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*Front cover: A rendering of the Wittenberg Castle Church doors
(All Saints'/Schlosskirche) as they may have appeared in
1517. (JMW)*

Back cover: Article contributors

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Editor's Preface

Here we are at the 500th anniversary of the Protestant Reformation. It is incredible to think of all that has transpired in the visible church since that day in October 1517 when Martin Luther nailed the 95 Theses on the castle church door in Wittenberg in Saxony. Here at Haddington House, we have endeavoured to mark this anniversary with a special themed volume where the majority of our articles focus on some aspect of the Reformation. I believe they do make a good contribution and help to further ongoing discussion concerning the relevance of the Reformation for today.

Let me begin with our general article section. I would encourage all readers to consider the opening article. It is a clarion call by Michael Haykin to remember the Reformation. This is followed by Flip Buys' sermon which incorporates the Heidelberg Catechism, one of the most popular of the Reformation catechisms, on the theme of Christ's ascension. Flip then applies this well to the church of today. The next sermon is a fine exposition of Daniel chapter one by John Koning. It speaks very much of living for Christ today. The final general article is a reflective composition by Darren Stretch where he thinks over the continuing need to hold to the authority of God's Word.

Once again we have a solid number of books being highlighted through reviews and briefs. There are almost forty this year. The Biblical Theology department has many new commentaries reviewed, and these will be of interest to many ministers and preachers. Under the Systematic Theology department we begin with reviews of two volumes of the new "The Five Solas Series" in commemoration of the Reformation. There is also a review article about global theology, which will stimulate discussion across the continents. The Historical Theology department has two reviews on Reformation leaders plus one on an early pioneering leader in colonial British North America. In the Applied Theology department we have a wide range of reviews covering character formation, biblical counseling, church planting, apologetics, writing, ministry, spiritual life, and Christian higher education.

Our Book Briefs focus on Christianity in Africa and also a new series of short books by a publishing house new to us – Cruciform Press in Minnesota, USA. The latter seven were reviewed by Steve Mollins. The aim of Cruciform is to "publish short, clear, useful, inexpensive books for Christians and other serious people. Books that make sense and are easy to read, even as they tackle serious subjects." The Cruciform books are usually about one

hundred pages in length. We trust that you will enjoy learning about this publishing house established in 2010.

The academic articles focus on themes related to the Reformation. Each explores in-depth aspects of the Reformation not always at the top of the list for consideration: two kingdom theology from the Reformation to the current debates and discussions on this; next, current scholarship on the Scottish Reformation is noted and organized, which will serve as a good “go to” article for the Scottish Reformation; then, an interdisciplinary article explores the Reformation and worship and architecture – a much neglected area of scholarly study until most recently; next, there is an article exploring missions and the Reformation with the evangelical and Lutheran branch which developed amongst the Magisterial Reformers; and finally, an academic article focusing on a noted woman of the Reformation period. The place of women in the Reformation has not received much attention, so we are pleased to include this article here. I think each of these articles makes a helpful contribution to ongoing Reformation studies in this the five hundredth anniversary year.

As editor I want to thank each of our contributing writers and also our readers. Without writers this journal would not have its variety and range. I am always happy to receive suggestions for future articles and reviews from writers, so please feel free to email me.

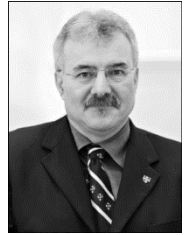
Now take up and read and may you be blessed.

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Remember the Reformation!

Michael A.G. Haykin*

**Dr. Haykin is professor of Church History and Biblical Spirituality at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky and the Director of the Andrew Fuller Center for Baptist Studies. He was born in England of Irish and Kurdish parents. He has authored numerous books and articles. One of his latest was, Rediscovering the Church Fathers: Who They Were and How They Shaped the Church (Crossway, 2011).*



One of the good gifts that God has given to human beings is that of memory and the facility to remember the past. Remembering our own personal past is absolutely vital to knowing who we are and having a sense of personal identity. We all know how diseases that ravage a person's memory destroy the ability of that person to function in any meaningful way in the present. The same holds true for communities and nations. When a community or nation forgets its past and where it has come from, it finds itself completely disoriented and ultimately unable to move head into the future. Not knowing where it has come from, it cannot chart a path to the future. Of course, like any good gift in our fallen world, this gift can be abused. It can bind a person, and even a community, to the past in hopeless regret or unforgiving bitterness or revengeful hatred.

But if it is true that knowledge of the past is vital to meaningful living in the present and the future, and I believe it is, then North American Evangelicalism faces a very uncertain future for we are living in a day when knowledge of our past as Evangelical Christians is abysmally low. Who were our forebears and what did they believe? What was their experience of God and how did that shape the churches they founded, churches which we have inherited? Far too many North American Evangelicals neither know nor do they care. In this regard, they are actually indistinguishable from North American culture, which is passionately in love with the present, eagerly anticipating the future, and totally disinterested in the past, or if nodding interest is shown in the past it is used as a vehicle for escapist entertainment. There is no serious grappling with the past to derive wisdom for the present or future. Evangelical forgetfulness of the past is thus actually a species of worldliness.

The Scriptures, on the other hand, make much of remembering:¹

- 1 Chronicles 16:12/Psalm 105:5: “Remember the wondrous works that he [that is, the Lord] has done, his miracles and the judgments he uttered.”
- Hebrews 13:7: “Remember your leaders, those who spoke to you the word of God. Consider the outcome of their way of life, and imitate their faith.” [Note: this call to remembrance comes after the longest chapter in Hebrews, chapter 11, where God’s heroes of faith are remembered].
- Micah 6:5: “O my people, remember what Balak king of Moab devised, and what Balaam the son of Beor answered him, and what happened from Shittim to Gilgal, that you may know the saving acts of the LORD.”
- Deuteronomy 24:9: “Remember what the LORD your God did to Miriam on the way as you came out of Egypt.”²

In this year, we need to remember events and people from exactly five hundred years ago, from the end of the so-called Middle Ages, at the start of what has been called the modern world. We do so because the events of that time, the Reformation, have given rise to a host of Reformed and Evangelical churches that exist today. If the events of those revolutionary years had not happened things would be quite different today. We need to remember not only, though, to gain a better idea of where we have come from, but because people from that day can give us wisdom for the present day.

Speaking concisely, the Reformation was necessary because people during the Middle Ages forgot answers to three very important questions:

- What saves a person from judgment and hell?
- Who saves us from judgment and hell?
- How do we know the answers to these two questions?

Remembering what alone saves us

About twenty years ago an extremely learned theologian and scholar wrote this: “[Martin] Luther, in the conflict between his search for salvation and the tradition of the Church, ultimately came to experience the Church,

¹ All Scripture references are from the ESV.

² Cf. Luke 17:32: “Remember Lot’s wife.”

not as the guarantor, but as the adversary of salvation.”³ Those are the words of Joseph Ratzinger. At the time when he wrote these words, he was the Prefect of the Doctrine of the Faith for the Church of Rome, and later became Pope Benedict XVI. I do not for a moment think that the Pope has reversed the Roman Catholic Church’s stance on Luther – well summed up by the statement of the Council of Trent in 1563, when it was said, “If anyone says that the sinner is justified by faith alone,” which Luther did, “let him be anathema.” But Ratzinger’s statement about the Church in the late Middle Ages is a totally accurate one. The late medieval Church had lost its way when it came to answering that vital question, which a Roman jailor in Philippi once asked, “what must I do to be saved?”⁴

On the basis of such passages as James 4:8 – “Draw near to God and he will draw near to you” – and Zechariah 1:3 – “Return to me...and I will return to you” – a number of mediæval theologians emphasized that a person who did his/her best on the basis of his/her natural ability would be rewarded with grace by God. If that person then co-operated with this grace – which was given regularly through the sacraments of the church – he or she would eventually win the reward of eternal life. In this understanding of salvation, one could initiate one’s own salvation and salvation was thus based on one’s faith and good works. But, at the time of the Reformation, the Reformers dared to question this perspective, and ask afresh: “What saves us – faith alone or faith and works? Grace alone, or grace and works?”

And when they came to realize that salvation is based on faith alone and they began to proclaim this great truth, the church in which they had been born and raised, the Roman Catholic Church, turned on them. Some it martyred, like William Tyndale; some it hounded out of their native land, like John Calvin; and some, whom it could not touch in either of these ways, it damned to hell, like Martin Luther.

Saving Martin Luther

Luther, for example, had spent ten years trying to find peace with God. He tried all of the recommended approaches of his day: he fasted and prayed; he stayed up all night and even whipped himself; he confessed his sins for hours on end to a confessor – but all to no avail. As he once said:

I was indeed a pious monk and kept the rules of my order so strictly that I can say: If ever a monk gained heaven through monkery, it should have been I. All my monastic brethren who knew me will testify to this. I would have martyred myself to death with fasting,

³ Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *Principles of Catholic Theology*, trans. by Sister Mary Frances McCarthy (San Francisco: Ignatius, 1989), 196.

⁴ Acts 16:30.

praying, reading, and other good works had I remained a monk much longer.⁵

Luther sought to find peace with God through such works, but he was troubled by an overpowering fear of God's judgement. Again, listen to his words:

When I was a monk, I made a great effort to live according to the requirements of the monastic rule... Nevertheless, my conscience could never achieve certainty but was always in doubt and said: "You have not done this correctly. You were not contrite enough. You omitted this in your confession." Therefore the longer I tried to heal my uncertain, weak, and troubled conscience with human traditions, the more uncertain, weak, and troubled I continually made it.⁶

In plainer language Luther later stated of himself, "If I could believe that God was not angry with me, I would stand on my head for joy."⁷

When Luther and a host of others were saved – men like Guillaume Farel and John Calvin, William Tyndale and Thomas Cranmer – they could but preach what they had found to be true: salvation is by faith alone and by grace alone. It is a salvation not based on our works, but based totally on Christ's works and Christ's merits. And the message that saved sinners then is the same one that saves sinners now. As Paul puts it in Titus 3:

[God] saved us, not because of works done by us in righteousness, but according to his own mercy...so that being justified by his grace we might become heirs according to the hope of eternal life (Titus 3:5, 7).

And we preach that same message today, confident of this: it saved sinners then and can do so now.

Remembering Who alone saves us

It is important to note that when Martin Luther and the other Reformers protested against the church of their day, the main thrust of their attack was directed against the piety of the mediæval Roman Church. From the vantage-

⁵ Cited Hans J. Hillerbrand, *The Reformation. A narrative history related by contemporary observers and participants* (Repr. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1978), 24.

⁶ Cited Stephen Westerholm, *Israel's Law and Church's Faith: Paul and His Recent Interpreters* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publ. Co., 1988), 7.

⁷ Cited Heiko Oberman, *Luther: Man Between God and the Devil*, trans. Eileen Walliser-Schwarzbart (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 315.

point of the Reformers, it was a piety that was shaped by superstition and man-made religion.

Late mediaeval men and women had a deep concern with death and judgement, a concern that was an outgrowth in part of what is known as the Black Death. A particularly powerful outbreak of the bubonic plague in the 1340s, the Black Death slew around 40% of the population of Western Europe. On the eve of the Black Death, for instance, the population of England and Wales stood between 4 to 5 million. By 1377 successive waves of the Black Death had reduced it to 1.5 million. The plague found ready soil in the unsanitary conditions of mediaeval society, for as one historian has put it, the Middle Ages was “a thousand years without a bath”! In the face of such massive death, where can security be found? One answer, and one that dominated the medieval church, was that safety and indeed salvation was to be found in the saints.

Look again at the experience of Martin Luther. He decided to become a monk after being caught in a thunderstorm on July 2, 1505, not far from the walls of the town of Erfurt in Saxony. He was returning to Erfurt after summer vacation. The previous spring he had gotten his B.A. at the university in Erfurt and he was now on his way back there to study for a law degree, which his father had encouraged him to get. But it was not to be.

Thunder clouds had built up, and suddenly the lightning flashed, a bolt striking right beside Martin, who was knocked to the ground, though unhurt, in terror he shouted out: ‘Beloved St Anne! I will become a monk.’ St. Anne was the patron saint of miners; Martin had heard prayers to her throughout his childhood perhaps more than to any other saint. ...In later years he described himself at the moment when the lightning struck as ‘walled around with the terror and horror of sudden death.’⁸

Twelve days later, on July 17, 1505, Luther knocked at the gate of the Augustinian order in Erfurt and asked to be accepted into their monastic ranks. When he later told his father of his decision, his father was quite angry that his son was not continuing with his studies. He asked Martin, “Do you not know that it is commanded to honour father and mother?” Luther’s response was that his terror in the thunderstorm had led him to become a monk. “I hope it was not the devil,” his father replied.⁹

Praying to the saints, though, robs Christ of his glory, for it makes the saints in part our saviours. The Reformers were thus led to ask: “Who saves us – Christ and the saints, or Christ alone?” And alongside this emphasis on the saints there was also a growing reverence for Mary. Especially from the twelfth century onwards, there was a rapid expansion of the cult of Mary. A

⁸ John M. Todd, *Luther. A Life* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1982), 25-26.

⁹ Cited Hillerbrand, *Reformation*, 24.

synod in Paris in 1210, for example, required all professing believers to know the prayer Hail Mary along with the Creed and Lord's Prayer. And in 1349 – the year of the Black Death – it was claimed that God the Father had scheduled the world to end on September 10, but Mary had successfully asked him to postpone it.¹⁰ Thus, there arose in the late Middle Ages a contrast between Christ the judge and Mary the merciful intercessor. Again, the Reformers would pose this question to their contemporaries: “Who saves us – Christ or Christ and Mary?”

This question is still vital. In our pluralistic world, which is an integral part of the Canadian mosaic, few want to ask this question: “Who saves us? Christ alone – or Buddha or Allah or Mary?” The standard party line of multicultural Canada is that whatever answer you give you will get to the same place in the end. Honestly, such an answer is at best utterly wimpish – dare to take a stand! – and at worst, a denial of everything any follower of any of these figures holds dear. They cannot all be saviours. As the Reformers answered this question, so do we, for their answer was itself an answer based on words that were ancient – but ever new – in their day:

- 1 Corinthians 8:5-6: “For although there may be so-called gods in heaven or on earth – as indeed there are many “gods” and many “lords” – yet for us there is one God, the Father, from whom are all things and for whom we exist, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and through whom we exist.”
- Acts 4:12: “There is salvation in no one else [apart from Jesus Christ], for there is no other name under heaven given among men by which we must be saved.”

In other words, the Reformers remembered what many of their Roman Catholic contemporaries had forgotten: Jesus Christ alone – his sinless person and glorious work on the cross is enough, more than enough, to save sinners.

Remembering how we know truth

You will have noticed that again and again the Reformers went back to the Bible for their answers. They did not disparage all of the books that had been written about the Bible between their day and the first century when the Bible was finally finished. They treasured the books of early Christian authors like Irenaeus and Augustine and medieval figures like John Wycliffe and Jan Hus. But they did not take the writings of these men to be their final authority for what they believed and taught, for the simple reason that these

¹⁰ Adrian H. Bredero, *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, trans. Reinder Bruinsma (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1994), 339.

men's writings were not infallible and these men themselves looked to the Bible as their unerring guide and compendium of truth.

The Roman Catholic Church of the Middle Ages had come to believe that the Bible and certain teachings of the Church were the authority for what one believed and taught and practised. Not so the Reformers, who asked, "Where is authority to be found? In the Bible alone – or in the Bible and tradition?"

Nearly thirty years after the appearance of the first edition of Tyndale's New Testament in 1526, an English Protestant named John Rogers was on trial for his Christian faith in 1555. Rogers, who had been converted through Tyndale's witness, was told by Stephen Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester and the Lord Chancellor of Mary I and the man who was judging his case, that "thou canst prove nothing by the Scripture, the Scripture is dead: it must have a lively [i.e. living] expositor." "No," Rogers replied, "the Scriptures are alive." Scripture alone is sufficient to teach us how to know God and live lives that glorify him: 2 Timothy 3:15: "The sacred writings...are able to make you wise for salvation through faith in Christ Jesus" for "all Scripture is breathed out by God and profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, and for training in righteousness."

Sermon: The Ascension of Christ to Rule the Universe Comforts His Suffering Church

Dr. P.J. (Flip) Buys*

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Read: Revelation 5:1-14 and Heidelberg Catechism Lord's Day 19

.... *“Worthy are you to take the scroll
and to open its seals,
for you were slain, and by your blood you ransomed people for God
from every tribe and language and people and nation,
and you have made them a kingdom and priests to our God,
and they shall reign on the earth.”* (Rev. 5:9-10, ESV)

Heidelberg Catechism Lord's Day 19

50. Q. Why is it added, And sits at the right hand of God?

A. Christ ascended into heaven to manifest Himself there as Head of His Church, through whom the Father governs all things.

