submit to the authority of his parents and amend his ways. Other Old Testament examples show discipline was to be administered for profaning worship; for sexual sins; despising the Word of the Lord and profaning the Sabbath (Lev. 18–19, Lev. 20, Num. 15:23–36).

The best-known case of discipline in the New Testament is recorded in 1 Corinthians 5, where there was an incestuous relationship between a man and his stepmother. Paul required the guilty member to be put out of the congregation (v 13), by judicially handing him over to Satan for the destruction of his flesh and for his salvation (v 5). This was to be done in the knowledge that unchecked sin would spread in the church, "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump" (v 6). In this case, fornication was a disciplinary offence, but he goes on to call for the same censure against "covetous, extortioners, idolaters" (v 10), including "railers" and "drunkards" (v 11).[91]

There should be no question that a communicant member should be disciplined for such moral scandals, but this equally applies to baptized members whose baptism obligates them to live a life of covenant obedience to God, as much as a communicant member. God says to every baptized person what He said to Abraham, "Walk before me and be thou perfect" (Gen. 17:1), and so the church is not to tolerate scandal in a baptized member's life any more than she will tolerate it in the life of her communing members. There is one baptism (Eph. 4:5), calling all baptized to one standard of holy living, by which all members are to be disciplined. Failure to discipline baptized members in this way has led to churches being filled with hypocrites. People grow up in the church and then go off and live as they please. No discipline is applied and they later think that they can come back to present their children for baptism.

There is also the scandal occasioned by a person's contumacy against the authority of church courts.[92] Jesus addressed this in Matthew 18:15–18, where He described the process of discipline from private rebuke to public excommunication. If the person refuses to repent and finally rejects church authority, Jesus calls for them to be put out of it. "If he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican" (Matt. 18:17). This is the language of excommunication, and the church clearly has an authority to bind such by their decision, which brings us back to what we said about excommunication: it is the judicial removal of someone from the church and the public declaration that the covenant of grace sealed in baptism has been renounced, so that they are no longer to be regarded as a church member. In this case the evidence of apostasy is their rejection of the ecclesiastical authority Christ appointed in His church when they are doing what He requires them to do. They are not merely opposing men but setting themselves up as an enemy of Christ and rejecting God's covenant by refusing Christ in the government of His church.

With all that we have considered here on disciplinable offences, let us inquire again into the case of someone who cannot say he has the faith to come to the Lord's Table, but he remains orthodox in his understanding, upright in his life and diligent upon the means of grace. He continues within the gates of Zion, brings his family up in the church and is free of doctrinal and moral scandal. It would appear to be ecclesiastical cruelty to treat such a baptized member of the church in the same way that we would treat those who outwardly deny the faith by rejection of the truth, or by scandalous sin in the life, or by rebellion against the government Christ appointed in the church. In this connection, the Book of Order of the Presbyterian Church in America gives wise counsel and specifies that adult non-communicant members should not be excommunicated for their non-profession:

> Adult non-communing members, who receive with meekness and appreciation the oversight and instruction of the Church, are entitled to special attention. Their rights and privileges under the covenant should be frequently and fully explained, and they should be warned of the sin and danger of neglecting their covenant obligations.[93]

91. Paul's list of those who will not inherit the kingdom of God in 1 Corinthians 6:9–11 and other similar passages, are also helpful for direction in discipline, such as for example, Galatians 5:19–21.

92. Contumacy is the stubborn refusal to comply with authority, in this case the courts of the church.

93. *The Book of Church Order of the Presbyterian Church in America,* 6th Edition, 28–4 (Lawrenceville, GA. 2009), www.pcahistory.org (accessed 4 April 2019).

Baptized Members and the Disciplinary Process

We have provided the overall context for the discipline of baptized members in the covenantal instruction, discriminatory preaching, and close pastoral care of the church. After this we examined what should constitute a disciplinary offence. This leaves us to consider some practical matters toward a form of process that may be followed in administering discipline to baptized members.

When Should the Disciplinary Process Start?

An obvious practical question is what age a baptized member might become liable to formal church discipline. We noted earlier that Walter Steuart of Pardovan, writing in the early eighteenth century, observed that boys from the age of fourteen and girls from the age of twelve could be charged before the courts of the church.[94] In the society of that time, this agreed with the respective ages that boys and girls were deemed to have come out of their minority and moved into adulthood. These were also the ages at which it was legal for males and females to marry in medieval and early modern Scotland. To translate this into contemporary society, the legal age to marry ranges in most Western nations between sixteen and eighteen years old.

There is evidence that the Reformed churches have always been sensitive to this issue of minority in relation to church discipline, so that parental authority and discipline were not usurped by the church. John à Lasco's order for the Dutch refugee church in London, in the sixteenth century, is an example of this, and its form of process commends itself to us.[95]

The church would begin its formal disciplinary role when the member was around fourteen years old, i.e. just coming out of their minority but still related to the authority and care of the parent. From this time until the age of eighteen to twenty, direct admonition would be given to the member along with encouragement and comfort to faithful parents. The baptized member was liable to suspension from the privilege of the Lord's Table at this age, but over the age of eighteen, when the person was in their clear adult majority, if all correction had been refused, they were to be excommunicated from the church.

The 1925 procedure of the Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerken also has a number of helpful points. Discipline was to be applied in different ways at different ages: under the age of sixteen the member should only be admonished, rebuked and exhorted alongside their parents. They become subject to the formal discipline when over the age of sixteen and are not be removed from membership without it. If they continue in sin over the age of twenty-one they should be removed from the church by formal process. While it is expected that by the age of twenty-one a profession of faith will have been made, the form is careful to distinguish between those who are careless in sin and those who remain faithful in the church but do not have liberty to confess their personal faith.[96] The steps in the procedure are: first, serious admonition to the baptized member. If there is no remedy, then an announcement is made to the congregation without identifying the person by name, while asking the congregation to pray. If there is still no remedy, a further announcement is made in which the offender is publicly named. After this step, the person is declared to be no longer a member of the church. Between each step, the person is repeatedly exhorted and admonished by the pastors and elders to repent. When the Synod adopted their form of process, they also made provision for the repentance and return of the person who had been excluded:

> Members by Baptism who have been excluded from the Church, and who later repent of their sin, shall be received again into the Church, after a period of probation, followed by public confession of their guilt and profession of faith.[97]

How Should the Disciplinary Process Proceed?

Taking the above discussion into consideration, the general steps and rules of church disciplinary procedure should be followed both for communing and non-communing members of the church. When required, each should receive pastoral admonition; citation to appear before the session; charges should be brought and evidence processed in connection with the charge; and if necessary, they may be censured and excommunicated. However, a few specific differences should be considered in relation to a non-communicant status.

The first is that the censure of suspension from the Lord's Table will not be available in the case of a baptized member. As he is a non-communicant, he has

94. Walter Steuart Pardovan, *Collections and Observations Concerning the Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: W. Gray, 1770), 215. See prior quotation.

95. See the prior quotation at footnote 10.

96. Pieter VanderMeyden, "Church Discipline of Baptized Members," *Officebearers Journal*, Vol. 1 (Spring 2018): 27–29.

97. VanderMeyden, 29.

not yet been granted this privilege. This censure of suspension is usually referred to as the lesser excommunication, and serious thought should be given to it in the case of a baptized member, because, if this step is skipped, then the process to the greater excommunication is significantly shortened. As the church is to mix mercy with judgment and to bear patiently with her members in seeking to recover them from their sin, to give space for repentance, consideration should be given as to how this can be done in the case of baptized members.

It is helpful here to contemplate what we mean by the "lesser excommunication." As it applies to a communicant member, this is not only their suspension from the Lord's Table, but also the removal of other privileges of membership, such as the right to have their children baptized, or the right to vote in the election of office-bearers. Baptized members also enjoy some of these privileges, and so the lesser excommunication for them could be the revocation of these rights. For instance, the right to have their children baptized for a stated period of time, in which the church looks for repentance and reformation of life. The suspension could be announced to the congregation with an exhortation to prayer, and the case could be reviewed at the end of the stated period, and either the lesser excommunication renewed for another period, or the greater excommunication applied. The significant thing to note here is that a form of the lesser excommunication may be applied to a baptized member.

Another area for particular consideration is the way a baptized member is exhorted by the session throughout the disciplinary process. Arguments and appeals made to a baptized member will be specific to their non-communing status. They will not be spoken to about a removal from the Lord's Table, but they may be exhorted about their neglect of present and future privileges— when they should be giving diligence to make their calling and election sure, and laying hold of the privilege of the Table, they are closing the door against themselves. They might also be addressed on the solemnity of rejecting God's covenant and the danger of taking their children out of this with them. Not only would their own blood be on their hands but the blood of their children, and children's children likewise.

What we are proposing then would look like this: Baptized members are to be brought up in the church in the context of covenantal instruction, discriminatory preaching and pastoral care. Under the age of sixteen, the session would exhort and admonish for delinquent behavior in support of the parents. At the age of sixteen, the baptized member would become liable to the formal judicial process of the church in the following steps.

1. Summons to appear before the kirk session.

2. Charge concerning scandal.

3. If guilt is established, the lesser excommunication would be applied in a period of suspension from the privileges of church membership they already enjoy. This suspension would be announced to the congregation and their prayers solicited.

4. The Session reviews the case at the end of the stated period of suspension, and either proceeds with a renewal of the suspension, or escalates it to the greater excommunication, with the relevant pronouncement made in the congregation, and prayers offered.

5. If the sentence of the greater excommunication is passed, the person should be declared to be no longer a member of the visible church.

6. At each step in the process, the baptized member should be counselled, exhorted to repentance, and prayed for by the session.

The whole process has as its motive the glory of God and the good of the souls of baptized members. "For my brethren and companions' sakes, I will now say, Peace *be* within thee. Because of the house of the LORD our God I will seek thy good" (Ps. 122:8–9).▪

The Noahic Covenants and Redemptive Judgment

By Jeong Koo Jeon

In general, liberal theologians consider the account of Genesis 1–11, including the episode of the Flood judgment, as a myth which does not reflect historical events. Recently, some evangelical scholars have begun to perceive Genesis 1–11 as "theological history," taking on a middle ground between history and myth. Representatively, Longman and Walton insist that "the flood story of the Bible" recorded in Genesis 6–9 is neither myth nor history but "theological history," which reflects "the hyperbolic presentation" of "real events of the past through the use of figurative language." Here, they summarize their logic:

> We do not believe the flood story of the Bible is myth, but neither do we believe the author of Genesis 6–9 intends to give us a straightforward depiction of the event that lies behind it. We believe there is an event that inspired the story; after all, Genesis 6–9 is theological *history*. However, we believe the best understanding of Genesis 1–11, which of course includes the flood account, is that it talks about real events of the past through the use of figurative language. In the case of the flood story, we have identified the use of hyperbole to describe the flood. But there is a real event behind the story just as there was an actual conquest behind the hyperbolic presentation of Joshua's conquest as presented in Joshua 1–12.[1]

However, we believe that the account of the Flood judgment in Genesis 6–9 is the reflection of a real historical event at the time of Noah without any exaggeration and distortion, written by the prophet Moses under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Moreover, God demonstrated *the pattern of biblical eschatology* through the Noahic Flood within the historical context of the Prediluvian Noahic covenant in Genesis 6:5–8:19.[2]

We can learn several elements of *biblical eschatology* from the judgment of the Noahic Flood. First, it was a redemptive judgment in which God separated the covenant community from the non-covenant community. In addition, it was not a local but a universal judgment because it alluded to the final universal judgment which will happen on the day of the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. The Noahic Flood judgment was a visible judgment, as seen in the covenant lawsuit based on the Edenic covenant of works, which was broken by the first Adam. Furthermore, it was a verification of the validity of the imputation of the original sin, which was imputed to all the descendants of the first Adam. Lastly, God showed a typological picture of the glorious union of the new earth with "the holy city, new Jerusalem" (Rev.21:2) when the Ark was united with the present earth as the earth dried up after the Flood judgment.[3]

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1. Tremper Longman III & John H. Walton, *The Lost World of the Flood: Mythology, Theology, the Deluge Debate* (Downers grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2018), 145.

2. For biblical theological discussions of the distinction between the Prediluvian and Postdiluvian Noahic covenants, see Michael Norton, *Introducing Covenant Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books), 111–28; Jeong Koo Jeon, *Biblical Theology: Covenants and the Kingdom of God in Redemptive History* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2017), 33–57; Meredith G. Kline, *Kingdom Prologue: Genesis Foundations for a Covenant Worldview* (Overland Park, KS: Two Age Press), 212–62.

3. For the eschatological understanding of the Flood judgment, see Geerhardus Vos, *The Eschatology of the Old Testament*, ed. James T. Dennison Jr. (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2001), 81–83. Interestingly, Vos describes the Noahic covenant as "the general covenant"

Meanwhile, after the Noahic Flood judgment, God restored and resumed the covenant of common grace through the Postdiluvian Noahic covenant in Genesis 8:20–9:17. In doing so, God secured world history on the present earth until the final judgment comes through the means of the covenant between God and all humanity including the earth. God's continuation of the covenant of common grace, originally inaugurated in Genesis 3:16–19, not only provided stability for humanity after the Flood judgment, but also the presence of the church as a covenant community, saving the elect until the Second Coming of Jesus Christ on the present earth.

A. The Noahic Flood and Redemptive Judgment

God is not only love, but also holy and righteous. God visibly demonstrated his infinite holiness and righteousness through the Noahic Flood judgment. After the completion of the Ark by the faithful and obedient Noah, the Noahic covenant community entered into the Ark based on God's commandment. Entering into the Ark was a process in which there was a visible separation of the Noahic covenant community and the non-covenant community.

Jesus Christ, as the mediator of the New Covenant, was a redemptive-historical theologian who exemplified mastery of the interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in light of redemptive history patterned in the creation, Fall, redemption, and consummation. In fact, Jesus Christ was an *infallible* redemptive-historical theologian during his public ministry in his sermons and teachings, so that his disciples as the original apostles, as well as the apostle Paul, were able to follow his example of redemptive-historical interpretation of the Hebrew Bible after the Pentecost event, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. In his famous Olivet Discourse, Jesus Christ compared the Flood judgment at the time of Noah with the final judgment on the day of his Second Coming:

> 36But concerning that day and hour no one knows, not even the angels of heaven, nor the Son, but the Father only. 37As were the days of Noah, so will be the coming of the Son of Man. 38For as in those days before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day when Noah entered the ark, 39and they were unaware until the flood came and swept them all away, so will be the coming of the Son of Man. 40Then two men will be in the field; one will be taken and one left.41 Two women will be grinding at the mill; one will be taken and one left.42 Therefore, stay awake, for you do not know on what day your Lord is coming.43 But know this, that if the master of the house had known in what part of the night the thief was coming, he would have stayed awake and would not have let his house be broken into. 44Therefore you also must be ready, for the Son of Man is coming at an hour you do not expect. (Matt. 24:36–44)[4]

In Jesus Christ's address to his disciples, we find a remarkable truth. The day of "the coming of the Son of Man" (vv. 37, 39) as his Second Coming is the same day of the final judgment, separating the elect from the reprobate (vv. 41–42). God separated the Noahic covenant and non-covenant community. The Noahic covenant community entered into the Ark and God closed the door of the Ark, and began to pour out his infinite wrath against the non-covenant community. Similarly, on the day of "the coming of the Son of Man," God will execute his final judgment, visibly separating the elect and reprobate. Verses 40–41 ("40 Then two men will be in the field; one will be taken and one left. 41 Two women will be grinding at the mill; one will be taken and one left") are a parabolic expression of the separation of the elect and reprobate on the day of the final judgment when Jesus Christ returns.

which can be identified as the covenant of common grace, while he views the covenant of grace as "the *foedus speciale*" which God made with the elect. In doing so, he doesn't make a proper distinction between the Prediluvian and Postdiluvian Noahic covenants, which is warranted: "Szegedin, Musculus, Polanus, Wollebius, and others make a distinction between the *foedus generale*, the general covenant, which God established with all creatures, animals as well as men, and the *foedus special ac sempiternum*, the special and eternally enduring covenant that is made with the elect. For the first, the covenant with all creatures, one can appeal to God's covenant-making with Noah. With that, God promised that the orderings of heaven and of earth would not again be disrupted by a flood and placed the rainbow as a sign and seal of it…. In Genesis 6:13; 9:9; and the following verses, between God and Noah. Here, however, it is said repeatedly that it is a covenant between God and every living soul, not excluding the animals. Thus it is not simply the covenant of grace. It is a covenant of nature." Geerhardus Vos, *Reformed Dogmatics: Volume 2: Anthropology*, trans. and ed. Richard B. Gaffin, Jr. (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2014), 122–127.

4. Vos properly makes the comparison between the Noahic Flood judgment and the final judgment at the time of the Second Coming of Christ in light of eschatology: "Finally, the New Testament places the epoch of Noah in parallel with the second coming of Christ (cf. Matt. 24:37; Luke 17:26). These passages point out a comparison between the sinfulness immediately preceding the two periods under consideration. But it is especially the suddenness of the coming of Christ that is stressed in this connection. First Peter 3:20ff. compares the water of baptism with that of the flood. Both have an eschatological significance and are directed toward salvation. The water was an instrument of the world-judgment and separated godly and ungodly as it does in baptism." Vos, *The Eschatology of the Old Testament*, 82.

God sovereignly set *the day of the Lord,* which was the day of the visible appearance of glorious theophany and judgment. When the day of the Lord came, Noah's family entered into the Ark, which Noah as a faithful servant of God had built over 120 years, enduring persecution by idol worshippers who were hostile toward God and the covenant community. After the Noahic covenant community entered into the Ark, God appeared as theophanic Glory and closed the door of the Ark, which was the Ark of salvation on the original earth. By doing this, God did not provide further opportunity to enter the Ark; rather, he closed and sealed the door. The beautiful Glory closed the door of the Ark, which was an earthly picture of the invisible heaven. Closing the door of the Ark meant that God finished the process of the visible separation of the covenant community and non-covenant community:

> 11In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the month, on that day all the fountains of the great deep burst forth, and the windows of the heavens were opened. 12And rain fell upon the earth forty days and forty nights. 13On the very same day Noah and his sons, Shem and Ham and Japheth, and Noah's wife and the three wives of his sons with them entered the ark, 14they and every beast, according to its kind, and all the livestock according to their kinds, and every creeping thing that creeps on the earth, according to its kind, and every bird, according to its kind, every winged creature. 15They went into the ark with Noah, two and two of all flesh in which there was the breath of life. 16And those that entered, male and female of all flesh, went in as God had commanded him. And the LORD shut him in. (Gen. 7:11–16).

We need to pay special attention to verse 13: "On the very same day Noah and his sons, Shem and Ham and Japheth, and Noah's wife and the three wives of his sons with them entered the ark." In particular, "on the very same day" (בעצם היום הזה) is a crucial key which indicates that the Flood judgment was *a concomitant event* between the blessings of life and curses of death. Here, we find God's remarkable wisdom. God separated two different groups of people when the Flood judgment happened on the day of the Lord. Nevertheless, there is a logical and chronological order when God divided the two different groups. First, God secured the Noahic covenant community, sending them into and closing the Ark before he demonstrated his infinite wrath against the sinners who were hostile against the Kingdom of God. Afterwards, God as a righteous Judge began to display his incredible, infinite, fearful, and merciless judgment upon the original earth where the sinners against God lived.

It is noteworthy that God did not deploy man-made weapons, although they are the fruits of the covenant of common grace inaugurated in Genesis 3:16–19. Rather, God used the Flood as the means of his glorious and righteous judgment. This is a visible demonstration of God's infinite wisdom. When God displays his redemptive judgment, he does not need help from arrogant and sinful humans. This pattern continues when God executed his redemptive judgments as we see in the historical episodes of the judgments of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the Red Sea, among others.[5]

Longman and Walton deny the authenticity of the Flood judgment which occurred at the time of Noah. In doing so, they insist that the Flood was not global but local, reading and evaluating the flood episode in Genesis 6–9 in light of the Ancient Near Eastern cultures and religions:

> For reasons described in other parts of this book, we do not believe the flood was worldwide, but we do believe it was particularly devastating. We don't think it is possible to date the event, locate the event, or reconstruct the event in our own terms. That is not a problem because the event itself, with which everyone in the Near East is familiar, is not what is inspired. What *is* inspired and thus the vehicle of God's revelation is the literary-theological explanation that is given by the biblical author. We are interested in how the compiler of Genesis used the flood and how he described what God was doing in and with the flood.[6]

5. However, there was an exception. When the covenant community of Israel conquered the Promised Land, God commanded the armies of Israel to fight holy war on behalf of Yahweh. It is a typological demonstration of God's infinite wisdom to reveal that the glorified believers at the day of the final judgment will participate to judge the reprobate alongside Jesus Christ, who will be coming as the final Consummator and Judge.

6. Longman & Walton, *The Lost World of the Flood*, 85. We believe the root problem lies in their view of the Bible, which is deeply rooted in their adaptation to and the implications of the historical-critical reading of the Bible, which is the presupposition of liberal theologians. Endorsing the historical-critical reading of the Pentateuch with adaptation of the redaction criticism, they plainly reject the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch as well: "As intriguing as it is, however, we are not saying this particular flood generated the story of the flood. We do not believe we can reconstruct the historical event from the biblical account. However, we are confident, due to the genre (theological history) of Genesis 6–9 and in our affirmation that the Bible is true in all that it affirms, that there was a historical event. Our conclusion is that the Black Sea flood is the *type* of devastating flood

However, we believe that the Flood judgment was not a local but a global and universal judgment which covered the whole earth. The universal Flood judgment was God's sovereign revelation that the final judgment will be global and universal, as the judgment will be at the Second Coming of Jesus Christ, the final Parousia. Due to the Flood judgment, all the people outside of the Ark perished because the holy and righteous God displayed his redemptive judgment against their sins, in which they followed not God but the gods of that time.

When the final Parousia comes, God will separate the elect and reprobate, granting the eternal Kingdom of God to the elect in the last Adam while the reprobate in the first Adam will be thrown into the Kingdom of Satan, which will be the completion of hell. God desired to demonstrate and reveal the pattern of final judgment through the Noahic Flood judgment. In doing so, God did not separate the elect and reprobate, but rather the covenant community and non-covenant community through the Flood judgment in the original earth. For example, Ham was a member of the Noahic covenant community, so he was able to enter the Ark, escaping the Flood judgment. In addition, Ham participated in worship as a son of the Noahic covenant family. Nevertheless, the Bible depicts Ham not as one of the members of the elect, chosen by God before the creation of the world to be saved in Christ in the milieu of the covenant of redemption (the *pactum salutis*), which was made among the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Calvin rightly shows that Ham was not a member of the *invisible* church, although he was saved in the Ark during the Flood judgment as a member of the *visible* church, interpreting "And Ham, the father of Canaan" in Genesis 9:22 thus:

> It is received by common consent, that piety towards parents is the mother of all virtues. This Ham, therefore, must have been of a wicked, perverse, and crooked disposition; since he not only took pleasure in his father's shame, but wished to expose him to his brethren. And this is no slight occasion of offense; first, that Noah, the minister of salvation to men, and the chief restorer of the world, should, in extreme old age, lie intoxicated in his house; and then, that the ungodly and wicked Ham should have proceeded from the sanctuary of God. God had selected eight souls as a sacred seed, thoroughly purged from all corruption, for the renovation of the Church: but the son of Noah shows, how necessary it is for men to be held as with the bridle of God, however they may be exalted by privilege. The impiety of Ham proves to us how deep is the root of wickedness in men; and that it continually put forth its shoots, except where the power of the Spirit prevails over it. But if, in the hollowed sanctuary of God, among so small a number, one fiend was preserved; let us not wonder if, at this day, in the Church, containing a much greater multitude of men, the wicked are mingled with the good.[7]

In that sense, Ham will not inherit the eternal Kingdom of God when the final redemptive judgment comes at the Second Coming of Jesus Christ, even though he escaped the Flood judgment.

It is noteworthy to recognize the method of God's judgment at the time of Noah. God completely destroyed everything outside of the Ark, killing all the humans of that time. In doing so, God withdrew the benefits of the covenant of common grace that he had bestowed on the elect and reprobate alike without any discrimination after he inaugurated the covenant of common grace in Genesis 3:16–19. God withdrew the common blessings of kindness, love, and mercy that he had graciously and temporarily bestowed upon the reprobate and world in his original earth. When the day of the Lord arrived, God waged holy war against sinful humans and a world that followed the spirit of the Kingdom of Satan. It was the war of total destruction (*cherem*), which was later commanded by God to the covenant community of Israel when they entered the Promised Land. In that sense, God used holy war when he executed his redemptive judgment through the Noahic Flood, thus putting an end to the covenant of common grace.

Furthermore, the physical death of the reprobates outside of the Ark was not the end of the story. God sent all the souls of the cursed people from the Flood judgment to hell. As mentioned, what happened outside of the Ark in the Flood judgment was the visible picture or type of hell, cursing all the non-covenant community with physical death.[8] Further, he sent the souls of all the dead to hell, which is now the invisible realm as

that could have ultimately inspired the biblical account, even if it is not itself the biblical event. Whatever the precise historical event, the story was told from generation to generation, eventually forming the basis for the *toledot* … coming down to the Israelite narrators and the later redactors of the final form of the Pentateuch who used the story of Noah and the flood for their important theological message." Ibid., 149.

7. John Calvin, *Genesis*, in *Cavin's Commentaries*, 22 vols., trans. John King (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1996), 9:22.

8. A classic example of preaching about the existence and reality of heaven and hell can be found in Jonathan Edwards, *Sinners in the Hands of An Angry God* (Middletown, DE: CreateSpacce Independent Publishing Platform, 2019). Edwards vividly describes and illustrates

well. To be sure, all the souls sent to hell through the Flood judgment will experience bodily resurrection when the final Parousia comes. However, their bodily resurrection will not be the glorious bodily resurrection of "the resurrection of life" (v. 29), as it will be for the elect in the last Adam. It will be the bodily resurrection of the wicked as "the resurrection of judgment" (v. 29), so that they will be thrown into the Kingdom of Satan which will be the completion of hell (John 5:25–29).[9]

B. The Covenant Lawsuit and the Verification of the Original Sin

God is a covenantal God who makes, remembers, and faithfully keeps his covenants. God never forgets his covenants, because he is omnipotent and omniscient. Surprisingly, the backdrop of the judgment of the Noahic Flood goes back to the holy Garden of Eden where God made the covenant of works with the first Adam. When God made the covenant of works with the first Adam in Genesis 2:15–17, Adam represented all his descendants, because he was the representative covenantal head. So, God remembered this covenant when he executed the Flood judgment against the non-covenant community. However, God saved the Noahic covenant family in the Ark in light of the covenant of grace, inaugurated in Genesis 3:14–15 while he executed the judgment of death to all the people outside of the Ark in the milieu of the covenant of works broken by the first Adam.[10]

In that sense, the Noahic Flood was God's redemptive judgment, executing the judgment of death through his covenant lawsuit based upon the Edenic covenant of works. Certainly, the first Adam was not under the covenant of grace but the covenant of works as the representative covenant head of his descendants after him (Gen. 2:15–17).[11] As the first Adam ate the forbidden fruit from

the reality of the "everlasting wrath" of hell as follows: "It is everlasting wrath. It would be dreadful to suffer this fierceness and wrath of Almighty God one moment; but you must suffer it to all eternity. There will be no end to this exquisite horrible misery. When you look forward, you shall see a long for ever, a boundless duration before you, which will swallow up your thoughts, and amaze your soul; and you will absolutely despair of ever having any deliverance, any end, any mitigation, any rest at all. You will know certainly that you must wear out long ages, millions of millions of ages, in wrestling and conflicting with this almighty merciless vengeance; and then when you have so done, when so many ages have actually been spent by you in this manner, you will know that all is but a point to what remains. So that your punishment will indeed be infinite." Ibid., 36.

Some scholars and theologians of an evangelical posture deny the existence of heaven and hell. This phenomenon is at best contrary to the principle of the good news of the Gospel and the dual aspects of God's redemptive judgment, revealed in the Bible. For example, an influential evangelical theologian, John Stott, denied? (since he died in 2011?) the existence of eternal hellish punishment. David L. Edwards and John Stott, *Evangelical Essentials: A Liberal-Evangelical Dialogue* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1988), 313–20. Supporting the annihilation of the wicked, Stott denies that there will be eternal punishment in hell against the reprobate: "The third argument in favor of the concept of annihilation concerns the biblical vision of *justice*. Fundamental to it is the belief that God will judge people 'according to what they [have] done' (e.g. Revelation 20:12), which implies that the penalty inflicted will be commensurate with the evil one … I am hesitant to have written these things, partly because I have a great respect for longstanding tradition which claims to be a true interpretation of Scripture, and do not lightly set it aside, and partly because the unity of the world-wide Evangelical constituency has always meant much to me. But the issue is too important to suppress, and I am grateful to you for challenging me to declare my present mind. I do not dogmatise about the position to which I have come. I hold it tentatively. But I do plead for frank dialogue among Evangelicals on the basis of Scripture. I also believe that the ultimate annihilation of the wicked should be at least be accepted as a legitimate, biblically founded alternative to their eternal conscious torment." Ibid., 318–20.

9. Interpreting John 5:29, Vos affirms the bodily resurrection of the elect and reprobate at the final Parousia in light of "the completeness of the theodicy" which will be visibly manifested in the completion of the eschatological Kingdom of God: "In John 5:29, Jesus draws a formal distinction between 'the resurrection of life' and 'the resurrection of judgment.' At this point we once more verify that our Lord's doctrine of the resurrection rests on a broader basis than that of individual soteriology. The raising of the dead forms part of a process of cosmic proportions which draws within its range the entire physical universe and therefore extends to the wicked as well as the righteous. Even in the case of the wicked the resurrection of the body and the recompense in the body are necessary to the completeness of the theodicy which forms the essence of the final coming of the kingdom." Geerhardus Vos, *Redemptive History and Biblical Interpretation: The Shorter Writings of Geerhadus Vos*, ed. Richard B. Gaffin, Jr. (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 1980), 322.

10. Vos properly categorizes two different groups of people after the Fall. The elect are receiving spiritual benefits "under the covenant of grace" while the reprobate are condemned "under the covenant of works." In light of that, it is proper to view that God occasionally executed his redemptive judgment against non-covenant community through the covenant lawsuit based upon the Edenic covenant of works as the type of the Final judgment: "Insofar as the covenant of works went beyond the natural relationship between God and man, it has passed away for those who are under the covenant of grace. Still here, too, one should distinguish carefully…. The nonelect natural man is also still under the covenant of works, if one takes the covenant of works only in its broadest sense. He is not under it in the sense that his life here on earth would still be a probation, for he is put to the test and succumbed in Adam. He is one fallen, not one who is tested. He is under it insofar as his punishable culpability is at its root connected with Adam's breaking of the covenant, whether he would acknowledge it or not. By the breaking of the covenant of works, he did not revert to his natural relationship." Vos, *Reformed Dogmatics: Volume Two: Anthropology*, 44–46.

11. Growing numbers of scholars and theologians deny the historical and logical orders of the covenant of works and the covenant of

the tree of the knowledge of good and evil in the holy Garden of Eden with his wife Eve due to Satan's temptation, he broke the covenant of works. The breaking of the covenant of works by the first Adam was not an isolated event which resulted in minor consequences. The impact and implication of the broken covenant of works in the Garden of Eden are more significant and serious than we can ever imagine. Adam and Eve were expelled from the Garden even though they were saved by God's grace through faith in the Coming Messiah. Nevertheless, they lost the right to live in the holy Garden of Eden because it was the earthly projection of the glorious heaven, and sinners lost their special privilege to live there.

God remembered the broken covenant of works when he executed his redemptive judgment, separating the Noahic covenant community and non-covenant community. God poured out his righteous wrath against sinners outside of the Ark through the covenant lawsuit, based upon the broken covenant of works in the Garden. Simultaneously, God destroyed the holy Garden of Eden through his Flood judgment, even though it was the earthly picture of the invisible heaven. The Noahic covenant community was saved in the Ark because they were the recipients of the benefits of the covenant of grace, which was inaugurated in Genesis 3:14–15 when the gracious God introduced the primitive Gospel to Adam and Eve in the name of woman's offspring, the coming Messiah.