51. Q. How does the glory of Christ, our Head, benefit us?

A. First, by His Holy Spirit He pours out heavenly gifts upon us, His members. Second, by His power He defends and preserves us against all enemies.

52. Q. What comfort is it to you that Christ will come to judge the living and the dead?

A. In all my sorrow and persecution I lift up my head and eagerly await as judge from heaven the very same person who before has submitted Himself to the judgement of God for my sake, and has removed all the curse from me. He will cast all His and my enemies into everlasting condemnation, but He will take me and all His chosen ones to Himself into heavenly joy and glory.

Introduction

Did you know that the 20th century has seen more Christian martyrs than the previous nineteen centuries combined? Lions have been replaced by firing squads and concentration camps as record numbers of Jesus' worshipers are persecuted from Syria to North Korea to several countries in Africa.

The world is still recovering from the shock of bomb blasts in Brussels, Istanbul, Pakistan and Nigeria. There may be more than 160,000 martyrdoms per year in fifty countries around the world. Christian martyr deaths around the globe more than doubled since 2012. In North Korea alone, an estimated 50,000 to 70,000 followers of Jesus are suffering in prison camps for "crimes" such as owning a Bible, going to church, or sharing their faith.

Eritrea is listed as the twelfth worst country in the world for Christian persecution. In his 2013 book, *The Global War on Christians*, reporter John L. Allen Jr. writes that in Eritrea Christians are sent to the Me'eter military camp and prison, which he describes as a "concentration camp for Christians." It is believed to house thousands being punished for their religious beliefs.

Many weeping Christians are asking: "Where is Christ our Lord and King who proclaimed that He has all power in heaven and on earth and will be with us until the end of the world? How should we face the fearful questions and threats facing us now?"

The vision given to us in Revelation 5 and the doctrines Reformed Christians confess concerning the ascension of Jesus as his enthronization (Heidelberg Catechism, Lord's Day 19) gives us answers to these questions.

To understand this passage and the doctrine it proclaims, we need to see two amazing pictures:

Picture 1:

On the small rocky and barren island Patmos, we see an old grey-haired weeping father. What a startling sight! It was in the mid-90s A.D. – a time of terrible persecution for Christians. The blood of many martyrs drenched the earth. They had to die because of their faith in Christ.

This old father is John, the apostle whom Jesus loved. He was banished by Caesar Domitian to this island for just one reason: because of his faith in Jesus Christ as his Saviour and Lord. All the promises that Christ would return soon and that His reign would spread over the whole world now seemed to be very far off, while the blood and tears of thousands of Christians soaked into the earth.

Picture 2:

But in Revelation 5 Christ opens the heavens and reveals to John another vision. He was allowed to peep into the throne room of almighty God to see what happened there on the day of Jesus' ascension into heaven to sit at the right hand of God.

This astonishing vision also reveals to us the magnificent implications of the doctrine that CHRIST RULES THE UNIVERSE TO BENEFIT HIS CHURCH as it is confessed in Sunday 19 of the Heidelberg Catechism.

In an explanation of Sunday 19 from Revelation 5 three truths become crystal clear. With His ascension:

- 1) Christ is manifested as King over the church and the whole universe.
- 2) Christ, from His position in the throne room of God, is gathering, empowering and protecting His church.
- 3) Christ is heading towards the final judgement.

1.) Manifested as King over the church and the whole universe.

In Revelation 5 the curtain is drawn away to reveal to John and us what happened behind the clouds on the day Jesus ascended into heaven. It was the day when Jesus entered into the throne room of almighty God in heaven. He saw the great and awesome and holy God on His throne with a scroll in His right hand. This scroll and the seals around it contained God's global action plan as well as the names of all His elect: all those who are redeemed and will share in His eternal glory with Him in His coming new creation. The book and the seals reveal Christ as Sovereign King on His way to God's final judgement over the living and the dead that will take place when this scroll is opened.

It is very clear: the opening of this scroll will bring an end to all the hatred and persecution against God's children. When this book is opened, the final judgement and destruction of Satan and all God's enemies will finally come. In heaven and on earth there is a real longing that this book be opened. That is why the longing cry of an angel rings with a loud sound through the universe: "Who is worthy to break the seals and open the scroll?"

It is as if the angels in heaven are keeping their breaths in awaiting tension. Will someone now step forward and take this scroll and open it so that God's triumphant kingdom can finally come?

But then John sees that this scroll is still sealed with seven seals around it. The seals – as we see later in the book of Revelation – signify the various aspects of God's plan in history that must still take place before the end can come.

At first, the shocking thing is that the scroll is still completely sealed with seven seals, indicating that it is totally locked – the number seven in the Bible is always a symbol of totality and completeness. Nobody stepped forward to take the scroll and break the seals.

After the loud cry of the angel echoing through eternity, there is just silence... It is such a tense silence that this old, grey-haired apostle bursts out in tears and weeps. If no one steps forward to take the scroll and break the seals and opens the scroll, it seems as if there will never come an end to the terrible hatred against God's children and that the bloody sufferings of the Christians will just go on and on and on forever.

But then one of the elders around the throne rushes to John to comfort him: You don't have to weep any more, old father. Look there: Someone is stepping forward to take the scroll and break the seals. He is the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David. He has triumphed. He is able to open the scroll and its seven seals.

Any person who knows his Old Testament knows whom the Lion of the tribe of Judah and the Root of David is. It is the Messiah, Jesus Christ, the One promised for so many ages that He would come to conquer the enemies of God's people.

As John looks eagerly to see this Lion, he observes another amazing thing: the Lion looks like a slaughtered lamb. When Jesus stepped forward in heaven to the throne of God to take over the rule of the universe, the scars on His body resulting from His death on the cross, the holes made by the nails that were driven through His hands, were clearly visible. The fact that He is like a slaughtered Lamb reminds John of the heart of the message of the gospel: to conquer Satan and to liberate all those whose names are written in the scroll, a price first had to be paid.

The Devil had the right to own them. God's children come with stains of sin into the world when they are born. They also make their sins more and more every day. Therefore Satan has the right to rule over them and the whole world. The price they have to pay is death. God said that those who sin must die. We are all guilty of capital punishment. The sentence of death was hanging over us.

The one who would step forward to take the scroll and reveal the names as God's children, liberated from the rule of Satan, redeemed from the sentence of death hanging over them, this Redeemer had to pay the price of death for their liberation. That is why nobody at first dared to step forward and take the scroll out of the hand of God. But now – after His death on the cross - after He has been slaughtered like a lamb – Jesus had the right to step forward. Christ is the great Conqueror. His tremendous victory is that won on the cross.

God reveals to us in Revelation 5 that His ascension to heaven was really a step towards the right hand of God to go and take that scroll and bring the final redemption of all God's elect and the coming of a whole new creation to completion. When He takes the scroll and starts to break open the seals, it means that He is now taking hold of the whole history of the world in His bloodstained hands. What a stunning thing to know. The same Christ who loved us so much that He was willing to suffer the death penalty on our behalf on the cross went to heaven to take the reins of the rule of the whole world in the same hands through which the nails of the cross were driven.

The future of the world does not lie in the hands of the United Nations Organization. It does not lie in the hands of any earthly government or the White House in America or the European Union or a Muslim Al Qaeda terrorist group. No! The ascension of Christ tells us that the reins of world his-

tory are firmly in the bloodstained hands of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

That is the wonderful background of the words of the Heidelberg Catechism in answer 50, where Reformed Christians around the world confess that the fact that Christ ascended to the right hand of God means that *God the Father governs all things through Christ*. He ascended into heaven to manifest Himself there as Head of His Church and Ruler of the World.

This sentence is so much more than just a piece of dry doctrine.

- It is something that should give us hope and comfort.
- It should actually drive us to burst out with songs of joy.
- Our Lord reigns!

And exactly that happened in heaven. Look! We read that all the hosts of heaven, thousands and thousands of angels – that means millions – and the elders around the throne burst out with a new song, singing: “You are worthy to take the scroll and to open its seals, because you were slain, and with your blood you purchased men for God from every tribe and language and people and nation.” And this choir is then echoed by another choir of all creatures in heaven and on earth singing: “To him who sits on the throne and to the Lamb be praise and honour and glory and power, for ever and ever!”

It is so sad that it has become a fashion with some people to think that the old doctrines of the church are irrelevant. In Revelation 5 we see the angels in heaven finding this doctrine of the meaning of the ascension of Christ so wonderful that they cannot stop singing songs of worship and praise to God about it.

This doctrine has more implications: through His ascension Christ did not only manifest Himself as King over the church and the whole universe, but He also starts now already to use His church to be His instruments and co-workers in the final coming of His Kingdom.

2.) Christ empowers and protects His church.

When Christ liberated us from sin, He not only redeemed us from the reign of the Devil. He also came to live in our hearts through His Spirit to strengthen and empower us to become His co-workers. That is why some of His last words to His disciples just before He went to heaven were: “You will receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the end of the earth” (Acts 1:8). That is also why the Holy Spirit was poured out on the church on the day of Pentecost so soon after the ascension of Christ.

God the Holy Spirit now lives in the heart of each of God’s children to keep them close to Jesus and empower them with His gifts to serve Him in serving others. Every Christian has these gifts of the Spirit. In the Heidelberg Catechism we confess that He pours out heavenly gifts upon us, as His members.

Do you really realise that you possess heavenly gifts? This is not merely

some Pentecostal or Charismatic doctrine, as some people think. No, this is part of the Reformed doctrine in one of the oldest Reformed confessions. Every true Christian has heavenly gifts of the Holy Spirit. Not only pastors, not only members of a church council or session, but every Christian has gifts and now needs to use those gifts to serve God through serving one another and others.

That is why the new song in heaven which the angels started to sing when Christ took the scroll states that Christ has made us a kingdom and priests to serve our God. In the times of the Old Testament, only certain specific people were chosen to be priests. But now, after the resurrection of Christ, the whole church are called priests. Therefore, every member is a minister or a priest. When you hear your neighbor is ill or suffering or crying with some spiritual need or busy backsliding, please don't sit and wait for the pastors to come and do something. If you are a Christian, Christ says He has also given you heavenly gifts for service. You can go and give a prayer and a song and a word of comfort and encouragement or even rebuke where needed. The words "one another" are used more than sixty times in the New Testament to describe the life style expected of Christians.

We do not have to be afraid for anybody or anything. Christ rules in heaven. He has taken the scroll and is breaking the seals. He protects me. He who rules the universe loves us so much that He was willing to die for us. With the same self-sacrificing love with which He died for us, He now cares for us. He has millions of angels to protect us against all dangers. Would you have any fear to live in the country if the president of the country was your brother who loves you very much? No, definitely not! Now if you then know that Jesus Christ, who is the King of kings, was not ashamed to call us His brothers and sisters, how can we have any fear? That is why we confess in the Heidelberg Catechism that we believe that by His power He defends and preserves us against all enemies.

3.) Christ is heading towards the final judgement.

Although the old, grey-haired father, the apostle John, lived in a terrible time of bloodshed and persecution, this vision of Revelation 5 reminded him – now that Jesus Christ has taken hold of the scroll and started to break and unfold the seals, the end is coming in sight. Soon all the seals will be broken. Then final judgement will come on all God's enemies.

It is not possible to deal with the meaning of each of the seals here, but we read in the next chapter that when the sixth seal is broken, the terrible judgement of God is revealed that will be so terrible that the kings of the earth, the princes, the generals, the rich, the mighty, and every slave and every free man will try to hide in caves and among the rocks of the mountains. They will call to the mountains and the rocks, "Fall on us and hide us from the face of him who is seated on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb, for the great day of their wrath has come, and who can stand?" (Rev. 6:16)

That is why we can confess in the Heidelberg Catechism that “the very same person who before has submitted Himself to the judgement of God for my sake, and has removed all the curse from me, He will cast all His and my enemies into everlasting condemnation”. Jesus is not like a friendly old grandfather who just keeps on smiling to the rebelliousness of sinners. The day will come that He will bring judgement. Jesus Himself warned that on the last day many people who have preached and even performed miracles and great powers will cry out to him: “Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy in your name, and in your name drive out demons and perform many miracles?” Then He, the Lamb, will tell them plainly, “I never knew you. Away from me, you evildoers!” (Matt. 7:22-23)

I was once deeply shocked when another preacher reminded us that on the last day many people will turn around before the doors of heaven and be thrown into the pit of hell with the name of Jesus on their lips. Why? Because His name was on their lips, but He Himself was not really in their hearts, and they have never really embraced Him with humble confession of sin.

If you are really in Christ and He in you (John 16), you will have nothing to fear on that day when He is going to break the last seal. This same old, grey-haired apostle John wrote in 1 John 2:28: “And now, dear children, continue in him, so that when he appears we may be confident and unashamed before him at his coming.”

For the real, humble Christian, the final judgement is not something to fear; it is something to long for. That is why we confess in answer 52 of the Heidelberg Catechism that now, “In all my sorrow and persecution I lift up my head and eagerly await as judge from heaven the very same person who before has submitted Himself to the judgement of God for my sake, and has removed all the curse from me.”

Conclusion

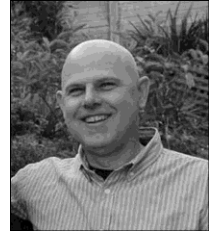
What a wonderful, powerful confession we have in this section of the Heidelberg Catechism! We know for sure – our Saviour is in charge of the universe. He has the scroll in His hands. He is breaking and unfolding the seals of history now, at this very moment.

Let us use the heavenly gifts He has given us to be channels of His love in this broken world. But most of all, let us be ready for His return and final judgement by committing ourselves to Him daily. Then we can even be eager to see that great day of His return and make the final prayer of the Bible in Revelation the earnest prayer of our own hearts: “Come, Lord Jesus, yes please do come soon!”

Sermon: By the Rivers of Babylon, Daniel 1

Rev. John Koning*

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A while ago a local man told me of a shocking experience he had at a school prize giving. The principal welcomed everybody; there was a short Scripture reading, a prayer and choir item. The guest speaker was an official from the Education Department. He started by reprimanding the principal for reading from the Bible and praying to the Christian God. He lambasted the principal and the governing body for their narrow, unconstitutional approach. "It will not be tolerated," he insisted.

Last week we heard that the head boy of another local school is living with his girlfriend, a pupil of the same school, and their baby.

In last week's press I noted that the minister of tertiary education wants to introduce witchcraft as an academic course in South African varsities. Yes – he is serious.

According to the UN, our country is the most corrupt country in world. What a crazy, troubled, broken place is South Africa!

Our country is a fast changing society. Our traditional Christian props, privileges, benefits are going, going, gone. We live in a fallen, troubled, broken, idolatrous place.

It raises a number of questions:

- **Is** it possible to live for the Lord Jesus Christ in such a hostile place?
- **How** do we live for King Jesus in an environment where there is such hostility and opposition?

The book of Daniel is a piece of resistance literature. The central question of the book is Psalm 137:4, "How can we sing the songs of the Lord while in a foreign land?" It's so relevant – because we sometimes feel like strangers or aliens in the land of our birth.

Enter Daniel; commentators reckon that when we first meet him he is only fourteen or fifteen. What a teenager we meet in Daniel 1! He and his three Jewish buddies are at the University of Babylon. Consider:

- They attend a pagan university in a great, ungodly city.
- Daniel would eventually serve three pagan kings – the most influential men in the world.
- There are extraordinary miracles of mercy and protection in his life.
- They are given tremendous gifts of understanding, wisdom and interpretation.

Daniel tells us how to be a disciple of Jesus Christ in a hostile environment – it shows us how to live for God when things are against us. The book teaches us that it **IS** possible to live for the true and living God and make a huge impact for His kingdom – when it seems like there is nothing on your side. “Spirituality and integrity do not require ideal conditions in which to develop. They are not plants that thrive in the protection of the greenhouse, but grow best when exposed to snow, hail, drought and burning sun.” (Olyott)

What do we learn from Daniel 1?

1. God Is King, vv. 1-2

Yahweh reigns, God is sovereign over all things, circumstances, people all the time – bringing His purposes to fruition. There is an astounding statement about the sovereignty of God here – you see it?

It’s 605 BC. From Babylon comes Nebuchadnezzar. He is an expansionist – a mover and shaker – full of ambition. His plan is to take over the whole Middle Eastern world. Jerusalem was one of his first targets. His armies march around the holy city and take control of it. Babylonian soldiers desecrate the temple. The temple of the living God is trashed by pagans! Holy furnishings are taken to a pagan temple in Babylon. This is a taunt – the ultimate insult: “Our God is stronger than your God! Our God has captured yours.”

Listen up – you must appreciate this: the capture of Jerusalem and the desecration of the temple was the biggest disaster in Israel’s history. The holy city in the land of promise – pillaged by ungodly people – taken by enemy. It was the 9/11 of the ancient world – indeed it was worse. It was unthinkable. There seemed to be so much wrong with it – Israel would never be the same again.