Growing numbers of scholars within the so-called evangelical community began to reject the original sin and its imputation.[12] Representatively, Longman, sharing his opinion with Walton, rejects the idea of the original sin, claiming that it does not have any biblical support. Rather, it was the invention of Augustine in the early church without any biblical warrant:

> In short, the idea that we inherit a sin nature, guilt, and death from Adam (and Eve) does not derive from the Old Testament or Paul, but from the thinking of Augustine. Now Augustine was one of the greatest theological thinkers of all time, but he was not infallible. Augustine got off to a bad start by mistranslating the Greek of Romans 5:12 which properly rendered says "just as sin entered the world through one man, and death through sin, and in this way death came to all people, *because* (*eph hō*) all sinned." Augustine translated "because" as "in whom" (*in quo*), thus changing Paul's point that we all are guilty because of our own sin to the idea that we are all guilty because of Adam's sin.[13]

grace as well as law and gospel or grace which are the essential hermeneutical and theological tools for the good news of the Gospel and God's sovereign grace, granting salvation and eschatological Kingdom to hopeless sinners after the Fall. For example, Niehaus denies the validity of the distinction between the covenant of works and grace, mixing works and grace together, which is at best a monocovenantalism: "But what can explain God's gracious act? His grace does not avert justice, because the man and the woman would still die. God must remain true to all of his covenantal commitments because doing so actually means that he remains true to his own nature, out of which covenantal relationships and commitments arise. But he also does the one thing that his covenant does not require: He reinstates his fallen vassals so that the covenant might continue. And so it did, with humans ruling and multiplying, although in a sinful and fallen world. On such grounds (as well as those noted earlier), it becomes clear that the Adamic or Creation covenant cannot simply be called a covenant of works. The continuation of the covenant clearly does not depend on the obedience, or the successful work, of the vassals, for the covenant has continued in spite of their disobedience–because God himself has graciously continued it. The Noahic covenant, which (as we discuss later) is a renewal of the Adamic covenant, only fortifies this position, since it guarantees further the continuance of the key provisions of the Adamic or Creation covenant. We therefore submit again that, on such grounds, the concept of a *covenant of works* is not adequate to explain all the aspects of the Adamic covenant. It cannot account even for the most fundamentally important fact about the covenant—namely, that it continues after the Fall and continues to this day. Therefore, this foundational covenant is no covenant of works but, rather, a covenant of grace *and* works. We will see that the same is true, *mutatis mutandis*, of all the divine—human covenants." Niehaus, *Biblical Theology* (Wooster, Weaver Book Co., 2014), 1.79–80.

12. For a biblical and theological affirmation and discussion of the original sin and its immediate imputation, see John Murray, *The Imputation of Adam's Sin* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 1959).

13. Longman III, *The Story of God Bible Commentary: Genesis*, 72. Similarly, Walton rejects the biblical doctrine of the original sin, arguing that Augustine falsely formulated it without biblical support and warrant: "Augustine pushes beyond what Paul says, and Paul has moved beyond what Genesis says. In Old Testament theology there is no apparent necessity for asserting the fall, though they understand the reality of sin. Even in Paul, it is not original sin that pervades his writing but the need for the savior.… If Augustine's model has been undermined on both counts (starting point and mechanism), one might think that it would have collapsed under its own unwieldiness. The theory, however, has become so deeply entrenched in the history of theological thought and development that it has taken on a life of its own almost independent from its essential roots. Perhaps the time has come for the church to reconsider how original sin is formulated and understood.… Another critique of Augustine's model comes from the recognition that he was working from a Latin translation of Romans 5:12. This is what led him to believe that Paul was saying that all sinned 'in Adam' whereas the Greek text has been purported to actually say 'in this way death came to all people, because all sinned' (NIV), indicating that we all sin *because* Adam sinned. This is a good illustration of what a big difference a little word can make, and in this case the result is a huge and longstanding debate among theologians as well as exegetes." John H. Walton, *The Lost World of Adam and Eve: Genesis 2–3 and the Human Origins Debate* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2015), 155–57.

However, God revealed the reality of the original sin and its immediate imputation throughout the history of the Old Testament. We claim that God demonstrated the visible reality of the original sin and its imputation from the historical episode of the Flood judgment. God's judgment against the non-covenant community outside of the Ark even included innocent babies and embryos. It was one of the characteristics of God's redemptive judgment through the Noahic Flood. In doing so, God vividly revealed and verified the original sin committed by the first Adam and imputed to his descendants, including innocent babies as he broke the covenant of works:

> 17The flood continued forty days on the earth. The waters increased and bore up the ark, and it rose high above the earth. 18The waters prevailed and increased greatly on the earth, and the ark floated on the face of the waters. 19And the waters prevailed so mightily on the earth that all the high mountains under the whole heaven were covered. 20The waters prevailed above the mountains, covering them fifteen cubits deep. 21And all flesh died that moved on the earth, birds, livestock, beasts, all swarming creatures that swarm on the earth, and all mankind. 22Everything on the dry land in whose nostrils was the breath of life died. 23He blotted out every living thing that was on the face of the ground, man and animals and creeping things and birds of the heavens. They were blotted out from the earth. Only Noah was left, and those who were with him in the ark. 24And the waters prevailed on the earth 150 days. (Gen. 7:17–24)

We need to highlight verses 21–23 again because those verses emphasize that no one survived outside of the Ark:

> 21And all flesh died that moved on the earth, birds, livestock, beasts, all swarming creatures that swarm on the earth, and all mankind. 22Everything on the dry land in whose nostrils was the breath of life died. 23He blotted out every living thing that was on the face of the ground, man and animals and creeping things and birds of the heavens. They were blotted out from the earth. Only Noah was left, and those who were with him in the ark. (Gen. 7:21–23)

Likewise, verses 21–23 provide a vivid picture of the nature of God's redemptive judgment upon the non-covenant community during the Flood judgment. With the exception of the Noahic covenant community, no humans, including babies and embryos, survived. They all died through God's merciless judgement. It gives us a comprehensive outlook that God will execute his final judgment through the covenant lawsuit based upon the covenant of works which was made with the first Adam in the holy Garden of Eden.[14] All humans in the first Adam considered as reprobates will face the final judgment of God's Fire and be thrown into the eternal Kingdom of Satan.[15] On the other hand, all humans in the last Adam as the elect will be separated from the

14. As he rejects the original sin and its imputation to his descendents, Walton denies that the first Adam was the first human on the earth, falsely arguing that Adam and Eve were "the first *significant* humans." However, to be sure, the Bible clearly reveals and teaches that Adam and Eve were the first humans on the original earth: "In conclusion, rather than understanding Scripture as necessitating the view that Adam and Eve are the first humans, in light of their specific role concerned with access to God in sacred space and relationship with him, we might alternatively consider the possibility that they are the first *significant* humans. As with Abram, who was given a significant role as the ancestor of Israel (though not the first ancestor of Israel), Adam and Eve would be viewed as established as significant by their election. This would be true whether or not other people were around. Their election is to a priestly role, the first to be placed as sacred space. The forming accounts give them insight into the nature of humanity, but they also become the first significant humans because of their role in bringing sin into the world … Adam was the 'first' man, given the opportunity to bring life, but he failed to achieve that goal. Christ, as the 'last' man, succeeded as he provided life and access to the presence of God for all as our great high priest (see 1 Cor 15:45)." Walton, *The Lost World of Adam and Eve*, 114–15.

15. Supporting theistic evolution in light of the harmony of the Bible and science, Walton falsely argues that there was "death before the fall" and human beings were "created mortal." Perhaps that is a logical conclusion because he denies the original sin, its imputation to his descendents, and God's judgment with physical death against the first Adam and his descendents. In doing so, he removes the possibility of the existence of eternal blessings of heaven and eternal curses of hell: "We have now laid the groundwork for considering the possibility that there was death before the death. In chapter eight we examined information to support the idea that humankind was created mortal. There we concluded that Paul's statement about why we humans are all subject to death was that in sinning we had lost access to the antidote found in the tree of life.… If we consider the model in which there were humans either preceding Adam and Eve or contemporary with Adam and Eve, we need to contemplate their vulnerability to suffering and death. If death and suffering can be feasibly inherent in a non-ordered world and be retained in a partially ordered world, then any pre-fall human population would have been in a state of innocence (not sinlessness) since they were not yet being held accountable, even though they *were* in the image of God. In this scenario we would expect to find predation, animal death, human death and violent behavior. Endowment with the image of God and the initiation of sacred place would provide the foundation for accountability through law and revelation. When Adam and Eve sinned, as representative priests for humanity, their sin brought disorder and accountability and made the antidote to death inaccessible. That disorder infects each one of us when we come into existence as human beings. Non-order is not being resolved according to the original plan (God teamed up with human vice-regents), and disorder brought the need for resolution through the work of Christ." Ibid., 159.

final judgment of Fire, and inherit the eternal Kingdom of God. This is a glorious consummation of heaven, because Jesus Christ fulfilled all the requirements of the broken covenant of works and paid full penalty of sin on behalf of the elect through his sinless life and redemptive death on the cross as the last Adam.

C. The Pictorial Pattern of the Eternal Kingdom of God

After the completion of the Flood judgment upon the wicked world, God began to dry up the flooded earth through his mighty wind. The Flood judgment was not only God's redemptive judgment upon the wicked original world, but also the process of recreation of the present earth. In that sense, the Flood judgment was a means to purify the original earth. The holy and righteous God removed and cursed the non-covenant community who worshipped idols and went against God in their hearts. Simultaneously, God recreated the present earth so that history may continue on the present earth with a habitable and stable environment until the final judgment.

Vos captures the dual aspects of the Flood judgment as the complete destruction of the original world and the new creation of the present earth:

> The cosmical extent of the deluge-event is both negative and positive. First, negatively, the flood destroyed the world (cf. Gen. 6). This is a catastrophic world-judgment. This fact is confirmed by pagan mythology, where it is associated with the chaos-flood out of which the world arose. The creation and the deluge both have cosmic significance. It was not confined to man; but the purpose was that God repented that he had created the world. Second, positively, it is the commencement of a new world-order. The waters receded on the first day of the month and the first month of the year (cf. Gen. 8:13); therefore, a new year.… Now the deluge and the post-diluvian order of things prefigure eschatological crisis and the eschatological state. In other words, the deluge and "new creation" are typical of the absolute end of the world and the final renewal of the world.[16]

Vos summarizes the Flood judgment on the original earth and the new creation of the present earth as a remarkable contrast of God's redemptive drama which was demonstrated by the righteous and creative God. As God dried up the flooded earth through his supernatural wind, the newly created earth began to emerge. This was beautiful, because God created the present earth with his mighty water and wind, restoring a habitable environment for humans and all other earthly creatures. Nevertheless, the present earth is not the *new earth*, which will be perfected and realized when the final redemptive judgment comes with the heavenly fire. Rather, God recreated the present earth as a habitable and blessed environment so that both the covenant community and non-covenant community can live together under the benefits of God's covenant of common grace.

The Noahic covenant community was surprised by the beauty of the present earth when they came out of the Ark, because God as the almighty architect and creator beautifully recreated the present earth through the Flood judgment. In addition, the Ark safely arrived on Mount Ararat, and the Noahic covenant community walked out of the Ark along with the animals:

> 13 In the six hundred and first year, in the first month,
> the first day of the month, the waters were dried from
> off the earth. And Noah removed the covering of the
> ark and looked, and behold, the face of the ground was
> dry. 14 In the second month, on the twenty-seventh day
> of the month, the earth had dried out. 15 Then God said
> to Noah, 16 "Go out from the ark, you and your wife, and
> your sons and your sons' wives with you. 17 Bring out
> with you every living thing that is with you of all flesh-
> birds and animals and every creeping thing that creeps
> on the earth- that they may swarm on the earth, and be
> fruitful and multiply on the earth." 18 So Noah went out,
> and his sons and his wife and his sons' wives with him.
> 19 Every beast, every creeping thing, and every bird, ev-
> erything that moves on the earth, went out by families
> from the ark. (Gen. 8:13–19).

The Noahic Ark was an earthly and visible picture of the invisible heaven. When Noah saw the completed Ark, he gazed and yearned for the invisible heaven through his faith, which was typified by the Ark. So God presented the reality of *heaven* in the earthly and visible Ark. God will consummate the new heaven and new earth and unite the new earth with "the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God" (Rev. 21:2) when the final redemptive judgment happens on the day of the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. The apostle John saw a glorious pictorial vision through a revelation of the consummation of the eternal Kingdom of God on the day of the final judgment:

16. Vos, *The Eschatology of the Old Testament*, 81.

> Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away, and the sea was no more. 2And I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. 3And I heard a loud voice from the throne saying, "Behold, the dwelling place of God is with man. He will dwell with them, and they will be his people, and God himself will be with them as their God. 4He will wipe away every tear from their eyes, and death shall be no more, neither shall there be mourning nor crying nor pain anymore, for the former things have passed away." (Rev. 21:1–4).

The apostle John saw the pictorial vision that God will unite the invisible heaven with the new earth. Hoekema rightly observes that John's vision is the vision of the glorious union between "holy city, new Jerusalem" and the new earth:

> Verse 2 shows us the "holy city, new Jerusalem," standing for the entire glorified church of God, coming down out of heaven on earth. This church, now totally without spot or blemish, completely purified from sin, is now "prepared as a bride adorned for her husband," ready for the marriage of the Lamb (see Rev. 19:7). From this verse we learn that the glorified church will not remain in a heaven far off in space, but will spend eternity on the new earth. From verse 3 we learn that the dwelling place of God will no longer be away from the earth but on the earth. Since where God dwells, there heaven is, we conclude that in the life to come heaven and earth will no longer be separated, as they are now, but will be merged. Believers will therefore continue to be in heaven as they continue to live on the new earth. "He will dwell with them, and they shall be his people" are the familiar words of the central promise of the covenant of grace (cf. Gen. 17:7; Exod. 19:5–6; Jer. 31:33; Ezek. 34:30; II Cor. 6:16; Heb. 8:10; I Pet. 2:9–10). The fact that this promise is repeated in John's vision of the new earth implies that only on that new earth will God finally grant his people the full riches which the covenant of grace includes. Here we receive the firstfruits; there we shall receive the full harvest.[17]

The Ark, as the visible type of invisible heaven, was united with the new earth because God removed the evil from the original earth through the Flood judgment. What Noah as a prophet saw through his own eyes from the opened door of the Ark after the Flood judgment was the typological picture of "a new heaven and a new earth" and "the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband," united with "a new earth" that the apostle John saw through a revelation (vv. 1–2).

17. Anthony A. Hoekema, *The Bible and the Future* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1979), 284–85.

D. The Recovery of the Covenant of Common Grace and World History

The Noahic Flood was God's redemptive judgment against sinners and the sinful world at the time of Noah on the original earth. God displayed his infinite and righteous wrath. In doing so, he honored and glorified himself. Simultaneously, God displayed his infinite holiness and righteousness. In this act, God provided the typological pattern and picture of the final judgment and biblical eschatology. Nevertheless, the Noahic Flood judgment was not the final judgment, so that world history can continue until the Second Coming of Jesus Christ under God's grace on the present earth.

Providing the continuity and stability of world history after the Flood judgment on the present earth, God secured it through a means of the covenant of common grace, as we observe in Genesis 8:20–9:17. Displaying a rainbow in the sky after the Flood judgment was a sign of the covenant of common grace, which promises that world history will be secured on the present earth until the final judgment.

God commanded the original cultural mandate to Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden after he created the original heavens and the earth:

> 26Then God said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness. And let them have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the heavens and over the livestock and over all the earth and over every creeping thing that creeps on the earth." 27So God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them. 28And God blessed them. And God said to them, "Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth and subdue it and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the heavens and over every living thing that moves on the earth." 29And God said, "Behold, I have given you every plant yielding seed that is on the face of all the earth, and every tree with seed in its fruit. You shall have them for food. 30And to every beast of the earth and to every bird of the heavens and to everything that creeps on the earth, everything that has the breath of life, I have given every green plant for food." And it was so. 31And God saw everything that he had made, and behold, it was very

> good. And there was evening and there was morning, the sixth day. (Gen. 1:26–31)

When God created Adam and Eve, he created them in his own image, and he engraved the moral law in their hearts, clothing them with his holiness, righteousness, and wisdom. Thus they were able to govern the holy Garden of Eden for the glory of God as a vicegerent. God did not consider sin when he gave his original cultural mandate to Adam and Eve in the holy Garden of Eden, because this mandate was given in the historical context before the Fall. Adam and Eve as the Edenic covenant community had a duty to carry out the original cultural mandate, being fruitful and increasing in number, filling the earth and subduing it as the vicegerent for the glory of God. However, they failed to carry out their original cultural mandate when they broke the covenant of works, eating the forbidden fruit from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil through the temptation of Satan (Gen. 3:1–7). Afterwards, the gracious God introduced the good news of the Gospel in the name of the woman's offspring, the coming Messiah (Gen 3:14–15). Remarkably, God introduced the covenant of common grace before he expelled Adam and Eve from the holy Garden of Eden (Gen. 3:16–19). In doing so, God provided a stable environment outside of the Garden of Eden, so that world history after the Fall continued until the original sinful world faced the Flood judgment at the time of Noah. At that time, it was necessary for God to command a new cultural mandate in the world where the covenant community and non-covenant community can dwell together on the present earth:

> And God blessed Noah and his sons and said to them, "Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth. 2The fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth and upon every bird of the heavens, upon everything that creeps on the ground and all the fish of the sea. Into your hand they are delivered. 3Every moving thing that lives shall be food for you. And as I gave you the green plants, I give you everything. 4But you shall not eat flesh with its life, that is, its blood. 5And for your lifeblood I will require a reckoning: from every beast I will require it and from man. From his fellow man I will require a reckoning for the life of man. 6"Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed, for God made man in his own image. 7And you, be fruitful and multiply, teem on the earth and multiply in it." (Gen. 9:1–7)

Likewise, the new cultural mandate after the Flood judgment was not identical to, but similar to the original cultural mandate given to Adam and Eve, because the new cultural mandate was given to the Noahic covenant community in the historical context of the resumption of the covenant of common grace. Moreover, the new cultural mandate was suitable in the fallen and sinful world where the covenant community and non-covenant community may live together until the day of the Second Coming of Christ.

The Noahic covenant community in the Ark was the covenant community in the theocratic Kingdom, which typified the heavenly Kingdom of God. However, the theocratic Kingdom in the Ark ceased as soon as the covenant community walked out of the Ark, after the Flood judgment ended and the present earth was created. As the theocratic Kingdom in the Ark faded away, God gave a new cultural mandate to the Noahic covenant community in the historical context of the resumption of the covenant of common grace. In that sense, as God recovered the covenant of common grace in Genesis 8:20–9:17, the Noahic covenant community began to live their lives as *the diaspora and pilgrims* on the present earth. Moses noted that "the sons of Noah" going out from the Ark began to disperse: "18 The sons of Noah who went forth from the ark were Shem, Ham, and Japheth. (Ham was the father of Canaan.) 19 These three were the sons of Noah, and from these the people of the whole earth were dispersed" (Gen 9:18–19). We need to focus on verse 19: "These three were the sons of Noah, and from these the people of the whole earth were dispersed." Here, Moses emphasized that the people from "the sons of Noah" began to scatter after the Flood judgment. This is significant, because the Noahic covenant community after the Flood judgment lived their lives as *the diaspora and pilgrims*. It is noteworthy that they lived their lives as the diaspora after the resumption of the covenant of common grace in Genesis 8:20–9:17.

Nevertheless, Noah's descendants as the Babel community rejected living their lives as the diaspora, and began to build the Babel Tower. The Babel Tower was a symbol of wicked sinners' arrogance against God, idolizing their knowledge, intelligence, power, skill, strength, and wisdom. As we have indicated, God gave the new cultural mandate to the Noahic covenant community after the Flood judgment (Gen. 9:1–7). An aspect of the new cultural mandate is to "be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth" (v.1). In order for this to happen, they had to disperse and spread continuously, building new communities in new areas on the present earth.

However, the Babel community decided to stop dispersing and filling the earth, rather gathered together against God, becoming the servants of the Kingdom of Satan. Genesis 11:4 summarizes the comprehensive picture of the Babel community, building "a city and a tower," heading "its tops in the heavens," and rejecting to disperse over "the face of the whole earth," going against God's new cultural mandate:

> Now the whole earth had one language and the same words. 2And as people migrated from the east, they found a plain in the land of Shinar and settled there. 3And they said to one another, "Come, let us make bricks, and burn them thoroughly." And they had brick for stone, and bitumen for mortar. 4Then they said, "Come, let us build ourselves a city and a tower with its top in the heavens, and let us make a name for ourselves, lest we be dispersed over the face of the whole earth." 5And the LORD came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of man had built. 6And the LORD said, "Behold, they are one people, and they have all one language, and this is only the beginning of what they will do. And nothing that they propose to do will now be impossible for them. 7Come, let us go down and there confuse their language, so that they may not understand one another's speech." 8So the LORD dispersed them from there over the face of all the earth, and they left off building the city. 9Therefore its name was called Babel, because there the LORD confused the language of all the earth. And from there the LORD dispersed them over the face of all the earth. (Gen. 11:1–9).

Once again, dispersing and scattering over the present earth was God's will under the principle of the new cultural mandate. However, the Babel community became the servants of the Kingdom of Satan, who were in their hearts against the Kingdom of God. As recounted in verse 4, "Then they said, 'Come, let us build ourselves a city and a tower with its top in the heavens, and let us make a name for ourselves, lest we be dispersed over the face of the whole earth.'" This demonstrates the culmination of the wicked thoughts and actions of the Babel community against God. Moreover the statement, "lest we be dispersed over the face of the whole earth" (v.4), is the reflection of the *anti-diaspora* spirit of the Babel community as well. Afterwards, the triune God came down to the Babel community and cursed them, confusing their one language so that they were not able to communicate amongst each other. We need to pay special attention to verse 9: "Therefore its name was called Babel, because there the LORD confused the language of all the earth. And from there the LORD dispersed them over the face of all the earth." It signifies that the Lord cursed the Babel community, confusing their one language and forcefully dispersed them, filling "the face of all the earth" to live their lives as *diaspora or pilgrims*, an important aspect of the new cultural mandate.

When God resumed the covenant of common grace in Genesis 8:20–9:17, he revealed several regulations for the covenant community to follow and obey. They are the regulations of the food law, the prohibition of eating animal blood, and the institution of capital punishment.[18] The regulation of the food law is related to the formation and maintenance of the theocratic kingdom after the Fall outside of the Garden of Eden. The Garden of Eden was the original theocratic kingdom before the Fall on the earth. After the Fall, God formed a theocratic kingdom in the Ark. After the inauguration of the Sinaitic covenant, God instituted a theocratic kingdom in the Promised Land. The earthly theocratic kingdoms before and after the Fall were the types of the theocratic kingdom in heaven. The distinction between clean and unclean animals is closely related to the formation of theocratic kingdoms after the Fall. In redemptive history, God revealed the distinction between clean and unclean animals in the process of the formation of the theocratic kingdom in the Ark:

> Then the LORD said to Noah, "Go into the ark, you and all your household, for I have seen that you are righteous before me in this generation. 2 Take with you seven pairs of all clean animals, the male and his mate, and a pair of the animals that are not clean, the male and his mate, 3 and seven pairs of the birds of the heavens also, male and female, to keep their offspring alive on the face of all the earth (Gen. 7:1–3).

As God made the distinction between clean and unclean animals before the Noahic covenant community entered the Ark, he demonstrated that the theocratic kingdom in the Ark would be inaugurated with the visible execution of the Flood judgment. As the theocratic kingdom in the Ark ceased after the Flood judgment, God removed the distinction between clean and unclean animals. In that sense, it is significant to recognize that the distinction between clean and unclean animals is closely tied to the formation and continuation of the theocratic

18. For a biblical theological discussion of the distinction between clean and unclean animals, the prohibition of eating animal blood, and the institution of capital punishment in light of the resumption of the covenant of common grace in Genesis 8:20–9:17, see Jeon, *Biblical Theology*, 46–57; Kline, *Kingdom Prologue*, 250–60.

kingdom on the earth after the Fall. Furthermore, it is important to recognize that God allowed the covenant community to consume all the animals without any distinction between clean and unclean animals in the historical context of the resumption of the covenant of common grace after the Flood judgment.

After the Sinaitic covenant was inaugurated, God formed a theocratic kingdom of Israel in the Promised Land. Once again, God made a distinction between clean and unclean animals, as well as clean and unclean people. This distinction was removed in the historical context of the resumption of the covenant of common grace in Genesis 8:20–9:17. So, the covenant community of Israel had to follow the regulations of food law, given by God through the Mosaic law (Lev. 11:1–47; Deut. 14:1–21). Under the Mosaic covenant, God commanded them not to eat the unclean living creatures. The punishment for violating the regulations of the food law was capital punishment, stoning to death in the covenant community of Israel.

However, as the New Covenant Age was inaugurated through the life, death, resurrection, ascension, and session at the right hand of God of Jesus Christ, the mediator of the New Covenant, the distinction between clean and unclean animals, along with clean and unclean people, is permanently removed by God in Jesus Christ for the New Covenant community. The Pentecost event was the audible and visible sign of the beginning of the New Covenant Age, as well as the inauguration of the theocratic kingdom in heaven. In this manner, the eschatological Kingdom of God was inaugurated with the beginning of Jesus Christ's reign at the right hand of God in heaven. So God permanently removed the distinction between clean and unclean animals on behalf of the New Covenant community so that the members of the New Covenant community are able to consume all the living creatures for the glory of God in Jesus Christ (Acts 10: 9–23; 1 Cor. 8:1–13; 10:23–33).

Although God removed the distinction between clean and unclean animals under the new cultural mandate, he prohibited consuming animal blood: "But you shall not eat flesh with its life, that is, its blood" (Gen. 9:4). It is God's sovereign wisdom when he commanded not to eat animal blood for the covenant community. It is God's pedagogical lesson that animal blood, shed and offered in altar worship after the inauguration of the covenant of grace in Genesis 3:14–15, is the type of the final sacrifice and redemptive blood, shed and offered on the Golgotha by Jesus Christ. After the inauguration of the New Covenant, animal sacrifice was continued in the temple of Jerusalem. That is the reason why the Jerusalem Council, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, prohibited the consumption of animal blood even after the inauguration of the New Covenant Age (Acts 15:19–29). God executed his judgment through the covenant lawsuit against the covenant community of Israel who disobeyed the Mosaic covenant of law. He used the pagan soldiers of the Roman Empire to remove the covenant community of Israel from the Promised Land, which was a holy land, pouring his infinite wrath against them in A.D. 70. In doing so, God permanently removed earthly altar worship and terminated the Old Covenant order as well. In that sense, the New Covenant community as *the diaspora or pilgrims* is no longer obligated to abstain from animal blood after A.D. 70.

As God recovered the covenant of common grace in Genesis 8:20–9:17, he manifested his wisdom to keep communities, societies, and various nations out of anarchy with the institution of capital punishment.[19] In light of the mission of God, it is necessary to have stable communities and nations, so that believers as *the covenant diaspora or pilgrims* may proclaim the good news of the Gospel as they are constantly dispersed and

19. God revealed the covenant of common grace in Genesis 3:16–19 after he proclaimed the *protevangelium* in Genesis 3:15 in light of the covenant of grace. After God expelled Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden, God revealed the institution of the contemporary state as the visible realm under the covenant of common grace to Cain. Kline views Genesis 4:15 as the origin of the state in light of the covenant of common grace, inaugurated in Genesis 3:16–19: "There is then no reference in Gen 4:15 to an unspecified wonder-sign that God performed for Cain's assurance, with the reader left to speculate about what it might have been. And certainly the language does not suggest a 'mark of Cain' imprinted on his body. Such interpretations assume that Cain was being given a special individual guarantee, but that, as we have seen, is not the point of the passage. It is rather concerned with a general world-order that would condition the life of all men. The meaning of the passage will therefore be brought out if we translate, not 'And Yahweh gave a sign to Cain,' but 'Thus Yahweh signified to Cain that…'

"The author's concern with the subject of God's judicial relation to men is attested once again in Gen 4 when he turns from the Cainite succession to the line of Seth (vv. 25, 26). For he encapsulates the nature of this community in their act of confessing (naming) Yahweh as covenant Lord, to whom their judicial appeal was directed. There is, of course, a radical difference between the exercise of God's *imperium* that is in view in Gen 4:15, and his vindication of the blood of Abel and the martyr-seed of the woman restored in the line of Seth and continuing to the last judgment (cf. Rev 6:10, 11). To Cain, God signified that for mankind in general he would provide in his common grace an institutional agent to bear the sword of his wrath in the temporal course of world history (cf. Rom 13:4). For the people of his covenant, God's judicial vindication is an act of his saving grace, a coming in personal immediacy as their eschatological, redemptive Avenger." Meredith G. Kline, "Oracular Origin of State," in *Essential Writings of Meredith G. Kline* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2017), 60–61.

scattered unto the ends of the earth. In God's proclamation of the new cultural mandate, he prohibited the killing of an innocent human:

> 5 And for your lifeblood I will require a reckoning: from every beast I will require it and from man. From his fellow man I will require a reckoning for the life of man.
> 6 "Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed, for God made man in his own image." (Gen. 9:5–6)

God honors the unique sanctity of a human's life and institutes capital punishment as he says, "Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed, for God made man in his own image" (v.6).[20] The institution of capital punishment demonstrates that God created man as the *imago Dei*, which indicates that God clothed him with his righteousness, holiness, and wisdom, engraving the ten commandments as moral law in his heart. The violation of the sixth commandment of "You shall not murder" (Ex. 20:13) is a serious crime, not only against the sanctity of human life but also against God's commandment. God's institution of capital punishment in the historical context of the command of the new cultural mandate suggests that God made a proper distinction between church and state. So, the prosecution and execution of criminals who commit the crime of killing of innocent people do not belong to the ministry of church, but are the legal responsibility of the state.

Reading and interpreting Jesus Christ's famous Sermon on the Mount, many people have assumed that he was a pacifist during his earthly ministry (Matt. 5:1–7:29). Picturing Jesus Christ as the founder of pacifism, based upon the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount, is a fundamental misreading and misapplication of his teachings.[21] In short, Jesus Christ's message through this discourse is not a call to pacifism but to eschatological mission, given to the New Covenant community so that believers under the New Covenant Age may exercise the heart attitude and spirit of "Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you" (v. 44). Likewise, the message of the heart attitude for eschatological mission sums up well here:

> 43 "You have heard that it was said, 'You shall love your neighbor and hate your enemy.' 44 But I say to you, Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, 45 so that you may be sons of your Father who is in heaven. For he makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust. 46 For if you love those who love you, what reward do you have? Do not even the tax collectors do the same? 47 And if you greet only your brothers, what more are you doing than others? Do not even the Gentiles do the same? 48 You therefore must be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect." (Matt. 5:43–48).

The message of "Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you" is the message of eschatological mission, which should be followed and practiced by believers under the New Covenant Age. God bestows the benefits of the covenant of common grace, recovered in Genesis 8:20–9:17 without any discrimination between the elect and reprobate, so that he sovereignly takes care of the elect and reprobate with temporary and earthly blessings as long as world history continues on the present earth. Jesus Christ as the mediator of the New Covenant in fact revealed that God temporarily blesses and loves even the reprobate, bestowing the blessings of the covenant of common grace, when

20. Interpreting Genesis 9:6, Calvin affirms capital punishment that God bestowed the authority to the magistrates of state "for the avenging of slaughter" so that the murderer may be punished with death penalty: "Therefore, however magistrates may connive at the crime, God sends executioners from other quarters, who shall render unto sanguinary men their reward. God so threatens and denounces vengeance against the murderer, that he even arms the magistrate with the sword for the avenging of slaughter, in order that the blood of men may not be shed with impunity." Calvin, *Genesis*, 9:6.

21. Richard Hays is a representative scholar who colors Jesus Christ's teaching on the Sermon on the Mount as the founder of pacifism or nonviolence. The fundamental problem lies in the fact that he doesn't read it in light of the proper distinction between church and state: "Our exegetical investigation of Matthew 5:38–48 has led to the conclusion that the passage teaches a norm of nonviolent love of enemies. Within the context of Matthew's Gospel, the directive to 'turn the other cheek' functions as more than a bare rule; instead, as a 'focal instance' of discipleship, it functions metonymically, illuminating the life of a covenant community that is called to live in radical faithfulness to the vision of the kingdom of God disclosed in Jesus' teaching and example. Taken alone, this text would certainly preclude any justification for Jesus' disciples to resort to violence. The question that we must now consider is how Matthew's vision of the peaceful community fits into the larger witness of the canonical New Testament. Do the other texts in the canon reinforce the Sermon on the Mount's teaching on nonviolence, or do they provide other options that might allow or require Christians to take up the sword?... Clearly it is *possible* for a Christian to be a soldier, possible for a Christian to fight. But if we ask the larger question about the vocation of the community, the New Testament witness comes clearly into focus: the community is called to the work of reconciliation and—as a part of that vocation—suffering even in the face of great injustice. When the identity of the community is understood in these terms, the place of the soldier within the church can only be seen as anomalous." Richard B. Hays, *The Moral Vision of the New Testament: Community, Cross, New Creation: A Contemporary Introduction to New Testament Ethics* (New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1996), 329, 337.

he proclaimed, "For he makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust" (v.45). Likewise, Jesus Christ made a proper distinction between the covenant of common grace and the covenant of grace, as well as a proper distinction between church and state as the theocratic kingdom of Israel in the Promised Land began to fade away with the inauguration of the New Covenant Age.