Here is the extraordinary statement: v. 2 God did it! The conquered city, the trashed temple, the transported treasures, and the Jews carried off to exile was God’s doing and for the furtherance of His purposes. The experience of the people was ruin, shame, destruction. Yet God had done it.

You see the strange relationship between God’s sovereignty and human responsibility. Nebuchadnezzar boasts: “Look at **my** power, wisdom and

military strength!” God says: “No – you are merely an instrument in fulfilling the plans I have for my people and the world.”

There were several reasons why Jerusalem was trashed. The main one was the judgement of God – God had repeatedly warned – if you continue in sin, rebellion, idolatry – into exile you shall go. But there was another reason, so Nebuchadnezzar, a pagan king, would come to a point in his life when he would bow the knee before God, and declare the glorious rule of God – Daniel 4:34-35:

At the end of that time, I, Nebuchadnezzar, raised my eyes toward heaven, and my sanity was restored. Then I praised the Most High; I honored and glorified him who lives forever. His dominion is an eternal dominion; his kingdom endures from generation to generation. All the peoples of the earth are regarded as nothing. He does as he pleases with the powers of heaven and the peoples of the earth. No one can hold back his hand or say to him: “What have you done?”

We (like Daniel) live in a time of great international strife, uncertainty, conflict, terror, godless worldviews and clashing ideology. We are concerned about the Trumps, Zumas, Putins, Clintons and Mugabes. They are not sovereign – in a few years they will all be popping up daisies. We need to remind ourselves that God reigns – over unbelieving tyrants – and that His truth and kingdom will prevail.

2. Be Aware of the Strategies of Worldliness, vv. 3-7

Nebuchadnezzar was brilliant – this is borne out by the history textbooks. How do you govern a conquered people? It’s not simple. Great caution is required. The pharaohs of Egypt tried one approach – enslave, oppress, make them suffer. It backfired. Nebuchadnezzar was not going to fall into that trap – Babylon was conquering the world – there were too many people to keep subjugated.

His plan is brilliantly wicked. He takes the cream from every nation he has conquered. They are totally re-educated in things Babylonian. It’s called indoctrination or brainwashing. Then they are assimilated into the Babylonian civil service – some held key positions. Then if the conquered people rebelled, they would have to rebel against their own sons. Brilliant!

Enter Daniel and his buddies. These young teenagers start a comprehensive program of re-education in all things Babylonian. Commentators say they would have learned language, science, history, mathematics, geography, navigation, economics and administration. They were to study in a context

where everything was FOR them – everything was laid on. This is no Gulag – no concentration camp – it’s the extreme opposite. They all got fat scholarships. Everything is laid on – they got the best of everything. Your kids had to get part-time jobs – waitress, drive kids around, coach sport – not these guys. Imagine studying at Harvard, MIT, Oxford – while the President’s catering team is feeding you every day! They are allowed to walk the corridors of power – mingle with the big shots – what an ego trip! What teenager would not be turned?

Look at how Nebuchadnezzar does it:

- He isolates them – from their families, from Jerusalem, from public worship.
- He indoctrinates them – they become thoroughly marinated in the language and customs of Babylon.
- He makes them thoroughly comfortable – they get the best of everything. (There is great spiritual danger in comfort.)
- He gives them new names – their names are changed from Hebrew names to names that speak of pagan gods. For example, Daniel means “God has judged” becomes Belteshazzer – “keeper of the hidden treasures of Bel”.

You see the strategy here: blend in, forget who you are, forget whose you are. “When in Babylon do as the Babylonians do.”

It is very interesting that in Bible “Babylon” becomes a symbol of worldliness, a symbol of the world system that opposes God. Nebuchadnezzar’s strategy is really the same as worldliness. The enormous tug to blend in, to assimilate, to copy – to adopt a strategy – When in Babylon do as the Babylonians do! Babylon already has their bodies captive – but Babylon wants their souls, their affections, their wills. What is described in the rest of Daniel is a seventy-year campaign – a spiritual conflict between Jerusalem and Babylons – between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of this world.

Our battle is very similar: there is the enormous pull to conform to the world around us. Our heads get turned by the gross materialism, consumerism, self-absorption and sexual ethics by those we live amongst. The rationale is often: “But everyone is like that. Everyone is doing that.” But we are called to be godly non-conformists, to be counter-cultural, to be radically different. (Romans 12:1-2)

3. Resolve To Fight Worldliness - Say No! vv. 8-16

- What chance has Daniel got? A mere 14 year old – surely he is going to get swallowed up by the system, and become another statistic?
- He has witnessed the overthrow of Jerusalem and the trashing of the temple. How this must have played on his mind.
- He has been taken from his home, his family, and marched eight hundred kilometres east, across Syria to Babylon.

- He has been subjected to a powerful, yet subtle form of brainwashing.
- He is surrounded by evil on every side. Peer pressure is nothing new!

Can a follower of Jesus Christ stand firm when bombarded by an avalanche of worldliness? When the pressure to conform is enormous? Yes! He can and he must!

He does something very important. Daniel says NO! He has undergone a Babylonian education – no protest. He has had a name change – no protest. But he draws a line here, “He purposed in his heart.” We must know what to tolerate and when to say no.

This sounds strange to us – it’s just food and wine. Paul and Jesus tell us we can eat what we enjoy. This isn’t about being kosher. We must remember why the Jews were in captivity in first place. Their ongoing sin had been idolatry – running after other gods. The food from the king’s table had been offered to idols before it was served. Every meal in the royal palace began with an act of pagan worship. Every meal in Nebuchadnezzar’s palace was a holy meal – dedicated to his gods. Daniel would not eat – it would mean a compromise with idolatry – the cause of the exile.

Daniel requests permission to be excused from eating from the king’s table. Note how he does it – with humility and grace and respect. He is not obnoxious or pigheaded. There is a lesson here. Sometimes when Christians suffer in a hostile world they come out swinging, aggressive – with an incredible sense of entitlement. We demand better – we deserve better.

I think many believers are working from the wrong assumptions. Apart from suffering and dying for the Gospel we are not actually entitled to much! We are not in Jerusalem – we are in Babylon. But listen, don’t put a political spin on this – we were NOT exiled in 1994 – we have always been in exile. We live in a broken, sin sick, fallen world – which is not neutral – but which is opposed to Jesus Christ, His truth and His church. The New Testament calls us exiles, strangers, aliens and foreigners.

The official is very cagey. If these Hebrew boys lose condition while under his care, he could get the chop. Daniel respectfully proposes a test period: ten days of vegetables and water. Sounds terrible – Prof. Noakes would not be happy. After ten days these guys that had been eating celery and sauerkraut look better than those who had been on a five-star diet from the king’s table. This is the first miracle in Daniel.

Daniel said NO! We think of his great courage that took him to the lion’s den. But Daniel 1 comes before Daniel 6. If Daniel had not been firm and resolute at this point, he certainly would not have stood firm later when death was the sure outcome. The lesson: be faithful in the small things. We sometimes think in dramatic, gory terms: What would I do if terrorists forced me to renounce Christ? The more pressing issue is – am I denying Christ at home, in the office, at school, at golf, or in the bar? C.H. Spurgeon asks: “Why do you torment yourselves about the lion’s den when you are failing in

the dining-room today?”

Every year evangelical churches say goodbye to teens who go to university or college to study. They ALL go to the University of Babylon – some go to the Cape Town campus, some Port Elizabeth, some Johannesburg, some Bloemfontein, some stay local. We are concerned about them. Will they get turned? **Daniel shouts at us: It’s possible to be faithful in a terribly fallen world.**

4. Consider the Sustaining Grace of God, vv. 17-21

Grace is written all over Daniel’s life – grace is written all over the believer’s life. Our life is the story of the triumph of grace. We have already seen it in Daniel’s life (v.9). God honoured them and gave them more grace. A vital reality check here – the hero of the book of Daniel is not Daniel – it is the living God, who is King and gracious and good.

God gave these young Hebrew exiles gifts and abilities that they had never dreamed of. Their final exam is an oral. They were better than all the other students! That is grace. But there is more – they were better than the existing graduands who had finished their studies and were occupying leading positions – they were ten times better – abounding grace.

As a result they found themselves in strategic positions where they could use their influence enormously for good. Verse 21 is incredible! It looks innocuous (It’s like a PS at the end of a letter) – but how potent it is. What a plan. Seventy-five years later, Nebuchadnezzar is history, but Daniel (the foreigner) has held top, strategic positions under three pagan kings. Daniel tells us, no shouts at us, that because of the grace of God it is possible to live for Jesus in a totally ungodly environment.

The Old Testament points to a Saviour, a mighty Deliverer, the Messiah. During the time of the exile there was an increased expectation and longing for the Messiah. The people needed God to intervene decisively, they needed a great deliverer.

This morning we remind ourselves of Jesus Christ and His gospel. God intervened, He sent His beloved Son. His Son lived for us, suffered and died for us, was raised for us, and has given us His spirit and brought us into His church. We remember the wonder of the grace of God. Religion says DO. The Gospel says it’s all DONE. Our sin – all of it – is covered by Jesus Christ, who loved us and gave Himself for us. We remind ourselves that the cross is the focal point of our faith – we are disciples of the Cross. He has called us OUT of the world (to be holy) and sent us INTO the fallen world (like Daniel) to be instruments of grace.

God Still Leads Today: Scripture Must Reign Supreme

Darren Stretch*

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The Reformation is Relevant

Two thousand seventeen marks the 500th anniversary of the Reformation, and the question has been asked: Is the Reformation still relevant for today? The short answer is: Yes, the Reformation is still relevant for today. But if the systematic theology of the Reformation is not appreciated with renewed interest, everything the Reformation stands for will be for naught.

Martin Luther (1483-1546) kick started the Reformation in 1517 when he nailed, what has become known as, *The Ninety-Five Theses* to the castle doors in Wittenberg, Germany. In a nutshell, Luther was reacting against trends toward secularization in the Church that developed during the Renaissance period (1300s-1500s). He primarily opposed the selling of indulgences, but he also opposed the construction of the opulent St. Peter's Basilica, which he visited, and experienced firsthand what the sale of indulgences was producing (he would have rather seen the money go towards ministering to the poor).¹ When asked to recant his position at the Diet of Worms in 1520, Luther said he would if it could be shown by "Scripture and plain reason" that he was mistaken.² Therefore the Reformation became not only a justification by faith issue but about the authority of Scripture and the sovereignty of God as well. This was a clear contrast to the humanistic-secular ideologies of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment and their derivatives.

¹ Martin Luther, *The 95 Theses*. <<http://www.luther.de/en/95thesen.html>> Viewed Sept. 8, 2016. Also see: Southwest Advantage, *Social Studies and Languages*. (Southwestern: Nashville, TN, 2011). p. 500. Also see: Timothy West. *Martin Luther-PBS Documentary, Part 1&2*. (Dir. Cassian Harrison. Devillier Donegan Enterprises, 2002). <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PyVrPIp4QsA>> Viewed Sept. 1, 2016.

² Robert Clouse, Richard Pierard, and Edwin Yamauchi, *Two Kingdoms: The Church and Culture Through The Ages*. (Moody Press: Chicago, IL, 1993). p. 248.

We live in an increasingly secular society today in Canada. In 2014 one quarter of the Canadian population identified themselves as a “none” when asked about their religious affiliation on the census. This is up significantly from the 1980s, when only one tenth of the population identified themselves as a “none.”³ What would happen if we raised a whole generation without religion or beliefs?

Francis Schaeffer (1912-1984), when he outlined the fall of the Roman Empire in *How Then Shall We Live?*, concluded that when a society neglects “an inward base” (meaning a biblical base) it would collapse.⁴ He discerned that a society in the midst of collapse would experience: economic chaos, threat of war, random acts of terrorism, a shrinking middle class, and food insecurity.⁵ While these issues certainly existed in Schaeffer’s day, they seem more significant in our own day and age. Therefore the Reformation – a call back to a biblical base – is as relevant as ever. Just as Luther sought to address the issues of his day, the time seems right for a renewed interest in the Reformation to address our own societal needs.

The Main Issue Defined

There are many religious affiliations (there are twelve choices on the census) but in the simplest terms there are just two ways of looking at the world – through a Christian lens and through a non-Christian lens. Whether the Bible is referring to the righteous or the wicked, the wise or the fool, the believer or the unbeliever, there is an understanding that a dichotomy exists between the Christian and non-Christian worldviews – to the exclusion of all others. Clearly the Bible identifies only one correct way of seeing the world and life [see John 14:6].

Man has been trying to make himself superior to God ever since the Garden of Eden, so this is a very old conversation. The Renaissance was a reinvention of a man-centered value system due to the rediscovery of Classical Greek literature, while the Reformation rejected the notion that man, starting only with himself, could answer all the questions of life. The Reformers accepted the authority of Scripture rather than human ingenuity as the foundation for understanding reality. It was *Sola Scriptura*.⁶

John Calvin (1509-1564) became the most prominent figure of the Reformation. His life-long work, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, is a comprehensive systematic theology and apologia of the Reformation faith,

³ Joseph Brean, “One in four Canadians declare affiliation to no religion, but why are so many ‘nones’ surprisingly religious?” *The National Post*. May 26, 2014. <<http://news.nationalpost.com/holy-post/one-in-four-canadians-declare-affiliation-to-no-religion-but-why-are-so-many-nones-surprisingly-religious>> Viewed Sept. 2, 2016.

⁴ Francis Schaeffer, *How Should We Then Live?* (Crossway Books: Wheaton, IL, 1976). p. 29.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 246-254.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 78-82.

which articulated and preserved biblical Christianity and its practical applications. It remains on “a short list of books that have notably affected the course of history.”⁷ It is one of the main reasons that the Reformation extended far beyond what Martin Luther initiated, and its influence is still felt today.

In 1898 the Protestant reformer Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920), while giving The Stone Lectures at Princeton University, acknowledged the significance of Calvin’s contributions by describing Calvinism as the fruit of the Reformation.⁸ Kuyper held Calvinism in such high regard that he valued the doctrines of the Reformation above all other forms of systematic thought.

We add Kuyper to the discussion on the relevancy of the Reformation for today because he helped carry the concepts of the Reformation into the 20th century. But more importantly he articulated the concept that Reformation doctrines were more than just theology; he popularized the idea that “principles” (a person’s inward base) determine a person’s behavior and customs. He once said, “As truly as every plant has a root, so truly does a principle hide under every manifestation of life.”⁹ In other words, a person’s theology is equivalent to their worldview, and their behavior is predetermined by that theology. This is the main issue we wish to emphasize at this time.

To illustrate how theological concepts instead of pragmatic considerations determine how people behave, consider the relationship between Martin Luther and the Roman Catholic Church. Luther originally sought to bring reform to the Church but ended up creating Protestantism because he and the Church were operating from two very different guiding principles that created two very different practical realities that could not be reconciled. The Roman Catholic Church, which used the Church as the basis for authority, created the Roman Mass. On the other hand, Protestantism, which used the Bible as the basis for authority, created a more participatory style of worship where the Bible was made available in the vernacular, where there was a place for expository preaching, and a new hymnology developed.¹⁰

To summarize, there are just the two ways of looking at the world – biblically and un-biblically – which the Renaissance and the Reformation each represented in their own ways. And a person’s “starting point” or guiding principles will inevitably lead to a vastly different result from other choices. Therefore if we want to obtain practical solutions to our societal needs, it is

⁷ John T. McNeill, ed., Introduction. *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion*, vol. 1. Translated by Ford Lewis Battles. (Westminster John Knox Press: Louisville, 1960). p. xxix.

⁸ Abraham Kuyper, *Lectures on Calvinism*. <<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/kuyper/lecture.html>>

⁹ David K. Naugle, *Worldview: The History of a Concept*. (Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co.: Grand Rapids, MI, 2002). p. 19.

¹⁰ Terry L. Johnson, ed. *Leading in Worship*. (The Covenant Foundation: Oak Ridge, TN, 1996). p. 1.

important to understand the value system we are basing our decisions by. We must choose a good one if we wish to receive good results. To quote Charles Colson (1931-2012) from *How Now Shall We Live?*, “Only Christianity offers a comprehensive worldview that covers all areas of life and thought, every aspect of creation. Only Christianity offers a way to live in line with the real world.”¹¹ We need to regain an appreciation of the systematic theology of the Reformation that was based on the concept of *Sola Scriptura*.

It can't be reiterated enough the importance of understanding your guiding principles; because, as we shall see, even the inward base by which you approach the Reformation has corresponding consequences as well.

The Unintended Reformation

Celebrations for the 500th anniversary of the Reformation will include special publications, conferences and tourism initiatives. There will be lots of discussion on whether or not the Reformation is over or if it is continuing, if it is relevant or not, and what are the lessons to be learned. Lots of people will have a message that will reflect their personality, background, and interest. This essay is a case in point.

As early as the nineteenth century, Martin Luther has been portrayed as a champion of rationalism and individualism. Historians wanted to show that Germany was the mother of modern civilization even though this was far from the truth.¹² This type of thinking persists well into the 21st century.

A recent PBS documentary (2002) gives the impression that Luther was a hero of personal liberty and personal consciousness because he stood up for what he believed in; and Luther is even more amazing because he stuck it to the man to boot. In 2012, Brad Gregory coined the phrase, “the unintended reformation,” in his controversial book of the same title. The subtitle indicates that he is making the case that the Reformation inadvertently created our modern secular society with all its many “besetting problems” – which include: (i) a hyper-pluralism of religious and secular beliefs, (ii) an absence of any substantive common good, and (iii) the triumph of capitalism and consumerism.¹³

As the argument goes, since the Reformation declared that man has an individual relationship with God, man became an independent and sovereign being. Yet the Reformers would not have seen it this way. Calvin for instance would have maintained that man is not a sovereign being, that God and Scripture have authority over his life (even though this authority is self-authenticating), and God cannot be known through pure reason alone, but

¹¹ Charles Colson, *How Now Shall We Live?* (Tyndale House Publishers: Wheaton, IL, 1999). p. xi; cf. p. 273.

¹² Justo L. Gonzalez, *The Story of Christianity*, vol. 2. (Harper Collins Publishers: New York, NY, 1985). p. 33.

¹³ Ron Rittgers, “The Reformation is Still Relevant – Really Relevant.” *The Huffington Post*. < http://www.huffingtonpost.com/ron-rittgers-phd/the-reformation-is-still-relevant-really-relevant_b_3015606.html > Viewed Oct. 3, 2016.

through worship, love and obedience.¹⁴ When the Reformation is depicted in humanistic terms, it is the result of “philosophical agendas” and “theological generalizations taken out of context”, which obviously shouldn’t be considered good scholarship.¹⁵ Do we need to address hyper-pluralism without a substantive common good as a society? Certainly. But in order to address these concerns, we need to begin by considering the inward base we are using to create appropriate solutions.

This situation where various points of view can exist side-by-side is a perfect reflection of the postmodern age we find ourselves living in; where objective, universal truth does not exist; where a person’s point of view carries all the weight. How can we speak into a situation like this? We begin by understanding a person’s perspective. Are they looking at the world through a Christian lens or a non-Christian one? Is the authority of Scripture and the sovereignty of God reigning supreme in the discussion? These types of questions need to be asked to guard against drifting away from sound doctrine.

Where Do We Go From Here?

The Reformation is as relevant as ever because the battle for biblical authority is far from over. Within the last five hundred years, proponents of the Reformation have fought for the importance of a biblical worldview on many fronts. The Reformation originated by addressing ecclesiastical issues; that certainly seemed to have been Luther’s original intent. Then the Reformation moved on to address wider political matters, which Calvin played a role in. Then the campaign moved to the arena of science and what the natural order looks like and how everything came to exist. Today, perhaps, we are fighting the biggest battle yet. Today the Reformation in Canada is dealing with moral or ethical (family) issues. The rising influence of the LGBT community, Pro-choice, assisted dying legislation, and the legalization of marijuana are sure to have wide spreading consequences that require a biblical response. In the midst of these concerns, we should never waver in the belief that God’s sovereign power is at work in the world today.¹⁶

We may live in an increasingly secular society but that does not mean that historical biblical Christianity is without hope. Science, technology, bureaucracy, and pragmatism have failed to provide meaningful answers to the great questions of life. In fact more questions than answers are popping up. Political corruption, environmental threats, new and deadly diseases, and the expanding income gap between the rich and poor have shattered secularism’s

¹⁴ McNeill, pp. 1-li.

¹⁵ Julian Gutierrez, “Calvin and the Reformed Tradition.” Nov. 13, 2013. Review of: *Calvin and the Reformed Tradition* by Richard Muller. (Baker Academics: Grand Rapids, MI, 2012). <www.thegospelcoalition.org/article/calvin_and_the_reformed_tradition> Viewed Aug. 22, 2016.

¹⁶ Robert G Clouse, Richard V. Pierard, & Edwin M. Yamauchi. *Two Kingdoms: The Church and Culture Through the Ages*. (Moody Press: Chicago, IL, 1993). p. 600.

optimism. As a result there is new interest in traditional religions, there is interest in “mini-nationalism”, walls and firm borders, as well as a rise in ethnocentric pride.¹⁷ Additionally “nones” are spiritual seekers in their own unique way.¹⁸ The time is right to appropriately address society’s growing needs.

Man starting from himself can’t answer the great questions of life. A firm biblical base must exist or society will collapse in on its self. The church’s role isn’t political, nor is it to engage in a culture war, nor is it to try and create a moral or silent majority. The church’s role is to be a community of faith that trusts that God is still leading today. God certainly has led in a way that brought each of us into a personal relationship with His Son Jesus Christ. And He is making us new creatures with the guiding presence (an inward base) of the Holy Spirit at work in our lives. All we can do is embrace the concept of *Sola Scriptura* that we have learned from the Reformation and apply it to our lives in an equal and bold manner as the Reformers did. And when God has placed us in a position to influence – whether it be to an individual, a neighborhood, or a nation – we act in obedience, love and worship. To the glory of God. *Soli Deo Gloria!*

¹⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 589-600.

¹⁸ Brean.

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Book Reviews
and
Book Briefs

Book Reviews

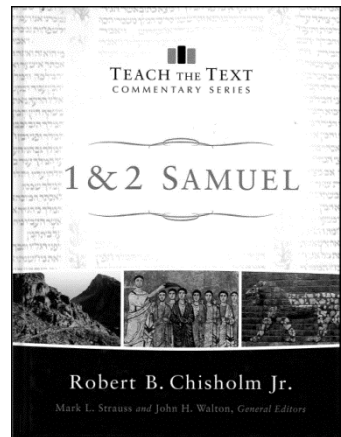
The *Journal* uses the standard abbreviation ‘hc’ to denote hard cover. The International Standard Book Number (ISBN) has been included with all books when available. We begin this section with “**Book Reviews**”, organized according to the four divisions of theology.

Biblical Theology

1 & 2 Samuel. Robert B. Chisholm Jr. *Teach the Text Commentary Series*, gen. eds. Mark L. Strauss and John H. Walton. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2013, 352 pp., hc. ISBN 978-0-8010-9225-1

The Teach the Text commentary series is a welcome addition to the range of commentaries that seek to bridge the gap between hardcore scholarship and devotional commentary. Publication of this new series began with four volumes in 2013 and now in 2016 stands at eight Old Testament volumes and six New Testament volumes out of a planned twenty-two and fifteen respectively.

The practical aim of the series is to simplify the task of “pastors who teach the text on a weekly basis” (p. ix). Negatively, the aim of the commentaries is to avoid detailed discussions of technical issues not clearly connected to the main purpose of the text, while at the same time avoiding the “lack of hermeneutical sophistication” (p. ix) often found in devotional commentaries. For the sake of conciseness the commentary for each preaching unit is strictly limited to six pages (p. ix). More importantly, for sound exposition and effective communication, “the commentary is carefully divided into units that are faithful to the biblical author’s ideas and of an appropriate length for teaching or preaching” (p. xi).



For each unit the “Big Idea” and “Key Themes” are clearly highlighted. The commentary is divided into an “Understanding the Text” section, a “Teaching the Text” section, and an “Illustrating the Text” section. The “Understanding the Text” section is further divided under the headings “The Text in Context,” “Historical and Cultural Background,” “Interpretive Insights,” and “Theological Insights”. In the “Illustrating the Text” sections, the authors provide at least two and sometimes four illustrations for a passage, so usually something will be found helpful. Illustrations come from a wide range of types and sources such as biography and autobiography, poetry, history, classical and modern literature, film and television, the Bible, observations about human experience and culture, personal stories, and Greek mythology.

The endnotes and index are sufficiently detailed to be helpful and the separation of “Recommended Resources” in the bibliography is useful. The commentaries include many colour photos and illustrations of ancient artefacts and biblical sites, which primarily add visual appeal and interest rather than insight.

Chisholm is a well-respected Old Testament scholar. His introduction to 1 and 2 Samuel is brief, but it provides a very helpful overview of how 1-2 Samuel functions as the theological and literary centre of the Former Prophets. After briefly demonstrating that there are many patterns from Judges that the narrator uses to characterize Samuel, Saul, and David (p. 2-3), he provides clear focus for our understanding of 1-2 Samuel when he states, “the narrator’s overriding concern is to demonstrate that David (not Saul) is the Lord’s chosen king and the heir to a covenant promise that guarantees the realization of God’s purposes for his people Israel” (p. 5). Unnecessarily, he expends two full pages of the introduction clarifying his purpose and approach (p. 5-7).

Chisholm consistently and carefully unfolds the place of each passage in relation to the history of Israel recorded in the Former Prophets and in relation to themes developed from the Pentateuch. Thus, he provides many helpful insights from antecedent Scripture and then frequently develops these insights to show how the events and the actions and words of characters in 1-2 Samuel anticipate later events and people in redemptive history. This reveals that Chisholm’s key to interpreting each passage is primarily the broad canonical and theological context of 1-2 Samuel.

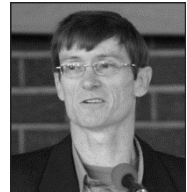
The author both clearly states and avoids the danger of using Old Testament narratives simply to teach moral lessons or principles that are not central to the purpose of the passage. Thus, for example, 1 Samuel 2:12-36 may be used to illustrate poor parenting, but if teaching from this passage the focus should be on its central theme of respect for the Lord (p. 19). The author also points out that how the Lord does something with someone on one occasion does not make it normative for future believers and situations. Thus, for example, observing what the Lord did with Saul (1 Sam 10:1-6) should not lead present-day believers to expect signs to prove God’s will (p. 61).

Chisholm repeatedly reminds the reader that the positive portrait of Samuel is inseparably linked to and essential to the presentation of David as the Lord's chosen leader to replace Saul and to fulfil His covenant purposes (e.g., p. 44, 47). He also frequently highlights the tragedy in the plot concerning Saul. For example, he notes that Jonathan is revealed to be Saul's son only after Saul has forfeited his dynasty (1 Sam 13:16), which means Jonathan's demonstration of such courage, faith, and promise (1 Sam 14:1-15) is all in vain as far as the future of Saul's dynasty is concerned (p. 87).

Chisholm assumes that the first readers of 1-2 Samuel and the Former Prophets as a whole, were the exilic community (see p. 6). Therefore, usually at the end of the Theological Insights section, he interprets the message of the passage for the exilic community (e.g., p. 78), and then, in the "Teaching the Text" section, he effectively translates the meaning of the passage from its original settings to the situations of today's readers.

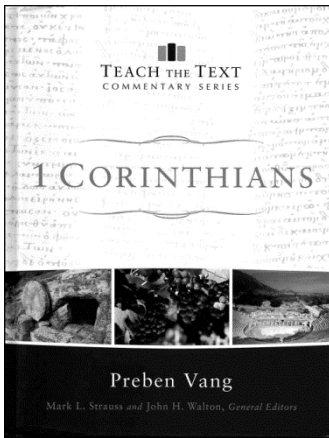
Overall, although I was initially skeptical about a commentary series that could potentially cater for lazy pastors, Bible teachers, and students, I was happy to find that these commentaries still leave readers with plenty of their own work to do. For this reason, I would definitely recommend the Teach the Text commentary series as one of the first resources that preachers and teachers should use to check that they are on the right track with their interpretation and to find those extra insights, pointed applications, and helpful illustrations. In particular, I am impressed by Chisholm's commentary on 1-2 Samuel and would especially recommend it for its attention to the function and message of 1-2 Samuel within its broad canonical and theological context.

Reviewed by Dr. Greg Phillips, a Zimbabwean who is the dean/registrars and a lecturer/facilitator at Dumisani Theological Institute, King William's Town, Eastern Cape, SA.



1 Corinthians. Preben Vang. Teach the Text Commentary Series, gen. eds. Mark L. Strauss and John H. Walton. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2014, 272 pp., hc. ISBN 978-0-8010-9234-3

For general observations on the purpose and format of this commentary series, see the review on 1 & 2 Samuel. The author, Dr Preben Vang, was not known to me before, and has not written any other biblical commentaries, but he has coauthored the book *Telling God's Story: The Biblical Narrative from Beginning to End* (B&H, 1st ed., 2006; 2nd ed., 2013). At the time of publication, Dr Vang had served for seventeen years on the faculty of Palm Beach Atlantic University.



In the introduction to 1 Corinthians, Vang primarily emphasizes the importance of understanding background issues such as culture, literary forms, “historical and social contexts, and religious and theological vocabulary” because “they help us avoid reading our own culture and understanding into the text” (p. 2). In this regard, Vang provides very helpful insights on the status and culture of Corinth as a new Roman city (p. 2). In particular, he highlights that “patron-client relationships ... were a significant undercurrent in Paul’s relationships with his audience and churches” (p. 4). In fact, this background of the patron-dependent

culture, including the idea that God is the Patron of the church, His people (p. 166), remains very much in focus throughout and is definitely one strength of this commentary. Vang’s discussion of the pagan background of the issue of veiling in 1 Corinthians 11:12-16 is also illuminating (p. 146-148).

The commentary is divided into thirty-six preaching units for the sixteen chapters of 1 Corinthians. For each passage, besides addressing the relevant cultural context, Vang’s interpretation predominantly focuses upon the specific arguments and words (grammar) within each passage rather than on the broader canonical, literary or historical context. He frequently explains individual word forms in order to bring out more clearly the meanings, contrasts and wordplays intended by Paul (e.g., p. 35-36, 52-53, etc.).

In addition to the commentary units, Vang furnishes the reader with five two-page Additional Insights chapters which are well-focused on important issues: Corinthian law; Meat sacrificed to idols; Roman homes and households; Paul’s body metaphor; and, Women, worship, and prophecy. Furthermore, Vang adds significant value to this commentary by including several “sidebar” notes within the commentary units that bring refreshing insight and perspective on subjects of interpretation and application. For example, in the sidebar for 1 Corinthians 1:1-3 on “Holiness and Sanctification” he argues against the common understanding that “holy” primarily means separate. Instead, he argues, “holy” primarily means belonging to God and only in a secondary manner means “separate” because what belongs to God is exclusive to God (p. 13). Other sidebars address such diverse topics as “The Corinthian Cliques” (p. 24), “The Body and the Soul” (p. 87), “Guidance for Exercising Gifts” (p. 181), “Baruch and the Resurrection Body” (p. 213), and “Steadfastness” (p. 221).

As a Reformed evangelical, I was generally comfortable with Vang’s interpretation of the text, but occasionally I thought the issues deserved more clarification. For example, concerning prophecy mentioned in 1 Corinthians 12:10b he states,

Nothing in the text itself, however, suggests that Paul equates prophecy with something comparable to a modern-day prepared sermon, although it may certainly include elements of such. Rather, the hints he gives allude to a spontaneous empowerment from the Spirit that allows the gift's recipients to speak words that reveal God's presence and guidance in a specific situation (14:3, 24-25, 30-31, 37) (p. 168).

In this case I think it would have been helpful if Vang had briefly clarified his view and summarized one or two alternative views, especially since his comments on 1 Corinthians 14 do not add much more interpretive precision.

I found the "Teaching the Text" applications by Vang to be very incisive in bringing home the message of each passage for today's audiences. Concerning 1 Corinthians 1:18-31, he says, "We must be constantly aware of the disparity between secular wisdom and Christian wisdom. For example, the book *The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People* does not become a good Christian discipleship manual just because we add a scriptural proverb to each of the habits" (p. 32).

Another strong challenge to culture-compliant Christianity is found in Vang's comments on 1 Corinthians 4:6-13. He says, "It is easier to apply the culture's success norms to ministry than to risk a 'lack of success' for the sake of one's witness to Christ" (p. 56).

Overall, although this commentary lacks depth in some areas of interpretation, it will provide pastors and Bible teachers and students with many helpful insights on applying 1 Corinthians to the cultural contexts of the Church today.