The New Covenant Age was inaugurated with Jesus Christ's life, death, bodily resurrection, ascension, session at the right hand of God in heaven, and the Pentecost event. The exalted and glorified Jesus Christ already began to rule the visible and invisible realms as "King of kings and Lord of lords" (Rev. 17:14; 19:16). The exalted Jesus Christ rules the church as the head of the church through the indwelling works of the Holy Spirit and the Word of God. However, he rules the state *indirectly*, by appointing government authorities. In that sense, a proper distinction between church and state should be maintained until the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. In light of this, even under the New Covenant, the continuity of capital punishment is valid. For example, the apostle Paul affirmed that God endowed to the government authorities to execute penalties, including capital punishment against criminals:

> Let every person be subject to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been instituted by God. 2 Therefore whoever resists the authorities resists what God has appointed, and those who resist will incur judgment. 3 For rulers are not a terror to good conduct, but to bad. Would you have no fear of the one who is in authority? Then do what is good, and you will receive his approval, 4 for he is God's servant for your good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, for he does not bear the sword in vain. For he is the servant of God, an avenger who carries out God's wrath on the wrongdoer. 5 Therefore one must be in subjection, not only to avoid God's wrath but also for the sake of conscience. 6 For the same reason you also pay taxes, for the authorities are ministers of God, attending to this very thing. 7 Pay to all what is owed to them: taxes to whom taxes are owed, revenue to whom revenue is owed, respect to whom respect is owed, honor to whom honor is owed. (Rom. 13:1–7)

When Paul wrote the epistle to the Romans, the New Covenant Age had already been inaugurated for approximately two decades. The good news of the Gospel began to spread powerfully "in all Judea and Samaria, and to the end of the earth" under the guidance of the Holy Spirit through the missionary endeavors of the original apostles, Paul, and other believers, just as Jesus Christ prophesied to the original apostles right before his ascension to heaven (Acts 1:8). Even as Jesus Christ maintained a proper distinction between church and state during his earthly ministry, so the apostle Paul maintained a proper distinction between church and state under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, affirming that the execution of penalties, including capital punishment, belongs to the governing authority of the state, which was ordained by God. Paul insists that the state is "the servant of God" who rules and executes penalties against criminals on behalf of God. In particular, Paul warrants capital punishment and its careful and proper execution by government authorities in verse 4: "for he is God's servant for your good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, for he does not bear the sword in vain. For he is the servant of God, an avenger who carries out God's wrath on the wrongdoer."[22] Paul's remark that "if you do wrong, be afraid, for he does not bear the sword in vain" highlights that God ordained the execution of capital punishment against killers of innocent humans, and the proper execution of capital punishment does not belong to the ministry of church but the governing authority of state until the Second Coming of Jesus Christ.

Summary

Through the Noahic Flood judgment, God demonstrated a type of the final judgment, separating the Noahic covenant community in the Ark and the non-covenant community outside of the Ark. Jesus Christ as the consummate redemptive-historical theologian compared the Noahic Flood judgment with the final judgment which will occur on the day of his Second Coming (Matt. 24:36–44). It is noteworthy that "on the very same day" (Gen. 7:13) signifies that the Flood judgment was *a concomitant event* between the blessings of

22. Reflecting on Romans 13:4, Calvin properly argues that God bestowed the authority for the magistrate of state to execute capital punishment against "the guilty with death." In doing so, Calvin adds that the magistrate executes "God's vengeance," obeying his commands: "This is the same as if it had been said, that he is an executioner of God's wrath; and this he shows himself to be by having the sword, which the Lord has delivered into his hand. This is a remarkable passage for the purpose of proving the right of the sword; for if the Lord, by arming the magistrate, has also committed to him the use of the sword, whenever he visits the guilty with death, by executing God's vengeance, he obeys his commands. Contend then do they with God who think it unlawful to shed the blood of wicked men." Calvin, *Epistle to the Romans*, 13:4.

life in the Ark and curses of death outside of the Ark. Nevertheless, there was *a logical and chronological order* to God's saving of the Noahic covenant community in the Ark *before* he poured out his infinite wrath of death against the non-covenant community.

The Flood judgment was not a local but a global judgment, which covered the entire original earth. The universal Flood judgment was God's pictorial and typological demonstration that the final judgment will also be global and universal on the day of the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. God did not separate the elect and reprobate, but rather the covenant community and non-covenant community through the Flood judgment. For example, Ham was saved during the Flood judgment, entering into the Ark as a member of the Noahic covenant community. Nevertheless, the Bible describes Ham as not a member of the elect who received the benefits of salvation and redemptive blessings (Gen. 9:22–25).

God waged holy war against the original wicked world and the non-covenant community who followed the spirit of the Kingdom of Satan. In doing so, God temporarily withheld the benefits of the covenant of common grace, inaugurated in Genesis 3:16–19. The physical death of the non-covenant community was only the beginning of God's infinite wrath, based upon his infinite holiness and righteousness. He sent the souls of all the dead to hell, which is an invisible realm. Certainly, the souls in hell will experience the bodily resurrection of the wicked as "the resurrection of judgment" on the day of the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. They will then be thrown into the Kingdom of Satan, which will be the consummation of hell (John 5:25–29).

God's covenantal background to execute his Flood judgment against the non-covenant community was the Adamic covenant of works, made in Genesis 2:15–17. God remembered the covenant of works which was broken by the first Adam when he poured out his wrath during the Flood judgment. He poured out his wrath against the sinners outside of the Ark, including innocent babies, through the covenant lawsuit, based upon the broken covenant of works by the first Adam (Gen. 7:17–24). In doing so, he revealed the reality of the original sin and its immediate imputation to all the descendants of the first Adam.

The Flood judgment was not only God's redemptive judgment upon the original sinful world, but also the recreation process of the present earth. The present earth emerged as God dried up the flooded earth through his creative and mighty wind (Gen. 8:13–19). God demonstrated the pictorial and typological pattern of the eternal Kingdom of God as the Ark arrived on the Mount Ararat after the Flood judgment. In fact, Noah saw the typological picture of "a new heaven and a new earth" and "the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband," united with "a new earth" when the apostle John saw the prophetic vision through a revelation (Rev. 22:1–2).

The Noahic Flood judgment was not the final judgment, so world history can continue until the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. God provided the continuity and stability of world history on the present earth through the recovery of the covenant of common grace in Genesis 8:20–9:17.

God gave the original cultural mandate to Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden before the Fall (Gen. 1:26–31). However, God adjusted the original cultural mandate into the new cultural mandate, so that the covenant community and non-covenant community can dwell together in the midst of the present earth, created by the Flood judgment (Gen. 9:1–7). In addition, God gave the new cultural mandate in the fallen and sinful world until the day of the Second Coming of Jesus Christ.

The Noahic covenant community began to live their lives as *the diaspora and pilgrims* in the present earth after the Flood judgment (Gen. 9:18–19). An important aspect of the new cultural mandate is to "be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth" (Gen. 9:1). In order to do so, people had to be scattered and spread constantly, building new communities in new areas on the present earth. Nevertheless, the Babel community, as the servants of the Kingdom of Satan, rejected this command. So, the Lord cursed the Babel community, confusing their one language and forcefully dispersing them to live their lives as *the diaspora and pilgrims*.

When God resumed the covenant of common grace in Genesis 8:20–9:17, he revealed several regulations for the covenant community, such as the food law, the prohibition of eating animal blood, and the institution of capital punishment. God revealed the distinction between clean and unclean animals in the process of the formation of the theocratic kingdom in the Ark (Gen. 7:1–3). As the theocratic kingdom in the Ark ceased after the Flood judgment, God removed the distinction between clean and unclean animals. In doing so, God allowed the covenant community to consume all the animals in the historical context of the resumption of the covenant of common grace (Gen. 9:3).

Although God removed the distinction between clean and unclean animals, allowing the covenant community to consume all the animals through the new

Continued on Page 220.

Reviews & Responses

Review: Jeffrey Hause (ed.), *Aquinas's Summa Theologiae: A Critical Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018). ISBN 9781107109261. 269 + x pp. Hardback. $99.99. Reviewed by Harrison Perkins (PhD, Queen's University Belfast), the assistant minister at London City Presbyterian Church (Free Church of Scotland), a lecturer in Christian doctrine at Cornhill Belfast, and the author of the forthcoming *Catholicity and the Covenant of Works: James Ussher and the Reformed Tradition* (Oxford University Press).

This review focuses on a new work meant to introduce themes and interpretations concerning Thomas Aquinas' most famous work the *Summa Theologiae*, but this review also aims to point readers of this journal more broadly to this book's relevance for our tradition and contemporary discussion within it. Thomas (1225–1274) was one of the most prolific theologians of the medieval period. He was the first medieval figure to be named a doctor of the church. His teaching was controversial at times in his own era, but yet there has been debate over his legacy ever since. With the recent resurgence of interest in the classical doctrine of God in Protestant circles, Thomas' name is featuring more frequently and more prominently in a host of even Reformed theological works, at least broadly considered, theological works. Some quarters of Dutch scholarship have suggested that Reformed people should lean most heavily on the works of John Duns Scotus (1266–1308), who promoted a rival theology to Thomas.[1] Richard Muller, the foremost historian of the Reformed tradition, however, has persuasively argued that Reformed people were always eclectic in their appropriation of the preceding tradition, but that there was always a positive Thomistic strand.[2] Some have lambasted Thomas as a nearly pagan philosopher and others have championed him as a primary source for recovering classical notions of the Christian tradition. Without wading into the very thorny issues of these debates, how can the book under review help us with these issues?

Jeffrey Hause has compiled a collection of essays that address various issues in understanding Thomas' most known work, the *Summa*. There are many companion volumes already in print concerning Thomas and even specifically regarding his *Summa*, so the obvious question is why this one is necessary.[3] The main reason is that there is a lot to say about Thomas and his *Summa*, and there have been a massive amount of interpretations of that book in the past eight-hundred years for which we need much help giving account. Each companion volume addresses different issues, and certainly from different perspectives, but having these can help confessional Presbyterians start to get a handle on or knowledge of the vast amount of literature on these topics.

Within this volume, as with any collection of essays, there are multiple approaches not only to Thomas, but also to the task of introducing a specific aspect of his thought. Some of these essays break down Thomas' work into specific premises and analyze if these premises coherently hold together. Because Thomas wrote lengthy discursive "treatises" within the *Summa*, these essays, for example JT Paasch on the Trinity, have to make use of a great many numbered premises. This tightly analytical approach to Thomas' work can make it very difficult for readers to follow because it requires keeping up with or flipping back to sixty-four premises in Paasch's case. While that may be exactly what needs to be done in analytic philosophy, this reviewer wonders if that is the best approach to Thomas' discursive theology. Although it is certainly legitimate to ask whether or not Thomas was correct, which will obviously be a pressing question for readers of this journal, the analytic approach seems at times to interrogate Thomas apart from his historical context. It seems to ask Thomas to square his argument according to a form that was not his own. Some readers may greatly appreciate this approach to Thomas' work. Others may find it lacking. This tension points to the need, if one wants to take Thomas truly seriously, to read Thomas himself and, for good or for ill, several of the volumes that interpret him.

One shortcoming in a volume written primarily by philosophers is that they wanted to consider Thomas primarily philosophically. For example, Robert Pasnau's essay seems

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1. E.g. Antonie Vos, *The Philosophy of John Duns Scotus* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006); Antonie Vos, *The Theology of John Duns Scotus* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

2. Richard A. Muller, *Divine Will and Human Choice: Freedom, Contingency, and Necessity in Early Modern Reformed Thought* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2017).

3. Norman Kretzmann and Eleonore Stump (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Aquinas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Brian Davies and Eleonore Stump (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Aquinas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Philip McCosker and Denys Turner (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to the* Summa Theologiae (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

to consider Thomas only for his value for philosophical concerns. Pasnau elsewhere has made clear that he approaches Thomas in that way.[4] This reviewer, however, is not sure that approach does justice to Thomas' own concerns. Within this volume, Jacob Schmutz's essay demonstrated that an emphasis on Thomas as a philosopher was not one native to Thomas himself, but was imposed upon him by later selective printings of selections from the *Summa* combined with attempts to read him strictly philosophically. There has been immense fragmentation of how to read Thomas in this regard, at least from the early-modern period. This essay in particular is incredibly helpful for those in our tradition who want to engage Thomas, as it reminds us to keep in mind the distinction between criticizing Thomas himself and criticizing Thomism(s). Thomas definitely made use of philosophical categories that were live issues in his day, but that sort of appropriation has always been the case in Christian theology. The issue is whether or not appropriate modifications are made to those philosophical categories. In this volume, Pasnau presented Thomas as making outright Platonic statements, but that likely owes more to his reading of Thomas as a philosopher than to Thomas himself. Katheryn Tanner, who writes from a broadly Reformed perspective, has previously discussed this issue of Platonic ideas in Thomas' doctrine of creation and offered significant evidence that Thomas adjusted these appropriated notions from Plato to harmonize with a Christian distinction between Creator and creature.[5] It requires care and study to engage Thomas in a balanced way and this volume points us to that need, and provides introductions to help understand these issues.

Whereas some essays in this collection treat Thomas more philosophically, others do helpfully engage Thomas at the theological level. Michael Gorman's essay on Christology is perhaps the most helpful of the collection in this regards. His approach of outlining the treatise on Christology in the *Summa*, addressing the relevance of placement and structure, analyzing the treatise itself, and then looking at material on Christology outside the treatise, made for an incredibly clear essay that genuinely helps readers know how to approach that aspect of the *Summa* for themselves. Jean Porter's essay is a deeply informed reading of Thomas' account of natural law that is immensely helpful for understanding the nuanced ways that Thomas related various categories of law. It should certainly be consulted by readers of this journal who are trying to make sense historically (and biblically) of current debates about natural law. Thomas Osborne's essay on faith and reason is also immensely helpful in directing readers to Thomas' theological purpose in the *Summa*. Although there are certainly philosophical considerations in the *Summa*, Thomas was a theologian trying to make sense of God in dependence on divine revelation. The use of rational argumentation to support that task does not undermine the fact that Thomas started from a posture of receiving divine revelation. If God is the first principle, then God is the presupposition of rational argument for God. This is a far cry from the "pure reason" of the Enlightenment. Many of these essays are excellent introductions to considering debated theological issues about Thomas.

There are definitely ways in which readers of this journal will differ from Thomas. For example, confessional Presbyterians will obviously reject Thomas' explanation of the doctrine of justification. This rejection, however, does not mean we cannot learn to appreciate things Thomas said. Augustine, the great champion of sovereign grace in the early church, also understood the doctrine of justification, properly speaking, in a way that readers here will reject.[6] Despite this issue, Presbyterians still claim to stand in the Augustinian lineage and claim legitimate recourse to Augustine's view of grace over against the Roman Catholic claims to his heritage. It is not obvious to this reviewer why if we are to extend the courtesy of reasonable modification to Augustine that we should not be willing to extend that to Thomas as well. After all, despite how both understood justification proper in transformative terms, both did argue to uphold other doctrinal structures that protected the necessity of divine grace in salvation.[7] That is not to say confessional Presbyterians will follow Thomas in every respect. The point is that pre-Reformation theologians should perhaps receive more patience than post-Reformation demurrers. Early-modern Reformed theologians were willing to make positive use of Thomas for their own ends, albeit often with modification. Volumes like Hause's collection of essays will help guide us into ways that we might do so as well. Confessional Presbyterians must go *ad fontes*. It is not best practice to accept the Neo-Thomist reading of Thomas uncritically because that tradition intended to adopt Thomas to the ends of suiting debates about modernity. This critical guide to Thomas' *Summa* will help readers to ask better questions of that work and know some of the issues as they seek to explore the web of Thomas' ideas for themselves.

4. Christopher Shields and Robert Pasnau, *The Philosophy of Aquinas*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

5. Katheryn Tanner, "Creation," in *Cambridge Companion to the* Summa, 142–55.

6. Alister E. McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification*, 3rd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 38–54. This citation of this work is not an endorsement of all of McGrath's conclusions. It is simply to demonstrate that Augustine's definition of justification proper is not that of confessional Presbyterians.

7. Michael Horton, *Justification Volume 1* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2018), 84–91, 100–24.

Review: Cornelis Venema, *Chosen in Christ: Revisiting the Contours of Predestination,* Reformed, Exegetical and Doctrinal Studies (Fearn, Ross-shire: Christian Focus Publications, 2019). ISBN 9781527102354. Pp. 403. Paperback. $19.99. Reviewed by Daniel Ragusa, who received his M.Div. from Mid-America Reformed Seminary and is currently a Ph.D student at Westminster Theological Seminary.

The stated aim of Cornel Venema's *Chosen in Christ: Revisiting the Contours of Predestination* is fourfold: "to treat the doctrine of election in biblical, historical, theological, and pastoral perspective" (21). While predestination has evoked debates and questions throughout church history, and while the lack of any universal consensus magnifies the present state of theology as a *theologia viatrum*, Venema highlights significant reasons for continued reflection upon the doctrine, which warrant this present volume. First and foremost, it is impossible to marginalize the Scripture's teaching on the subject, for it is presented as the lifeblood of redemptive history. "Anyone who attends to the biblical story of redemption can hardly fail to ask the question to which the doctrine of election provides an answer: What ultimately lies behind these gracious initiatives of God? … [T]he doctrine of election … lies before and underneath the whole course of the triune God's redemptive actions throughout the course of history" (12). Furthermore, the doctrine is linked with two key, interrelated motifs in Scripture that are at the heart of Christian living to the glory of God: humility and thanksgiving before our triune God for his gracious and merciful election in Christ.

Its significance notwithstanding, the doctrine of predestination has led to uneasiness on the part of many, especially as it relates to the notions of assurance of salvation and human freedom. The latter is felt most acutely by the postmodern mind with its ideas of a "decentered world" and "autonomous self," to borrow terms from David Wells. For this reason, Venema perceptibly observes that the commendation of the doctrine of election is really a worldview issue. "In the biblical worldview, God is the transcendent Creator of all things and the providential Lord over all that transpires within the created order…. Within the framework of this biblical understanding of who God is, the doctrine of election has its proper home" (16). For Venema, the doctrine of election cannot and must not, therefore, be revised or reconstructed in order to make peace with modernity; rather, "the doctrine of election needs to be formulated as a radical challenge and alternative to the obvious vulnerabilities of postmodernism—a little god who cannot really help us, and an autonomous self with insufficient resources to handle a world where anything is possible but nothing is certain" (18). The doctrine of election alone attributes all glory to God and affords the Christian unspeakable comfort, both of which Venema skillfully and pastorally draws out for the reader.

In keeping with the fourfold aim of the book, the first three chapters consider the doctrine from a non-speculative, *biblical* perspective, supplying keen insight into the organic unfolding of the doctrine in the OT (chapter one) and NT (chapter two), with special attention given to Paul's letters (chapter three). These chapters are consciously laid as the foundation for the subsequent historical, theological, and pastoral perspectives, functioning as a "touchstone by which to evaluate the biblical fidelity of these historical developments and formulations" (21).

The next three chapters take up the doctrine of election from an *historical* perspective. The first period of significant reflection was Augustine's contention with Pelagius to uphold the necessity of the sovereign grace of God in salvation, rather than ignore the consequences of original sin and falsely exalt the power and freedom of the human will (chapter four). In this chapter, Venema provides much valuable original interaction with Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings and concludes with a brief consideration of his legacy in medieval theology. Augustine's formulation would serve as a theological benchmark for all subsequent developments, including its re-emergence in Reformation theology with its commitment to salvation by grace alone (chapter five). The Augustinian/Pelagian contention culminated with the Reformed response to the Arminians at the Synod of Dort (chapter six). According to Venema, the confessionalization of the Synod's theological conclusions in the Canons of Dort established "the parameters for developments in the modern period that reflect the ongoing debate between Augustinian/Calvinist and an Arminian/semi-Pelagian formulation of the doctrine of election" (22).

On cue, Venema next looks at election from a *theological* perspective by considering the two most prominent revisions in the modern period: Karl Barth's "neo-Reformed" position (chapter seven) and Open Theism's "neo-Arminian" position (chapter eight). The former is an attempt to resolve the supposed problems in the Augustinian/Calvinistic view of a hidden decree and unknown God that permits no real assurance, only terror. The latter seeks system-wide consistency of the Arminian notion of man's libertarian free will, which requires a denial of God's foreknowledge and a wholly open future for both God and man to venture into together. For both of these revisions Venema first provides a fair and strong articulation of their position before critically assessing them and ultimately rejecting both. Particularly helpful were the troublesome features of Barth's revision that are highlighted: "(1) an ambivalence regarding the relation between God's Trinitarian being and His election to be the God who *is* for us in Jesus Christ; (2) the incoherence of Barth's emphasis upon universal election and reconciliation in Christ, and his

unwillingness to affirm or deny universalism by appealing to God's freedom to leave some who are incorrigibly unbelieving in their lost condition; and (3) the failure of Barth to do justice to the biblical witness to God's election in Christ of particular persons toward whom He chooses to be merciful" (296).

The final section considers election from a pastoral perspective, applying the book's biblical, historical, and theological findings to common practical, homiletical, and pastoral questions (chapter nine). These questions deal with the doctrine's relation to the simplicity of the gospel, notions of justice and fairness, the wideness of God's mercy, evangelism, the free offer of the gospel, human freedom and responsibility, assurance, and the glory of God that evokes doxological praise from his people (Rom 11:33–36; Eph 1:3–14).

Consistently throughout the book Venema proves himself a seasoned dogmatician with a faithful pastor's heart, a wonderful and refreshing combination that truly glorifies God and benefits his church. The structure of the book is well-crafted with the chapters building on one another and direct summary statements showing their interconnectedness. This manifests a major strength of the book: the forest is not lost for the trees. With a handle on the whole of the history of the doctrine, Venema is able to clearly and persuasively articulate the doctrine, as well as engage revisions without adopting the *zeitgeist* of modernity. He maintains his opening contention that the commendation of the doctrine of election is a worldview issue. Furthermore, Venema's non-speculative approach is to be commended as he intentionally grounds his formulation and critical assessment in Scripture, being sensitive to the organic and progressive unfolding of redemptive-history.

While the book exudes many strengths, a couple minor areas for further development or refinement surfaced. First, readers may have desired a more thorough treatment of the doctrine of election in the medieval period, which is treated in only a few pages between Augustine and the Reformation. This did not allow the nuances of the medieval theologians, especially Aquinas, Bradwardine, and Gregory of Rimini, to emerge. However, it should be kept in mind that the book does not claim to be an exhaustive treatment of predestination, but only to revisit its contours, and a substantial list of recommended resources for further study is included. Second, the analysis of Karl Barth is both judicious, penetrating, and surprisingly lucid given the subject matter, but one might prefer to speak more strongly of Barth's "reconstruction" of the doctrine of election, rather than his "revision" since this is the language that Barth himself uses to describe his project. Denoting it a "revision" may blur the fact that Barth does not maintain the basic foundation of the Calvinistic formulation of election, but instead reconstructs it from the bottom up within his theological system.

Notwithstanding these two points, *Chosen in Christ* is one of the finest treatments of the doctrine of predestination. It is brimming with sound exegesis of the Old and New Testaments, careful historical and theological analysis, and pastoral wisdom for addressing both the perennial and more contemporary questions arising from the doctrine of election, all to the praise of God's glorious grace.

Review: Theodore Van Raalte, *Antoine de Chandieu: The Silver Horn of Geneva's Reformed Triumvirate*. Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (Oxford University Press, 2018). ISBN 9780190882181. 376pp. Hardback. $99.00. Reviewed by Thomas Haviland-Pabst.

Since the completion of his PhD dissertation at Calvin Theological Seminary in 2013, Theodore Van Raalte, who is professor of ecclesiology at Canadian Reformed Theological Seminary, has emerged as an erudite theologian with the publication of a number of articles and chapter essays. Now, thanks to Oxford Press, we have the privilege five years later of reading this publication of Van Raalte's dissertation.

The author notes in the preface that "the present work is the first monograph to study any of Antoine de Chandieu's prodigious output of scholastic theological works" (p. ix). In fact, not only is this the first monograph of its kind regarding Chandieu (1534–1591), there is a grievous lacuna of scholarly output on this French Reformer, and, except for those steeped in the history and key figures of the Reformation era, most are unaware of this significant figure. To further illustrate this lacuna, only three of Chandieu's works have been translated into English, with two of these three being translated shortly after their original publication in the sixteenth century.

Only one of his works has been published and translated more recently: *A Theological and Scholastical Treatise on the Spiritual Eating of the Body of Christ, and the Spiritual Drinking of His Blood, in the Holy Supper of the Lord.* Yet, even this work was translated from the original Latin over a hundred and fifty years ago in 1859 (original publication 1589). Needless to say, Van Raalte's treatment of this long forgotten French Reformer is a significant contribution.

In the first chapter entitled *Between Gold and Bronze: Chandieu as Silver Horn and Vase*, Van Raalte presents his case for the importance of Chandieu. The beginning pages recount the story of two men thrown into prison in Paris, with one possessing John Calvin's *Institutes* and the other held as his accomplice. One of the men was tried, found guilty of heresy, and expired in prison; the other was freed by "Antoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre" (p. 3). The one freed was none other than Antoine de Chandieu, who recounts the story in his work of martyrology (1563); the other was one Jean Morel, an eighteen-year-old man who likely aspired to ministry.

This French nobleman was not dissuaded from the Reformed cause by his escape from prison. Rather, he devoted the "next thirty years … to help—indeed, to lead—the French Reformed Churches" (p. 4), which included the use of his nobility, great wealth, theological training and his heart for Christ's church. Not only was he a prolific writer, producing works as varied as poetry and academic treatises, but his noble status granted him access and "connections to French royalty," which resulted in him serving as chaplain to "Henri de Navarre (future King Henry IV)" (p. 5). Despite the neglect of Chandieu in modern times, Van Raalte argues that the statements of many of his contemporaries seem to indicate his placement among a triumvirate alongside the great figures John Calvin and Theodore Beza. He was dubbed the "silver horn" for his polemical efforts on behalf of the Reformed cause as well as his fervent preaching in the churches (p. 13).

Van Raalte also offers within this first chapter a survey of the state of research on Chandieu, touching on the few essays and monographs that exist as well as a survey of research on Chandieu's contemporaries with a focus on "studies on the relationship of method and content, or philosophy and theology, in early Reformed theology" (p. 20), which brings the reader to his central thesis: "polemical, educative, and to some extent apologetic reasons prompted the French Reformed theologian … Chandieu in the 1580s to adopt the tightly argued method of the schools for the transmission of Reformed theology" (p. 24). Thus, this is a work of intellectual history with a focus on Antoine de Chandieu as he relates to "the development of the scholastic presentation of Reformed theology" (p. 27). In the second chapter (*The Biography and Bibliography of a French Reformed Baron*), Van Raalte sets the necessary stage for entering into the meat of the book found in the subsequent chapters.

With the third chapter entitled *Distinct Roles for Scholastic Method and Cultured Eloquence*, Van Raalte offers a trenchant account of the intellectual history of the sixteenth century in conversation with the important scholarship which emerged in the mid-2000s. Here, he pleads for "careful historical theological study" regarding the French Reformation, of which Chandieu is a part (p. 87). Following this, he discusses such issues as the relationship between scholastic method and humanism, the reception and appropriation of Aristotle, and the degree of continuity that exists between medieval and post-medieval scholasticism, to name a few. He enlisted the aid of secondary literature on important figures (e.g., Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon) and pedagogical practices to bring clarity to these and other questions.

What emerges from this account is Van Raalte's tentative conclusion that:

> we might consider the period *c.* 1250–1700 as the broad category, with medieval and post-medieval scholastic periods as subsets, and with Renaissance and Baroque scholastic periods as subsets of the post-medieval scholastic era.

Aristotle, he informs us, is the connected thread that unites this broad category of intellectual history, even though there are some complexities and discontinuities as is suggested by the aforementioned subsets. Van Raalte suggests that, even though Chandieu escapes the notice of those who argue for a *Baroque Scholasticism*, he is arguably formed "part of the pattern that led" to it (p. 112). More precisely, the secondary literature followed by Van Raalte suggests that "the time of 1575–1585 was important for the recovery of a fuller adherence to Aristotle." Van Raalte argues in turn that Chandieu "advanced scholastic theology for the Reformed in a time when change was occurring in the wider Protestant field of theology" (p. 118).

The fourth chapter sets the stage for a discussion which will be resumed in more detail in chapter five—Chandieu's connection to Old Aristotelianism, i.e., adherence "to Aristotle's entire *Organon*" (p. 122)—before discussing two early works of Chandieu: *La confirmation de la discipline ecclesiastique* (1566) and *Refutatio Libelli Quem Claudius de Sainctes* (1567). The former is written in French at a more popular level and the latter is written "in Latin at a more academic level" (p. 148). Van Raalte concludes that these two earlier works show clear scholastic features as well as Chandieu's versatility as a writer.

Much like the preceding chapter, the fifth chapter analyzes two works by Chandieu. Both of these works were written in 1577 and Van Raalte continues to assess Chandieu's use of scholastic methods. Regarding the first work discussed (*De Legitima Vocatione Pastorum Ecclesiae Reformatae*), he concludes that though this work is more rhetoric in nature, it is crafted scholastically. The second work—*Sophistmata F. Turriana … Recte et Theologice Disputandi*—with the use of "overt syllogisms," "learned Greek terms of Aristotle," and the types of arguments employed as well as logical errors noted "present [this work as] a formidable and relatively sophisticated scholastic treatise" (p. 163–164).

This brings Van Raalte to the question of Claude Aubery (b. 1545) as a possible source for Chandieu's scholastic method. Aubery, Chandieu's junior by eleven years, can be placed in the Old Aristotelian approach. This approach is best understood in contrast to "Melanchthonian Dialectics." The latter tends to argue dialectically, employing logic probabilistically and thus in service of rhetoric; and the former tends to argue analytically, employing logic to ascertain "certainly true propositions" (p. 171) (though Van Raalte cautions against pressing this distinction too far). It is clear that Chandieu falls into this former category with his strong appeal to "Aristotle's analytics and

critic[ism] [of] those who neglect it" (p. 170). Yet, Van Raalte presents various reasons to reject the thesis that Chandieu was dependent on Aubery for his use of Aristotle. He argues instead that two major works on Aristotle by Jacob Schegk, a German Lutheran, are more likely "the inspiration and source" of Chandieu's "promotion of the analytical method" (p. 173).

As the title to the sixth chapter suggests (*Theology as a Science That Benefits from a Scholastic Method*), we are given a fascinating glance at Chandieu's understanding of the relationship between the scholastic method and theology. Beginning in 1580, Chandieu wrote six treatises, with all of their titles, though varying in different details, containing "'theological and scholastical' terminology" (p. 180). Regarding the connection between the two according to Chandieu, Van Raalte argues that it is it to be understand as "theological and *at the same time* [*simul*] scholastically" (p. 197). He further elaborates:

> His treatise aims to be both at once. All the scholastic method in the world without any theological grounding will have nothing substantial or true to say for theology. All the theological assertion in the world, grounded perhaps, yet unclearly argued, will only lead to confusion. One must start with indubitable theological grounds and then follow the rules of logic in valid analytical form; finally one ought to reach theological conclusions that can end controversy because they are correct by good and necessary consequence. Thus, "scholastic" is not an end in itself; rather, it serves as a tool to connect the conclusions back to their indubitable grounds (p. 197).

This summary arises from the fact that, for Chandieu, "theology is the Queen of the Sciences … far above all the other sciences" and thus not "subject to the principles of philosophy" (p. 196). Because Scripture, as the source of theology, is clear and authoritative, "theologians should advance only conclusions that are certain, worthy of faith," which, in turn, leads to the use of "analytical … arguments" as they "deal in complete certainties, requiring undoubted premises" (p. 197). This brings Van Raalte to the question of the newness of Chandieu's approach to which he concludes that there was nothing truly novel about his approach at this point though he does note that Chandieu does represent a turn to a more "pure" Aristotle (p. 202), which substantiates Van Raalte's earlier arguments regarding Chandieu's place in the intellectual history of his era.

In the seventh chapter, Van Raalte gives considerable attention to Chandieu's *De Verbo dei Scripto* (1580), the first of his six "theological and scholastical" treatises. Here, Van Raalte has an eye to "Chandieu's close adherence … to an intriguing disputational structure and his … use of the hypothetical syllogism" (p. 205). A number of features arise from this exposition of *De Verbo dei Scripto*, which serve to support Van Raalte's prior conclusions while offering further insight to be more fully explored in subsequent chapters. These include: (1) a method driven by his doctrine of Scripture; (2) the combination of loci method in theology with deductive reasoning; and (3) the conviction that faith, as grounded in Scripture, "must be firm and certain" (p. 236).