Reviewed by Greg Phillips

***A Commentary on the Psalms: Volume 3 (90-150).* Allen P. Ross. Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2013, hc, 1018 pp. ISBN 978-0-8254-2666-7**

A. P. Ross is currently professor of divinity at Beeson Divinity School. He taught at Trinity Episcopal School of Ministry and Dallas Theological Seminary. Some of his works include *Creation and Blessing: A Guide to the Study and Exposition of Genesis*, *Holiness to the Lord: A Guide to the Exposition of the Book of Leviticus*, *Introducing Biblical Hebrew*, along with *A Commentary on the Psalms, Volume 1 and 2*, both covering Psalms 1-89. The first two volumes I had the pleasure of reviewing for this journal in 2013 and

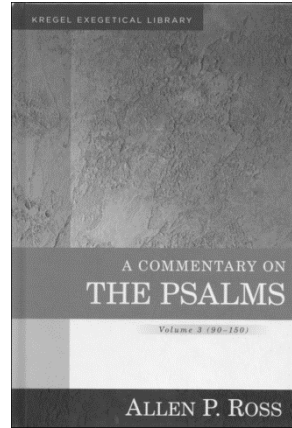
2015. For a more extensive review I refer you to my comments in those issues of the journal.¹

There is no change in the layout of this commentary from the previous volumes. In all three he lays out his chapter studies in the following format:

- In the “Text and Textural Variants” section, he renders a fresh translation of the text and explores a variety of other translations and textural variants that have been a part of the history of the Psalm’s interpretation.
- In “Composition and Context” he explores the authorship based on the headings, internal evidence, or use of the psalm elsewhere to pinpoint the where the psalm falls in the history of redemption.
- The “Exegetical Analysis” structures the psalm with headings and sub-headings to allow one to deliver the psalm in preaching.
- The section on “Commentary in Expository Form” focuses our thoughts on words or phrases which bring the main thrust of the psalm to the fore.
- Lastly, “Message and Application”, as the title suggests, helps us apply any Christological areas or more generally areas of the life of the believer that the psalm highlights.

The titles he gives for each psalm are also worthy of attention. As noted in earlier reviews of these volumes, Ross gives helpful one-sentence summaries, but the titles themselves also provide the same to focus our attention. They are also helpful if we are looking for a psalm on a particular subject. Each one succinctly summarizes the main message of the psalm and provides the exegete with a bird’s-eye-view of the psalm. For example, Psalm 90 “Learning to Live Wisely”, Psalm 100 “Jubilant Praise to The Lord Our Maker”, Psalm 103 “God’s Gracious Benefits for Frail and Sinful Believers” or Psalm 119 “The Word of the Lord and the Life of Faith”.

One area that has troubled many in their reading of the Psalms is what we call the “Imprecatory Psalms” – those which call for the Lord to punish the wicked. How does Ross view these imprecations? Commenting on Psalm 109 he says, “His (the psalmist’s) prayer is written as one who knows what it means to be hounded to death, suffer malicious slander and be repaid with evil for all the good he has done. But it ceases to be personal vengeance as he turns his wishes over to the Lord in a prayer, thereby leaving it to the Lord to deal in justice with his adversary” (p. 326).



¹ Kent Compton, review of *A Commentary on the Psalms: Volume 1 (1-41)*, by Allen P. Ross, *Haddington House Journal* 15 (2013): 44-47. And, *A Commentary on the Psalms: Volume 2 (42-89)*, by Allen P. Ross, *Haddington House Journal* 17 (2015): 48-49.

Commenting on Psalm 140 verses 9-11, he writes, “It is a prayer in harmony with talionic justice – may they reap what they sow. But it is not an expression for personal revenge, but an expression of God’s just rule” (p. 846). He further states, “The psalmist is only praying for what he knows God does, and will do, in restoring justice to the land” (p. 847) Ross concludes,

As we have seen with other imprecatory psalms, Christians are cautious about praying down such wrath on their enemies. They have been taught to forgive and to pray for their enemies. And yet when the persecution becomes unbearable, as it is in parts of the world today, praying for God to do now what we know he is going to do eventually seems appropriate. In fact, an imprecatory prayer might sound a warning for those who oppose the faith. (p. 849)

Where do these commentaries fall on a technical level? According to Ross,

“The selections made for the bibliography ... were made with the same idea in mind – what resources will be helpful and practical for bible expositors to use in their study of the Psalms. There were many that were popularly written, and many that were technical; my selections for the most part lie between these two descriptions....” (p. 11-12)

In fact, the bibliography is an impressive forty-one pages itself!

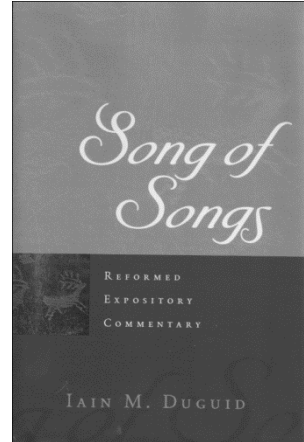
The completion of this set provides the church with a wonderful corpus of a pastorally practical and academically rigorous unpacking of the Psalms. This makes the price, I believe, worth it. The Psalms were seminal in shaping the life and thought of the Lord Jesus, shaping the early church understanding of the life of the church, and even today give us a map for Christian life and worship. To have solid resources in such important areas are essential, making these volumes a worthy acquisition that will repay itself many times over!

Reviewed by Kent I. Compton who is the minister of the Western Charge of the Free Church of Scotland on PEI and a trustee of Haddington House.



***Song of Songs*. Reformed Expository Commentary. Iain M. Duguid. Phillipsburg, NJ; P&R, 2016, 168 pp., paper. ISBN 978-1-59638-948-9**

Iain Duguid's most recent commentary on the Song of Songs comes on the heels of an earlier commentary he published on the same book of the Bible in 2015 with the Tyndale Old Testament Commentary series. In his preface to the Tyndale commentary, Duguid explains the relationship that exists between these two books. He says that the *research* that went into studying the Song of Songs formed the content of the Tyndale commentary, whereas the *sermons* that came from his research form the content of this present volume (p. 9).¹



In keeping with the view set forth in the Tyndale commentary, the book is approached from the perspective of wisdom literature that relates both to human love in all its brokenness and imperfections and, by implication, to divine love in all its glory and perfection. He writes, “The Song is designed to show each of us how far short of perfection we fall, both as humans and as lovers, and to drive us into the arms of our true heavenly Husband, Jesus Christ, whose love for his bride is truly perfect” (p. xx).

The book is arranged into twelve chapters. Instead of providing a verse-by-verse commentary as he did in his earlier book, each chapter develops a central theme addressed in the unfolding drama of these two lovers. Some of the areas considered include: the longing for intimacy and affirmation, the craziness of love, the notion of belonging to one another, the costliness of love and the strength of love. In each chapter, he briefly explains the scene and how this longing of the heart shows itself in our lives today before ultimately pointing to the love of God in Christ and the comfort of resting in His love.

As one might expect, the book provides plenty of practical application for those who are married and those pursuing marriage. But, the reader will appreciate the author's conscious effort to relate to a wider audience in addressing these themes. He speaks about pornography, adultery, divorce, those who are widowed, and those who struggle with same sex attraction. In so doing, he shows that the message of the book is relevant for everyone.

As a commentary, this could provide a helpful model for pastors looking to preach Christ from the Song of Songs. But this book deserves to be read

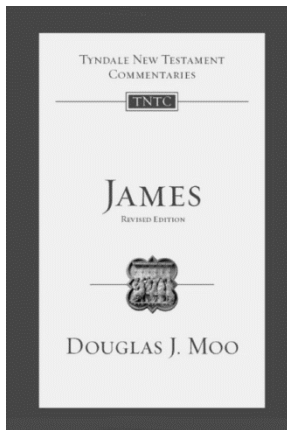
¹ Iain Duguid, *The Song of Songs: An Introduction and Commentary*. Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries, vol. 19 (Downers Grove, IL, InterVarsity, 2015), 9.

by a much wider audience. I find myself agreeing with Dale Ralph Davis, who writes, “If someone asks me how to best to prepare for marriage, I will be tempted to say, ‘Study the Songs of Songs and read Duguid’s commentary.’” This book will take the reader by the hand and help them to appreciate marriage and human love without idolizing it. As the apostle Paul points out, marriage pictures the love of Christ for His church (Eph. 5:25ff). The fruit of such a study for the believer would be a fresh reminder that “Jesus’ relationship with you is not merely legal; it is also deeply affectionate... God reveals his heart of love for you on the pages of Scripture and desires that you come to know and love him in the same way that he already knows and loves you” (pp. 92-93).

Peter Aiken serves as Pastor of Birchwood Church in Charlottetown, PEI. He is married to Michelle and they have four children.



***James: An Introduction and Commentary, Revised Edition.* Douglas J. Moo. Tyndale New Testament Commentaries, series ed. Eckhard J. Schnable. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2015, 238 pp., softcover. ISBN 978-0-8308-4287-2**



This second edition, published in the Tyndale New Testament Commentaries series (vol. 16), is a revision of the first 1985 printing, occasioned in particular by the appearance of a number of significant contributions to the field of Jamesian scholarship; such as, the work of Bauckham (1990, 1999), Deppe (1990), Hartin (1991), Johnson (1995), Brosend (2004), Taylor (2004), Nienhuis (2007), McKnight (2011) and Allison (2013) to name some. Particularly unfortunate though is the apparent absence of interaction with the notable works of Cheung, *The Genre, Composition and Hermeneutics of James* (2003/2007), and Lockett, *Purity and Worldview in the Epistle of James* (2008), which may be a more recent representation of a growing direction in Jamesian studies.

This work reads easily and divides into an introduction and commentary separated logically by an analysis, which is really a book outline that sets a six-section ‘chapter’ order for the commentary portion. The introduction covers, in order: the ecclesial reception history of James’ letter, its authorship, the letter’s circumstance, the nature of the letter and the theology of the letter.

For the purposes of the TNTC series, the introduction suggests a meas-

ured consideration of a selective representation of the scholarly breadth of Jamesian research and the theological issues in the letter.

In the introduction on ‘the circumstances of the letter’, Moo correctly identifies the unsavory influence of the world, economic inequality and also the class-conflict that was exacerbated by such difference, as part of the socio-cultural context of the addressees. However, Moo seems to forget (pp. 45, 72) that one cannot assert poverty existed to such a proportionally high degree in the communities. That is too much of a sweeping generalization when one reads 4:2-4, 13-14; 5:1-6. Perhaps Moo is here keeping an overly cautious distance from Liberation theology (p. 210). Regardless, this approach raises the concern in this section that conclusions about the social-cultural status of the addressees seem to be rushed, that an adequate consideration of all possibilities seems to be remiss.

Further, concerning the audience, Moo first states James, “sought to maintain good relationships with Judaism” (p. 35) and “the implied Jewish audience of the letter is in keeping with the New Testament and early Christian portrayal of James as one who ministered among the ‘circumcised’ (Gal. 2:9)” (p. 45) inclusive of non-Christian Jews, yet Moo after states that James’ intended audience was “limited” (p. 77) to groups of Christians (pp. 39, 106). It would seem that though Moo entertains the possibility of also a non-Christian audience (p. 35), his exclusively metaphoric interpretation of the expression ‘the twelve tribes’ and the term ‘diaspora’ seems to exclude the real possibility that James’ letter was designed to include exhortative, pastoral material not just for believers but also protreptic (writing intended to persuade or instruct) material for God-fearing Jews (2:19). This expedited curious approach to the identities of the letter’s addressees of course filters into the commentary and guides interpretation.

Understandably the brief treatment of certain issues in the text is determined by the purposes of the commentary series, yet even so some topics would have deserved further development; in particular, the significant topic of double-mindedness. Notable exceptions to this criticism are Moo’s favourable treatment of faith and justification and also the topic of prayer in James (pp. 69, 221-236).

The commentary is comprised of six parts or ‘chapters’, five of which (2-6) each contain multiple sub-sections according to that part’s subdivisions. The analysis / outline is: Address and Salutation (1:1), Trials and Christian Maturity (1:2-18), True Christianity Seen in its Works (1:19-2:26), Dissensions Within the Community (3:1-4:12), Implications of a Christian Worldview (4:13-5:11) and Concluding Exhortations (5:12-20).

After the brief introductory section (1:1), the first major portion of James is section two, 1:2-18. This has what Moo calls a ‘loose coherence’ that is fixed on the theme of trials / temptations. It is James’ main concern to encourage Christians undergoing trials to persevere with steadfast endurance rooted in genuine faith, to continue with a loyalty to God resulting in obedience to His word.

The third section of James (1:19-2:26), Moo contends, returns focus to the word of God and the law, and uses it to illuminate the particular issue of discrimination within the community. The end result of this is the well-known declaration that “James rebukes believers who think that they can be justified or saved by means of a faith that does not manifest itself in consistent works” (p. 105), that justification does not occur through or on the basis of works but that neither is one justified without those works (p. 150). According to Moo, 2:26 restates the central theme of the passage: faith without deeds is dead.

Additionally, Moo claims that the 2:14-26 passage in its entirety is the theological climax of James’ call to a pure religion. In this section, a number of points could have been addressed with added clarity; for example, the explanation Moo offers for “the word planted in you” (1:21). Though he is correct to note that ‘receive the word’ is not a command to be converted but to accept its precepts and live by them, he is not as explicit as he could be. That is, the phrase may elicit thought of the Torah (a written copy of the law of nature) and the understanding (as espoused by Philo & Stoics) that all in humanity have received the implanted logos (law of nature), a reference James has capably ameliorated. Unlike the unbelieving, Moo says, they are able to receive the implanted word; they should differ from others in that they have been made able to resist desires and anger and to produce the fruits of righteousness.

Next, Moo judges that the circumstance described in 2:1-13 is more likely a worship service than a judicial assembly, yet the reasons for this consensus choice are rather thin. Also, 2:19 is as Moo observes taken from Deut. 6:4. Yet there is no note of Deut. 6:5, a verse that would have strengthened James’ case for the full Christian faith that he writes about.

Moo notes that section four, 3:1-4:12, begins and ends with warnings about the sin of impure speech. Between these bookends, James focuses on the problems of dissensions and disputes; the source of these, as Moo rightly notes, is the central section theme of envy, selfish and arrogance. The importance of envy as the key theme holding together 3:13-4:3 is developed nicely by Moo as he follows the observations of Johnson on the passage’s significant features (p.167-170).

Section five spans 4:13-5:11 and is unified by the theme of the Christian perspective on the period of time in which the Church lives, such that this theme touches each major topic in the section. James here clearly demonstrates his concern with practical theology (pp. 217-218). In the final section, 5:12-20, James treats oaths and prayer, and this is followed by a “fitting”, “appropriate” closing summons to action (pp. 236, 237). Moo’s observations on the Jamesian presentation of prayer and practice in community are succinct and well balanced.

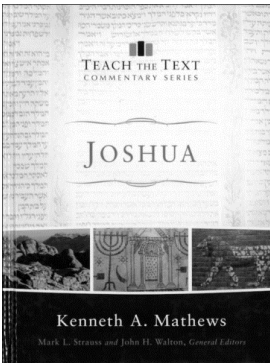
It is always a formidable challenge to put together an equitable study on a Bible book for the benefit of a broad, trans-denominational, non-academic audience. On this count Moo has fared relatively well. Examining a wider

spectrum of research and synthesizing its most salient contributions, Moo has rewritten an introductory commentary that should and will appeal to the Church and pastors alike, helping them to gain their theological footing and assisting them to strive toward a better understanding and application of the Epistle of James.

Reviewed by Dr. Frank Z. Kovács, a visiting scholar at the University of Toronto, Department for the Study of Religion, a senior lecturer for the Greenwich School of Theology, UK, and a trustee of Haddington House.



Joshua. Kenneth A. Matthews. Teach the Text Commentary Series, gen. eds. Mark L. Strauss and John H. Walton, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2016, 222 pp., hc. ISBN 978-0-8010-9217-6



One could be forgiven for being skeptical about a new commentary series on two fronts. First, the need for such, and second, the ability of the volume at hand to live up to the claim of uniqueness which warrants its production. It was a pleasant experience then to be introduced to the new “Teach the Text” commentary series from Baker Books, edited by Mark L. Strauss and John H. Walton.

I was introduced to this volume part way through my sermon series through the book of Joshua and in hindsight wish I had it earlier on. I found it fulfilled its intent and was a great companion to my favorite balanced commentaries¹ without lacking any of the depth of some of my more technical ones.²

When evaluating a commentary, I first ask if the author evidences a relationship with the Author of Scripture and whether the book they are commenting on is in their estimation the inspired, inerrant word of God. Kenneth Matthews gives ample evidence to affirm both of those questions. That being established, I had a level of trust that this commentary would draw me to the text and the God Who stands behind the text, and I was not disappointed. Matthews does an excellent job of giving an overview of the “forest” (theo-

¹ D. Ralph Davis. *Joshua: No Falling Words*. (Fearn, Scotland: Christian Focus, 2012) and David Jackman. *Preaching the Word: Joshua: People of God's Purpose*. R. Kent Hughes, gen ed. (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2014).

² Marten H. Woudstra. *The New International Commentary on the Old Testament: The Book of Joshua*. R. K. Harrison and Robert L. Hubbard, Jr, gen. eds. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981) and David M. Howard Jr. *The New American Commentary: Joshua*. E. Ray Clendenen, gen. ed. (Nashville, TN: B & H, 1998).

logical affirmations and themes, historical background, and author biography), covering the material in enough detail without getting bogged down. He then moves systematically through the “trees”, providing for each section of the text an understanding of it followed by suggestions for teaching and illustrating it.

Another test of the value of a commentary is how it handles controversial or hard to understand portions of the text. Joshua doesn’t have too many of these sections, but Matthews handles the conquest of Canaan very well with an additional insights article on pages 54-55. He also does a good job covering the sin of Achan (pp. 62-67), the Gibeonite deception (pp. 80-85) and the sun standing still (pp. 86-91, with another additional insights article on pp. 92-95).

One caution I would offer is not to use Matthew’s illustrations directly as written. Borrowed sermon illustrations are a pet peeve of mine, especially ones that are outdated and outside the culture and context of the audience. While Matthew’s illustrations are generally current and personal, I would suggest following his example as opposed to lifting and using his illustrations directly.

I could see this work being used as a college textbook and could serve as the sole commentary for a pastor working through Joshua. I heartily recommend this volume to all exegetes who wish to faithfully proclaim the Word of God to their people.

Reviewed by Jeff Eastwood, the lead pastor of Grace Baptist Church in Charlottetown, PE, Canada. He is the husband of Melanie and father of four. He also serves on the council of The Gospel Coalition (TGC) Atlantic Canada.



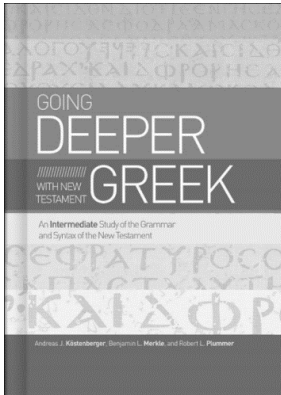
Going Deeper with New Testament Greek. A. J. Köstenberger, B. J. Merkle, and R. L. Plummer. Nashville, TN: B&H Academic, 2016, 550 pp., hc. ISBN 978-1-4336-7908-7

This new volume is intended to fill a gap between introductory grammars of Koine Greek (of which there are now several of very good quality) and technical, reference grammars (of which there are few, and, as far as I am aware, none published recently in English). For many years, I have used a ‘reader’ of NT Greek by William Mounce (Zondervan) as a textbook for students who wished to progress in their knowledge and experience of Greek. But that was primarily a collection of annotated texts; there was little teaching material. The more recent reader by Rodney Decker (Kregel) is similar in form, though it includes a wider range of texts and some more developed teaching material.

Köstenberger, Merkle, and Plummer have now written a book that at-

tempts to gather together the strengths of various kinds of books in a way that will stretch the intermediate student of Greek without being overwhelming. The authors are all experienced teachers of Greek. Köstenberger is well known as the author of several excellent commentaries and other books. Plummer has become well known as a result of his excellent ‘Daily Dose of Greek’ videos (<https://dailydoseofgreek.com>), which are highly recommended to all who wish to work on their Greek skills.

The book is composed of fifteen chapters, most of which deal with a particular feature of Greek. So chapter titles include, ‘Genitive Case’, ‘Tense and Verbal Aspect’, ‘Participles’, and ‘Infinitives’. The final three chapters are somewhat different and deal with broader issues: ‘Sentences, Diagramming and Discourse Analysis’, ‘Word Studies’, and ‘Continuing with Greek’.



In most chapters, the format is similar. First, there is a short discussion of how understanding of the feature of Greek helps to make sense of a particular verse or passage. Then, following a brief statement of the objectives of the chapter, there is a substantial portion of explanation of the various ways in which the particular element of the language is used. The discussion is typically arranged

in a clear, orderly manner by using many section headings and frequently presenting material in helpful charts. Plenty of examples are included, all of which come with English translation. Thus even students who lack confidence in reading Greek may benefit from the discussion. There is usually a brief explanation of the particular point illustrated by the example. Following the discussion of the grammatical feature, a summary of the material is laid out in a clear chart. In the next section, knowledge of the grammatical feature that has been studied is reinforced through exercises based on portions of the Greek NT (without translation). Then comes a section of vocabulary, broken into ‘vocabulary to memorise’ and rarer ‘vocabulary to recognise’. Finally, each chapter concludes with a reading passage from the Greek NT (usually around ten to fifteen verses, depending on the passage). This passage is accompanied by quite extensive notes on the text (a total of around ten to fifteen pages for each passage, depending on the complexity of the issues it raises). The notes parse more challenging forms and briefly discuss textual variants, possible translations, and grammatical or syntactical features. This reading with guidance notes accomplishes much the same function as the Mounce’s reader, but now the readings are integrated into a more structured teaching (and, to a certain extent, reference) tool.

I have adopted this book as the main text for a ‘Greek Texts’ module (3rd year Bachelor’s degree level) at Highland Theological College, and I look forward to giving the book a full trial as a teaching tool and to receiving feedback from my students. At this stage, I think that there are a number of

notable features of the book. The first is that it has been written to be read (see the comments of the authors on pages 1-2 of the preface). The text is written with a warm, engaging tone, with an emphasis on clarity and encouragement. While this leads to a longer book, it also makes the book particularly valuable to those who may have studied Greek in the past and now wonder if there is any way they can revive it. The second is that it is well-informed on issues that have been debated in recent scholarship on Koine Greek. Thus, there is a valuable, up-to-date discussion of ‘verbal aspect’ (pages 229-41) that would be particularly valuable for preachers who learned Greek some years ago to read. Likewise, with respect to the middle voice, the concept of ‘deponency’ is questioned, supported by relevant references to recent studies (pages 196-97). This is not to say that the discussions are complete or that all scholars would agree with the positions adopted, but this book will alert readers to major issues in Greek scholarship and, hopefully, save preachers from perpetuating untenable positions on the meaning of particular passages in the Greek NT.

Interestingly, like the proverbial bus, after a distinct lack of such a book, two came along at once! A book with a similar intention, written by D. L. Mathewson and E. B. Emig, entitled *Intermediate Greek Grammar, Syntax for Students of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2016), was published within a few months of the book by Köstenberger, Merkle, and Plummer. Mathewson and Emig’s book provides many of the same benefits as *Going Deeper with New Testament Greek* and is itself a very valuable resource. Theological libraries should certainly hold both volumes in their stock. If an individual is unable to purchase both books for herself or himself, it is quite a fine judgement as to which one to choose. I would generally recommend that readers try to view a portion of both books and decide from experience which one they prefer. I would slightly favour *Going Deeper with New Testament Greek* because it is somewhat more accessible for a reader who requires some extra encouragement to develop competence in Greek.

It is a good time to be a life-long student of Greek! I hope that *Going Deeper with New Testament Greek*, along with the many other excellent resources that have recently become available, will be widely used so that many people will become better readers of the Greek NT.

Reviewed by Dr. Alistair I. Wilson, lecturer in New Testament, Highland Theological College UHI, Dingwall, Scotland. He has recently completed the manuscript for a commentary on Colossians and Philemon.



Systematic Theology

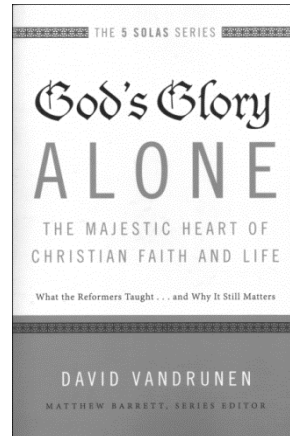
***God's Glory Alone: The Majestic Heart of Christian Faith and Life.* David VanDrunen. The Five Solas Series, ed. Matthew Barrett. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2015, 186 pp., paper. ISBN 978-0-310-51580-7**

The subtitle of David VanDrunen's book *God's Glory Alone* motivates the Christian heart and mind. Christians desire to know and practice the "majestic heart of the Christian faith and life," and VanDrunen's work both teaches and stirs Christians on the subject of God's glory. His aim in the book is simple: "We have set out to contemplate the glory of the Lord and the Reformation theme that all glory belongs to God" (p. 24). VanDrunen accomplishes his aim with a heartwarming effect.

God's Glory Alone: The Majestic Heart of Christian Faith and Life is the second volume of The Five Solas Series published by Zondervan and edited by Matthew Barrett. The purpose of the series is to remind today's church that the five *Solas* of the Reformation are biblical doctrines fundamental to the Christian faith and to inspire today's church to live out these truths.

VanDrunen's work meets these goals by first showing that the truth of *solī Deo gloria* runs throughout all Reformed theology. As he writes, "*Solī Deo Gloria* can be understood as the glue that holds the other *solas* in place or the center that draws the other *solas* into a grand, unified whole" (p. 15). To prove his case, VanDrunen alerts the reader to the glory of God in the writings of Edward Leigh (1602-71), Jonathan Edwards (1703-58), Herman Bavinck (1854-1921), and the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms. VanDrunen's entire thesis in his first section is that the Reformation (and all biblical Christianity) is about God and His glory from first to last because, in all His works, His chief end is to glorify Himself. Humans' labors for God are ultimately saved and comforted by Him for His glory.

Second, VanDrunen meets the goal of this series through his exegesis of Scripture. The source of *solī Deo gloria* is Scripture. VanDrunen writes,



“The other Reformation *sola, sola scriptura*, drives us behind Reformation theology to explore its source” (p. 44). Consequently, VanDrunen’s second section highlights the glory of God as revealed in key events of the redemptive history recorded in Scripture. He describes God’s special appearances in the cloud, the tabernacle, the temple, and the Incarnation. His chapter on “The Glory of God Incarnate” is especially edifying. Jesus is the revelation of the glory of God both in His humiliation and exaltation. Jesus is the fulfillment of all God’s promises; thus, the glory of God seen in the cloud, the tabernacle, and the temple is fulfilled and surpassed in Jesus the God-man. Through the cross and resurrection, He is the “brightness of the Father’s glory” (p. 83).

The third section of VanDrunen’s volume is the practical pastoral section. This section also meets the goal of the Five Solas Series by inspiring the Christian to live for God’s glory. His reminders that worship and prayer are for God’s glory and his challenge to Christians to glorify God in this present age as they make their pilgrimage to heaven give clear directives to live a faithful Christian life for God’s glory alone. His chapter on the glory of God and narcissism was of particular help to me. VanDrunen, knowing the seduction and saturation of narcissism in Western culture, confronts it with the fear of the Lord. Biblically, the fear of the Lord is what VanDrunen defines as “‘reverential awe,’ or a ‘filial fear’” (p. 134). Christians will grow in this godly fear as they increasingly admire the glory of God. Narcissism deceives people, but people who love the truth about God and His glory are brought to reality – namely that only God is glorious. This truth brings Christians to humility and peace.

This book reminds today’s church that our lives are to be lived for God’s glory alone because He alone has perfect glory. I encourage you to take it up and read it.

Reviewed by Henry Bartsch, minister of Trinity AR Presbyterian Church in Chatham, Ontario. Henry is married to Tammy; they have six children and two grandchildren.



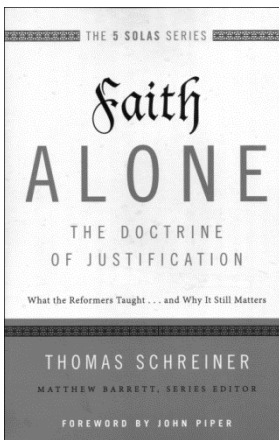
***Faith Alone: The Doctrine of Justification.* Thomas Schreiner. The Five Solas Series, ed. Matthew Barrett. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2015, 288 pp., paper. ISBN 978-0-310-51578-4**

In commemoration of the 16th century Reformation and in service to the modern church, Matthew Barrett, as series editor, and Zondervan are publishing a detailed explanation on each of the Reformation’s *Solas*. The aim of this five-volume series is not to merely be historical or exegetical but also practical. The editor and authors hope this series will help the church “renew theological bearings and find spiritual refreshment” (p. 9). Tom Schreiner’s

work *Faith Alone: The Doctrine of Justification* is the first volume in this series.

This volume is helpful to both church leaders and laymen because its writing and layout are direct and clear. Schreiner expounds on the doctrine of faith alone and its corollary doctrine justification in three parts. First, he gives a historical overview of faith alone and justification. Second, he gives an exegetical defense of these Reformation doctrines. Third, Schreiner cites and rebuts the contemporary challenges to faith alone and justification.

Like most books, *Faith Alone: The Doctrine of Justification* contains strengths and weaknesses. Fortunately, Schreiner's book contains far more strengths than weaknesses. This review will highlight three key strengths and then describe one weakness.



The first strength. In the historical overview, Schreiner's account of Luther's doctrine of justification by faith is first-rate. He highlights Luther's rejection of Gabriel Biel's semi-Pelagian view of justification, which asserted that God's covenant is a gift of God's grace but man still has the capacity to meet the terms of that covenant – namely the works of the law. In response to Biel and Erasmus, Luther correctly linked justification to predestination. Humans cannot will to come to God for justification unless God gives them faith to receive Christ and the obedience to keep the terms of the covenant. Salvation is of grace from beginning to end, so predestination is connected to faith alone.

Luther knew that God gives the grace needed as well as the atonement, faith, and repentance to those whom He predestined (p. 39). Schreiner also stresses that “Luther's vision of God was the foundation for what he thought about everything else, and because of his view of God Luther believed justification was the doctrine by which the church stands or falls” (p. 40). God's holiness and justice and God as Creator of all are woven throughout Luther's theology. In connection with justification, Luther maintained that a sinful person is justly condemned before a holy God, and only when God satisfies His justice by His grace in Christ and then received by faith alone can a sinner be made right with God. Furthermore, Schreiner identifies the modern Finnish view on Luther's justification doctrine, and he shows it to be contrary to Luther. The Finnish view collapses sanctification and justification into one. Contrary to Luther, the Finnish theology rejects *simul justus et peccator*; also contrary to Luther; it asserts a deification of Christians due to union with Christ.

The second strength. Schreiner's exegetical defense of faith alone and justification is the longest and finest section of his book. He is detailed in his Scripture exegesis and thoroughly orthodox in his doctrine. Many sections were especially helpful to me. First, he clearly explains the New Testament phrase “works of the law” and why works don't justify; they don't justify

because “people fail to perform what the law requires” (p. 111). Second, preachers would do well to study Schreiner’s section on Paul’s teaching on faith. Paul clearly emphasized faith alone in his writings, and one of Paul’s main teachings is that righteousness is granted to those who believe. Schreiner has no shortage of Scripture citations to show this. For Paul, as our author explains, true faith always has the Person of Jesus Christ as its object; Paul teaches that “what makes salvific is the object of faith” (p. 122).

Another helpful chapter was chapter 10, “The Importance of Justification in Paul”. The reader should know that Schreiner’s work has an apologetic thread throughout. He defends the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith alone against attacks from modern theological movements. In chapter 10, Schreiner confronts the positions Albert Schweitzer, James Dunn, Michael Gorman, N.T. Wright, and Doug Campbell, who all reject the Reformation doctrine. These theologians assert that justification by faith alone as defined by the Reformers was not central to Paul’s theology. Schreiner shows their assertion to be misguided, and he posits that, though justification might not be central to Paul’s theology, “it is sufficient to say that it plays a crucial role in his theology” (p. 135). Schreiner then goes on to give a masterful, biblical eight-point defense for this view.

Chapter 13, entitled “Righteousness Is Forensic”, is a tour de force apology for the forensic view of justification by faith. Some modern protestant scholars understand Paul to teach transformative righteousness, which means believing sinners are not legally declared righteous before God but are actually made righteous. Being transformed by God to live righteously is a biblical doctrine; however, as Schreiner shows from the New Testament, that forensic justification is the basis for the transformative. This forensic view of justification is taught in the Old Testament, and “this prepares us for Paul’s use of the term” (p. 163). Paul clearly teaches that faith is counted to the believer as righteousness, not that faith is his righteous work; by faith, the believer trusts in Christ, and Christ’s righteousness is then imputed to his or her account. That believing sinner is then legally righteous before God.

The third strength. Schreiner gives a warning against uniting with the present Roman Catholic Church; she still denies justification by faith. Schreiner’s last section, which deals with contemporary challenges, takes on three movements that downplay justification by faith alone. They are the modern movements which seek to bring the Roman Catholic and Protestant church to closer unity: N.T. Wright and the New Perspective on Paul (NPP), and the NPP in relation to imputation. Schreiner’s interaction with the NPP is competent and fair. He gives credit to N.T. Wright’s groundbreaking work in New Testament studies and says, “there are many things we can learn from N.T. Wright” (p. 256). Nevertheless, Schreiner shows the NPP to be off the mark in teaching ecclesiastical justification, the idea that justification is about how someone becomes part of the family of God rather than being declared righteous and having the imputed righteousness of Christ by faith in Christ

alone.

Another strength of this section is Schreiner's interaction with those movements seeking to bring Romans Catholics and Protestants together. Schreiner's concern is maintaining the forensic doctrine of justification by faith alone. He documents that the Joint Declaration of the Doctrine of Justification, a document signed between the Lutheran World Federation and Catholic Pontifical Council for Christian Unity, compromised and then surrendered the Reformation doctrine of faith alone. Schreiner also documents that the Evangelical and Catholics Together (ECT) movement of America and parts of Europe also compromised justification by faith alone. Their documents asserted justification by faith, but their meaning of justification differed from the Reformed doctrine, and they omitted the word "alone". By "alone", the Reformers meant justification without the works of the law but by the Person and word of Jesus Christ alone, received by faith alone. "The omission of the word 'alone' from ECT constitutes a fatal flaw"(p. 224). Schreiner shows the truth that in both these movements and their documents, the Roman Catholic view of justification did not change.