Diving deep into the scholastic waters, especially medieval scholasticism, Van Raalte discusses Chandieu's methodology in relation to the medieval antecedent in the eighth chapter. He argues that Chandieu was likely employing the medieval *quaestiones disputatae* genre in the above mentioned 'theological and scientific treatises,' albeit with some improvements such as dependence on Scripture above philosophy and the treatment of "matters … of fundamental importance to the Christian faith" (p. 257). Helpfully, Van Raalte surveys the features of Chandieu's method from 1566 to 1580 as well as from 1580 to 1590. His method leading up to 1580 is essentially maintained with the addition of a "more finely tooled disputation" (p. 264). His mature methodology from 1580 onward shows essential continuity, with Chandieu's use of hypothetical syllogisms standing in the foreground.

This unique employment of the hypothetical syllogism occupies Van Raalte's attention in the penultimate chapter. Most striking is his conclusion that Chandieu's use of the hypothetical syllogism for "arguments of certainty" is unparalleled by contemporaries, although Jacob Schnegk may have been the inspiration for this. In this way, argues Van Raalte, he built on Aristotle without blindly adhering to him. The final chapter serves as a concluding chapter, summarizing much of what was discussed previously while taking pains to emphasis the importance of Chandieu for his era. Here, he agrees with others that Chandieu is one of the fathers of Reformed scholasticism, which he carefully nuances by asserting that "grandfathers and great-grandfathers" preceded him (p. 298).

Now that we have completed a survey of the book in question, some evaluation is in order. Early in this monograph, the author urges for careful historical theological study, and it is this very thing that he is diligent to provide. He displays a sober, thorough reading of Chandieu in light of his theological and pedagogical milieu. Indeed, as one progresses through the case which Van Raalte sets forth, it becomes evident that Chandieu was a significant figure of his time and that the lack of attention to this 'silver horn' of the Reformation has been to the detriment of students of this era. But, perhaps more importantly, this is a loss to the church as one thing becomes apparent about Chandieu: he was a churchly theologian. That is to say, he was concerned to defend the Reformed cause by his trenchant deployment of the scholastic method not due

to some aesthetic fancy but because of his conviction that the Reformed cause was in fact the biblical one and the rigorous logic served as an excellent instrument to get to the heart of truth in support of the Reformation. It is for this reason—Chandieu's love for and trust in God's word combined with a deeply logical mind and a heart for the church—that the church has been done a disservice by Chandieu's efforts on her behalf becoming obscured.

Additionally, Van Raalte presents a mature, nuanced understanding of the intellectual history to which Chandieu belongs. Throughout he is careful to avoid pitting humanism and scholasticism against each other; he is cognizant of the various Aristotelianisms of the day; and he goes to great lengths to help the reader avoid fallacies that occur in historical literature. Of particular note is Van Raalte's keen attention to the details of Chandieu's methodology, which in turn facilitates his ability to discern both areas of agreement and continuity that Chandieu shared with those who preceded him (e.g., Thomas Aquinas) and with his contemporaries (e.g., Melanchthon), as well as unique contributions that he offered. This then makes evident that more attention ought to be given to Chandieu's role in the revival of a purer Aristotelianism and the turn to a Baroque scholasticism. For those who wish to understand these particular aspects of intellectual history, Van Raalte's study will be obligatory reading. In sum, Van Raalte has not only succeeded in bringing Chandieu out of obscurity as a *Reformed churchman,* but also as a *Reformed scholar and intellectual giant.*

Time and again Van Raalte makes it clear that in many ways the Reformed of Chandieu's time were an eclectic bunch. This is seen in their pedagogy, in their use of scholasticism while critiquing the medieval excesses, and in their combination of humanism (*ad fontes*) with scholastic method. This eclecticism was not birthed out of indecisiveness but out of a willingness to use whatever tools were necessary to further the health of the church and defend her against destructive errors. In this regard, Chandieu was no exception. It is clear by his facility for writing in multiple genres (e.g., poetry, sermon, treatise) that he did not relegate himself to the analytical method out of necessity, but he did so because he felt that logic summaries of theological arguments would serve the church to determine the truth of the matters under dispute. In this way, he and his Reformed contemporaries are a model to us. We ought to employ whatever tools we have at our disposal for the furtherance of truth, especially the truths found in Holy Writ.

As the reader may surmise, there is much to commend Van Raalte's monograph, and, as is likely also clear, there is not much to detract from its worth. We think one minor criticism would be helpful to note. In the beginning of this review, it was mentioned that only three works of Chandieu's have been translated into English. Of the three, two are available online, with only one found in less antiquated English—*A Theological and Scholastical Treatise on the Spiritual Eating of the Body of Christ, and the Spiritual Drinking of His Blood, in the Holy Supper of the Lord*.[1] To begin the readers of this monograph's foray into Chandieu, we think it would have served them well if Van Raalte had given more sustained attention to *On the Spiritual Eating* in order to introduce the reader to a more accessible English translation of work by Chandieu. Now, we recognize that most advanced students of this era of historical theology are likely able readers of Latin (and French), yet, a treatment of this work would have had the additional benefit of strengthening Van Raalte's overall argument since *On the Spiritual Eating* was published in 1589 and, as such, is one of Chandieu's last works. Of course, not even a thorough and mature work of historical theology such as this one can cover all possible avenues, which is why we have designated this a minor criticism.

To conclude, this monograph of intellectual history, centered on the French Reformer, churchman and educator Antoine de Chandieu, is highly recommended for anyone interested in scholasticism, Reformation studies, Aristotle and his reception, or the relationship of theology to philosophy, to name but a few of the significant themes that have emerged. The reader will not just feed their intellectual curiosity, but, it is hoped by this reviewer, will also be encouraged by Chandieu's faith and commitment to Christ's church.

Review: J. V. Fesko, *Reforming Apologetics: Retrieving the Classic Reformed Approach to Defending the Faith* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2019). ISBN 9780801098901. Paperback, 250 pp. $24.99. Reviewed by Dr. Mark A. Herzer, pastor of Christ Covenant Presbyterian Church in Warminster, Pennsylvania.

This book may be the proverbial shot across the bow in the Reformed apologetic world. J. V. Fesko lodges a frontal assault against the Van Tillian presuppositional hegemony. Fesko, who recently taught at Westminster Seminary California and currently teaches at Reformed Theological Seminary, is a Reformed theologian, but he believes Van Til and those like him have not been true to our Reformed heritage. It is this heritage that he wants to retrieve.

In this review, I want to accomplish three things. First, I will set forth Fesko's basic arguments as I give an overview

1. Antoine de la Riche Chandieu, *Theological and Scholastical Treatise, on the Spiritual Eating of the Body of Christ, and the Spiritual Drinking of His Blood, in the Holy Supper of the Lord* (London: Rivingtons, Waterloo Place, 1859), 5.

of the book. Second, I will offer what I believe are some of the strong points in the book and where I think he has substantively proven his case. Lastly, I will raise a few questions and concerns which I believe he created in his critique of Van Til. Overall, this well-written book will make the readers ponder and perhaps make them reconsider their own position. For most Reformed thinkers, this book will be deemed very provocative.

Fesko states in his introduction, "The goal of this essay is to retrieve the book of nature primarily for use in defending the faith, or apologetics" (p. 4). By "this essay" he means the entire book. He focuses on both "the innate and acquired knowledge of God." These two things have been neglected and he believes that Van Til and other modern Reformed theologians have removed their importance from apologetics.

The first chapter explains the meaning of the "light of nature" in the Westminster Confession of Faith (1.1, 1.6, 10.4, 20.4, 21.1) and surveys its meaning in writers like Anthony Burgess (a Westminster divine), Lambert Daneau, John Downame, Pierre Du Moulin, John Arrowsmith, etc. He gives the majority of his time to Burgess, who wrote quite extensively on the topic. Light of nature includes "common knowledge among believers and unbelievers" (p. 18). All of these men believe in "common notions." Fesko shows that Burgess and others included conscience, natural law, and human reason under the rubric of the light of nature. Regarding reason, he says, "Scripture provides truth and reason hammers it for greater understanding" (pp. 22–23). Citing Burgess, he says the light of nature (reason) is a "hand-maid" and not "a mistresse" (p. 23). In the end, Fesko asks why divines like Burgess gave greater weight to the light of nature than our twentieth century theologians. He believes Reformed theologians and philosophers performed a grave disservice to the church by identifying "common notions," or the light of nature, with Roman Catholicism. He concludes the chapter by saying, "the light of nature had a greater function than merely rendering fallen humanity inexcusable before the divine bar of judgment" (p. 26).

Fesko rigorously addresses the subject of "common notions" in his second chapter. Using Burgess to exegete Romans 2:14–15, he quotes him as saying, "The Law of Nature consists in those common notions which are ingrafted in all men's hearts…" (p. 30). Common notions, says Burgess, was not obliterated from the heart after the fall. Fesko carefully shows how Thomas Aquinas held to the same view: "there is little variation between Aquinas and later Reformed theologians" (p. 33). He supports his view by citing Melanchthon, Calvin, Zanchius, Junius, the Leiden Synopsis, the Synod of Dordt, Turretin, Gillespie, etc. Furthermore, he argues that "common notions" did not differ from the view of "the light of nature" in the Westminster Confession of Faith (pp. 33–39). He concludes this chapter by stating that "common notions were a noncontroversial feature of early modern Reformed theology." He adds to the list other weighty theologians like Witsius, Pictet, de Moor, Charles Hodge, and even Bavinck (though he will later take issue with him on a different topic). One cannot get around the overwhelming testimony Fesko offers and not conclude that common notions dominated the thought of most Reformed theologians.

Not surprisingly, he gives to Calvin the whole of his third chapter. Fesko contends that Van Til erred in his understanding of Calvin (his view of common notions and his relationship to scholasticism). Both Dooyeweerd and Barth receive criticism for the way they interpreted Calvin. In some sense, Fesko argues against the old "Calvin against the Calvinists" in this chapter. Also, as current scholarship has already shown, Fesko repeats the argument that continuity existed between Calvin and scholasticism. Using various sources from Calvin's writings, Fesko demonstrates that Calvin taught his form of common notions as well as arguments for God's existence. In short, "Calvin, therefore, stands in continuity with the catholic tradition on common notions and their connections to the order of nature and the Reformed Orthodox use of these concepts" (p. 68).

In chapter four, Fesko interestingly devotes a lot of energy to defend Thomas Aquinas. The author argues that Van Til criticized Aquinas for synthetic thinking (a charge that will be turned on Van Til later on). But Fesko believes Van Til did not interpret Aquinas accurately. In fact, Fesko presents one of the most scathing and embarrassing critiques against Van Til's reading and understanding of Thomas Aquinas. He argues that Van Til's understanding of Aquinas seems to have been almost entirely dependent upon secondary sources. He shows how Van Til rarely directly cited Thomas Aquinas. Perhaps to the astonishment of Van Tillians, Fesko goes so far as to argue that Van Til and Aquinas had more in common than first believed. Aquinas never offered the proofs for God's existence as a foundation but as a confirmation "and such a claim was ultimately for the sake and benefit of faith" (p. 75). This has the added support of Richard Muller's own research. Aquinas, Fesko argues, believed that reason "answers objections and clarifies revealed truth." He cites Thomas Aquinas as saying that only Scripture provides "incontrovertible proof" (p. 77). Scripture and not "raw reason" was Aquinas's foundation. Aquinas "argues from the presupposition of faith" just like Van Til (p. 87). Fesko rightly places Aquinas in the Augustinian and Anselmian school of thought of *fides quaerens intellectum*. For that reason, Aquinas cannot be viewed as giving "raw reason" an independence from Scripture. Fesko carefully explains three reasons why he believes Van Til misread Aquinas (pp. 81–93). Those pages present a fascinating interpretation of Thomas Aquinas. He seems to have carefully studied Aquinas and is conversant with some of the Thomistic trends. In the end, rather than

seeing Aquinas in terms of Nature and Grace (pitting the two against each other), grace perfects and consummates nature (pp. 77, 94). Aquinas was readily and approvingly used by many Reformed theologians and Fesko therefore believes Aquinas should not be relegated to Catholicism.

I believe the most consequential chapter has to be Fesko's fifth chapter in which he tackles worldviews. I will summarize his main contention and will revisit this section at the end of the review. The "historic worldview theory" (HWT) Fesko argues, emerged on account of philosophic idealism. This idealism was one of the reasons for jettisoning the book of nature. James Orr, Abraham Kuyper and Van Til believed that there was no common doctrine of man or anything because each worldview was mutually exclusive of each other (he gave essentially no attention to Gordon Clark). Fesko believes that HWT contradicts Scripture because "it rejects a common doctrine of humanity" (p. 98). I believe he convincingly demonstrated how the HWT was a child of German idealism in which a worldview was deduced from a single presupposition or principle (starting point). Gratifying to read in this chapter was the amount of attention he gave to James Orr and his book *The Christian View of God and the World: As Centering in the Incarnation,* because not enough authors have given him enough credit (though Fesko did not do it approvingly). Fesko vigorously argues that Van Til's starting point of "the self-attesting Christ of Scripture" diminished the importance of the book of nature. He also shows the inherent tension in Van Til's denial of "common notions" while embracing a "common ground" a believer has with an unbeliever on account of common grace. Here Fesko believes Van Til differs very little from the historic Reformed and catholic understanding of common notions. Fesko also raises serious questions against Scott Oliphint and believes he misread some of the sources he cited (pp. 115–120). Fesko furthermore does not believe that the Bible offers an "exhaustively comprehensive" source of all knowledge (p. 127) and therefore it would be wrong to have a "distinct Christian view of everything" (p. 128). He adds, "I believe one of the key problems with HWT is that it seeks to deduce an exhaustive understanding of reality from one principle" (p. 131). Again, we will come back to this chapter.

Fesko analyzes the transcendental arguments in chapter six. He shows Kant's influence in the transcendental argument for the existence of God (TAG). Van Til himself did not escape synthetic thought in which he combined pagan and Christian thoughts. This is one of the ironies of Van Til's apologetic enterprise. In the course of this chapter, Fesko argues that coherence theory of truth (as in TAG) should be combined with the correspondence theory (corresponds to the way things are, e.g., the book of nature). But he says TAG avoids the corresponding reality (i.e., evidences, though not entirely). TAG employed synthetic thinking and we must simply accept this fact from a historical standpoint. Fesko warns, "Whoever claims to be purely biblical and free from human opinions might actually be the slave of a defunct philosopher or theologian" (p. 156). Van Til, like most other theologians, did not escape the philosophy of his times. I found myself quite amused when I read, "Just as we must be cautious regarding Greeks bearing gifts and giving too much credence to the abilities of human reason, we must conversely be leery of Germans bearing gifts lest we give too little consideration to the book of nature" (p. 154). One can find other sentences like that in the book. For example, "But for some reason, Van Til took a weed whacker to Aquinas's Aristotelian garden and nurtured his Kantian one" (p. 149). Fesko ends the chapter by asserting that Van Til's TAG did not bring a Copernican revolution to apologetics (pp. 7, 136, 157).

The seventh chapter primarily deals with Dooyeweerd's dualism. In brief, Fesko believes making a distinction between things like nature and grace, heaven and earth, etc., does not mean the person espoused scholasticism. Dooyeweerd believed Roman Catholicism and Greek thought suffered under dualism. Making distinctions, Fesko argues, does not mean the person embraced dualism. "Dualism critique rests on an inaccurate evaluation of the historical evidence" (p. 164).

The last and final chapter presents the author's vision on how we can use the book of nature in defending the faith. Fesko fears that Christians make too many absolute claims and "unwittingly" give "the unbeliever an extra intellectual obstacle." His general thrust for apologetics can be found in the following sentence, "If, on the other hand, Christians refuse to attach the adjective *biblical* to anything except what the Scriptures truly address, then they are less likely to set themselves up unnecessarily for failure" (p. 218). Though this legitimate concern should not be discounted, I suspect this point does not constitute the biggest problem in the church. This is a suggestive chapter but not the most helpful one in the book. He will need to expand upon it.

This book is what *Classical Apologetics* (by Sproul, Gerstner, and Lindsley) wanted to be. Fesko single-handedly made a case for *Classical Apologetics*. He has convincingly proved that common notions always had a place in Reformed Theology. Those who have read deeply in seventeenth century literature will admit that Fesko has established his point. In keeping with his own title, he has ably retrieved the classic reformed approach to defending the faith, at least in historical terms. No one can say that the Van Tillian method is the only true reformed approach in historical terms since Van Til deviated from the earlier Reformed tradition (if we can speak of such a unity of thought within our Reformed heritage). Van Til's view is the new kid on the block. When one has the likes of Richard Muller and Paul Helm concurring and recommending Fesko's book, one should be leery of declaring that Fesko got

it all wrong. At least in historical terms, Fesko has gained the advantage. Perhaps rather than making Van Til and the early Reformed perspective mutually exclusive (which Fesko borders on doing), it would be better to argue that Van Til either improved and perfected our tradition or simply supplemented it. Do we have to reject one for the other?

Furthermore, no reader somewhat cognizant of the historic philosophical positions will deny that Van Til's TAG looks very much like Kant clothed in Christian terms. Van Til's synthetic thought should no longer remain a debate. The only question should be over its biblical fidelity. Is the older Reformed method more true to Scripture or not? Can we have a place for both methods? We all know Van Til did not deny the use of evidences per se and perhaps we could reach a happy rapprochement in this area? Does faulting Van Til for using Kant discount his contribution? Surely not!

Though this book was one of the more stimulating books I've read in a long time, I remain unconvinced that we need to discard the worldview theories (HWT) Fesko pummeled in chapter five. Fesko's overall concern is to give some place to the book of nature and he believes HWT claimed too much, namely, "there is a unique Christian view of everything" (p. 129). I believe it is here Fesko falls into the very same problem he convincingly lodged against Van Til. HWT made other worldviews mutually exclusive and it offered no room for the book of nature. But must we dispense with HWT so as to give a place for the book of nature? Is it not true that a Christian's mind suffused with God's revelation will lead a Christian to have a unique perspective on "men and things" (cf. 2 Cor. 5:16, 17)? We might not be able to establish what "Christian art" is but we cannot deny that a Christian's view of art will differ fundamentally and foundationally from an unbeliever's. HWT should not be thrown out because it has been a helpful tool and continues to be. In Fesko's zeal to find a connection with the surrounding world and to moderate the antithesis in HWT, I think he made too much of a connection between the Code of Hammurabi and Mosaic Covenant (p. 128). Admittedly the church has always struggled with the radical Anthanasian *Contra Mundum* perspective, but we must not mute all the forms of antithesis which Fesko's effort almost seems to court.

Some books can frustrate the reader and many authors fail to write clearly. John Fesko did an admirable job in avoiding either of these pitfalls. Though the topics he handled could be deemed complex and difficult, Fesko tackled them with clarity and made the issues very accessible. His is a well-written book and a pleasure to read. Not all readers will find him convincing and many of us who have been influenced by Van Til might find Fesko's book extremely alarming and too provocative, yet this is a needful and helpful debate and one that has been long overdue.

Review: Daniel Ritchie, *Isaac Nelson: Radical Abolitionist, Evangelical Presbyterian, and Irish Nationalist* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018). ISBN 9781786941282. Pp. 325+x. Reviewed by Dr. Alan D. Strange.

Dr. Ritchie, in this published version of his dissertation from Liverpool, has given us a careful and nuanced portrayal of Isaac Nelson (1809–1888), a prominent Irish Presbyterian pastor. During his ministerial career in Belfast (at Donegall Street Presbyterian Church), Nelson played a part in many of the leading issues of his time. The role that he played, however, tended not to be in step with that day, but responding to and arguing against the tenor of his times, even seeming sometimes ahead of his time. One might wonder why Ritchie chose someone so at odds with many of his fellow churchmen. I think it a reasonable, if not brilliant, choice, because Nelson, though customarily marching to a different drummer, had involvement in leading events impacting the nineteenth century church and state in Ireland. Ritchie, employing Nelson as a bit of a foil, uses his life and work to cast a clearer light on the issues of the day and thus to furnish us with a clearly defined portrait of mid and late nineteenth century Ulster Presbyterianism and beyond.

Ritchie supports his findings and conclusions with careful research that deftly mines a plethora of primary sources and the best and most relevant secondary sources. One particular challenge in writing on Nelson is, given the access to the papers of so many others of the time, Ritchie had no access to Nelson's private papers. Since there is no known collection of his papers, historians must rely on his comparatively scanty public writings and the assessments of contemporaries. The archival lack of such first-person access to Nelson is lamentable, though Ritchie's skillful navigation of the sources to which he did have access ameliorates the absence of Nelson's papers.

This well-written book appreciates Nelson but is also critical of him. Ritchie resists the temptation that must attend a historical figure like Nelson: he does not psychologize the pastor in an effort to figure out what contributed to his routinely acting as a curmudgeon. Rather, he calmly assesses all resources that he can gather and arrives at sober conclusions about Nelson. That Nelson was rather irascible seems evident from the sources and Ritchie does not attempt to hide it, though he always seems fair and sympathetic to Nelson.

It is interesting to this reviewer, and makes him wonder if this figured into Nelson's discontent: Nelson seemed especially interested in political questions all through his ministry, ultimately sidelining full-time pastoral ministry for elected service in Parliament. This reviewer thinks that Nelson might have been too concerned about this world and that such ulterior interests robbed him of the peace that comes to those who keep before them the heavenly character of their treasure.

Perhaps that's just psychologizing on my part, but as one who's done much work on the spirituality of the church, I think that Nelson could have used a healthy dose of it (though he was quite critical of the Free Church of Scotland, which thoroughly imbibed the doctrine of the spiritual independency of the church).

Ritchie explores Nelson's life and beliefs to illumine important issues on the larger stage both in Ireland and internationally. Nelson was an ardent abolitionist and Ritchie examines how this honorable conviction led him to harsh criticism of would-be theological allies and to make common cause with secularists who were enemies of Christianity. Nelson also was a staunch opponent of the Northern Irish revivals of 1859, because, at least in part, of their alliance with like revivals in America (thus allied in some sense with slavery, with which Nelson associated the American church, largely). And lastly, Nelson become a partisan of Irish Home Rule, even championing Charles Parnell's cause in a rather misguided political career in the British Parliament.

The first chapter furnishes the obligatory background information, including family and education, in which we are introduced to Nelson as a protégé of Henry Cooke. That he will be willing to differ from him, and other elders, is early evidence of Nelson's being his own man. We see that Nelson was strongly evangelical and broadly a supporter of the Westminster Standards, quite capable intellectual and willing, even as a young man, "to challenge authority figures" (40). Ritchie proceeds to three extended chapters that comprise the rest of the book (not including data sources, the fifty plus page excellent bibliography being chief among them).

The first of these three chapters that comprise the heart of the book is entitled after a Nelson descriptor: "The Eloquent and Fearless Friend of the Slave." Nelson was a fervent and relentless opponent of the evil of slavery. He saw it as a violation of the law of God against man-stealing and abhorred the notion that one man could have property in another, as if that man were a thing, not a fellow creature in the image of God. He condemned chattel slavery repeatedly and eloquently, arguing that African slavery was not what was ever described in the Bible and that those who defended the slavery of that day from the Bible were ignorant or malevolent. His opposition remained so trenchant that he alienated some of his fellows in the PCI, all of whom were anti-slavery, but sometimes not sufficiently so for Nelson.

Nelson insisted on a sort of double separationism: not only was it wrong for a communion (like the PCUSA) to admit slaveholders to the Table but it was also wrong for a communion like the Free Church of Scotland, which barred slaveholders, to have fellowship with those who did not bar them. The Free Church had been founded in the Disruption of 1843, needed money for churches and manses, and received such from some American Presbyterian churches. Because these American churches did not bar slaveholders from the Lord's Table, Nelson and others in the PCI launched a "Send the Money Back" campaign, arguing that the FCS should not accept such tainted blood money. Nelson further alienated fellow churchmen by welcoming not only Frederick Douglass but William Lloyd Garrison, men certainly not confessionalists or orthodox, when, at the same time, Nelson would not tolerate Free Church leaders like Thomas Chalmers or William Cunningham, whom he regarded as insufficiently abolitionist.

Charles Hodge, the great PCUSA theologian at Princeton, who was an emancipationist, abhorred abolitionism because he believed that its practitioners were monomaniacal, obsessed with ending slavery at all costs, including the destruction of the American nation, and, if necessary, the church in the United States. From an American viewpoint, Nelson looked like one of those abolitionists that so many otherwise sound American churchmen feared and abominated. Nelson continued to support someone as radical as Garrison even after Douglass broke company with Garrison. Douglass could no longer abide Garrison, who called the U.S. Constitution a "pact with the devil" and called for free states to leave the union. It did seem, as Hodge and others depicted these men, that American abolitionists were radicals willing to destroy all to destroy slavery. Though the Free Church of Scotland and the PCI wrote well-known, public letters upbraiding the PCUSA for its tolerance of slavery, this was not enough for Nelson and the most fervent Irish abolitionists: they wanted these Scottish and Irish churches to have no fellowship with a church that welcomed the slaveholder to the Table of the Lord.

The second chapter of the three crucial chapters of the book chronicles Nelson's opposition to the 1859 revival in Ireland. If a commitment to abolitionism that many may have regarded as overweening put Nelson out of step with fellow PCI churchmen, his opposition to this revival did so even more. What was regarded as an *annus mirabulus* by so many (William Gibson's official history called 1859 A *Year of Grace*), Nelson labelled a *Year of Delusion* in his critical review of Gibson's book. To this day, Ulster Presbyterianism tends to regard that revival, in spite of its typical revival excesses ("prostrations," relentless "inspired" lay preaching, etc.), as genuine if not paradigmatic. Nelson was suspicious of its potential American origins, tending to regard anything from America as spurious. Americans, Nelson believed, brandished their religiosity while keeping their slaves enchained, or tolerating slavery. Americans sought, in a variety of ways, to salve their consciences over slavery: revivalism was one of those ways and Nelson wanted no part of being complicit with such self-justification. He also opposed the revival on what in other contexts might be called Old Side grounds. He felt that the Revival undermined the church and the ordinary

means of grace, stressing dubious religious experience at the expense of sound doctrine, government, discipline and liturgy.

The last main chapter treats Nelson's championing of Irish "Home rule" and land reform that would result in peasant proprietorship. As a part of this radical agenda, certainly so for an Ulster Presbyterian, Nelson became a member of the British Parliament. His fellow Westminster parliamentarians considered both his causes and his speeches for them something of a joke. Ritchie rather pathetically describes an occasion on which the Speaker ejected him from the House of Commons and the officials thereof had forcibly to drag him out. Ritchie notes that he might have better tended the affairs of his parish and broader church than ineffectually serve in this way. Ritchie also points out that over the course of time the church of which he was pastor in Belfast dramatically declined in attendance and threatened to vanish altogether. Nelson's ministrations were apparently ineffectual and it seems likely that his congregation was alienated by his devotion to causes and principles that either they did not share or care about. Nelson was devoted to Scottish Common Sense Realism, Lockean republicanism, something close to Voluntaryism (and other departures from strict confessionalism, including questioning the pope as Antichrist), all as a part of his support of Home Rule and Land Reform.

What this reviewer finds richly ironic here is that Nelson confessionally moved in the direction of the American revisions to the Standards, as well as embracing republicanism politically (another "American-like" move). He abominated slavery more than anything, though, and this likely shaped him more than anything, and may have been the chief reason for his opposition to the revival of 1859. Oddly, though, he did not support the North in the U.S. Civil War, seeing them as insufficiently abolitionist and believing that the South had every right to self-determination, though he hated her slavery. Perhaps he saw Irish home rule in the same light: he wanted Irish independence and was willing to grant it to any others, even arguing that the lack of an Irish parliament meant that England had reduced Ireland to slavery. Nelson certainly appears as an unyielding champion of freedom.

Some accused him and his fellows of socialism and even communism with respect to his views on land reform but he strongly refuted those charges. Though he did not think that the church should be over the state or the opposite, he not only believed that religion should impact all of life, but he also seemed to think that he had rather direct biblical warrant for his political views. He defended his Irish home rule principles by claiming that "by seeking self-government … I am promoting the cause of true religion." He did tie in his Presbyterianism with his republicanism and was decidedly "of the opinion that theologians and clerics could not remain indifferent on key social questions such as land reform and legislative independence." The notion that theologians should not interfere in such issues, Nelson believed, "was the type of piety condemned by the parable of the Good Samaritan" (245).

Ritchie argues that Nelson was "not untypical" of Presbyterians of his day "regarding supporting abolitionism, theological orthodoxy, and socio-political justice in Ireland." When it came to "attacking the Free Church [for being insufficiently opposed to slavery—Nelson's chief trait], denouncing the 1859 revival as delusional, and advocating home rule" (254), Nelson was not a typical Ulster Presbyterian of his time. He was involved, though, and often quite immersed, in the great issues of his day, and Ritchie's vivid portrait of him not only illumines the man but also the times in which he lived, in church, state, and societal concerns. We are grateful for the skill that Dr. Ritchie ably employs and with which he paints Isaac Nelson in context.

Review: *Theistic Evolution: A Scientific, Philosophical, and Theological Critique,* edited by J. P. Moreland, Stephen C. Meyer, Christopher Shaw, Ann K. Gauger, and Wayne Grudem (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2017). ISBN 9781433552861. Hardback, 1007 pp. $60.00. Reviewed by Adrian C. Keister (Ph.D. in Mathematical Physics, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University).

People do science. People are biased. Bias can impede science if scientists don't mitigate their own biases. One of the best ways to mitigate your own bias is to explain clearly what your bias is.

I am a Young Earth Creationist (YEC); I was a YEC before I read *Theistic Evolution: A Scientific, Philosophical, and Theological Critique* (abbr. *TE:SPTC*), and I am a YEC still; if anything, I am a stronger one than before because of the many excellent arguments put forth in this book. Few, if any, of the contributors to this massive volume (roughly 1000 pages) are YEC, and yet the arguments against evolution and theistic evolution in this book are so strong that they should make the most hardened atheistic evolutionist pause. The reader should also note that I received a free copy of this book from Crossway to review, and I am not required to give any specific kind of feedback. My background is in mathematical physics; while I am no biologist, I certainly do understand the scientific method and can follow scientific arguments.

There is one point I would like to clear up at the start. Many readers will be familiar with the Eternal Subordination of the Son controversy, of which Wayne Grudem is at the epicenter. I did not detect such doctrine in any of Grudem's writings in this book—I was on the alert for it.

I was pleased to see that the science portion critiqued macroevolution as a whole. Several reviewers, including

responders at BioLogos such as Deborah Haarsma,[1] have interpreted *TE:SPTC* as primarily directed at BioLogos. I disagree. BioLogos is mentioned twice as often in the philosophy and theology sections as in the science section. Moreover, in the science section when BioLogos is mentioned, it tends to be rather incidental than directly targeted. You might be able to interpret the philosophy and theology sections as more targeted against BioLogos, but I do not see that the science section is so.

I will outline several of the arguments I found more forceful, and one should not infer that any chapter I do not include in my review is not worth reading. I learned something in every chapter. As a general outline of the book, Chapters 1–9 constitute "Science Part 1: Macroevolution in General," Chapters 10–17 are "Science Part 2: Universal Common Descent," Chapters 18–26 are "Philosophy," and Chapters 27–31 are "Theology."

I found "Chapter 7: Why DNA Mutations Cannot Accomplish What Neo-Darwinism Requires," by Jonathan Wells, to be among the most compelling arguments in the science section—indeed, in the entire book. To summarize this chapter's argument, know that the so-called "central dogma" of molecular biology is that DNA makes RNA makes protein makes us. What Wells accomplishes in this chapter is to show that none of those transitions are possible without a great deal more information. That is, DNA does not contain sufficient information to make RNA, RNA does not contain sufficient information to make protein, and protein does not contain sufficient information to make us. Every step in the central dogma fails, because every step requires a great deal more information, what Wells calls "epigenetics." Neo-Darwinism says that natural selection acting on random mutations produces all the life we see around us. But mutations in what? The DNA. As Richard Dawkins has said many times, "It's all in the DNA." Wells shows that Dawkins is quite wrong here: there is a lot more to it than the DNA. One kind of information of particular interest is spatial information: every protein in a cell needs to know exactly where it is supposed to go. This is 3D information, unlike DNA, which is 1D information. That is, the spatial information required is absolutely enormous. Also, the way proteins fold is not determined by RNA, the "previous step," but is affected by many factors. RNA splicing and editing are two processes that illustrate how DNA by itself contains insufficient information to make RNA. That is, one DNA could make many different RNA's. How could natural selection acting on random mutations, even if adapted to this other kind of information, account for the coordinated evolution of information? All the information in the DNA as well as the spatial information, is coordinated. If not, the cell would not function. Unfortunately, Wells does not argue his point all the way home: all this extra information required for cell function is unaffected by natural selection and random mutations. This poses a severe problem for Neo-Darwinism. To be clear, the problem at hand is that natural selection acting on random mutations is not capable of making the coordinated changes required for all of the epigenetic information to update at once, as would be required for a beneficial change.

BioLogos, the theistic evolution vanguard website, has almost no information on epigenetics. The only mention of protein folds, for example, is an article by Dennis Venema[2] arguing that the process of evolution can produce new protein folds. Incidentally, *TE:SPTC* interacts with that article starting on page 131, an interaction to which BioLogos has not responded. The word "epigenetics" does not appear on the BioLogos website, nor does the term "RNA splice," "RNA edit," or the word "spatial." I conclude from this informal survey that BioLogos has not interacted with Wells's argument.

Other chapters I found convincing, though perhaps not so strongly as Wells's chapter, were anything by Stephen Meyer (Chapters 2, 6, 8, 10, and 19—the last two moving into the philosophy section). As Meyer has been involved with the Discovery Institute for some time and has debated many people, naturally what he writes has been battled back and forth, including with BioLogos.[3]

Chapters 8 and 9 both touch on an important problem point for the theory of evolution: body plans. Body plans have to be an orchestrated development, or it will inevitably kill the organism. The problem is that mutations producing major body plan changes are invariably lethal, as shown in many experiment studies, whereas mutations producing minor body plan changes that are not lethal always happen later in the development. That is, mutations are either major but not viable, or they are viable but not major. There is therefore *no understood mechanism* by which any line of organisms can develop a new body plan. Many evolutionists have produced theories to explain new body plans, but as especially Chapter 8 illustrates (a long and complicated chapter), these theories might be *major*, but they are not *viable*.

Part 2 of the Science section critiqued the theory of Universal Common Descent (UCD). While certainly worth reading particularly in light of its examination of the fossil record, it was of less interest to me and I will say very little about it. I thought the section did succeed in showing that UCD is not a viable theory compared with the evidence. One aspect of UCD oddly absent from *TE:SPTC* was any mention of a

1. See "A Flawed Mirror: A Response to the Book 'Theistic Evolution'" (accessed on 6/9/2019 at https://biologos.org/articles/a-flawed-mirror-a-response-to-the-book-theistic-evolution).

2. See "Intelligent Design and Nylon-Eating Bacteria" (accessed on 6/23/2019 at https://biologos.org/articles/intelligent-design-and-nylon-eating-bacteria).

3. See "A Flawed Mirror".

possible identification of the first human beings in UCD with Adam and Eve. That is, the theory of evolution posits that there was a time when humans did not exist, but now they do. Therefore, there must have been beings that we could label the first human beings. Why not call them Adam and Eve? I am arguing, of course, as a devil's advocate. I was puzzled as to why theistic evolutionists go to such great lengths to regard Adam and Eve as non-historical, because according to theistic evolutionists, there would have had to be thousands of humans on the planet at the time of Adam and Eve. Very well, let us grant that. Have we not just pushed the problem back in time? Surely there would have to be "first humans" at some point!

One chapter I found especially enjoyable to read, though it was not in the line of direct argumentation against macro-evolution or Universal Common Descent, was "Chapter 17: Pressure to Conform Leads to Bias in Science," by Christopher Shaw. This chapter essentially knocks the feet out from under science-as-an-idol, a move which is long overdue. Shaw shows that the typical path followed in order to obtain a tenure-track position in science in a major university is so complicated, stringent, and competitive, that anyone who succeeds is highly unlikely to do anything to jeopardize his position. Such people are not free thinkers. In addition, funding sources highly bias towards the status quo, usually eschewing unconventional projects which are the most likely to innovate. The peer-review process, while it is the best we have, is seriously flawed as well, again tending to reinforce currently established science at the expense of new ideas. There is a replication crisis, well-known in the scientific community for some time. This issue is well worth explaining to readers. The problem is that results confirming the results of others are not usually publishable in most journals because they are not new. If the mantra in the university is "publish or perish" (which it is), this is a problem. No one will take the time and effort to reproduce anyone else's work, which in turn leads to the reproducibility crisis. There are some related statistical issues as well which I need not get into; but the reader should definitely be aware that the scientific method is far from perfect, and it never arrives at truth, though it undoubtedly should be aiming for it. There are serious systemic problems with the way scientists do science, and these problems lead to epistemological questions such as, "Why should we trust science at all?" I certainly would not argue that people should not do science, or that it is not worthwhile. However, I would certainly call for a return to good science!

The philosophy section was important, but I thought a history of the fact/value distinction would have put it into context better. I would trace this distinction back to Immanuel Kant responding to David Hume's skepticism. Hume was an empiricist: the only things that exist are the things you can perceive with the senses—philosophical materialism. Kant wanted to rebut Hume's skepticism about the supernatural, but the way he did it was to put a divide between the things you can sense (the Phenomenal) and the things you cannot (the Noumenal). Kant argued that the methods you use to investigate these two realms are completely disjoint. Unfortunately, this divide of Kant's has created a fracture in the perception of truth itself, as if the scientific world and the non-scientific world have nothing to say to each other. Francis Schaeffer and Nancy Pearcey, in their respective works *Escape from Reason* and *Total Truth*, have illustrated how to bridge that divide once again to reclaim one truth. Given that God is simple, and that truth is one of God's attributes, truth must be one!

It is in this context that *TE:SPTC* critiques methodological naturalism (abbr. MN). Now MN is different from philosophical naturalism, which is Hume's philosophy. MN does not claim that there *is* no supernatural. MN merely says that when you are investigating the natural, you must restrict your inquiries to the natural. You are not permitted to admit supernatural explanations of natural phenomena. But is this wise? I am reminded of the famous story (possibly apocryphal) of Laplace versus Lagrange and Napoleon. Laplace had just written his *magnum opus*, *Mécanique Céleste,* which made no mention of God (at the time, this was unusual!) Napoleon mentioned this to Laplace, who replied, "I have no need of that hypothesis!" Lagrange, when he heard of this interaction, took quite a different stance when he said, "Ah, but that is a fine hypothesis! It explains so much!"

It is precisely that question that persists, and which the philosophy section answers according to Lagrange, and not according to Laplace.

One of the more interesting aspects brought out in the Philosophy section was in "Chapter 19: Should Theistic Evolution Depend on Methodological Naturalism?" Meyer and Nelson spend some time talking about the definition of science—not an easy topic at all, and much debated. One thing they point out is that however we define science, it should be the same across the board. Meyer has found that there is an unexpected equivalence between materialistic and design-based theories with respect to their ability to meet demarcation criteria (that is, criteria to determine what is science and what is not science). Either materialistic and design-based theories *both pass* certain criteria, or they *both fail* certain criteria. The implications are especially important for opponents of Intelligent Design (abbr. ID). Suppose you claim that ID is not scientific. Well then, if you believe in MN, you may not utilize any scientific arguments to discredit ID. On the other hand, if you disbelieve in ID and use scientific arguments to try to dismantle it, you are implicitly saying that ID is a scientific theory, at least according to whatever demarcation criteria you use. Meyer is saying that you cannot have it both ways: either

materialistic theories and ID are both scientific theories, or they are both non-scientific theories. Dilley fleshes this out a bit more in "Chapter 20: How to Lose a Battleship: Why Methodological Naturalism Sinks Theistic Evolution," which I would strongly commend to your attention. He shows how acceptance of MN renders most of the TE arguments impotent.

In Chapter 24, Colin Reeves brings out an important point I would like to call to your attention. As mentioned before, since God is simple, and truth is an attribute of God, truth is simple. God is utterly logical and without contradictions in any of his thinking. Therefore, no properly interpreted truth revealed in Scripture can in principle contradict any properly interpreted finding of science. God is the author of special and general revelation. However, that certainly does not rule out a conflict between Scripture viewed as authoritative, sufficient, inerrant, and perspicuous, versus the scientific way of doing things that always trumps Scripture. As Gordon Clark said, "Science is a collection of useful falsehoods." That is, its inductive method is inherently a fallacy, and cannot arrive at truth with 100% certainty. However, the Scriptures are inerrant, inspired, and infallible. They are God's word, and therefore true. It follows that the certainty we have in Scripture is far greater than any we will ever have in science. So what happens when a finding of science appears to contradict Scripture? Well, there is certainly nothing wrong with re-examining our interpretation of Scripture: we can be wrong. I would argue, however, that the science should be suspected first, particularly given its track record. Reeves shows in this chapter that Francis Bacon espoused the opposite view, that science is the key to Scripture, not the reverse. The Bacon approach certainly seems to be dominant today, and this should not be. Reeves rightly points to the noetic effect of sin, and how it blinds us. The fact is, we are on far safer ground in the Scriptures than we are in science.

Of the theology section chapters, I found Chapter 28 by John Currid to be the most persuasive, although they all had something valuable to give. Currid shows how TE is incompatible with the Old Testament (OT). This, of course, is at the crux of the entire debate, so do not miss this chapter!

I would like to add an aside before discussing Currid's chapter. The young earth creationists, such as myself, would say that God created the universe *ex nihilo* roughly 10,000 years ago with the appearance of some age, and that he did not use any macroevolutionary process to do so. There is an area of mathematics called semi-group theory that shows that no one can disprove the theory of mature creation. The argument goes like this: suppose you have a system that starts at state A, changes in time to state B, and finally stops at state C. Then, suppose you have the identical system start at B and stop at C. Semi-group theory says that if you are inside the system, and have no outside knowledge or memory, *there is no way tell which history is true!* Therefore, science cannot disprove mature creation.

At this point, the atheist would counter with a charge of "Last Thursday-ism." This is the notion that God created the universe "last Thursday," and no-one can disprove it. Since this simply seems preposterous, the atheist claims he has countered mature creation. Aside from the fact that, technically, he has done nothing of the kind, we can counter "Last Thursday-ism" very easily: we do have outside knowledge revealed to us in Scripture! We have a history of the origin of the universe which, if true, certainly rules out any notion of God creating the universe last Thursday. Without the Holy Spirit working in anyone's heart, he will not accept the Scriptures as true; therefore, this argument might not persuade the atheist of its truth. However, he must admit that it provides a robust counter to Last Thursday-ism within the Christian worldview.

Back to Currid. Currid explains five models that TEs have put forth to explain how Genesis 1–3 can be interpreted as consistent with TE. These are the functional model, Genesis 1–3 as myth, figurative and allegorical literature, the sequential scheme, and etiology as methodology. Currid methodically punctures all of these.

The functional model says that Genesis 1–3 is about functions, not origins. John Walton, for example, argues that Genesis 1–3 is concerned about functions (Currid agrees with this), but goes further to say that *therefore* it is not about origins (Currid denies this). Those familiar with OT studies will not be surprised to hear that the characterization of Genesis 1–3 as an Ancient Near Eastern (ANE) text has a lot to do with Walton's argument. Currid successfully defends against this common mischaracterization. While Genesis certainly has some similarities with other ANE texts, they are by no means sufficient to support the impressive array of conclusions some scholars draw!

In considering Genesis 1–3 as myth, Currid interacts with Peter Enns. This is a standard position among liberal OT scholars. The question to raise here is "Why does Genesis 1–3 have so many hallmarks of historical narrative if it is a myth?" Some might say that those hallmarks are there as a process of "demythologization.". But if so, how can they be sure it originated with a myth? The polemical nature of Genesis would argue against this.

Probably the most important aspect of this chapter is the debate about the alleged figurative nature of Genesis 1–3. Currid argues, and I would completely agree with him, that Genesis 1–3 bears all the hallmarks of historical narrative such as the waw-consecutive combined with imperfect tense verbs (quite rare in Hebrew poetry), and the את direct object marker (also quite rare in Hebrew poetry). While it is highly structured, that does not rule out historical narrative. Moreover, other Scriptures regard Genesis 1–3 as historical.

The sequential scheme is trying to answer the question of how Genesis 1:1--2:3 relates to Genesis 2:4–3:24. There are several options: the conservative position (retelling), the compete position (liberal view), and a so-called third way: the sequential scheme. The idea here is that the second section is a sequential following of the first section. Walton proposes this scheme, but there are a number of objections which Currid outlines.

Etiology means to explain something's existence. Some interpret Genesis as etiology, and pivot on that idea to reject the historical nature of Genesis. Blenkinsopp and Enns have both espoused this position. However, this position makes a number of major, unwarranted assumptions which Currid points out. Perhaps the most bizarre assumption is that Genesis 2–3 was written after Israel's exile! The liberal scholars have virtually no agreement on which century they think Genesis 2–3 was written in, and therefore this assumption has no backing.

Guy Prentiss Waters shows in Chapter 29 how TE is incompatible with the NT, an excellent exercise in biblical hermeneutics, and Zaspel shows in Chapter 31 that B. B. Warfield did not espouse TE as modern TEs define the term. Warfield was deeply skeptical of many of evolution's claims all throughout his life. It is therefore not wise for TEs to use Warfield to back their views.

In conclusion, while this book is certainly long and involved, the careful reader will learn much of value, in biology, philosophy, and theology. The book succeeds, in my opinion, in casting grave doubts as to the plausibility of macroevolution in general, and theistic evolution in particular. Take and read!

Review: J. Philip Arthur. *Christ all-sufficient: Colossians and Philemon simply explained*. Welwyn Commentaries. Faverdale North, Darlington, England: Evangelical Press, 2007. Paperback, 240 pp. ISBN 9780852346556. Reviewed Frank J. Smith, Ph.D., D.D.

A British Baptist minister, Phil Arthur has authored three books in the Welwyn Commentary Series, including ones on 2 Corinthians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, and this one on Colossians and Philemon. The volume being reviewed here is penned in a very personal, pastoral, and practical style, reflective of not only the deep impression Colossians had on him early in his Christian walk, but also of the fact that his reflections on that epistle were originally presented as sermons to the Free Grace Baptist Church in Lancaster, England. The book is divided as follows:

Arthur writes that Colossians was designed to protect against those who "would wean people away from Christ in subtle ways by making them preoccupied with other things in addition to [Christ]." Paul's epistle, which is "full of Christ," points out that "Christ is magnificent, that nothing can compare with him and if we have Jesus, we have enough" (16).

That Christocentric emphasis is maintained throughout this volume. "… [A]nyone who has a share in Christ has all that there is of God. Christ is inexhaustible. The treasures of divinity will never run out; the supply of grace is limitless" (48). "All true Christians long to know the Christ they have with greater intensity and consistency, but he cannot be improved upon. To inform people that they need to move on from what they have in Christ is to insult him" (50). "The Christian leader is not merely to expound Scripture; he is to preach Christ. (There is a way of talking about the Bible which can end up obscuring Christ. With some preachers, Jesus gets hidden behind a forest of words and arguments.)" (68) "Ultimately, he [Christ] is the only true teacher" (96). "Jesus is wonderful beyond description" (96f).

Much pithy wisdom can be found in Arthur's commentary. "Showy gifts are worthless where there is no love" (35). Paul's call to a mature faith "is a sharp challenge to much of modern evangelicalism which thrives on a cult of the infantile

and the asinine" (87). "Conversion to Christ … is a spiritual baptism in which we undergo a real death and a dramatic resurrection, having become brand new persons altogether" (104). "Churches are still being seduced from first principles and stolen from under the noses of their members" (127). "A preacher who leaves people confused is a bad preacher" (195). Materialism and legalism detract from our gospel message (197f). Using gracious language seasoned with salt is the only way to communicate lovingly: "No one was ever nagged into the kingdom" (199).

A much briefer section deals with the epistle of Philemon. Arthur reminds us here that a refusal to forgive others causes damage in several areas: it "puts the person who wronged him in prison and throws away the key"; "helps encourage the growth of … a 'root of bitterness'"; "gives the enemy an opportunity to exploit"; and "will mar our relationship with God" (217f).

As Presbyterians, we would disagree with several of Arthur's views. For example, he argues that the "rite of baptism takes the form of a burial, not in earth but water, and a re-emergence" (103). He rejects the idea that "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs" is a reference to the Psalter (166f). He maintains that "the externals of worship" are trivial matters, and suggests that those who disapprove, for example, of pipe organs in public worship are guilty of being like "the burglars of Colosse" who would steal from Christ's glory (121).

Despite these shortcomings, this is, overall, a good commentary, which can prove to be personally edifying as well as useful in preparing messages.

Review: Michael Horton, *Justification*, volumes 1–2. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2018. 399 and 527 pages. Paperback. ISBN 9780310491606 and 9780310578383. $74.99. Reviewed by the Rev. Lane Keister.

While authors have written many tomes on justification in the last twenty years or so, there is always need for more to be written about the article by which the church stands or falls. Furthermore, the doctrine has become rather controversial in both academic circles and in the church. Most of the readers of *The Confessional Presbyterian* will have at least a passing acquaintance with the New Perspective(s) on Paul (hereafter NPP), which are hardly new any more. Fewer readers are aware of the revival of the so-called apocalyptic views of justification, as espoused by Douglas Campbell in his monumental volume on justification. Campbell's views, however, are receiving a goodly amount of attention in the literature. When the ecumenical aspects of people leaving evangelicalism for Rome and Eastern Orthodoxy are added to this mix, clarity on justification for new generations is something on which our future hangs. Enter Michael Horton's two-volume work, which will speak to a broad audience while defending a confessionally Reformed understanding of justification.

The structure of the two volumes is simple. The first volume is an historical examination of the doctrine. It is by no means exhaustive. It seeks to tell a very particular narrative, and that narrative is not primarily a history of the Reformed tradition on justification, but rather what the main lines of interpretation in church history on the doctrine have been. The second volume is a systematic-theological and exegetical examination of justification as it appears primarily in Paul's letters. The second volume is divided into four parts, each of which have between two and four chapters. The four parts are labeled "The Horizon of Justification," "The Achievement of Justification," "The Gift of Righteousness," and "Receiving Justification."

Some general observations about the two volumes are in order before getting into specifics. Firstly, the two volumes defend a robust confessionally orthodox Reformed understanding of justification. This is not surprising, as Horton has been a stalwart champion of the Reformational understanding of justification for many years now. Secondly, Horton is seeking to be persuasive to an audience that is primarily skeptical and/or not Reformed. He is addressing the academy and the church, but the church he is addressing is not primarily the Reformed one, but the churches outside the Reformed tradition. This helps explain some of his bibliographical choices, which might otherwise be puzzling. For example, Horton spends a great deal of time on Origen's views on justification, but hardly ever mentions John Owen, Anthony Burgess, John Colquhoun, or James Buchanan. This is not because Horton devalues their contribution, but because these are not the authors to deal with (primarily) if one wants to convince the naysayers. Origen is chosen because he is the basis of so much problematic doctrine later in church history, and especially in the Roman Catholic Church.

In chapter one, Horton asks whether yet another tome is justifiable (!) on this topic. Given the NPP, the revival of the apocalyptic theory (a la Douglas Campbell), and the Finnish interpretation of Luther, there is definitely room for another work on justification that addresses modern issues. Horton is at his best when dealing with these modern interpretations.

Chapters two and three address the early church fathers and their interpretation of justification as a sweet exchange. Even here there was diversity, with some pronouncing on something fairly close to imputation, while others drifted far from biblical moorings.

Chapters four and five look at the Medieval versions of the doctrine in Lombard, Aquinas, and the nominalists. While Horton is a bit kinder to Aquinas than others from the Van Tilian perspective might be, he certainly places indulgences

squarely in the center of the discussion, as an invention of Lombard (99). With regard to Aquinas, Horton says, "As counterintuitive as it may seem from a Protestant perspective, *within the medieval paradigm* emphasis on infused righteousness is motivated by a concern to avoid any semi-Pelagian (much less Pelagian) notion of attaining righteousness apart from grace" (103–4, emphasis original). Still, it cannot be denied that the Medieval tradition on justification was fairly thoroughly non-forensic. The nominalist tradition was famous for saying that people should do what they can. Here Horton gets a bit more technical, perhaps, than he needs. For instance, he says, "Thomas's epistemological intellectualism (i.e., the conformity of the will to reason) is grounded in and reinforces his ontological realism, while Scotus's voluntarism is inseparable from his protonominalism" (140). While it is certainly true that voluntarism and nominalism were key philosophical ideas in the medieval period, this kind of sentence tends to fly by the average reader's comprehension.

Chapters six through nine treat of the Reformation era conflicts, focusing on Luther, Calvin, and the Roman Catholic response at Trent. Although, as has been said, Horton advocates a confessional treatment of justification, and offers non-controversial readings of the Reformers, there are some places where clarity is lacking. For example, Horton says, "Union with Christ does not provide a basis for God's discerning in us a righteousness imparted; rather, on the basis of justification we partake of Christ's vivifying life" (215). This could be taken to mean a dichotomy between union with Christ and sanctification (especially in the first half of the quotation), which is surely not Horton's object. Horton believes that justification is the source of union with Christ (ibid.). This claim will be controversial, especially among those who hold to a more Westminster Philadelphia point of view. Especially in dispute would be Horton's claim that the "*act* of justification is logically prior to union" (219, emphasis original). Horton's admirable desire to prevent any ontological change or relational change from being the basis of justification leads him perhaps to what some might call overstatement. The *basis* for justification is the finished work of Jesus Christ imputed to believers and received by faith alone. On this point, all confessionally Reformed theologians would agree. However, this does not mean that union with Christ is necessarily logically subsequent to justification. If Calvin is correct in 3.1.1 of the *Institutes* (that Christ is of no benefit to those who are outside of Christ), then temporally, at least, union with Christ cannot postdate justification. A distinction can legitimately be made among various meanings of "union." There is legal union, and there is personal union, as the Berkhof quotation on page 219 reminds us.

In chapter ten Horton expounds on the difference between the covenant of works and the covenant of grace in the context of the law-gospel distinction. His position is that the Sinai covenant has the terms of Deuteronomy 28 as to the covenant possession of the land, but is a distinct administration of the covenant of grace in a typological and subservient way with regard to the forgiveness of sins (300). For Horton, the Abrahamic covenant lies behind the Sinaitic and gives it the more primal impetus of grace. The types and shadows of the Mosaic sacrificial system point to the sacrifice of Christ. Horton finishes volume one with a look at justification after the Reformation, and describes it as the triumph of nominalism. With the exception of Reformed confessional authors, this claim is certainly borne out by the evidence.

Volume two begins with a salutary rejection of the suspicion that many exegetes and systematicians have of each other. Horton recognizes that exegesis is never done without boundaries, and that systematic theology is always based on exegesis (20). Horton outlines some of the major modern challenges to the traditional doctrine and notes that many of the challenges have an element of the truth while being one-sided. Horton proposes to incorporate the positive tweaks that some of the challenges have brought, while remaining true to the Reformational understanding of justification. In this, I judge that Horton's attempt is a success, by and large.

The first major part of volume, chapters one and two, deal with Adam, Israel, and works of the law in Paul. In chapter one, Horton lays out his case for understanding Sinai as a legal covenant, and the priority of the Abrahamic covenant in the over-arching covenant of grace. As this topic has been addressed above, I will move on to chapter two. In general, Horton defends the Reformational understanding of the phrase as excluding all works from justification. I do not think Horton needed to give any ground to Sanders, such as agreeing with him that Paul argues from solution to plight (107), or in saying that "The new perspective has wisely cautioned against reading the Reformation debate into Paul's polemic" (112). However, such statements are not the normal treatment of the NPP from Horton, who rejects the main lines of the NPP and most of its smaller arguments as well. For instance, Horton agrees (rightly) with Fitzmyer (over against the NPP) on the phrase "works of the law" as it is to be interpreted in the Dead Sea Scrolls document 4QMMT. It means more than just the "boundary marker" works. In describing the Jewish plight as seen by Paul, Horton offers this gem: "In other words, the plight is not that Jewish Christians are not Jewish enough, nor that they are too exclusive, but that they are essentially Gentiles—cut off from Christ and therefore from God's covenant of promise" (136). And later, he says, "Paul's frame of reference (in Romans 7:5–6, LK) is the coming wrath, not against Israel but against the whole world; it is not just a question of how gentiles get into Israel's covenant, but how sinful

Continued on Page 220.

Psallo

Psalm 15:1–5

We have settled on Psalm 15 for this year's work in the Psalter. There is nothing out of the ordinary in the translation you have before you; all is relatively straightforward in the original. We have named the tune Lo Yimoth L'Olam after the last few words in the Psalm, meaning, "He shall never be moved." This is a fitting description of the everlasting fellowship of the one who dwells with the Lord in His tabernacle. In verse two we have rendered the Hebrew תָּמִים (*tamiym*) with the English "perfect," which is a common choice among translators.[1] Verse 3 renders the Hebrew לֹא־רָגַל as "he slanders-not." This too is well-attested here in Psalm 15, although the word itself has a much larger range of meaning, including to spy out, or to search or scout ahead. The word is related to the feet, and so the connection may be something similar to "walking about with the tongue" as we have it here, or slandering. The Authorized Version renders it, "backbiteth not."

The Psalm begins with two parallel questions, asked by its author, David. It is the cry of devotion we hear from the Sweet Psalmist of Israel (2 Samuel 23:1). *Who shall dwell in thy tabernacle, Lord? Who shall abide in thy holy mountain?* Having considered that the Lord God is indeed the highest aim of all men, the greatest of all, David muses, under the inspiration of the Spirit of God, as to how one might have the Lord God as his "immediate vision and fruition."[2] It will do us well to pause and ponder that question ourselves. Who can enter that holy of holies? Who can ascend to that holy height? These are the questions of a man devoted to the Lord as his exceeding great reward (Genesis 15:1), yet also one who is acutely aware of his own unworthiness for such company. Note that David asks not just concerning a passing visit to these places, but he asks what it means to *dwell* there, to *abide*. Note further, that the doubling of the question indicates first an urgency in his petition, and secondly an advancement in the expression. In the first consideration, when we have a duplicated phrase in Hebrew poetry, it can indicate intensity, importance, urgency. The question is asked twice because it is of great importance to the Psalmist, and to all who have come to love the Lord by His grace, and for His great mercy to sinners. He advances the thought in the second phrase however, as he speaks of the Lord's holy mountain. Not only is this a place where the Lord has set up His dwelling, it is a place of purity and separation from all that is common or unclean. Who shall abide *there*? It is where the Lord dwells, He who is unimaginably holy. We are called ourselves to ask the same questions, are we not? All those who have that same desire, that singular desire, that "one thing have I desired of the Lord" (Psalm 27:4), are called upon here to ask that same question. Who shall abide *there*?

Engaging with the rest of the Psalm, the answer is forthcoming from David, but it is perhaps not what we expected to hear. There are moral attributes given as qualifications that will cause the man who desires to dwell with the Lord to lower his head in shame, for if this is what is required, it is beyond his ken. For the man who understands himself, the distance between the Creator and the creature is indeed, very great—so great that he cannot rightly in himself entertain the thought of such a communion, of such an abode as the *holy* hill of the Lord. Let us examine some of these necessities:

The first set of moral attributes speak of his behavior as it concerns himself. We hear that he must have a perfect walk. And while the word תָּמִים (*tamiym*) may not indicate complete moral perfection, it certainly presents an obstacle to fallen men. The next is that he works or does that which is upright. Speaking of his outward behavior, this standard of righteousness is indeed higher than the candid man would dare to claim as his attainment. The next is perhaps even more difficult to surmount, for it speaks of the heart, and truth being spoken there—that is, the inner man is free from self-deception, improper entertainment of error, or deceit. The heart of the one who shall dwell with the Lord is full of truth, and his *inner* dialogue is free from lies, half-truths, and deception. Like the Apostle Paul, the man that truly examines himself, while potentially entertaining outward obedience, will be withered back to reality by the heart-obedience required by the Lord, upon His Holy Mountain.[3]

The second set of moral attributes concerns his posture toward his neighbors, friends, and companions. Here we have brought under scrutiny his speech, his deeds, and his practice regarding the behavior of others, whether he will receive an evil report concerning his near relations and acquaintances. So not only in regard to himself must he be perfect, but in regard to others as well—how he treats them, and how he treats others who would mistreat them.

In the third set of attributes we see that he is required to make right judgments concerning good and evil and his

Continued on Page 221.

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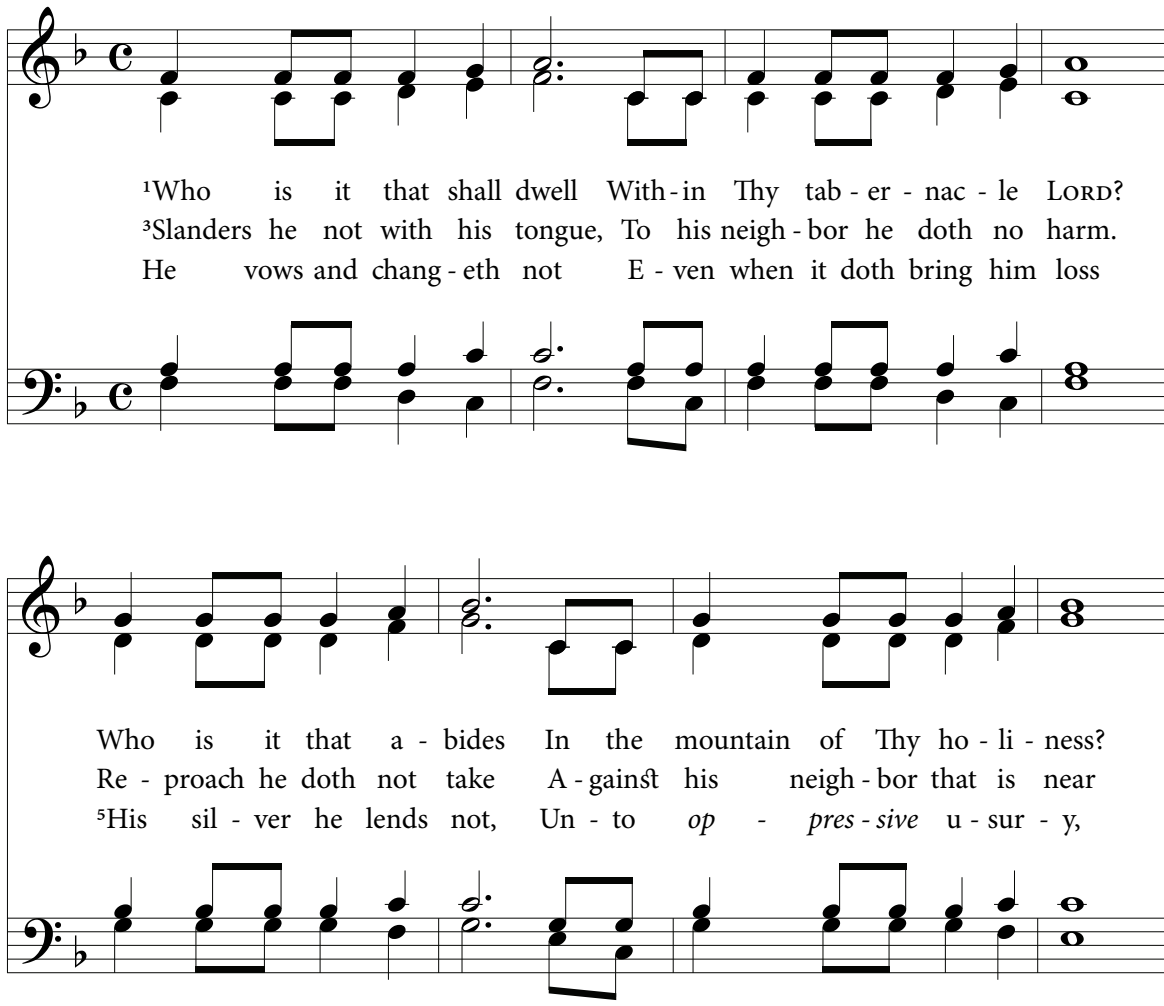
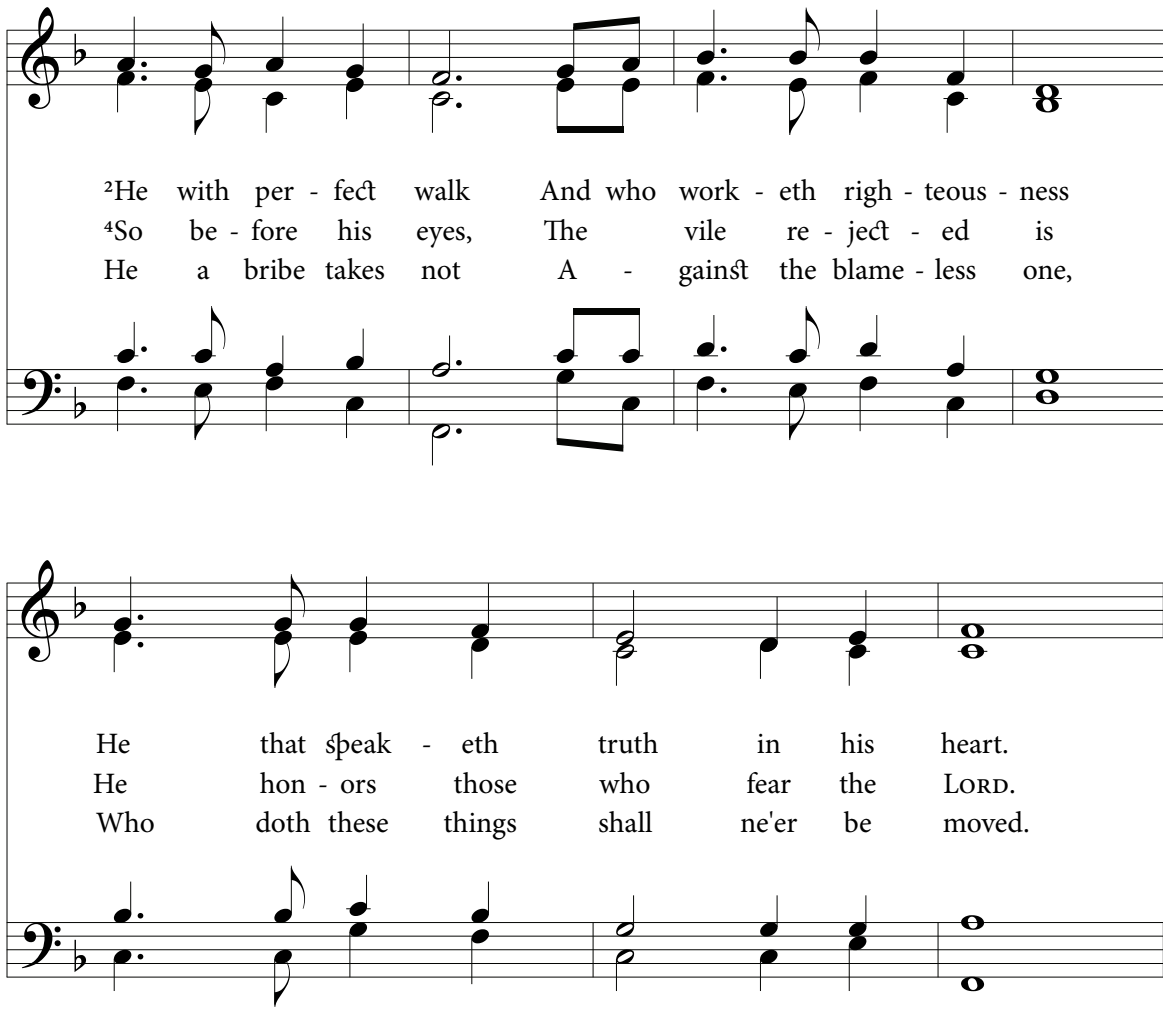
1. Psalm 18:30, 19:7, 101:2 & 6, among many others.
2. Westminster Larger Catechism, question and answer #90.
3. Romans 7:7-13. See especially that it was the Tenth Commandment, that one which explicitly concerns the heart, that convicted the Apostle to the Gentiles.