We now turn to a weakness of this book. In his historical section, Schreiner discusses the controversial question, "Was the doctrine of faith alone taught and preached in the early church?" T.F. Torrance's book *The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers* seeks to show that the early church was not in agreement about justification by faith alone. Schreiner asserts that Torrance's thesis is not fully correct, but he should have been stronger on this point. In a cumulative way, he does try to show that the key Early Church Fathers did teach about justification, but, in the end, this seems to support Torrance's thesis. It seems to me that more work needs to be done in this area of patristics.

Schreiner's *Faith Alone* is a satisfying, comprehensive book. Those who read it will be reminded of the biblical doctrine of justification by faith alone and hopefully will rejoice that they are sons of God through Christ alone because they have received Him by faith alone.

Reviewed by Henry Bartsch

***A History of Western Philosophy and Theology.* John M. Frame. Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R, 2015, 875 pp., ePub. ISBN 978-1-62995-085-3**

In *A History of Western Philosophy and Theology*, author John M Frame seeks to demonstrate what it means to "take every thought captive to the obedience of Christ" (2 Cor 10:5) as he evaluates the history of western thought in light of biblical theology.

Frame is professor of systematic theology and philosophy at Reformed Theological Seminary in Orlando, USA and previously taught at Westminster Theological Seminary (Philadelphia and California). He has authored numerous books including *Apologetics: A Justification of Christian Belief* (P&R Publishers 2015) and his *Theology of Lordship* series (P&R Publishers). He hosts www.frame-poythress.org, which provides resources for apologetics, theology, and philosophy, including access to many of his own writings.

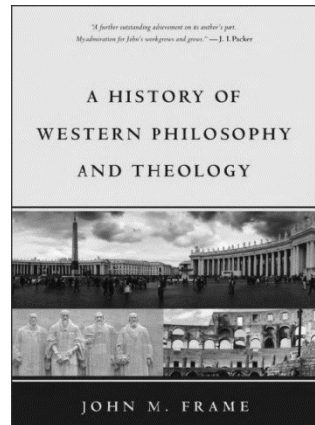
In the first chapter, Frame constructs a biblical approach to worldview, that is a Christian epistemology. The remainder of the book is simply an application of that paradigm to philosophy and theology in the west from ancient Greece to modern times. The book is essentially one long case study contrasting Christian and non-Christian thought in light of biblical teaching.

Frame first outlines his paradigm of a truly Christian epistemology and worldview.

Christian philosophy begins in Scripture itself, with the two-level worldview of Genesis 1. God is the Creator, the world the creature. God is absolute tripersonality, and he is Lord of all that he has made. His Lordship entails control, authority, and presence. Sin leads people to think they can replace God's lordship with their own autonomy, and their rebellion extends to their philosophical thinking. The natural consequence is that their thinking becomes what Scripture calls foolish. We can see the foolishness of unbelief in many areas of metaphysics, epistemology, and value theory. Unbelieving thought is caught up in a dialectic of rationalism and irrationalism – principles that conflict with each other but nevertheless require each other. (p. 86)

This is the lens through which Frame will read and evaluate the history of thought in the west through the rest of the book.

Essential to Frame's paradigm is the claim of irreconcilable antithesis between Christian and non-Christian philosophy. Frame traces this antithesis as it is expressed in the three traditional areas of philosophy – metaphysics (biblically, God is both the transcendent creator and the immanent covenantal presence in His world), epistemology (God's transcendence implies that He is the ultimate criteria of truth and establishes the conditions of knowing; His immanence permits our competent knowledge of God and His world), and ethics (only a personal sovereign can impose moral norms). To summarise the antithesis: "non-Christian philosophers are seeking alternatives to God,



making the discipline of philosophy an exercise in idolatry” (p. 30). There is little wonder then why Frame so often refers to the apologetic task as spiritual warfare.

Throughout the book, Frame demonstrates the antithesis between Christian and non-Christian thought by depicting the autonomy of reason, by demonstrating how rationalism inevitably leads to irrationalism (following Cornelius Van Til), and by showing how non-Christian thinking often blurs the Creator-creature distinction. Frame is not afraid to criticise Christian theologians from Justin Martyr to Bultmann for supporting an unbiblical approach to theology.

Frame fully admits his bias (pp. xxvi, 560). Though he assures his readers that he is fair in presenting the ideas of each thinker, Frame does not evaluate each thinker or movement neutrally. He applies his paradigm rigorously in this perspectival reading of the history of thought. If his readers accuse him of circular reasoning (beginning with his conclusions about philosophers and then finding those conclusions), Frame counters, “that’s the way it is in philosophy and in all of life: we can’t step out of our skins” (p. 2) and all philosophers argue from within their worldview, which he seeks to demonstrate through the pages of this book.

With this paradigm before the reader, beginning in Chapter 2 Frame launches into a chronological presentation of western thought through the Greek, Early Christian, Medieval, Renaissance, Reformation, Enlightenment, and Modern eras.

As Frame presents 19th and 20th century philosophers, he discusses theologians who might not be found in traditional histories of philosophy but who would be of special interest to readers of this book, most of whom are likely more interested in theology than exclusively in non-Christian philosophy – including von Harnack, Barth, Brunner, Bultmann, Tillich, Bonhoeffer, Moltmann, and Panenberg. The book closes with a presentation of the contributions of modern Reformed thinkers – Kuyper, Dooyeweerd, Clark, Van Til, Plantinga, Poythress, and others.

The section on Cornelius Van Til (pp. 529-537) is especially useful as well as Appendices D (“Transcendental Arguments”) and T (“Van Til Reconsidered”) as the entire book seeks to apply Van Til’s transcendental apologetic approach to the history of philosophy.

Frame concludes that his excursion through the history of western philosophy has been bleak. The history is dark as it has demonstrated over and over again that humans are fleeing from their Creator, their foolish hearts are darkened, and their worldviews are incoherent or ultimately undercut themselves. But he closes the book with hope and a challenge.

But God has not abandoned the world of thought. Through all this time, faithful pastors, church teachers, evangelists, theologians, and fathers and mothers have maintained the authentic biblical gospel.

Hearts have been transformed, and Christian people have spread abroad the love of Christ. (p. 512).

The final three hundred pages of the book comprise twenty appendices, which contain ten of Frame's previously published discourses on philosophy, seven book reviews, and assessments on Thomas Oden, Gordon Clark, and Cornelius Van Til. Each chapter concludes with a helpful list of key terms, study questions (useful in the classroom context), print and online bibliography, recommendations on primary source reading, and famous quotes of thinkers highlighted in each chapter. Chapter content closely follows Frame's lectures at Reformed Theological Seminary and is freely available through iTunes (p. xix).

Frequent diagrams assist the reader to visualise abstract concepts. The running outline and brief summaries in the margins help the reader follow the flow of argument. Frame's constant citing of primary sources demonstrates his grasp of the perspectives he is evaluating. The brief conclusions at the end of each major era of philosophy allow the reader to see the big picture of Frame's philosophical paradigm in application. Some degree of previous knowledge of theology, apologetics, and the history of philosophy would help students before they read this book.

Frame writes in conversational style as if he were lecturing in class, including numerous personal reflections and asides (mainly in the plentiful footnotes). This style will bother readers who are looking for a more technical or detached analysis, but it does give the book "personality" and allows the reader the chance to "watch the author think" as he writes.

Whether a reader agrees with Frame's Reformed theology or his presuppositional apologetic approach, one will benefit greatly from the vast scope of the work and the helpful summaries of each thinker presented. The volume of information presented allows the book to be used as a quick reference guide to theology teachers and students.

Having lectured in philosophy in a tertiary theological institution in Africa, I am naturally interested in the usefulness of Frame's book for teaching philosophy and theology on this continent. How relevant is *A History of Western Philosophy and Theology* for theological education in Africa? On the surface, a reader might judge that the book is irrelevant to engage the philosophies, worldviews, or social concerns on the continent. The book does not reference a single modern African thinker, nor does it engage traditional African ontology or social concerns. And isn't "Western" in the title an immediate turn-off in light of recent pan-African renaissance?

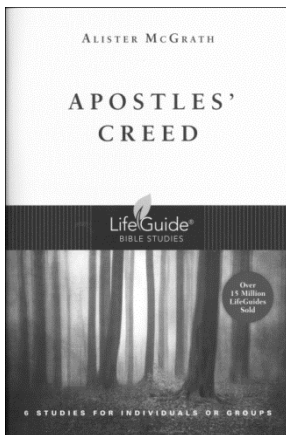
I believe a case can be made for the usefulness of this text in Africa for a number of reasons. First, African life and thought have engaged western philosophy for generations, for better or for worse. There is likely no university on the continent which does not interact heavily with western thought. Providing students with a Christian perspective on western thinking will be a

helpful evaluative tool. Secondly, Frame's book provides African students of theology, philosophy, and apologetics with an example of how to approach any philosophy from Africa, such as the spirit-world/phenomenal-world, the ontological concepts of identity-in-community and identity-in-ethnicity. Frame's approach to the creator-creature distinction, autonomy of reason, and idolatrous fleeing from God are an integral part of the specific concerns in the African philosophical agenda. The first chapter itself could be used as a stand-alone text in a course on theological or philosophical prolegomena. Given the issues the continent faces today, which have deep philosophical and worldview roots, we could easily welcome a follow-up to Frame's work, applying a biblical paradigm to the philosophical concerns in Africa with a view to take every thought captive.



Reviewed by Karl Peterson. Karl Peterson lectures at the Bible Institute of South Africa in Cape Town. He received his D.Min. from Westminster Seminary in Philadelphia, PA.

***Apostles' Creed: 6 Studies for Individuals or Groups.* Alister McGrath. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2016, 47 pp., paper. ISBN 978-0-8308-1095-6**



Apostles' Creed is a short work that is part of the larger Life Guides series published by InterVarsity Press. It's a series which includes many books of the Bible, topical studies, and character studies.

This particular volume is by Dr. Alister McGrath, who along with being a theologian is a biochemist. He holds the chair in theology, ministry, and education at the University of London. He is the author of *Christianity's Dangerous Idea*, *In the Beginning*, and *The Twilight of Atheism* amongst a long list of books.

This short work (forty-nine pages) explores each phrase of the Apostles' Creed. Each section begins with a summary passage from the Bible which undergirds the phrase, a one-page commentary of the particular phrase in the Creed, followed by two pages of questions for study and reflection. Included as well are suitably large spaces to write one's answers.

The copy given for review happens to be a leader's guide. This contains helpful approaches to leading the study as well (for those lacking leadership abilities) and appropriate answers to the questions at the back.

McGrath states the purpose for these studies: "Leading a Bible discussion can be an enjoyable and rewarding experience, but it can also be scary – es-

pecially if you have not done it before.” He continues, “These studies are designed to be led easily. As a matter of fact, the flow of questions through the passage from observation to interpretation to application is so natural that you may feel that the studies lead themselves.” (p. 35) McGrath says the studies can be used with people from professionals, students or church groups, with each chapter designed to take about forty-five minutes in duration.

If this volume is any reflection of the wider series, they will serve as a wonderful way to bridge the gap between a beginner’s level and a more involved study of God’s Word.

As in any series, the quality of each one has to be determined on its own merits depending on the author, and so if being led by a novice, a good suggestion might be to consult with someone with more experience as to the suitability of the content. But strictly judging by this study, they can and should be widely used across the life of the church.

Reviewed by Kent I. Compton

A Review of Three Books on Aspects of Global Theology

***Theology without Borders: An Introduction to Global Conversations.* William A. Dyrness and Oscar Garcia-Johnson. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2015, 208 pp., paper. ISBN 978-0-8010-49323**

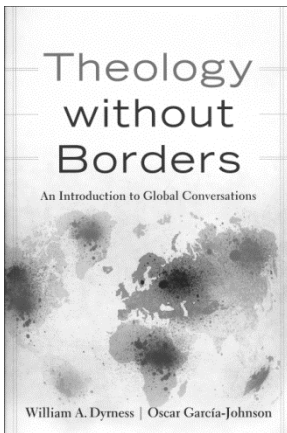
***Jesus without Borders: Christology in the Majority World.* Eds. Gene L. Green, Stephen L. Pardue, and K.K. Yeo. Majority World Theology Series. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014, 208 pp., paper. ISBN 978-0-8028-70827**

***The Trinity among the Nations: The Doctrine of God in the Majority World.* Eds. Gene L. Green, Stephen T. Pardue, and K. K. Yeo. Majority World Theology Series. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015, 182 pp., paper. ISBN 978-0-8028-72685**

In the 21st century most Christians are found in the Majority World. While there are some signs of renewal and church growth in the “First World,” the projected growth in the West is very slight in comparison to the dramatic – and even, explosive – growth of the church in other parts of the world. Nevertheless, the vast majority of theological writing and publishing still is found in the West, largely due to the accumulated wealth and resources for such production there. Thus, the vast majority of publications still embody a

Western perspective on theology. In addition, theology and biblical studies as taught in the Majority World has largely not taken account of this new global situation. This needs to change.

Something that will change this unfortunate situation is the availability of non-Western theological voices in Western publications. The insights of theologians from diverse contexts and socio-cultural situations expressing the meaning and applications of the gospel in their situations are needed to expand the Western understanding of the Christian faith for a global church. This has slowly begun to happen. The three books which we examine in this review essay are significant contributions to this expansion of the Western theological perspective and to the global theological conversation.



Theology without Borders: An Introduction to Global Conversations is written by William A. Dyrness and Oscar Garcia-Johnson. Dyrness has taught at theological schools in Manila and Nairobi, as well as a number of Western seminaries, and is currently a professor of theology and cultures at Fuller theological Seminary. Garcia-Johnson was born and raised Honduras and moved to the U.S. as a young man. He is associate professor of theology and Latino/a studies at Fuller, and recently became associate dean of the Center for the Study of the Hispanic Church and Community. They wrote this book as a catalyst to promote greater dialogue between theologians in the West and the

Majority World.

Each author writes an introductory chapter indicating his concerns in doing theology in general and in writing this book. Garcia-Johnson challenges Western theology to end its dominance in the theological field and to engage in fair and respectful interaction with theologies of the Majority World. His use of the language of postcolonial and critical studies – terms such as the subaltern, transoccidentality, transnationality, and glocality – makes the thrust of his arguments somewhat opaque and dense. But his essential points are important – that any framework that produces clear and fruitful cross-cultural theological dialogue must accept that all theology is shaped by its historical and socio-cultural context. Thus, every theology must humbly and respectfully listen to the insights of the theologies arising out of other contexts to have a richer – global – understanding of the gospel.

Dyrness repeats the concerns and goals of Garcia-Johnson. He wants Western theologians to appreciate how deeply committed Majority World theologians are to applying theology not merely to personal evils but also to the social evils in their own settings. While there are perennial questions that theologians answer in all ages and cultures, the methods of doing theology in

the non-Western world arise out of the conditions of persecution, injustice, and corruption in which these Christians find themselves.

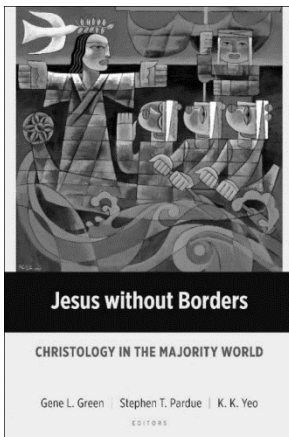
There are two themes that the authors explore in the remaining four chapters: applications of theology to the specific socio-cultural conditions in the Majority World and ways that the beliefs and values of pre-Christian indigenous traditions have shaped theology around the world. These themes are set against the background of criticism of Western Christianity. Some of these criticisms are accurate: that church traditions and practices were imposed on indigenous peoples; that the gospel was presented in individualistic terms; and that Christianity was used to justify coercive imperial conquest. But others are highly questionable. Among the latter are: that the cultural and social assumptions of church leaders shaped what the 4th and 5th century councils found in the Bible concerning the doctrines of Christ and of the Trinity; that American Christianity was shaped by the Enlightenment and its ahistorical perspectives; and that Christian missionaries were indifferent to the injustices that colonial powers practiced in the Majority World. Concerning this last claim, while it is certainly true that this was true of many missionaries, there were also many missionaries who worked to protect the indigenous peoples from the unjust and abusive treatment of colonial interests. The recent work of sociologist Robert Woodberry has brought this important aspect of proselytizing missionaries to light. This book could have been more balanced in noting the positive impact of Western Christians and their theology to the Majority World.