Psalm 15:1–5

A Psalm of David.

Lo Yimoth L'Olam — Todd L. Ruddell




2He with per - fect walk And who work - eth righ - teous - ness
4So be - fore his eyes, The vile re - ject - ed is
He a bribe takes not A - gainst the blame - less one,
He that speak - eth truth in his heart.
He hon - ors those who fear the Lord.
Who doth these things shall ne'er be moved.

Antiquary

Why Christmas Day ought not to be Observed
A Transcription from Manuscript of Notes from a Sermon by George Gillespie, December 24, 1643

Introduction

As noted in this space last year,[1] the discovery of any sermon by George Gillespie, fragmentary though it be, is significant because all the manuscript sermons preached while he was in London at the Westminster Assembly, were allowed to be destroyed by the printer in whose care he had left them to prepare for the press.[2] The notes presented here of a sermon preached not long after Gillespie's arrival in London are so brief as would hardly merit much attention except for this fact. But as sparse as they are, these notes underscore what was a key point, often overlooked or not appreciated, in Gillespie's *Dispute Against the English Popish Ceremonies,*[3] which concerned the necessity of putting away monuments to idolatry. It is also of interest because it augments the details of the brief controversy the Westminster divines faced as far as what to do about preaching on Christmas day in 1643. Presented here is a transcription of these notes with a modernized text in the commentary.

"Why Christmas Day must not be obserued," auditor's notes, in Commonplace book of Walter Boothby of Tottenham (ca. 1631–1665). MS Eng. c. 2693. Bodleian Library. xxvii + 914 pages.

The notes of this sermon by George Gillespie are recorded in a commonplace book compiled by Walter Boothby. The Gateway to Early Modern Manuscript Sermons Catalogue record for this manuscript provides the following detailed information:

> Content Note: A commonplace book entitled "A Nosegay of Everlasting Orifficall Flowers, gathered out of Heavens paradice" (p. 1). Contains Boothby's notes on about 150 sermons, mostly by Presbyterians (pp. vii–766). The manuscript is organized as a commonplace book but is divided by subjects rather than following a chronological order, with Boothby's notes on sermons he has heard under the subject headings (e.g. "Of Christ", "Of Sinne"). Includes an index of the sermons by subject (pp. iii–xiv). Also includes correspondence, mainly Boothby's letters to family members, dated 1640–1643 (pp. 768–913).
>
> Material features: xxviii + 914 pages. Bound in vellum wrapper. Boothby has put subheadings in the margin, apparently to summarize the point of the sermon that he has cited under the general heading.
>
> Aquisition: Purchased at auction from D. P. White (Occasional List 35 [1991], item 137).
>
> Other Note: The cataloguer dates this manuscript c. 1632–1655, but some of the sermons are dated 1631. This volume contains notes on many sermons that Boothby attributes to 'Dr. Stawton' (occasionally spelled Staughton). The most likely identity of Stawton is John Stoughton (1593–1639),[4] whom the cataloguer identifies as a preacher mentioned in this volume. However, in some cases the name seems more like 'Stanton,' so it could be Edmund Staunton (1600–1671). Both of these preachers were Presbyterians, like Boothby and like most of the

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Introduction and Transcription by Chris Coldwell. Chris Coldwell is the general editor and publisher of *The Confessional Presbyterian* journal and publishes Puritan era works via Naphtali Press. Photographs of the manscript were obtained by Matthew Vogan, who assisted with the work for this article. Mr. Vogan is Media and Publications Manager at Reformation Scotland and lives near Edinburgh, Scotland. He is the author/editor of two volumes on Samuel Rutherford and contributes articles to a variety of different Reformed publications.

1. See "*Antiquary:* A Transcription from Manuscript of a Sermon on Psalm 2:10–12 by George Gillespie," *The Confessional Presbyterian* 14 (2018): 249–262.

2. "He had all his sermons in England, part polemical, part practical, prepared for the press; and but one copy of them, which he told the printer's wife he used to deal with, and bade her have a care of them. And she was prevailed on by some money from the Sectaries, who were mauled by him, to suppress them." Memoir of the Rev. George Gillespie, in *The Presbyterians' Armoury,* ed. William M. Hetherington, volume 1 (Edinburgh: R. Ogle and Oliver & Boyd, 1846), xl. See also Robert Wodrow, *Analecta: or, Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences; mostly relating to Scotch Ministers and Christians,* volume 1 (Edinburgh: Printed for the Maitland Club, M.DCCC.XLII), 159–160.

3. Upon its arrival in Scotland shortly after the start of the Second Reformation (having been printed most likely in the Netherlands), Gillespie's *Dispute* became the intellectual argument against the imposition of Laud's service book and the popish ceremonies. George Gillespie, *A Dispute Against the English Popish Ceremonies obtruded upon the Church of Scotland* (1637; critical edition, Naphtali Press, 2013).

4. As noted below the baptism of Boothby's daughter at St. Mary Aldermanbury seems to confirm the identity as John Stoughton. This church was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666. It was rebuilt and that structure was gutted in the Blitz in 1940. The stones of the structure were moved in 1966 to the campus of Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, and a church reconstructed as a memorial to Winston Churchill, who gave his famous iron curtain speech at the college in 1946.

other preachers mentioned in this volume. It could also be one of two preachers named John Stawton in CCEd (Person IDs: 101994 and 108233).[5] Since Stoughton is the most likely attribution, these sermons have been attributed to him, but they remain uncertain. Among these sermons, those that are dated were all preached before Stoughton's death in 1639, except the sermon 'of feare [3]' (pp. 272–273), but in this case Boothby has clearly written 'Doc. Stanton' so this sermon is attributed to Edmund Staunton. For more information on this manuscript, see also John Spurr, *The Laity and Preaching in Post-Reformation England* (London: Dr Williams's Trust, 2013), pp. 18-19.[6]

Transcription.

The following transcription is rendered in more reader friendly form in the commentary. Bolded words have some degree of doubt as to the transcription. A question mark means a letter was not decipherable. Parenthetical text explains or defines the previous text. Text that reads ~~?????~~ is intentionally crossed out text that is no longer legible. Crossed out text is legible text the writer crossed out. Interline text is surrounded by the caret symbol (^). Words in braces were originally in abbreviated form. Double underlining is in the original and seems to indicate titles. The fact that the first portion identified as from Gillespie takes up the middle of page 286 with almost enough room for the next portion on page 287, which is titled as a new topic, at least raises the question whether the second portion is a separate new topic in Boothby's commonplace book and not necessarily from the same source or occasion (and there is a case to make that it is by an Englishman). However, since it is a topic Gillespie addressed in his *Dispute*, the text is included and some ties to that work are noted in the comments.

Why Christmas Day must not be obserued.
By Mr Gelaspe
a Scot. Minister
Dec. 24, 1643.

1. If it had bin God's will that such a day as {this} should have bin observed, then certainly he would have mayd knowne the day, that soe the self same day wh. did appertaine unto his (its) commemoration, should have bin celebrated, & not another, but that day is consealed & so close (*completely*) as {that} all {the} witts in the world cannot pouynt it out, & I contend for {that} self same reason {that} Moses' body was,

2. {That} worship wh. God **never** commanded must be unlawfull, as was the washing of the Pharasees [Mat. 15.9],[7] & therefore Christ accompted them but vayne inventions of man's brayne, if so, then though it did teach them holiness, yet it having his (its) **entre** from men, & a human institution, it was a vayne thing, but so is this day merely instituted by man, & therefore but vayne,

3. Such things wh. have bin abused unto superstition must not bee allowed; but this day hath binn grossly abused to superstition, therefore unlawfull. Instance in the Brazen Serpent [a thing of **greate** use][8] wh. though appoynted by God, yet when once it was abused to idollatry, it was broken to powder, much more should {that} be abolished wh. hath only man's warrant for its institution.

4. In **regarde** of the late Sollem covenante, where{with} the State hath bound themselves to observe, wherein they, & wee have covenanted, to oppose and withstand all superstitious worshippe, and to furder a Reformation to our uttmost power, such as shall be most agreeable unto God's Sacred word, & will,

5. More particularly it is ~~?????~~ now to be refused because of the unsutabellnes thereof unto our times, now God calls us not unto his Sollum feast in wh. we should joy, & make merry, attending to the aboundance wh. he hath given, but he callas us unto weepeing mourneing, & lamentation [Isa. 22:12][9] **as** now how unagreeable should our ~~condition~~ ^**carrage** (carriage)^ be unto {**our**} condition, if upon God's call for weepeing mourneing & lamentation, behould feasting & mirth. this did much insense the Lord agaynst the Jews & So would it agaynst us.

Whether the observation of holy Dayes bee lawfull.[10]

[Whether it be in the power of a state King **or** parliament to

5. Clergy of the Church of England Database. https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/.

6. GEMMS-MANUSCRIPT-000541, Gateway to Early Modern Manuscript Sermons, Catalogue record. https://gemms.itercommunity.org/view_record.php?table=manuscript&id=541 Source of data: "Jeanne Shami; Bodleian Library Catalogue of manuscripts acquired singly: albums, commonplace books, notebooks and scrapbooks (online)."

7. "Mat. 15.9" is in the left-hand margin.

8. This text was in the left-hand margin next to this line of text and would seem to refer to the brazen serpent.

9. "22 Esa. 12" (Isa. 22:12) is in the right-hand margin. The subsequent "as" is very faint.

10. This new topic and text is on page 287. It is unattributed and no occasion given, so it may be from the same occasion or not since the volume is arranged topically. The "our state" would seem to indicate the comment is by an Englishman, though Scotland also had recently with the Second Reformation once again thrown off the yoke of the

establish holy Dayes][11] For answer unto this question. I affirm {that} it is not in the power of any state or kingdome to establish an holy Day, & {that} it hath bin the Sinne of our State to ????? make holy dayes, & to rayse them up in **equepage** (*equal establishment*) {with} the Lord's Day, my Reason is this.

The effect cannot rise higher than the cause, as a stream cannot assend above the fountaine, but for a civill state to establish holy rights (rites) is to assend above there (their) prinsipell: therefore it's unlawfull. true it is, a state may establish Sivill (civil) dayes.

pretended holy days, which had indeed been on a par with the Lord's Day as well. Stoughton may have been the speaker since he opposed the popish innovations and was punished by Laud. See below.

11. The first text in square braces was in the right-hand margin. The text runs into the binding and the presumed "or" is obscured.

12. Frederick Arthur Crisp, ed., *Visitation of England and Wales, Notes Vol. 12* (Privately Printed, 1917), 149.

13. Haberdashers "sold, amongst other wares, French and Spanish gloves, and French cloth or frizarde (frieze), Flanders-dyed kersies, daggers, swords, knives, Spanish girdles, painted cruses, dials, tables, cards, balls, glasses, fine earthen pots, saltcellars, spoons, tin dishes, puppets, pennons, inkhorns, toothpicks, silk, and silver buttons." Dorothy Williams Whitney. "London Puritanism: The Haberdashers' Company," *Church History* 32, no. 3 (1963): 299.

14. *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660–1690,* ed. B. D. Henning (London: Published for the History of Parliament Trust by Secker & Warburg, 1983), 657. The entry is for John Jolliffe (Jolley) who married Rebecca Boothby, Walter's daughter.

15. Whitney, 298, 310.

16. *The Diary of Samuel Rogers, 1634–1638,* ed. Tom Webster and Kenneth Shipps (Trowbridge, Wiltshire: Cromwell Press, A Church of England Record Society publication published by The Boydell Press, an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2004), 130.

17. It may well be that Stoughton is the source for the second question in the MS, since nonconformists as well as Scots Presbyterians viewed the pretended holy days as popish innovations.

18. Benjamin Brook, *The Lives of the Puritans,* 3 vols. (1813), 3.527.

19. Crisp, 150.

20. "The Churches Cordiall in her fainting Fitts MS," MS I.f.18, Congregational Library Collection, Dr. Williams's Library, London. The first pieces are from 1661 with the Marshall and an undated unattributed sermon in the middle followed by a sermon from 1653 by Calamy and others dating to 1661 and 1662. It is not clear why the earlier sermons are in the middle, but it may be Boothby was creating a new collection from previous and current notes sometime around 1661. See GEMMS record, https://gemms.itercommunity.org/view_record.php?table=manuscript&id=323.

21. *Journal of the House of Commons,* vol. 3, September 14, 1643 (H. M. Stationery Office, 1803), p. 241. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie,* ed. David Laing, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Alex. Lawrie & Co. for The Bannatyne Club, 1841–42), 1.xlix. *The Minutes and Papers of the Westminster Assembly 1643–1652,* 5 vols., ed. Chad Van Dixhoorn (Oxford University Press, 2012), 2.123, 124.

22. Laing, 1.l.

23. This may have been granted by the King. At least there is no record in the parliament journals for the time of the Treaty. Nor I have found confirmation of this for the later period, though it stands to reason if the Scots Commissioners were given a church in which to hold services of the Scottish Presbyterian form, a similar accommodation

Walter Boothby's Commonplace Book

The brief notes of this sermon are found in a commonplace book penned by Walter Boothby of Tottenham (ca. 1631–1665). Boothby (1600–1669)[12] was a merchant, a Haberdasher[13] both in Tottenham and in London.[14] The Worshipful Company of Haberdashers via its leadership if not general membership, supported puritan lectureships for forty years prior to the time of the Westminster Assembly, including the successful St. Bartholomew lectureship of John Downame in London.[15] The most frequent preacher recorded by Boothby in this commonplace book is John Stoughton, "one of the most popular godly preachers in England" at the time.[16] For seven years Stoughton was the permanent curate and lecturer at St Mary Aldermanbury in London, where "he was a laborious, orthodox, and useful preacher; but having occasionally touched upon the popish and arminian innovations, he was, by the instigation of Laud, prosecuted in the high commission.[17] He died in the year 1639, when he was succeeded by Mr. Edmund Calamy.…"[18] St Mary Aldermanbury appears to have been Walter Boothby's parish church. His daughter, Rebecca, was baptized there on March 13, 1633/34.[19] In his commonplace book Boothby recorded sermons or extracts and arranged them topically, apparently at least in part or in whole drawing on notes from sermons he had recorded previously between 1631 and 1655. The entries include material from Stoughton and Calamy. In another manuscript he records sermons by Calamy (1653, 1661–2) as well as by Thomas Watson (1661), Simeon Ashe (1661), and Stephen Marshall (1641).[20]

George Gillespie and Alexander Henderson were admitted by parliament and welcomed into the Westminster Assembly on September 14 and 15 respectively,[21] and Samuel Rutherford and Robert Baillie arrived later and were admitted to the assembly on November 20.[22] It is not certain if Boothby heard Gillespie preach or obtained a manuscript from which he made these brief notes; but it is not improbable he heard Gillespie himself. Calamy might have invited the Scot to preach or lecture on the Lord's Day, December 24, 1643, though as will be seen there is reason to think he would not have done so. But if he did, Boothby certainly could have heard Gillespie in his own parish church. But if not, he also may have attended where Gillespie was preaching or lecturing that day. Laing writes that previously when Baillie and Henderson were in London in 1640-41 for the treaty ending the Second Bishops' War and later with others during the years of the Westminster Assembly, they resided at Worcester House (or Place), and were given nearby St. Antholins to hold services (at least in the earlier period).[23]

> At this time [1643], as well as during their former mission to London, the Scotish Commissioners resided in Worcester House, in the City, and St. Antholin's Church was set apart for their use, the ministers preaching in their turn, for a time, at least, to very crowded audiences. "The people throngs to our sermon (he [Baillie] says in January 1641), as ever you saw any to Irwin [Irvine] communion; their crowd daylie encreases." Lord Clarendon also refers to their great popularity at that time. The Treaty being now adjourned to London, the Scotish Commissioners, he states, "came thither in great state, and were received by the King with that countenance, which he could not choose but shew to them; and were then lodged in the heart of the city, near London-stone, in a house which used to be inhabited by the Lord Mayor or one of the Sheriffs, and was situated so near to the church of St. Antholins, that there was a way out of it into a gallery of the church. This benefit was well foreseen on all sides in the accommodation, and this church assigned to them for their own devotions, where one of their own chaplains still preached, (amongst which Alexander Henderson was the chief, who was likewise joined with them in the treaty in all maters which had reference to religion;)…."[24]

This Worcester House has been confused by another of the same name which later belonged to Edward Hyde (Earl of Clarendon),[25] but as he indicates in his history, the Scottish ministers at the earlier time resided in a house next to St. Antholins, which had private access to it. This could not have been Worcester House, which judging by current maps would have been about 0.3 miles south on the banks of the Thames. So either the commissioners moved at least once or perhaps it was just the Scottish ministers who lived in the adjacent house in 1641.

It is also not clear if the Scottish Commissioners who arrived in September and November of 1643 were immediately accommodated again at Worcester House, though parliament would have had to have made accomodations for those present to negotiate the Solemn League and Covenant in September. The earliest notice of Parliament providing for Worcester House is an order dated January 30, 1644, which was either the order setting it aside for the Scots use again or to further provision the house.[26] While Baillie rarely signs his letters as at "Worcester House," and the earliest is dated in July 1645,[27] he seems to indicate Worcester House was his residence for the entire time and both before and after the January provision refers to his accommodation as "our house" (Gillespie, Rutherford, Henderson and Maitland all residing there).[28] And as much preaching as the Scottish ministers did, the parliament may have continued the prior practice of giving them St. Antholins to use, though Baillie indicates he preached regularly at the Savoy, which may indicate they had places aplenty in which to preach.[29]

So though it remains in the realm of supposition, it may well be that on December 24, 1643, Gillespie's turn had come to preach at St. Antholins if that was the custom as in 1641, which was not half a mile south from St. Mary Aldermanbury, and so Walther Boothby could easily have attended.[30] Or it may be that Gillespie had been invited to speak at St. Mary Aldermanbury or some other nearby church, though as will be seen there may be some doubt if Calamy would have done so on this occasion.

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would have been extended or had been in continuance for the later period.

24. Laing, 1.l–li.

25. "This was not the house of the Earls of Worcester, which Lord Clarendon afterwards inhabited, on the site of the present Beaufort-buildings in the Strand; but Worcester Place, the house of John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, Lord High Treasurer of England, also on the banks of the Thames, but nearer the Tower." Laing, 1.l, n3.

26. January 30, 1643. "It is this Day Ordered, by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, That Worcester House be forthwith fitted and prepared for the Receipt and Accommodation of the Commissioners and Committees sent from our Brethren of Scotland; and that all manner of Household Stuff, Linen, and other Necessaries for the same, be provided and supplied out of any of his Majesty's Wardrobes, or other Stores, to make up what is wanting, at the present, in the said House...." House of Commons Journal, vol. 3, p. 383.

27. Laing, 2.281. Some of Gillespie's letters from September 1644 are all signed "Worcester House." Laing, 2.500. Other letters by all or some of the commissioners later in their stay are so signed as well. Laing, 3.541. Other such letters are noted in, Publications of the Scottish History Society volume XI, General Assembly Commission Records. May 1892. *The Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland Holden in Edinburgh in the Years 1646 and 1647,* edited from the Original Manuscript by Alexander F. Mitchell, D.D., LL.D. and James Christie, D.D. with an Introduction by the former (Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1892) xxiv, 12, 99, 162, 182, 187, 189, 200, 210, 223, 233, 257, 274, 275, 310, 312, 326.

28. Laing, 2.107, 133, 145 and 206. "from the 1643 to 1647, I lived at Worcester House, and preached in the Savoy…. Laing, 3.265.

29. Rutherford preached at least all the sermons making up *Trial and Triumph of Faith* while in London, and the volume of sermons Gillespie preached has already been noted. The Savoy Chapel was part of the Savoy Hospital built by Henry VIII replacing the Savoy Palace destroyed in the peasant revolt of 1381. The hospital was demolished in the 19th century but the chapel, which dates to the 1490s, still survives. At the time Baillie was in London, the congregation of St. Mary le Strand held worship services there, which they did from 1549–1714. Thomas Fuller was appointed lecturer in 1642, but when the Solemn League & Covenant was drawn up he would not sign without reservation and left Savoy and attended upon the king at Oxford. He was reinstated at the Savoy at the Restoration (*The Collected Sermons of Thomas Fuller, D.D., 1631–1659,* Volume 1 [London: The Gresham Press, 1891] xxiii; ccxcii).

30. See the discussion of Worcester House and the map of locations in "Appendix: Westminster Abbey Library: And Other Theological

The Subject of the Sermon Notes

The Church of Scotland had rejected the entire church calendar of holy days at the Reformation. These had been imposed again by the King at the 1618 Perth Assembly, and jettisoned again at the Second Reformation in 1638. The English church had retained much of the ceremonies and holy days which to varying degrees with little choice the puritan movement put up with. But with the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant, the two nations and churches had agreed to conform to the best doctrine and practice of the Reformed churches. Within weeks of arriving and becoming part of the Westminster Assembly, the Scottish ministers and their English counterparts faced the question of what to do about the English custom of holding services on Christmas Day, which was a Monday in 1643.[31]

Whether to preach on Christmas in 1643?

George Gillespie did not just randomly pitch upon the subject of "Why Christmas Day should not be Observed" for his December 24, 1643 sermon. The minutes of the Westminster Assembly do not survive for December 21, 1643 to February 14, 1644, but Lightfoot records the following for the session on Friday, December 22.

> After this vote, was a proposal made by some, 'That the Assembly would determine whether there should be any sermon upon Christmas-day:' but it was waived to treat of it, because we are not yet come to it. Then was there some question how long we should adjourn, and some few would have had us to have sitten on Christmas-day; but it was more generally thought otherwise; and so we adjourned till after the fast, viz. till Thursday. In the afternoon, the city-ministers met together to consult whether they should preach on Christmas-day, or no. Among them there were only Mr. Calamy, Mr. Newcomen, and myself, of the Assembly. And when Mr. Calamy began to incline that there should be no sermon on that day, and was like to sway the company that way, I took him aside, and desired him to consider seriously upon these things. 1. That one sermon preached at the feast of the dedication, which had but a human original, John x. 2. That the thing in itself was not unlawful. 3. That letting the day utterly fall without a sermon, would most certainly breed a tumult. 4. That it is but this one day, for the next we hope will be resolved upon about it by authority. 5. That he, being an Assembly-man, and advising them, would bring an odium underserved upon the Assembly. With these things I prevailed with him to change his mind; and so he also prevailed with the company; and it was put to the question, and voted affirmatively, only some four or five gainsaying, that they would preach, but withal resolving generally to cry down superstition of the day.[32]

The agreement which Lightfoot reasoned from Calamy would seem to cast some doubt that Calamy would have immediately had Gillespie preach against observing the day at St. Mary Aldermanbury. However, it likely would have been arranged before the meeting on the 22nd and if so it would seem as unlikely the invitation would have been rescinded. So it remains a possibility that Boothby could have heard Gillespie at St. Mary Aldermanbury. As to the controversy, Baillie records this same matter brought up on Friday, December 22, giving the Scottish point of view. In an undated letter "For Scotland" but with a postscript dated January 1, 1644, he writes,

> On Friday [i.e. Dec. 22] I moved Mr. Henderson to go to the Assembly; for else he purposed to have stayed at home that day; that as all of us stoutly had preached against their Christmass, so we might in private solist [importune] our acquaintance[s] of the Assembly, and speak something of it in public; that for the discountenancing of that superstition, it were good the Assembly should not adjourn, but sit on Monday, their Christmas day. We found sundry willing to follow our advice, but the most resolved to preach that day, till the Parliament should reform it in an orderly way; so, to our small [i.e. little] contentment, the Assembly was adjourned from Friday till Thursday next: yet we prevailed with

Resources of the Assembly of Divines (1643–1652)," *The Grand Debate* (Naphtali Press, 2014), 393–396; or similarly in an earlier version of the same material in *The Confession Presbyterian* 6 (2010): 274–276. The map has an error in that location 11 is St Mary Aldermary which was confused with St Mary Aldermanbury (Aldermanbury is location 1). This affects the accuracy of some of the statements regarding proximity in these prior articles dealing with Worcester House. Both St. Antholins and St. Mary Aldermanbury no longer stand, but based on their locations comparing with the Agas Map of London, it appears roughly 0.4 miles distance between them, and it would have been about a mile's distance from where Worcester House stood and St. Mary Aldermanbury.

31. The Presbyterian were not alone struggling with the holy day issue. Initially many of the Reformed desired to reduce or eliminate them, but they were retained or re-imposed due to political circumstances and by insistence of magistrates. See Rev. Anderson's article in this issue, and in previous issues see Andrew J. Webb and Chris Coldwell, "American Presbyterianism and the Religious Observance of Christmas," 11 (2015): 142–187 and "*In Translatione:* John Calvin's Letters to the Ministers of Montbéliard (1543–1544): The Genevan Reformer's Advice and Views of the Liturgical Calendar," 13 (2017): 198–220.

32. John Lightfoot, "Journal of the Assembly of Divines," *The Whole Works of the Rev. John Lightfoot,* volume 13 (London: 1824), 91–92.

> our friends of the Lower House to carry it so in Parliament, that both Houses did profane that holy day, by sitting on it, to our joy, and some of the Assembly's shame. On Wednesday we kept the solemn fast. Mr. Henderson did preach to the House of Commons as most gracious, wise, and learned sermon, which you will see in print. Mr. Rutherford is desired by them to preach the next fast day.[33]

According to Baillie it appears that the Scots may well have been among those behind the raising of the question in the assembly and that some discussion did take place in the assembly on the question and not just in the afternoon meeting where the only assemblymen present were Newcomen, Calamy and Lightfoot, though he may have been drawing from knowledge he gained of that meeting in his report. While there was some "joy" that the parliament did not take Christmas day off, the Scottish ministers were clearly "little content" the assembly took a Christmas break. It is in this context that two days later on the Lord's Day, December, 24, 1643, that Gillespie preached his sermon or lectured on the topic of "Why Christmas should not be observed."

As Lightfoot suggested, the subject did come up again the next year and during the debates on the assembly's Directory for the Public Worship of God. Lightfoot notes the following: "Thursday, Dec. 19 [1644].], Then was there a motion made, and order accordingly, that some of our members should be sent to the Houses, to desire them to give an order, that the next fast-day might be solemnly kept, because the people will be ready to neglect it, being Christmas-day."[34] The minutes omit the actual concern that the fast would be neglected for the accustomed holiday.[35] Neal gives greater background,

> But that which occasioned the greatest disturbance over the whole nation, was an order of both houses relating to Christmas-day. Dr. Lightfoot says, the London ministers met together last year to consult whether they should preach on that day; and one of considerable name and authority opposed it, and was near prevailing with the rest, when the doctor convinced them so far of the lawfulness and expediency of it, that the question being put it was carried in the affirmative with only four or five dissenting voices. But this year it happening to fall on the monthly fast,[36] so that either the fast or the festival must be omitted, the parliament, after some debate, thought it most agreeable to the present circumstances of the nation to go on with fasting and prayer; and therefore published the following order:
>
> "Die Jovis 19 Dec. 1644. Whereas some doubts have been raised, whether the next fast shall be celebrated, because it falls on the day which heretofore was usually called the feast of the nativity of our Saviour; the lords and commons in parliament assembled do order and ordain, that public notice be given, that the fast appointed to be kept the last Wednesday in every month ought to be observed, till it be otherwise ordered by both houses; and that this day in particular is to be kept with the more solemn humiliation, because it may call to remembrance our sins, and the sins of our forefathers, who have turned this feast, pretending the memory of Christ, into an extreme forgetfulness of him, by giving liberty to carnal and sensual delights, being contrary to the life which Christ led here on earth, and to the spiritual life of Christ in our souls, for the sanctifying and saving whereof, Christ was pleased both to take a human life, and to lay it down again."

Directory for the Public Worship of God

Around this same time in 1644 the assembly was working on the last portions of its directory for worship, and the topic of holy days came under discussion again in relation to their actual work. With their intended deliberations on the preface delayed because Dr. Burges had taken the text to meet with members of parliament, the assembly began to debate a portion of text to add to the section on the Sabbath day regarding abuses, which evolved into a separate section, and finally an "appendix touching days and places of public worship."[37]

33. Laing, 2.120. Spelling modernized. The sermons noted are Alexander Henderson, *Fast Sermon to the House of Commons, December 27, 1643* (text: Ezra 7:23) and Samuel Rutherford, *Fast Sermon to the House of Commons, January 31, 1643/44* (text: Daniel 6:26). See *Sermons Preached before the English Houses of Parliament by the Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, 1643–1645* (Naphtali Press, 2011).

34. Lightfoot, 13.344.

35. Van Dixhoorn, 3.484.

36. Writing about an ordinance prohibiting public diversions and recreations during England's civil war, Neal explains, "The set times of humiliation mentioned in the ordinance refers to the monthly fast appointed by the king, at the request of the parliament [January 8, 1641], on account of the Irish insurrection and massacre, to be observed every last Wednesday in the month, as long as the calamities of that nation should require it. But when the king set up his standard at Nottingham, the two houses, apprehending that England was now to be the seat of war, published an ordinance for the more strict observation of this fast, in order to implore a divine blessing upon the consultations of parliament, and to deprecate the calamities that threatened this nation." Daniel Neal, *The History of the Puritans,* 3 vols. (London, 1837), 2.155.

37. The appendix was sent up on December 30, approved in the House on January 1 by the Lords with changes on the fourth, and after conference approved by both houses on the January 5, 1645.

Sess. 324. (Novemb. 18, 1644). Munday morning. "Ordered to report the Preface to the directory, and that concerning the Sabbath day."[38]

Sess. 325. Novemb. 19, 1644. Tuesday morning. "Ordered: That in the Directory for the sabbath day something be expressed <against parish feasts, commonly called by the name of Rushbearing[s], whitsunales,> wakes, as prophane and superstitious."

"Some motions made about holy dayes, to expresse something against them."[39]

"Ordered: [The Lord's Day][40] being the standing holy day under the New Testament to be kept by all the churches of Christ, consider of something concerning holy dayes <& holy places> & what course may be thought upon for the releife of servants. To meet tomorrow in the afternoone. Wakes & feasts Whitsunales, Rushbearings & garlands [and] all other <such like> superstitious customes."[41]

Sess. 329. Novemb. 25, 1644. Munday morning. "Mr. Coleman made report of the directory for Holy dayes and holy places; it was read."[42]

Sess. 338. Decemb. 10, 1644. <Tuesday> morning."Report 'of holy places' debated." "Ordered: To proceed in the debate tomorrow morning <upon a motion that the committee for the drawing up the directory or others that may be gotten.>"[43]

Sess. 339. <Decemb. 11, 1644.> Wensday morning. "Debate upon the Directory for dayes."[44]

Sess. 340. Decemb. 12. <Thursday> morning. "Neg: Resolved: the report concerning holy dayes shall not be waved."[45]

Sess. 348. Decemb. 27, 1644. Fryday Morning. "Report of the Appendix concerning dayes and places for publique worship." "Debate about holy dayes."[46]

Sess. 349. Decemb. 30, 1640 [*sic* 1644], Munday morning. "Ordered: That the Appendix be sent up tomorrow morning."[47]

The development of this appendix to the directory for worship again has George Gillespie coming to the foreground. From Gillespie's notes on the assembly for December 30, 1644, we learn:

> December 30. There were many abuses spoken of to be condemned in the Directory, as Wakes, etc. I said, if these be put in the Directory, the Church of Scotland must put in abuses among them in the Directory too, and it is not fit to make public in both kingdoms what is proper to either. So it was agreed to send up this in a paper by itself to the Parliament.[48]

What is clear is that as the divines perceived many corruptions in the English worship, there was an idea suggested during the forming of the directory, to add a list of condemned abuses in worship to the directory's preface. As noted, Gillespie opposed this, as it would require enumerating practices in one kingdom not practiced in the other. Subsequently it was determined to send a separate paper to Parliament regarding the matter.

Van Dixhoorn, 3.491. See William A. Shaw, *A History of the English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth,* 2 vols. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1900), 1. 353. See the text in Document 54, Van Dixhoorn, 5.159.

38. Van Dixhoorn, 3.457. Text inserted interline in the manuscript minutes are noted by <braces>; [brackets] are editorial insertions.

39. Rushbearings: "The practice of covering the church floor with rushes through the winter developed as a rural festival with accompanying entertainment." Whittsunales: "The Whitsun ale was one of the main annual parish ales. Held at Whitsun (Pentacost), the event was a festive fundraiser for a local church." Wakes: "A wake could refer to funeral ceremonies prior to the burial of the body, a party on the eve of a festival, or an annual feast honouring the patron saint of a church." Van Dixhoorn, 3.458.

40. Van Dixhoorn (3.458) inserts "The Lord's Day." Struthers reads "the only standing holy day…." *Minutes of the Sessions of the Westminster Assembly of Divines,* ed. Rev. Alex F. Mitchell, D. D. and Rev. John Struthers LL.D. (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1874), 4. At this place, John Struthers has other minor variations in his rendering of the text.

41. Van Dixhoorn, 3.458. "Tuesday, Nov. 19.]—Then was there speech about Holydays, and some motion about declaring against them. This held us much canvassing; and it was well approved that the superstition of Holydays should be cried down, but yet some days allowed for relief of servants. The conclusion was, that the business was recommitted to the first committee to consider of it." Lightfoot, 13.332–333.

42. Van Dixhoorn, 3.468.

43. Van Dixhoorn, 3.477, 478. In this session an exchange takes place concerning "holy places" between Palmer, Rutherford, Gillespie, Burges, Seaman and Marshall. Lightfoot records some of this debate as well. Ibid, 341–342.

44. Van Dixhoorn, 3.479. "Next did we fall upon the debate about holy days; and had some debate about one proposition concerning the Sabbath…" Lightfoot, 342.

45. Van Dixhoorn, 3.480; Struthers, 19. Struthers: "waived. (?)"

46. Van Dixhoorn, 3.489.

47. Van Dixhoorn, 3.491.

48. George Gillespie, "Notes of Proceedings of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster," *Works: The Presbyterian's Armoury* (Edinburgh: Robert Ogle and Oliver and Boyd, 1844–46), 97.

C. G. M'Crie writes:

> From Gillespie's "Notes of Debates and Proceedings," however, we learn that at a certain stage of the discussion as to what should find a place in the book, it was proposed to insert a statement of abuses "to be condemned, as Wakes, etc." The proposal was resisted by Gillespie on the ground that, if English abuses were to be specified, then the Church of Scotland would claim an enumeration of abuses peculiar to that kingdom, and he did not think it "fit to make public in both kingdoms what is proper to either." Ultimately, it was agreed to send up a separate paper to Parliament containing a list of such abuses.
>
> Interesting light would seem to be thrown upon this document by a loose paper in Gillespie's writing preserved by Wodrow, and printed among the "Notes" of the former. On the one side of the MS. is an incomplete list of eight practices or ceremonies, beginning with "Gloria Patri," and breaking off with "the people's responsals." On the other side is a statement "concerning other customs or rites in the worship of God formerly received in any of the kingdoms," to the effect that, "though not condemned in this Directory," yet if "they have been, or apparently will be, occasions of divisions and offences," it is judged "most expedient that the practice and use of them be not continued, as well for the nearer uniformity betwixt the Churches of both kingdoms, as for their greater peace and harmony within themselves, and their edifying one another in love."
>
> If, as it appears likely, the list on the one side of this paper consists of an unfinished enumeration of "customs or rites" spoken of on the other, then it is probable the latter was drafted as a proposed, but not accepted, addition to the preface as it now stands. In that case the Doxology, along with the Creed, standing up at the reading of the Gospel, preaching on Christmas, funeral sermons, churching of women, saying the three Creeds after reading of Scripture, and congregational responses, will rank among practices "not condemned in this Directory," but the observance of which Gillespie and his fellow-commissioners judged it expedient to be discontinued in the interests of uniformity, peace, harmony, and mutual edifying in love.[49]

The English puritans had their own strong feelings about the old pretended holy days such as Christmas, but it seems clear that the influence of the Scottish Commissioners and Gillespie in particular, is seen even in this small issue of what to do about preaching on Christmas day. The idea to add a list of abuses was dropped, but an appendix condemning the entire old calendar of holy days was crafted and added to one of the most approved and authorized of the documents produced by the Westminster Assembly, having been approved by both governments and churches in England and Scotland, whereas the confession of faith and larger catechism were not authorized by the English parliament.

The Content of Gillespie's Sermon

At first glance the content of these notes seems so brief as to be relatively inconsequential to merit much comment. However, as noted in the opening, the content hearkens back to Gillespie's prior work, *A Dispute Against the English Popish Ceremonies,* and highlights one of the more crucial principles he spends a good amount of space explaining and defending in that work.

1. If it had been God's will that such a day as this should have been observed, then certainly He would have made known the day, that so the selfsame day which did appertain unto its commemoration should have been celebrated, and not another; but that day is concealed and so close [completely] as that all the wits in the world cannot point it out, and I contend for that selfsame reason that Moses' body was.

In his *Dispute* Gillespie does not descend to particular or detailed arguments against each of the specific holy days that had been imposed at Perth Assembly, so it is interesting to see a specific argument here. The point is founded on often cited statements he makes regarding elemental versus circumstantial matters in the Worship of God. In his preface to "All the Reformed Churches," Gillespie writes,

> Besides all this, there is nothing which any way pertains to the worship of God left to the determination of human laws, beside the mere circumstances, which neither have any holiness in them, forasmuch as they have no other use and praise in sacred than they have in civil things, nor yet were particularly determinable in Scripture, because they are infinite; but sacred, significant ceremonies, such as cross, kneeling, surplice, holy days, bishopping, etc., which have no use and praise except in religion only, and which, also, were most easily determinable (yet not determined) within those bounds

49. Gillespie, 108. C. G. M'Crie, *Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1892), 208–210. See Thomas Leishman, *The Westminster Directory, Edited, with an Introduction and Notes* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1901), 152–153.

> which the wisdom of God did set to His written Word, are such things as God never left to the determination of any human law.[50]

He addresses the same subject again in part one of his *Dispute* against the necessity of the ceremonies.

> And as for particularities, all the particular causes, occasions, and times of fasting could not be determined in Scripture, because they are infinite, as Camero says.[51] But all the particular causes of set festivities, and the number of the same, might have been easily determined in Scripture, since they are not, nor may not be infinite; for the Bishop himself acknowledges that to appoint a festival day for every week cannot stand with charity, the inseparable companion of piety. And albeit so many were allowable, yet who sees not how easily the Scripture might have comprehended them, because they are set, constant, and anniversary times, observed for permanent and continuing causes, and not moveable or mutable, as fasts which are appointed for occurring causes, and therefore may be infinite.[52]

And again under part three concerning the unlawfulness of the ceremonies he writes,

> That which the church may lawfully prescribe by her laws and ordinances, as a thing left to her determination, must be one of such things as were not determinable by Scripture, on that reason which Camero has given us, namely, because *individua* are *infinita*. We mean not in any wise to circumscribe the infinite power and wisdom of God, only we speak upon supposition of the bounds and limits which God did set to His written Word, within which he would have it contained, and over which he thought fit that it should not exceed. The case being thus put, as it is, we say truly of those several and changeable circumstances which are left to the determination of the church, that, being almost infinite, they were not particularly determinable in Scripture; for the particular definition of those occurring circumstances which were to be rightly ordered in the works of God's service to the end of the world, and that ever according to the exigency of every present occasion and different case, should have filled the whole world with books. But as for other things pertaining to God's worship, which are not to be reckoned among the circumstances of it, they being in number neither many, nor in change various, were most easily and conveniently determinable in Scripture. Now, since God would have His Word (which is our rule in the works of his service) not to be delivered by tradition, but to be written and sealed unto us, that by this means, for obviating Satanical subtilty, and succoring human imbecility, we might have a more certain way for conservation of true religion, and for the instauration [*restoration*] of it when it fails among men, how can we but assure ourselves that every such acceptable thing pertaining any way to religion, which was particularly and conveniently determinable in Scripture, is indeed determined in it; and consequently, that no such thing as is not a mere alterable circumstance is left to the determination of the church?[53]

As for the analogy to Moses' body, Gillespie may be drawing for David Calderwood's *Perth Assembly* (1619), which work he twice references in his *Dispute* (though not in this point).

> The diversity of the ancients observing some the 6th day of January, some the 19th of April, some the 19th of May, some the 25th day of December, argueth that the Apostles never ordained it. Bellarmine nor no other can produce a writer for 300 years to testify that the nativity day was kept…. Ye see then as God hid the body of Moses, so hath He hid this day and other days depending on the calculation of it, wherein He declared his will concerning the other days of his notable acts. To wit that not Christ's action, but Christ's institution maketh a day holy.[54]

2. That worship which God never commanded must be unlawfull, as was the washing of the Pharasees (Matt. 15:9), and therefore Christ accounted them but vain inventions of man's brain. If so then, though it did teach them holiness, yet it having its entering from men, and a human institution, it was a vain thing; but so is this day merely instituted by man, and therefore but vain.

This second point is a condensed version of the following section of Gillespie's *Dispute*, which is found in part three against the lawfulness of the ceremonies, which also brings in material relevant to the first point.

> §10. 3. The church is forbidden to add anything to the commandments of God which He has given unto us,

50. Gillespie, *Dispute* (2013), 16.
51. John Cameron, *Prælectiones*, tom. 1, de Potest. Eccl., contr. 2. See *Prælectiones Theologicæ in selectiora quædam loca N.T.,* 3 vols. (Saumur, 1626–1628), 1.369, 370.
52. Gillespie, *Dispute* (2013), 51.
53. Gillespie, *Dispute* (2013), 261–262.
54. David Calderwood, *Perth Assembly* (1619), 80.

concerning His worship and service (Deut. 4:2; 12:32; Prov. 30:6); therefore she may not lawfully prescribe anything in the works of divine worship, if it be not a mere circumstance belonging to that kind of things which were not determinable by Scripture.

Our opposites have no other distinctions which they make any use of against this argument, but the very same which papists use in defense of their unwritten dogmatical traditions, namely, that *additio corrumpens* [*destructive addition*] is forbidden, but not *additio perficiens* [*perfecting addition*]: that there is not alike reason of the Christian church and of the Jewish; that the church may not add to the essential parts of God's worship, but to the accidentary she may add.

To the first of those distinctions, we answer (1) That the distinction itself is an addition to the Word, and so does but beg the question.

(2) It is blasphemous; for it argues that the commandments of God are imperfect, and that by addition they are made perfect.

(3) Since our opposites will speak in this dialect, let them resolve [*answer*] us whether the washings of the Pharisees, condemned by Christ, were corrupting or perfecting additions. They cannot say they were corrupting, for there was no commandment of God which those washings did corrupt or destroy, except that commandment which forbids men's additions. But for this respect our opposites dare not call them corrupting additions, for so they should condemn all additions whatsoever. Except, therefore, they can show us that those washings were not added by the Pharisees for perfecting, but for corrupting the Law of God, let them consider how they rank their own ceremonial additions with those of the Pharisees. We read of no other reason wherefore Christ condemned them but because they were doctrines which had no other warrant than the commandments of men (Matt. 15:9); for as the law ordained diverse washings, for teaching and signifying that true holiness and cleanness which ought to be among God's people, so the Pharisees would have perfected the law by adding other washings (and more than God had commanded) for the same end and purpose.

3. Such things which have been abused unto superstition must not be allowed; but this day has been grossly abused to superstition, therefore unlawful. Instance in the Brazen Serpent [a thing of great use],[55] which though appointed by God, yet when once it was abused to idolatry, it was broken to powder; much more should that be abolished which hath only man's warrant for its institution.

This third point brings in one of the important principles laid down by Gillespie in his *Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies,* often found in other works. It could be called the principle of the brazen serpent, or of the necessity of putting away monuments of or memorials to gross idolatry.

We see this illustrated in Calvin, who in his sermons presses the avoidance of evil and necessity to advance edification, and remove anything that would "foster superstition" and "divest ourselves of all silly superstitions and frivolous inventions, renounce all idolatry in order to worship God in spirit and in truth."[56] Along these same lines, Calvin articulates a principle against "monuments of idolatry" in one of his tracts, elaborated upon by later writers and which is also adduced in some of the Reformed Confessions.[57] In 1561 Calvin wrote a response to George Cassander's work arguing for a reunification of the Protestant churches with Rome.[58] In perhaps the standout portion of this tract Calvin writes,

> Recognizing that God's law commands the form of his worship, and by this he expresses detestation of all false

55. "The brazen serpent (having been God's own ordinance) was for Idolatrous abuse to be abolished. Therefore human inventions, for the like abuse, much more." William Ames, *A Fresh Suite Against Human Ceremonies in God's Worship* (1633), 395.

56. This material is drawn from the 2013 article, *In Translatione:* John Calvin's Letters to the Ministers of Montbéliard (1543–1544): The Genevan Reformer's Advice and Views of the Liturgical Calendar," *The Confessional Presbyterian* 13 (2017).

57. The phrase or idea of "monuments of idolatry" can be found in The Debrecen Synod (1567), The Synod at Szikszo (1568), The Nassau Confession (1578) and Bremen Consensus (1595). Calvin does not use the term in his tract, and this may just as well be called the principle of the brazen serpent. The Westminster Assembly would appropriately state the duty from the principle: "The duties required in the second commandment are … the disapproving, detesting, opposing all false worship; and, according to each one's place and calling, removing it, and all monuments of idolatry" (WLC 108). Foxe compared Edward VI to Josiah in the destruction of "all monuments of idolatry." See also usage in Edward VI's injunctions for such destruction (1547), and in Hooper's injunctions (1551). Knox and Hooper likely picked up the language from the earlier use. See "American Presbyterianism and the Religious Observance of Christmas," *The Confessional Presbyterian* 11 (2015), 178–179; Andrew Lang, *John Knox and the Reformation* (1905), 113; John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (1570), book 9, 1521–1522; *Visitation Articles and Injunctions,* volume 2, 1536–1557, ed. W. H. Frere et al. (London: Longmans Green & Company, 1910) 126; *Later Writings of Bishop Hooper together with his letters and other pieces,* ed. Charles Nevinson for The Parker Society (Cambridge: University Press, 1852), 135.

58. G. Cassandro, *De officio pii ac publicae tranquillitatis vere amantis viri in hoc religionis dissidio,* edited by F. Bauduin (Basel: 1561; repr. Lazari Zetzneri, 1612).

> gods, of course it is a repugnant thing to say that in pleasing men something must be added to his Commandments. The vile buffoonery of the Papacy soils all religion. This also is not a thing suitable to good conscience. If some customs are useful and of good faith, I confess that the error that detains the spirits of some must not stop those who are well instructed to use only that which is good—provided that it would not become a common error confirmed by use. But because superstition is bindingly connected with many ceremonies which in themselves are good, anyone who would want to keep them shows in effect that he is of those who fall short. In this way, a false opinion, commonly received, will soil by abuse customs that otherwise are good. It becomes not only necessary to flee from it in your personal observation, but also that the fault be liberally noted out of fear that simple people would be hardened by it more and more. For it is not proper for a zealous Christian to say, "To each his own," without also admonishing the others to be on their own guard.
>
> Similarly, what is alleged of an Italian writer, that abuse does not take away good use, will not be true if one holds to it without exception: because it is clearly commanded to us to prudently watch that we would not offend the infirm brothers by our example, and that we should never undertake what would be illicit. For Saint Paul prohibits offending the brothers in eating flesh that was sacrificed to idols [1 Cor. 10:28], and speaking to this particular issue he shows a general rule that we are to keep ourselves from troubling the consciences of the weak by a bad or damaging example. One might speak better and more wholesomely if he were to say that what God himself ordains may not be abolished for wrong use or abuse that is committed against it. But even here, it is necessary to abstain from these things if, by later human ordinance, they have become corrupt with error, and if their use is harmful or scandalizes the brothers.
>
> Here I marvel how this "Reformer," after granting that superstitions sometimes have such strong popularity that it is necessary to remove from the realm of man those things once ordained by public authority (as we read of Hezekiah doing with the bronze serpent), finally does not consider even a little that his shrewdness is a horror to the ways of good action: as if in defending supportable rituals, he would oblige that all superstitions should be considered as safe and whole because they are weighty. For what is there in the papacy now that would not resemble the bronze serpent, even if it did not begin that way? [Numbers 21:9.] Moses had it made and forged by the commandment of God: he had it kept for a sign of recognition. Among the virtues of Hezekiah told to us is that he had it broken and reduced to ash [2 Kings 18:4]. The superstitions for the most part, against which true servants of God battle today, are spreading from here to who knows where as covered pits in the ground. They are filled with detestable errors that can never be erased unless their use is taken away. Why, therefore, do we not confess simply what is true, that this remedy is necessary for taking away filth from the church?[59]

At a crucial point in his *Dispute*, George Gillespie elaborated upon this principle which Calvin articulated, in crafting his argument for the necessity of putting away monuments of idolatry.[60] Much like Cassander, the Anglo-Catholics who had been arguing for the rites imposed by King James in the Articles of Perth (1618), including the re-imposition of some of the old pretended holy days which the Scottish Kirk had rejected completely at the Reformation, argued "that it is needless to abolish utterly things and rites which the papists have abused to idolatry and superstition, and that it is enough to purge them from the abuse, and to restore them again to their right use." Gillespie answered, citing Calvin's response to Cassander,

> Calvin, answering that which Cassander alleges out of an Italian writer, *abusu non tolli bonum usum* [abuse does not take away the good use], he admits it only to be true in things which are instituted by God Himself, not so in things ordained by men, for the very use of such things or rites as have no necessary use in God's worship, and which men have devised only at their own pleasure, is taken away by idolatrous abuse…. [*The safer part*] here, is to put them wholly away, and there is, by

59. "Response a Un Certain Moyenneur Rusé" [French], *Recueil des Opuscules* (Geneva: Stoer, 1611) 2191–2192. Cf. *Responsio Ad Versipellem Quendam Mediatorem* [Latin], *CR* 37 (*CO* 9), 542. For a full translation of this tract into English from the French see, R. V. Bottomly, "Calvin's Response to a Certain Tricky Middler," *The Confessional Presbyterian* 8 (2012), 254–275. For this quotation see page 264.

60. The ceremonies, including the pretended holy days, "are idolatrous, because having been notoriously abused to idolatry heretofore, they are the detestable and accursed monuments, which give no small honor to the memory of that by-past idolatry which should lie buried in hell." The principle which Gillespie draws from Calvin among others is "All things and rites which have been notoriously abused to idolatry, if they are not such as either God or nature has made to be of a necessary use, should be utterly abolished and purged away from divine worship, in such sort that they may not be accounted nor used by us as sacred things or rites pertaining to the same." Gillespie, *Dispute*, 149.

> a great deal, more danger in retaining than in removing them.[61]

Gillespie shows in his argument against the popish ceremonies, that the old pretended holy days and other popish ceremonies "are thrice idolatrous: "because they are monuments of by-past idolatry;" 2. "because they are badges of present idolatry;" 3. "because they are idols themselves." Ceremonies such as the old holy days "are unlawful, because they are monuments of by-past idolatry, which not being necessary to be retained, should be utterly abolished."[62]

> By communicating with idolaters in their rites and ceremonies, we ourselves become guilty of idolatry; even as Ahaz, was an idolater, *eo ipso* [for that very reason], that he took the pattern of an altar from idolaters (2 Kings 16:10). Forasmuch, then, as kneeling before the consecrated bread, the sign of the cross, surplice, festival days, bishoping, bowing down to the altar, administration of the sacraments in private places, etc., are the wares of Rome, the baggage of Babylon, the trinkets of the whore, the badges of Popery, the ensigns of Christ's enemies, and the very trophies of AntiChrist: we cannot conform, communicate and symbolize with the idolatrous papists in the use of the same, without making ourselves idolaters by participation.[63]

Just prior to citing Calvin's answer to Cassander, Gillespie reinforced his argument for the necessity of removing monuments of idolatry with a twofold reason, drawing from Calvin again.

> Fifthly, our proposition is backed with a twofold reason, for things which have been notoriously abused to idolatry should be abolished: (1) *Quia monent* [*because they remind*]. (2) *Quia movent* [*because they move*]. First, then, they are monitory [*admonitory; give a warning*], and preserve the memory of idols; *monumentum* [*a monument*] in good things is both *monimentum* [*a memorial*] and *munimentum* [*fortification*]; but *monumentum* in evil things (such as idolatry) is only *monimentum*, which *monet mentem* [*instructs the mind*], to remember upon such things as ought not to be once named among saints, but should lie buried in the eternal darkness of silent oblivion. Those relics therefore of idolatry, *by which succeeding generations, as though by a memorial, may be reminded* (as Wolphius rightly says),[64] are to be quite defaced and destroyed, because they serve to honor the memory of cursed idols.
>
> God would not have so much as the name of an idol to be remembered among his people, but commanded to destroy their names as well as themselves (Exod. 23:13; Deut. 12:3; Joshua 23:7); whereby we are admonished, as Calvin says, how detestable idolatry is before God, *whose memory a repentant man wants to be erased so no trace of it may be seen afterward.*[65] Yea, he requires, *that the memory be erased* [*abolished; put away] of all those things which were at anytime consecrated to idols.*[66] If Mordecai would not give his countenance (Esther 3:2), nor do any reverence to a living monument of that nation whose name God had ordained to be blotted out from under heaven (Deut. 25:19), much less should we give connivance, and far less countenance, but least of all reverence, to the dead and dumb monuments of those idols which God has devoted to utter destruction, with all their naughty [*bad, wicked*] appurtenances, so that he will not have their names to be once mentioned or remembered again.
>
> But, secondly, *movent* [*they move*] too; such idolotrous remainders move us to turn back to idolatry. For *by experience we have verified, that, even after superstitions have been cast out, if any monuments of them be left to remain, not only has the memory of those persisted, but in the end it has obtained that they might be revived*, says Wolphius;[67] who hereupon thinks it behoveful [*necessary*] to destroy *funditus* [*utterly*] such vestiges of superstition, for this cause, if there were no more: *so that both for those aspiring to resume idolatry, hope may be diminished, and for those attempting new things the opportunity and material may be forestalled.*[68]
>
> God would have Israel to overthrow all idolatrous monuments, lest thereby they should be snared (Deut. 7:25; 12:30). And if the law command to cover a pit, lest an ox or an ass should fall therein (Exod. 21:33), shall we suffer

61. Gillespie, 156–157.
62. Gillespie, 149ff.
63. Gillespie, 172ff.
64. "Com. in 2 Reg. 23:6. *quibus quasi monumentis posteritas admoneatur* [*Melachim; id est,* 1599 ed., ibid., p. 398r]."
65. "Com. in Isa. 27:9. *cujus memoriam vult penitus deleri, ne posthac ullum ejus vestigium appareat.* [Cf. *CR* 63 (*CO* 26), 456; *Commentaries,* vol. VIII, 2.261.]"
66. "Calv., Com. in Exod. 23:24. *eorum omnium memoriam deleri* [*sic* aboleri]*, quæ semel dicata sunt idolis.* [*CR* 52 (*CO* 23), 546; *Commentaries,* vol. II, 2.387. The compositer of the 1637 text may have transposed the *deleri* from the citation from Isaiah just prior.]"
67. "Ubi Supra [2 Kings 23:6]. *usu compertum habemus, superstitiones etiam postquam explosæ essent, si qua relicta fuissent earum monumenta, cum memoriam sui ipsarum apud homines, tum id tandem ut revocarentur obtinvisse.* [*Melachim; id est,* 1599 ed., ibid., p. 398r.]"
68. "*ut et aspirantibus ad revocandam idololatriam spes frangatur, et res novas molientibus ansa pariter ac materia præripiatur.*"

> a pit to be open wherein the precious souls of men and women, which all the world cannot ransom, are likely to fall? Did God command to make a battlement for the roof of a house, and that for the safety of men's bodies (Deut. 22:8), and shall we not only not put up a battlement, or object some bar for the safety of men's souls, but also leave the way slippery and full of snares? Read we not that the Lord, who knew what was in man, and saw how propense he was to idolatry, did not only remove out of His people's way all such things as might any way allure or induce them to idolatry (even to the cutting off the names of the idols out of the land (Zech. 13:2), but also hedge up their way with thorns that they might not find their paths, nor overtake their idol-gods, when they should seek after them (Hosea 2:6, 7)? And shall we by the very contrary course not only not hedge up the way of idolatry with thorns, which may stop and stay such as have an inclination aiming forward, but also lay before them the inciting and enticing occasions which add to their own propension, such delectation as spurs forward with a swift facility?[69]

4. In regard of the late Solemn covenant, wherewith the State hath bound themselves to observe, wherein they and we have covenanted to oppose and withstand all superstitious worship, and to further a Reformation to our utmost power, such as shall be most agreeable unto God's sacred Word and will.

Here Gillespie adduces the Solemn League and Covenant sworn by Scotland and England in its call to Reformation and to abandon all superstitious worship. "II. That we shall, in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (that is, Church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissioners, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness; lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and his name one, in the three kingdoms."[70]

5. More particularly it is now to be refused because of the unsuitableness thereof unto our times. Now God calls us not unto His solemn feast in which we should joy and make merry, attending to the abundance which He hath given, but He calls us unto weeping, mourning, and lamentation (Isa. 22:12), as now how un-agreeable should our [carriage] be unto [such a] condition, if upon God's call for weeping, mourning, and lamentation, behold feasting and mirth. This did much incense the Lord against the Jews and so would it against us.

Gillespie here is making the point of how inappropriate it is to set recurring feast (or fast) days, holy days commemorating Christ's acts in redeeming His people, because in God's providence our condition will change from one year to the next. Set anniversary feast or fast days (holy days) are not the same thing as God's providential calls for fasting or feasting. The Directory for the Public Worship of God and Confession of Faith which Gillespie helped to draft, recognize the latter but not the former.

> §6. The Bishop has yet a third dart to throw at us: *If the church* (he says) *has power, upon occasional motives, to appoint occasional fasts or festivities, may not she, for constant and eternal blessings, which do infinitely excel all occasional benefits, appoint ordinary times of commemoration or thanksgiving?* Answer. There are two reasons for which the church may and should appoint fasts or festivities upon occasional motives, and neither of them agrees with ordinary festivities. 1. Extraordinary fasts, either for obtaining some great blessing, or averting some great judgment, are necessary means to be used in such cases; likewise, extraordinary festivities are necessary testifications [*testimonies*] of our thankfulness for the benefits which we have impetrate [*procured*] by our extraordinary fasts; but ordinary festivities, for constant and eternal blessings, have no necessary use. The celebration of set anniversary days is no necessary mean for conserving the commemoration of the benefits of redemption, because we have occasion, not only every Sabbath day, but every other day, to call to mind these benefits, either in hearing, or reading, or meditating upon God's Word. *I esteem and judge that the days consecrated to Christ must be lifted,* says Danæus: *Christ is born, is circumcised, dies, rises again for us every day in the preaching of the Gospel.*[71]

God has given his church a general precept for extraordinary fasts (Joel 1:14; 2:15), as likewise for extraordinary festivities to praise God, and to give him thanks in the public assembly of his people, upon the occasional

69. Gillespie, 154–155.

70. The Solemn League & Covenant, in *The Confession of Faith,* etc. (Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1855), 359.

71. Apud [cited *in*] Balduin, *de Cas. Consc.,* lib. 2, cap. 12, cas. 1. *Dies Christo dicatos tollendos existimo judicoque, quotidie nobis in evangelii prædicatione nascitur, circumciditur, moritur, resurgit Christus.* Cf. Balduin, *Tractatus Luculentus* (1654), 348. See the text in Lambertus Daneau, *Ad Roberti Bellarmini disputationes theologicas De Rebus in religione controversis Lamberti Danaei responsio* (Joannes le Preux, 1598), 1519–1520.

> motive of some great benefit which, by the means of our fasting and praying, we have obtained (Zech. 8:19 with 7:3). If it is said that there is a general command for set festivities, because there is a command for preaching and hearing the word, and for praising God for his benefits; and there is no precept for particular fasts more than for particular festivities, I answer: Albeit there is a command for preaching and hearing the word, and for praising God for his benefits, yet is there no command (no, not in the most general generality) for annexing these exercises of religion to set anniversary days more than to other days; whereas it is plain that there is a general command for fasting and humiliation at some times more than at other times.[72]
>
> The reading of the Scriptures with godly fear; the sound preaching and conscionable hearing of the Word, in obedience unto God, with understanding, faith, and reverence; singing of psalms with grace in the heart; as also, the due administration and worthy receiving of the sacraments instituted by Christ; are all parts of the ordinary religious worship of God: beside religious oaths, vows, solemn fastings, and thanksgivings, upon special occasions, which are, in their several times and seasons, to be used in a holy and religious manner. WCF 21.[73]
>
> There is no day commanded in Scripture, to bee kept holy under the Gospel, but the Lords Day, which is the Christian Sabbath. Festival dayes vulgarly called Holy dayes, haveing no warrant in the word, are not to bee continued. Nevertheless, it is lawfull & necessary upon special emergent occasions, to separate a Day or dayes for publique Fasting, or Thankesgiveing, as the several eminent & extraordinary dispensations of Gods providence shall administer caue, & opportunity to his people.[74]

Whether the observation of holy Dayes bee lawfull.

Whether it be in the power of a state King [or] parliament to establish holy days. For answer unto this question, I affirm that it is not in the power of any state or kingdom to establish a holy day, and that it hath been the sin of our state to make holy days and to raise them up in equipage (equal establishment) with the Lord's Day. My Reason is this: The effect cannot rise higher than the cause, as a stream cannot ascend above the fountain, but for a civil state to establish holy rites is to ascend above their principle: therefore it's unlawfull. True it is, a state may establish civil days.

In his *Dispute*, Gillespie deals extensively with what power the magistrate has and does not have with regard to the church. With regard to rites and ceremonies and the elemental aspects of worship, he writes,

> §19. But in all the Scripture princes have neither a commendable example, nor any other warrant, for the making of any innovation in religion, or for the prescribing of sacred significant ceremonies of men's devising. Jeroboam caused a change to be made in the ceremonies and form of God's worship, whereas God ordained the ark of the covenant to be the sign of His presence, and that his glory should dwell between the cherubims. Jeroboam set up two calves to be the signs representative of that God who brought "Israel out of Egypt;" and this he means while he says, "Behold thy gods," etc. (1 Kings 12:28), giving to the signs the thing signified. Whereas God ordained Jerusalem to be the place of worship, and all the sacrifices to be brought to the temple of Solomon; Jeroboam made Dan and Bethel to be places of worship, and built there altars and high places for the sacrifices. Whereas God ordained the sons of Aaron only to be his priests, Jeroboam made priests of the lowest of the people, which were not of the sons of Levi. Whereas God ordained the feast of tabernacles to be kept on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, Jeroboam appointed it on the fifteenth day of the eighth month.
>
> Now, if any prince in the world might have fair pretences [*claims*] for the making of such innovations in religion, Jeroboam much more. He might allege for his changing of the signs of God's presence, and of the place of worship, that since Rehoboam's wrath was incensed against him, and against the ten tribes which adhered unto him (as appears by the accounting of them to be rebels, 2 Chronicles 13:6, and by the gathering of a huge army for bringing the kingdom again to Rehoboam, 2 Chron. 11:1), it was no longer safe for his subjects to go up to Jerusalem to worship, in which case God, who required mercy more than sacrifice, would bear with their changing of a few ceremonies for the safety of men's lives. For his putting down of the priests and Levites, and his ordaining of other priests which were not of the sons of Levi, he might pretend [*claim*] that they were

72. Gillespie, *Dispute*, 50–51.

73. S. W. Carruthers, M.D., Ph.D, *The Westminster Confession of Faith, Being an account of the Preparation and Printing of its seven leading editions to which is appended a critical text of the Confession with notes thereon* (Manchester: R. Aikman & Son, [1937]), 130.

74. Van Dixhoorn, 5.159. See also the directories for fast and thanksgiving days, 5.154–157.

rebellious to him, in that they would not assent unto his new ordinances,[75] which he had enacted for the safety and security of his subjects, and that they did not only simply refuse obedience to these his ordinances, but in their refusal show themselves so steadfastly minded, that they would refuse and withstand even to the suffering of deprivation and deposition; and not only so, but likewise drew after them many others of the rest of the tribes to be of their judgment (2 Chron. 11:16), and to adhere to that manner of worship which was retained in Jerusalem. Lastly, for the change which he made about the season of the feast of tabernacles, he might have this pretence [*claim*], that as it was expedient for the strengthening of his kingdom[76] to draw and allure as many as could be had to associate and join themselves with him in his form of worship (which could not be done if he should keep that feast at the same time when it was kept at Jerusalem); so there was no less (if not more) order and decency in keeping it in the eighth month, when the fruit of the ground were perfectly gathered in (for thankful remembrance whereof that feast was celebrated) than in the seventh, when they were not so fully collected.[77]

These pretences [*claims*] he might have made yet more plausible, by professing and avouching that he intended to worship no idols, but the Lord only; that he had not fallen from anything which was fundamental and essential in divine faith and religion; that the changes which he had made were only about some alterable ceremonies which were not essential to the worship of God, and that even in these ceremonies he had not made any change for his own will and pleasure, but for important reasons which concerned the good of his kingdom and safety of his subjects. Notwithstanding of all this, the innovations which he made about these ceremonies of sacred signs, sacred places, sacred persons, sacred times, are condemned for this very reason, because he devised them of his own heart (1 Kings 12:33), which was enough to convince [*convict*] him of horrible impiety in making Israel to sin.

Moreover, when king Ahaz took a pattern of the altar of Damascus, and sent it to Urijah the priest, though we cannot gather from the text that he either intended or pretended any other respect beside the honoring and pleasuring of his patron and protector, the king of Assyria (for of his appointing that new altar for his own and all the people's sacrifices, there was nothing heard till after his return from Damascus, at which time he began to fall back from one degree of defection to a greater), yet this very innovation of taking the pattern of an altar from idolaters is marked as a sin and a snare (2 Kings 16:10, 18).

Last of all, whereas many of the kings of Judah and Israel did either themselves worship in the groves and the high places, or else, at least, suffer the people to do so, howsoever they might have alleged specious reasons for excusing themselves,[78] as namely, that they gave not this honor to any strange gods, but to the Lord only; that they chose these places only to worship in wherein God was of old seen and worshipped by the patriarchs; that the groves and the high places added a most amiable splendor and beauty to the worship of God, and that they did consecrate these places for divine worship in a good meaning, and with minds wholly devoted to God's honor; yet notwithstanding, because this thing was not commanded of God, neither came it into His heart, He would admit no excuses; but ever challenges it as a grievous fault in the government of those kings, that those high places were not taken away, and that the people still sacrificed in the high places. From all which examples we learn how highly God was and is displeased with men for adding any other sacred ceremonies to those which He himself has appointed.[79]

Conclusion

In 1644 when the subject of the holy day had come up again with the regular fast falling on December 25, Edmund Calamy preached the fast sermon for the House of Lords.[80] He concluded, paralleling some of what George Gillespie briefly noted the prior year,

This day is the day which is commonly called *The Feast of Christ's Nativity,* or *Christmas day*: A day that hath been heretofore much abused to *superstition* and

75. Martyr in 1 Reg. 8:31. [Cf. *Melachim; id est, Regum libri duo posteriores cum commentariis Petris Martyris Vermilii in primum totum et secondum priora . . . Ioannis Wolphii in secundi . . .* (Heidelberg: 1599) 59v–61r.]

76. Ibid., 1 Reg. 8:32 [1599 ed., ibid.].

77. Ibid.

78. Hospin., *De Orig. Templ.,* lib. 1, cap. 1 [Cf. "De Templis hoc est, de Origine, Progressu, usu et abusu Templorum & Rerum ad Templa pertinentium,"in *Opera omnia in septem tomos distributa*, volume 1 (Geneva: Samuel de Tournes, 1672) 3–4.]; Wolph. in 2 Reg. 12:4 [1599 ed., ibid., 270v ff].

79. Hospin., ibid., p. 3.

80. Edmund Calamy, *An indictment against England because of her selfe-murdering divisions* (London: Meredith, 1645) 40–41.

profaneness. It is not easy to reckon whether the superstition hath been greater, or the profaneness. I have known some that have preferred *Christmas day* before the *Lord's Day,* and have cried down the *Lord's Day,* and cried up *Christmas day.* I have known those that would be sure to receive the sacrament upon Christmas day, though they did not receive it all the year after. This and much more was the superstition of the day. And the profaneness was as great. Old Father Latimer saith in one of his sermons, That the Devil had more service in the twelve Christmas holy days (as they were called) then God had all the yeare after.[81] Seneca saith of his time, *Olim December mensis erat, nunc annus est.*[82] There are some that though they did not play at cards all the year long, yet they must play at Christmas; thereby, it seems, to keep in memory the birth of Christ. This and much more hath been the profanation of this feast. And truly I think that the superstition and profanation of this day is so rooted into it, as that there is no way to reform it but by dealing with it as Hezekiah did with the brazen serpent. This year God by a providence hath buried this *feast* in a *fast,* and I hope it will never rise again. You have set out (Right Honourable) a strict order for the keeping of it, and you are here this day to observe your own order, and I hope you will do it strictly. The necessity of the times are great. Never more need of prayer and fasting. The Lord give us grace to be humbled in this day of humiliation for all our own, and England's sins; and especially for the old superstition, and profanation of this feast: always remembering upon such days as these, Isa. 22. 12, 13, 14. ["And in that day did the Lord God of hosts call to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldness, and to girding with sackcloth: And behold joy and gladness, slaying oxen, and killing sheep, eating flesh, and drinking wine: let us eat and drink; for to morrow we shall die. And it was revealed in mine ears by the Lord of hosts, Surely this iniquity shall not be purged from you till ye die, saith the Lord God of hosts."]■

81. Edmund Calamy is parphrasing from Hugh Latimer's second sermon before a convocation of the clergy in 1536. Cotton Mather seems to have picked up this paraphrase in his denunciation of Christmas in 1712, and this seems to be the source in modern citations of the saying, which do not actually cite from Latimer (e.g. Stephen Nissenbaum, *The Battle for Christmas* [New York: A Division of Random House, Inc. Vintage Books, 1997], 7).

Hugh Latimer's words to the clergy in 1536 were: "Do ye see nothing in our holidays? of which very few were made at the first, and they to set forth goodness, virtue, and honesty: but sithens, in some places, there is neither mean nor measure in making new holidays, as who should say, this one thing is serving of God, to make this law, that no man may work. But what doth the people on these holidays? Do they give themselves to godliness, or else ungodliness? See ye nothing, brethren? If you see not, yet God seeth. God seeth all the whole holidays to be spent miserably in drunkenness, in glossing, in strife, in envy, in dancing, dicing, idlenes, and gluttony. He seeth all this, and threateneth punishment for it. He seeth it, which neither is deceived in seeing, nor deceiveth when he threateneth. Thus men serve the devil; for God is not thus served, albeit ye say ye serve God. *No, the devil hath more service done unto him on one holiday, than on many working days.*" Emphasis added. *Sermons by Hugh Latimer,* edited for the Parker Society by George Elwes Corrie (Cambridge, 1844), 52–53.

Cotton renders the saying as, "Yea, the zealous Martyr Latymer complained, That Men dishonour Christ more in the Twelve days of Christmas, than in all the twelve Months of the Year besides."

Cotton Mather, *Grace defended. A censure on the ungodliness, by which the glorious grace of God, is too commonly abused. A sermon preached on the twenty fifth day of December, 1712. Containing some seasonable admonitions of piety. And concluded, with a brief dissertation on that case, whether the penitent thief on the cross, be an example of one repenting at the last hour, and on such a repentance received unto mercy?* (Boston: Printed by B. Green, for Samuel Gerrish, at his shop in Marlborough Street, 1712), 20.

82. "Once December was a month, now it is a year." "... qui dixit olim mensem Decembrem fuisse, nunc annum." *Seneca ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales,* trans. Richard M. Gummere, The Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, [1925]), 116, 117.

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CO	*Ioannis Calvini Opera quæ supersunt omnia*, 59 volumes. In *Corpus Reformatorum*, volumes 29–87.
CR	*Corpus Reformatorum*. Edited by G. Baum et al. 87 volumes. Brunsvigæ: C.A. Schwetschke, 1834–1900.
NPNF1	*A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, first series,* ed. Philip Schaff. Buffalo: The Christian Literature Company, 1886–1890.
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FC	*The Fathers of the Church. A New Translation.* Washington, D. C. The Catholic University of American Press, 1948–.
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Therefore, a high view of plenary inspiration not only explains Thornwell's inconsistency in this matter, but also *refutes* it. If we believe the Bible is God's word in its entirety, then we can repudiate Thornwell's mistakes quite easily. The Word of God teaches that all men are created in the image of God (Acts 17:26). True, slavery was regulated by God's word, but the same inspired Word also teaches that the eschatological freedom brought about by the Messiah's first coming should result in freedom for earthly citizens as well, as Paul makes clear in Philemon (Phil. 15–21). If Thornwell and other Southern Presbyterians had been consistent in their application of their view of the Bible, the United States might have abolished slavery without losing over a million lives in the process.

Finally, Thornwell's blunder in this crucial area reminds us that all of us have interpretive blind spots. Like Thornwell, we are far more influenced by the culture around us than we care to admit. If the Bible is what Thornwell argued it was, then it must serve as our authoritative lodestone for all matters of doctrine and life. We must submit constantly to its directives, some of which will be deeply countercultural. Accordingly, perhaps one of the greatest lessons we learn from Thornwell's understanding of Scripture can be stated in a question: "What are the doctrines and practices clearly taught in the Bible that we may have missed?" This is a penetrating and sobering query. I am convinced that the only way to begin to answer it is through a careful study of great men like Thornwell, both in their triumph and in their tragedy.

Conclusion

I have tried to make the case that a prominent Southern historian misunderstood a central feature of Thornwell's theological matrix, which is representative of the entire Southern Presbyterian tradition. Relative to this doctrine, the Southern church stood united in its view of plenary inspiration with Christians across time and space. Believers today do well to imitate their faith here. The frenzied revisionary spirit that grips the modern writing of history is a spirit foreign to this view of inspiration. For, the Bible itself offers a history that is full of brilliant, deeply flawed people like Thornwell. Like us. And the only way to avoid the errors we have observed in Thornwell's thinking is to hold the same view of inspiration he did. It is God's word alone, guiding and shaping everything we do, that can help us do better than those who came before us.

Luther on Public Worship. **Continued from Page 96.**

a formal catechism in 1529.[84] It helped to systematize doctrine and explain God's work in Christ, while also providing clear direction on how one ought to respond to the Word. For Luther's theology of worship, this catechetical side provided the necessary biblical stimuli for experiential responses. Through the teaching and preaching of the Word, God not only created but also compelled corporate expressions of faith. In his mind, as God served man the means of grace, man was to be driven to rightly respond.

Various minor details of the service also stress this same point. In the pre-Supper admonition of the *Deutsche Messe*, Luther wanted it to be somewhat scripted. "We can't have [the admonition] one way today, and another way tomorrow, and let everybody parade his talents and confuse the people."[85] In doing this, Luther was being careful to not draw undue attention to the priest and to guard against misperception. He wanted to keep front and center the activity of God in the sacramental Word and man's humble and grateful response.[86] The readings from Scripture and collects provide another example of this point. The readings were done with the priest looking at the people, as a sign of God's declaration to them, and the collects were said facing the altar, emphasizing man's response.

Luther's use of music is also informative here. In his mind, music in worship was to be filled with Scripture, which made it and preaching generally related.[87] God was speaking to the people through words set to a tune. And yet, quite often, it was the congregation that was singing them. Not only did the music speak the Word, but it served to enable them to recall truth when struggling with *Anfechtungen*, as well.[88] When facing temptation, an illiterate believer in the 16th century would more readily remember a psalm set to a tune, than a verse of Scripture or the answer to a catechism question. Additionally, it made the congregation more a part of the service itself and added a dialogical element to worship. Medieval liturgies were largely non-participatory. The priest performed the mass and the choirs sang in order to merit God's grace for the people. Yet, in Luther's liturgy, the gathered assembly actively participated. Not only in the music, but in every part of the service. As they heard God speaking through Word and sacrament, reading and music,

84. Luther, "The Small Catechism," *Luther's Basic Theological Writings*, p. 322.

85. *LW* 53.80.

86. *LW* 53.74.

87. Paul Jones, *Singing and Making Music* (Phillipsburg: P & R Publishing, 2006), 3–4.

88. Trueman, *Luther on the Christian Life,* p. 103.

89. Brecht, *Martin Luther: Shaping and Defining the Reformation*, p. 256.

they were led to prayer and praise and to "acknowledge sin, profess faith, and renounce evil."[89]

What made everything from the opening hymn to the closing benediction new was not so much the 'elements' themselves, but the theology that informed them. With the Roman Catholic liturgy on one side and the Extremists on the other, in 1525, Luther composed an order of service that reflected both God's action and man's response. To him, both were central and provided a unified way of understanding public worship. It was God's action that elicited man's response.[90] For the troubled people of Wittenberg, a liturgy like this one would lead them to consider their true condition, hear of an afflicted Christ, find comfort for their weary souls in the Gospel, and be encouraged to respond with faith. The same still rings true today.

Conclusion

Luther's words at the dedication of the castle church in Torgau hinted at the core of his theology of worship. "The Lord himself speaks … and we in turn speak…."[91] In the gathered assembly, God serves man and in response man serves the Lord. Public worship is first a divine activity, which creates and compels corporate expressions of faith. Contra late medieval practices, it is not a 'doing of what is in one's self' nor an opportunity for 'grace to make one gracious.' Instead, it is "an example of divine grace in action."[92] Luther's view of preaching further reinforced this point. God is at work to meet the sinner in his struggles with *Anfechtungen* through his audible and sacramental Word. But as the Law and Gospel are heralded, a response of faith is called for. There is to be an intentional reaction of humility, repentance, gratefulness, and devotion. Luther's 1525 liturgy took his doctrine of worship and converted it into a structure for doxology; in fact, it was the foundation and the fuel of his order of worship.

In a church context where the gathered assembly is increasingly being referred to as a 'worship experience,' Luther would no doubt disapprove, because Modern Evangelical worship is one sided. Liturgies are dominated by human action, leaving little room for divine activity in Word and Sacrament. They are focused on man's response without first considering God's past, present, and future work. The preached Word is minimized, in order to provide longer music sets or more extensive choral performances. Scripture is made to give way to singing, which, given song choices, centers worship on man blessing God, as opposed to God blessing man, through Gospel proclamation. Additionally, the sacraments are seen as a public profession solely, to the exclusion of God declaring the visible Good News that he saves sinners in Christ and by the Spirit. These worship practices are built upon a theological foundation that leans too far in the direction of human response. Luther, however, provides a helpful perspective on and balance to the public gathering. Public worship is a service: God's to man, first and foremost, and in response, man's to God. The Evangelical Church in America would do well to benefit from Luther's theology of worship in this area.

90. Hans-Christoph Schmidt-Lauber, "The Lutheran Tradition in the German Lands," pp. 396, 398.

91. Martin Luther, quoted from "The Lutheran Tradition in the German Lands," p. 396.

92. Trueman, *Luther on the Christian Life*, p. 196.

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cultural mandate, he prohibited consuming animal blood (Gen. 9:4). It is God's pedagogical lesson that animal blood offered in altar worship after the inauguration of the covenant of grace in Genesis 3:14–15 is the type of the final sacrifice, offered on the Golgotha by Jesus Christ as the mediator of the New Covenant. The New Covenant community, as *the diaspora or pilgrims*, is no longer obligated to abstain from animal blood after A.D. 70 because God permanently terminated altar worship and the Old Covenant order with the fall of Jerusalem.

God prohibited the killing of innocent humans in the context of his command of the new cultural mandate (Gen. 9:5–6). God's institution of capital punishment in the historical context of the resumption of the covenant of common grace suggests that God made a proper distinction between church and state. In that sense, the prosecution and execution of criminals for the crime of killing of innocent people do not belong to the ministry of church, but are the legal responsibility of state under the New Covenant Age until the day of the Second Coming of Jesus Christ.▪

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Jews and gentiles can get out of the covenant of works altogether" (139).

Part two is entitled "The Achievement of Justification," and therefore treats of Christ's accomplishment of perfection. Horton, agreeing with Lee Irons, rejects N.T. Wright's definition of the Greek word "*dikaios*" as being equivalent to "God's covenant faithfulness," and instead ties the term to the standard of the law. The second half of chapter four is a defense of the penal substitutionary atonement. Horton also defends the combination of penal substitutionary atonement with the *Christus Victor* theme, rightly in my opinion. There is no need for a false dichotomy between the two ideas. Christ's death and resurrection is just as undoubtedly a substitution for our persons as it is Christ's victory over Satan and his evil forces. However, this does not mean that there is something good about the ransom theory of the atonement (243). Here, I believe Sproul is on the better track: God saves us from God's

wrath. The payment is not made to Satan. Now, Horton does not believe in the ransom theory per se, but rather winds up collapsing the "good" elements of the ransom theory with the *Christus Victor* theme (243). If Satan holds any allegiance from people, it is an illegitimate claim, not a legitimate one.

Horton believes that there is no future aspect to justification whatsoever (275). Horton does believe in a public acquittal, but rather than including this aspect under justification, he includes it under glorification (see page 279).

Part three speaks of the gift of righteousness, namely, how we get the righteousness of Christ. The heart of this section is his discussion of imputation. Here Horton is at his best: defending the traditional Protestant understanding of imputation over against the NPP, the apocalyptic understanding of justification, and the Finnish interpretation of Luther. Here Horton advocates the idea that Judaism knew and held to the idea of imputation. The disagreement with Paul therefore had to do with the identity of the person imputing, and the identity of the person's righteousness that is imputed (328). On only one thing I would disagree with Horton in the chapter on imputation: I would not agree with Horton that Peter Leithart is an evangelical (350, fn. 75). In the chapter on works and the future of justification, Horton argues fairly standard Reformed positions, including a careful positioning of works as necessarily consequent to justification, not necessary unto justification (394). I could wish he would have had a larger discussion of the relationship of James and Paul on the question of justification. However, what he does say is helpful (394).

Part four is primarily about faith, the instrument of justification. Horton rejects Roman Catholic understandings of "faith perfected by love," and emphasizes faith's receiving and resting nature. Horton rejects also the subjective interpretation of the phrase "faith of Jesus Christ" (which would mean "the faith that Jesus Christ himself possessed"), and understands the phrase objectively ("faith in Jesus Christ"). That this is certainly the correct understanding of the phrase is well supported by the quotation from Moises Silva on page 424. There are a fair number of typos in this section of the volume, and there were a more than average number of typos in the books as a whole.

Horton's book has many helpful features, and, on the whole, must be judged a success, as long as its main object is kept in view: to convince people who don't already believe the doctrine. There are controversial and somewhat unclear things in the two-volume set, but this is still a solid contribution. When read in tandem with volumes by John Owen, Anthony Burgess, James Buchanan, J.V. Fesko, and the promising collection of essays edited by Matthew Barrett, the reader will have a thorough grounding in the biblical doctrine of justification.▪

Psallo. **Continued from Page 181.**

neighbor. He justly judges the vile, rejecting him as the object of his favor or friendship, and he honors, literally, he glorifies, or ascribes worth to those who fear the Lord. He is a man of right discernment.

The fourth set of attributes concerns his own lack of self-interest, even when it is costly to him. He keeps his vows even when it hurts; he refuses even the nominal return upon his generosity and lending, and he refuses unrighteous enrichment at the expense of those who are innocent. He is a man who puts away his own self-interest for the good of others.

In all these descriptions we have a picture painted of not one of Adam's race—at least not in the full sense and perfection of any of these attributes as they are first found in the Lord God, who dwells on that Holy Hill. We are reminded in this listing of impossible moral attributes to fallen men that there is One who has, as man, met this holy standard. Hear Bonar:

> None can be said to have fulfilled the conditions, or come up to the character here sketched, excepting Christ, if we view the matter in its strictness; although every member of His body lays claim to His imputed obedience, and exhibits a goodly specimen of the effect of this imputation in producing personal holiness. We consider this Psalm as descriptive of our Head in His personal holiness, and of His members as made holy by Him."[4]

This is the truth of the matter. We, humbled by these descriptions of replete holiness of heart, speech, and behavior are caused to look outside ourselves, for in our fallen condition, we cannot dwell with the Almighty, we cannot in any capacity other than as a usurper, an interloper, enter into the place of that holy and rarified air. It is the *Mountain of His Holiness*! And so we use that hermeneutical key that assists us in unlocking the Psalms, as we keep "one eye on David, and one eye on Christ." As we look to our Head, who has attained, although no one else was found worthy to "open the book, and loose the seven seals thereof" (Revelation 5:1-5), we proclaim that He alone is worthy. We are taught here in Psalm 15, of the perfection of Christ, the only one of our race who has perfectly kept these moral attributes, being "made of a woman, made under the Law" (Galatians 4:4) and who also is "holy, harmless, undefiled, separated from sinners" (Hebrews 7:26).

However, I do think that Bonar is on to something when he says that it is in Christ that we have new ability to walk after all His ways, imitating Him, following His example. And this latter sense of dwelling with the Lord as a Holy People is indeed clear in the Scriptures. We read often of the people of God being a people separated unto the Lord, and as that separated people,

4.Andrew A. Bonar, *Christ and His Church in the Book of Psalms* (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1860), 48.

living soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world (Titus 2:12). We are aware of the injunctions and directions in Scripture that press holiness to the people of God, as they are found in Christ (Exodus 22:31; Leviticus 11:44-45; 19:2; 20:7; Numbers 6:5; Deuteronomy 7:6; Ephesians 5:27; 1 Peter 1:15-16). And truly it must be said that the one who has no taste for holiness here upon earth will be very much a fish out of water in the eternal state, for which we are being fitted. Hear Bishop Ryle:

> The favorite idea of many, that dying men need nothing except absolution and forgiveness of sins to fit them for their great change, is a profound delusion. We need the work of the Holy Spirit as well as the work of Christ; we need renewal of the heart as well as the atoning blood; we need to be sanctified as well as to be justified. It is common to hear people saying on their deathbeds, "I only want the Lord to forgive me my sins, and take me to rest." But those who say such things forget that the rest of heaven would be utterly useless if we had no heart to enjoy it! What could an unsanctified man do in heaven, if by any chance he got there? Let that question be fairly looked in the face, and fairly answered. No man can possibly be happy in a place where he is not in his element and where all around him is not congenial to his tastes, habits and character. When an eagle is happy in an iron cage, when a sheep is happy in the water, when an owl is happy in the blaze of noonday sun, when a fish is happy on the dry land—then, and not till then, will I admit that the unsanctified man could be happy in heaven.[5]

It is then clear from this Psalm that we have a Mediator who has perfectly, in His own merit, and by His own working, made His dwelling in the Holy Mountain (Hebrews 1:3). He has gone before us, to prepare a place for us, and to prepare us for that place. Let us then ask the questions again: *Who shall dwell in thy Tabernacle, Lord? Who shall abide in thy Holy Mountain?* Only those who are found in Him, who have forsworn allegiance to and assertion of their own righteousness, resting on Him who is worthy, and in recognition of that eternal abode, spend these days upon earth "perfecting holiness in the fear of God" (2 Corinthians 7:1).▪

Todd L. Ruddell▪

5. J. C. Ryle, *Holiness: It's Nature, Hinderances, Difficulties and Roots, being a series of papers on the subject.* Third, enlarged edition (London: William Hunt and Company, 1887), 34–35. Ryle adds the note: "There is no imagination wherewith man is besotted, more foolish, none so pernicious, as this,—that persons not purified, not sanctified, not made holy in their life, should afterwards be taken into that state of blessedness which consists in the enjoyment of God. Neither can such persons enjoy God, nor would God be a reward to them.—Holiness indeed is perfected in heaven: but the beginning of it is invariably confined to this world.—Owen on Holy Spirit, p. 575. Goold's edition."

The Editors

Editorial Assistance: The editor thanks Carl Betsch for laying out the musical score in *Psallo,* and for proof reading, B. J. Mora and Paige Britton. My thanks also go to Robert Martin for assistance with some of the photographs and images.▪

Spirit & Truth: A Film about Worship

In 1988 Presbyterian Heritage Publications published a booklet by Carl W. Bogue entitled *The Scriptural Law of Worship*. I had been drawn in the direction of Reformed and specifically Presbyterian doctrine five years earlier, having become friends with Kevin Reed at the end of 1982. Kevin founded PHP in 1983 and introduced me to the doctrine of the *regulative principle of worship* via the writings of John Calvin, John Knox of the Scottish Reformation, George Gillespie of the Second Scottish Reformation and later Presbyterians such as Samuel Miller of Princeton. I do not recall if it was the intent, but Dr. Bogue's little tract struck me at the time as the perfect introduction to easily explain principles of Biblical worship to just about any reader. Thirty-one years onward I have had the same reaction after previewing *Spirit & Truth: A Film about Worship,* a documentary by Les Lanphere. Indeed, I became convinced from Les's previous work on the film *Calvinist* and during the funding drive for the new film, that the movie could be a significant means to revive biblical worship principles not only in the wayward Presbyterian and Reformed churches, but bring sound principles to the broader evangelical churches as well. I was convinced enough that I came on as an executive producer. I believe my optimism was well placed. The documentary surpasses my expectations.[1]

What has now more generally become known under the moniker of the *regulative principle of worship*, is not something new. It was recovered by the Reformed at the Protestant Reformation and is a central if not defining Reformed doctrine, especially in Scottish Presbyterianism and English Nonconformity, the doctrine having firmly been set forth in the Westminster Confession of Faith, the Savoy Declaration, and the London Baptist Confession.

The Westminster Assembly determined: "But the acceptable way of worshipping the true God is instituted by Himself, and so limited by His own revealed will, that He may not be worshipped according to the imaginations and devices of men, or the suggestions of Satan, under any visible representation, or any other way not prescribed in the holy Scripture." (*Confession of Faith,* 21.1). The Samuel Miller gives a succinct statement of the principle when he writes that since the Scriptures are the "only infallible rule of faith and practice, no rite or ceremony ought to have a place in the public worship of God, which is not warranted in Scripture, either by direct precept or example, or by good and sufficient inference."[2] A briefer statement still is that in the worship of God, "Not to Command is to Forbid,"[3] or "Whatever is not commanded is forbidden."[4] The Reformed principle of worship stands in opposition to what is held in "liturgical" churches where a normative principle holds sway, which only disallows what is expressly forbidden.

Early in the film, Neil Stewart effectively notes the key point that while worship is consumer driven, the consumer demands to be met are not man's, but God.

The name that has become identified with this principle, developed out of usage in Presbyterian literature in the late nineteenth century. It first appears in the less phrase worthy form, *law regulative of worship,* in James Harper's entry on "Psalms in a 1883 encyclopedia. "1. To worship God otherwise than he has appointed is 'will-worship,' more or less gross. The law regulative of worship is not that we may use both what is commanded and what is not expressly forbidden, but that we must be limited to the use of what is either expressly or implicitly appointed by God (Deut. xii. 32; Matt. sv. 9, xxviii. 20)." [5]

Forms of the phrase appear again in the 1902 Psalm Singers Conference papers given in Belfast, and most notably in the paper, "The Scriptural Principle

1. The film is sponsored by *The Confessional Presbyterian*, and two of our editors are among many Reformed notables that appear in the film (Drs. Frank J. Smith and Alan Strange).

2. Samuel Miller, D.D., *Presbyterianism the Truly Primitive and Apostolical Constitution of the Church of Christ,* "The Worship of the Presbyterian Church" (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1835), 64–65 .

3. Samuel Rutherford, *The Divine Right of Church Government and Excommunication* (London, 1646), 96.

4. John B. Adger, "A Denial of Divine Right for Organs in Public Worship," *Southern Presbyterian Review,* 20.1 (January, 1869), 85.

5. *A Religious Encyclopædia, Or, Dictionary of Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical Theology,* edited by Philip Schaff, volume 3 (Funk and Wagnals, 1883), p. 1960.

Biblical worship is eminently portable in its simplicity and not locked into one culture. As Dr. Joseph A. Pipa explains, "It's not a [Western] cultural phenomenon; so as the Reformed Faith has gone to other countries of the world, it brought with it the Regulative Principle of worship…. Because of its simplicity it can fulfill being done everywhere. In fact, all you really need is a Bible, a flask of water, a flask of wine and a loaf of bread."

Regulative of the Worship of God," by Professor Pettichew.[6] Harper also contributed to this volume but did not have occasion to use the phrase. However, in his 1905 exposition of the catechism, one finds the more Americanized use: "The Second Commandment lays down *the regulative principle of worship*: it forbids idolatry."[7] John L. Girardeau spoke of the all encompassing principle as regulative, but did not use the exact phrase in his published works. But his biography notes: "In theology, he was a Sub-lapsarian; in morals, a Puritan; and in government a Presbyterian. To him, every word of the Bible was the infallible word of the living God. Every thing that concerned the faith and practice of the Church was determined by this word of God as interpreted in the light of his regulative principle: 'A divine warrant is necessary for every thing in the faith and practice of the Church.' This rule governed him in all of his thinking and in all of his conduct."[8] From these earlier works it seems likely John Murray picked up the phrasing for his remarks on the regulative principle that formed the first report delivered by the Committee on Song in Worship for the Orthodox Presbyterian Church in 1946. "*A. The Teaching of the Subordinate Standards respecting the Regulative Principle of Worship.* There is a principle clearly expressed in our subordinate Standards which has frequently been called, the *regulative* principle of worship." From an existing manuscript which was contrasted with the published text in the eleventh issue of *The Confessional Presbyterian,* it is clear that this work is Murray's and he uses both the earlier *principle regulative of worship* and the more coinable *regulative principle of worship*. From this point the phrase came to be the common name for the principle.[9]

Whatever it is called, this principle that God is only to be worship as He prescribes in His Word is crucial to the being of a faithful biblical church.

The *Spirit & Truth* documentary weaves together a storyline moving between interviews and motion graphics presenting the history of the principles of biblical worship recovered at the Reformation to deliniating the simple constituent parts making up the worship prescribed in God's Word. The many interviews are expertly carved up and pieced back together to speak as one narrative telling the viewer about the Reformed Regulative Principle of Worship. The many speakers are:

John Bowers
Josh Bruce
Tim Challies
J. C. Cunningham
Kevin DeYoung
Robert Godfrey
Jason Helopoulos
Mark Jicinsky
Terry Johnson
Confex Makhalira
Robert McCurley
Ryan McGraw
Stephen Nichols
Rick Philips
Joseph A. Pipa, Jr.
Frank J. Smith
Neil Stewart
David Strain
Alan Strange
Joe Thorn
Chad Van Dixhoorn

The film is available now in DVD and Blu-Ray and Digital on Demand. http://leslanphere.com/spiritandtruth/.▪

6. *Psalm-singers' Conference held in the Y.M.C.A Hall, Wellington Place, Belfast, on 5th, 6th, and 8th August, 1902* (Belfast: Fountain Printing Works, 1905), 9, 40, 97, 69, 71.

7. *An Exposition in the form of question and answer of the Westminster Assembly's Shorter catechism* (United Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1905) 221.

8. *The Life and Work of John L. Girardeau, D.D., LL.D.*, George A. Blackburn, D.D. (Columbia, The State Company, 1916). 371.

9. John Murray, "The Regulative Principle of Worship & Song in the Public Worship of God," *The Confessional Presbyterian* 11 (2015): 5–18. Murray leads off the survey of sixty years of literature on the regulative principle in "The Regulative Principle of Worship: Sixty Years in Reformed Literature. Part One (1946–1999)," *The Confessional Presbyterian* 2, (2006): 89–164, "Part Two (2000–2007)," 3 (2007): 155–215.