The second theme of the book – the role of the beliefs and values of pre-Christian indigenous traditions in shaping the theology of Majority World Christians – is both enlightening and a source of caution. The authors acknowledge that, even in the Majority World, theologians differ on the role that these pre-Christian beliefs and values should play. For example, the African theologian Emmanuel Katongole views the gospel as an alternative to idolatrous indigenous African beliefs, while Kwame Bediako considers Christianity as fulfilling Africa's deepest indigenous aspirations. It is one thing to contend that, due to general revelation and common grace, many beliefs and values of indigenous peoples have a strong resemblance to Christian beliefs. Examples of these are: the Mezoamerican belief in a supreme Creator Being who guides all humans; the African belief in the importance of the spiritual world, of community, and of being connected with the natural environment; and the Asian belief in a divinely-given code for harmonious human relationships. But it is another thing to argue that these beliefs should shape the character of non-Western theology. For example, the authors appeal to the African notion of ancestors as spirit guides to be incorporated into theology to understand the communion of saints. This is obviously a significant problem for Protestant theology.

Even with the caveats noted, this book contains many helpful insights to open Western theologians to humble dialogue with theologians from the Ma-

majority World. Theology is always contextual; it should be applied to social and cultural issues to effect positive change; and it must draw upon the insights of indigenous beliefs in transformative ways so as to shape beliefs in a culturally winsome manner. Insofar as this book unfolds these themes in biblically faithful ways, it is a helpful tool in promoting truly global theological conversations.

The next two books reviewed here are the first in The Majority World Theology Series published by Eerdmans. Each book opens with a chapter on the specific doctrine by a leading Western theologian. This is followed by chapters from theologians in the Majority World in which they indicate how their socio-cultural context shapes the significance of the doctrine for their setting. Both books have the same goals as *Theology without Borders*: to provide a forum in a Western publication for the expression of Majority World theology and to foster dialogue and mutual enrichment for Christian scholars from around the world.



Jesus without Borders is divided into two parts. Part I contains chapters by theologians reflecting on Christology with Scripture, philosophy, history and culture. Part II contains chapters by biblical scholars reflecting on Christology by interacting with biblical texts that have Christological significance.

Kevin Vanhoozer begins Part I with a presentation of historical Christological developments in the West, with a concern for the continuity that is important to maintain for Christian worship and proclamation. He argues that the Chalcedonian formulation – two natures in one person – is essential for the global church's confession of Christ today. Yet, he notes that this confession is not the whole truth about Christ in that it leaves room for specific applications and emphases that relate to diverse social contexts. Vanhoozer rightly notes that these applications and emphases must always uphold the biblical ontology embodied in Chalcedon, which confesses the divinely revealed identity of the person of Jesus Christ.

The next three chapters in Part I present the views on Christology by three non-Western theologians. While they reflect specific concerns arising from their contexts, it should not be assumed that their respective views are shared by all theologians in their specific global settings. V. Ezigbo presents three contextual models which represent the major assumptions of African Christology: Christ who negates African indigenous beliefs, Christ as Mediator-Ancestor, and Christ as Revealer of true divinity and humanity. Ezigbo argues for the third view.

Timoteo D. Gener notes a number of themes that resonate with Asian Christians. Some of these are: Jesus as human who makes God accessible to

humans (for Hindus), Jesus as Monk (for Buddhists), Jesus as prophet (for Muslims), the suffering Jesus (for Chinese), and Jesus as Lord of the spirits (for many Asians). J. Martinez-Olivieri notes the themes of Jesus as liberator and judge which speak to the realities of oppression, injustice, violence, and corruption in Latin America. Christology must combine both the Christ of faith with the Jesus of history, ontology and ethics, the personal and the social vision of salvation.

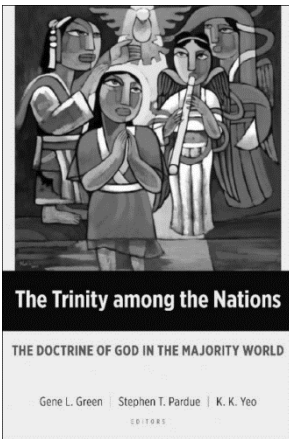
Part II contains chapters by biblical scholars that ponder the Christological significance of particular biblical texts for their contexts. The chapter on "Reading the Gospel of John through Palestinian Eyes" by Yohanna Katanacho could be more candidly entitled, "The Inclusive Christology of the Gospel of John, with Brief Application to the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict." By noting echoes of Old Testament themes in John, and parallels between Moses and Jesus, Katanacho shows how John's gospel takes the ethnic, religious, and geographical specificity of the Israelite hope of redemption in the Messiah and expands it in the person of Jesus to proclaim a Redeemer and a redemption that encompasses all people. Katanacho has a very brief conclusion with application to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. His exegetical insights are quite good, but they are not actually a reading of the gospel through Palestinian eyes.

"From Artemis to Mary: Misplaced Veneration versus True Worship of Jesus in the Latino/a Context" by Aida Besançon Spenser examines the role of Mary as intercessor in the Latina feminist evangelical perspective. Her central argument is that the growth of the view of Mary as mediator between humans and God stems from a deficient Christology, where stress is laid upon Jesus' divinity and where his humanity is greatly diminished. People sense that their prayers of petition require a human intercessor. Latino Catholics pray to Mary so that their prayers may be brought to the attention of a distant Christ and an even more distant Father. This clearly contradicts passages such as 1 Tim 2:5-6, Heb 1:2-14, and Heb 10:19-22 that affirm the human and divine Christ as the only Mediator between God and humans. Spenser also presents some insightful history on the rise of the veneration of Mary in the context of goddess worship in the ancient world and of the cult of Artemis in the city of Ephesus, where the historical evidence indicates that the veneration of Mary first arose. Spenser rightly concludes that Mary can be understood as the advocate of liberation, as reflected in the Magnificat (Luke 1:46-46), and as the one whose heart is pierced in suffering with the suffering of her son (Luke 2:40). But she must never be construed as intercessor.

Andrew Mbuvi draws upon the language of blood and sacrifice (related to purity) in 1 Peter to draw parallels with African concerns for purity, Christ as the perfect sacrifice, and victory over the spirit world. There is nothing controversial in these claims. In another chapter, K. K. Yeo disagrees with Vanhoozer's claim that the ontology of Chalcedon encompasses the richness

and variety of the New Testament Christologies. Thus, Yeo argues that Chalcedon cannot provide a comprehensive Christology for the global church. But he seems to want to have it both ways. He maintains that there is a diversity and variety in the Christology of the gospels and of Paul's epistles. Yet, he also claims that there is a harmony and unity in these diverse Christologies. He is not clear in what he is getting at. If there is a unity and harmony in the diversity of facets of New Testament Christology, then this unity can be embodied in a church confession about the person of Christ such as that of Chalcedon. If not, then one wonders what meaning such a "unity and harmony" means.

This book is a helpful one for further dialogue on Christology in a global context. While some chapters are quite controversial, most are helpful in expanding the perspective of Western Christian readers on the significance of the crucified and resurrected Christ for comprehensive salvation.



The second book in the Eerdmans series, entitled *The Trinity among the Nations: The Doctrine of God in the Majority World*, also has as its goal a global conversation – now focused on the doctrine of the Trinity. The first chapter, “One God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity,” by Gerald Bray presents the substance of the traditional teaching of the Council of Chalcedon on the nature of God: God is one; the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit coexist within the divine being; the three persons are equal in divinity but distinct in their persons in the ontological Trinity and in their functions in the economical Trinity. Bray notes that this Chalcedonian formulation has been the

standard for the church.

The remaining the chapters are expressions of various emphases and applications of this doctrine to the concerns and contexts of non-Western cultures. Some are relatively benign in their comments, but others make suggestions that are quite controversial. In the first category, I place the chapters by Kunhiyop, Gonzales, Ewell, and Panikkar. In the second category, I locate the chapters by Woodley, Asano, and Wang.

The chapters in the first category expand Western notions of the Trinity by examining and applying them in Majority World settings. “The Trinity in Africa: Trends and Trajectories” by Samule Waje Kunhiyop laments the disregard, in practice, of the classical Trinitarian in Christian Africa. The emphasis tends to be on a belief in a supreme being along with a belief in a community of gods. In light of these heresies, and in light of Muslim monotheism, he contends that Trinitarian theology should be actively taught and applied in African Christianity.

Both Antonio Gonzales in “The Trinity as Gospel” and Rosalee Ewell in “Learning to See Jesus with the Eyes of the Spirit” argue for teaching the social dimensions of the Trinity in the Latin America setting. It should especially be applied to its social and economic problems, notably the oppression of the poor. To reinforce this, the Trinity should form the basis for human community, for the promotion of social justice under the reign of the triune God, and for mercy and compassion for the poor. The authors contend that through our participation in the life of God through Christ, the Spirit makes the transformative life of Christ a reality in these contexts.

“In “Asian Reformulations of the Trinity: An Evaluation” Natee Tanchanpongs reviews the contextual Trinitarian formulations by four Asian theologians. He finds the constructions of Raimundo Panikkar (India) and Jung Young Lee (Korea) to be syncretistic, absorbing the biblical teaching into the cultural ideas. The work of Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya (India), a Thomist, is more biblical as he struggles to rethink the ideas of the Vedanta school of Hindu philosophy according to orthodox biblical teaching. The author concludes that the best work is being done by Nozomu Miyahira (Japan) as he reshapes the Japanese concern for unity and community according to the pattern of the unity and differentiation of the Trinitarian persons.

Three chapters are more controversial in their proposals for contextual Trinitarian thought. In “Beyond *Homoiousios* and *Homoousios*” Randy Woodley argues that the North American indigenous concepts of the shalom community – several examples of which he presents in detail – are better than those derived from Chalcedon. He defends this by arguing that neither Jesus nor the early church promoted an enforced orthodoxy of belief. This is patently false. He also espouses the typical liberationist arguments that a single male sky god promotes male supremacy, racial hierarchy and a “single, non-complex divine ontology.” The underlying liberal assumption in his claims is that the portrayal of God in the Bible is not the revelation from God but merely the historically conditioned expression of how men in the past construed God. This assumption contradicts the views of the church throughout history, and opens the door for all manner of doctrinal reformulation. It is beyond the pale of biblical orthodoxy.

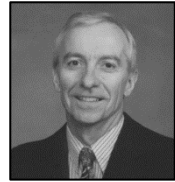
In “Motherliness of God: A Search for Maternal Aspects in Paul’s Theology” Atsuhiko Asano seeks to find “motherly” aspects of the character of God in Paul’s letter to the Galatians. While there is some validity in noting the feminine, motherly dimensions of God’s character, not only in Paul’s epistles but throughout the Bible, it is important to do this in a manner that follows biblical revelation. This means noting that God is always designated by masculine pronouns, titled with masculine terms (Father, King, Lord, Ruler, Master, Shepherd, etc), and predominantly described with masculine metaphors. The feminine designations are always metaphors – God is like a woman in childbirth (Is 42:14) or like a woman comforting her child (Is 66:13) – and God is never titled with feminine terms (Mother, Queen, Shep-

herdess, etc). Asano fails to do this in his exposition of Galatians, leading him to faulty conclusions about the equality of metaphorical male and female notions of God in this epistle.

In “How to Understand a Biblical God in Chinese Cross-Cultural Hermeneutics”, Zi Wang argues for the contextualization of the Christian God in the Chinese Confucian setting. Unfortunately, the way that Wang promotes dialogue between the two results in syncretism between the Christian Trinitarian revelation of God and the Confucian concept of God as creator and creation, with only minor critique. The transcendence of God is compromised, and God becomes merely a catalyst for the Confucian concern for social harmony and hospitality.

This book is a more diverse presentation of global Trinitarian theology than *Jesus without Borders*. While, as noted, it does have some helpful chapters for global dialogue, there are three chapters which, in this reviewer’s opinion, go beyond the boundaries of Trinitarian orthodoxy. They should be read with careful analysis and biblical criticism. And they certainly do not provide any convincing arguments from a non-Western context for revising the church’s universal acceptance of the nature of the Trinitarian God as expressed most clearly in the Chalcedonian formulation. In fact, they serve as examples of how concern for one’s context without faithful commitment to the biblical message can lead to compromise and syncretism.

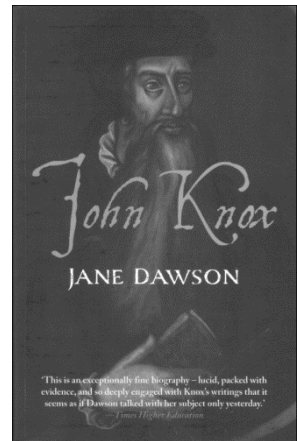
Reviewed by Guenther (“Gene”) Haas, Professor of Religion and Theology, Redeemer University College, Ancaster, Ontario.



Historical Theology

John Knox. Jane Dawson. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016. 321 pp. & indices, paper. ISBN 978-0-300-21970-8

Jane Dawson's impressive biography of Knox, first released in cloth covers in 2015, is now available in paper covers at a more modest price. That this edition has followed so rapidly after first publication is an indication of the demand for the biography, penned by the Reformation historian of New College, Edinburgh. This biography is noteworthy not because it is the first life of Knox to be written by a female writer: that honor belongs to Elizabeth Whitley, whose *The Plain Mr. Knox* appeared in 1960 (and is happily still in print). But Dawson's work is the first major biography of the Scottish Reformer written by an academic historian since 1974, the year when the Canadian historian, W. Stanford Reid, released his *Trumpeter of God*.



Does the elapse of forty years, by itself, warrant a new biography of this famous Scot? The drastic numerical decline of the Church of Scotland in those intervening decades would suggest a diminished interest in the biography of this man about whom Scots have long been deeply divided. Yet, there are two reasons for insisting that the appearance of Dawson's *Knox* is especially noteworthy.

The first is that it represents 'part two' of a writing project that commenced with Dawson's release of a volume in the 'New Edinburgh History of Scotland': *Scotland Re-formed: 1488-1587* (2007). There she displayed a comprehensive grasp of the political, military, and religious history of Scotland in this period. Her *John Knox* both benefits from and reflects the spade-work in the earlier volume. Has a Knox biographer ever come to the task better prepared? There is also a second reason.

It is that there is fresh discovery serving as the basis for the release of this new volume; Jane Dawson happily discovered a trove of documents which were the possession of Knox's former associate, Christopher Goodman (1519-1603). Goodman was the English Marian exile theological professor

with whom Knox – also a Marian exile – became fast friends at Geneva in the years when English Protestant leaders who remained in England were being tried and burned. Goodman had returned to Scotland with Knox and served at Ayr and St. Andrews before being forced to return to his native England in 1565. Their friendship, forged in shared adversity, resulted in a literary legacy only recently discovered by Dawson at Chester, England. This Goodman material shed considerable fresh light on Knox – both as a fugitive in Europe – and as leader in Scotland’s tempestuous early Protestant years.

The reader of Dawson’s *Knox* will plow through more than three hundred pages of text. It is worth noting that the smaller page size of the paperback edition (pagination is standard) does make the reading more arduous. As one reads, he or she experiences a pendulum-swing of reaction at the Knox presented by Dawson; he is alternately fierce and yet vulnerable, bombastic and yet capable of being tender. It is the very assiduity of Dawson in drawing on so many original sources (among which are Knox’s own tracts and his *History*) which gives the reader the sense of being overwhelmed with detail about Knox. But there is not only detail beyond what we could imagine or ask for (e.g. about Knox’s role as chaplain in the religious war which secured the Reformation by August, 1560, or as minister of St. Giles in the civil war that fragmented the nation later that decade over the divisive course pursued by Queen Mary); there is also interpretation and it here that different readers will judge Dawson differently.

Dawson cannot fairly be reckoned an admirer of Knox; recall that she is a female historian investigating the one who is remembered for his *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558). She makes no apologies for Knox, who with his friend, Goodman, was definitely a misogynist as to female rule. The question then becomes one of whether, in her determination to be thorough (an aim at which she succeeds admirably), Dawson also portrays Knox in a judicious way. This reviewer concludes that Dawson has been judicious. No one will say that she has “buffed” the legacy of Knox; but most should grant that she gives us a Knox who – rather than appearing in black and white – appears in many shades of tint.

I appreciated several features of Dawson’s *Knox* above others. She shows that Knox’s English ministry in the years 1549-1553 were years in which he had already taken up the stance of a nonconforming Anglican. The conflicts over ministerial costume and adherence to the *Book of Common Prayer* – having begun in England – were merely continued in a kind of “round two” in exile at Frankfort. Again, Knox (with Goodman) as co-pastors among the Marian exiles at Geneva are portrayed as the detailed preparers of the very service book and Psalm book which will be put to use in Scotland from 1560 onward. Knox and Goodman are depicted as being definitely schooled at Geneva in the matter of how the reformation of a compact region such as Geneva can possibly serve as the template for the reformation of the nation of the Scots. Knox and Goodman were in this sense like the French pastors-in-training who were at Geneva awaiting assignments in Catholic France. Most

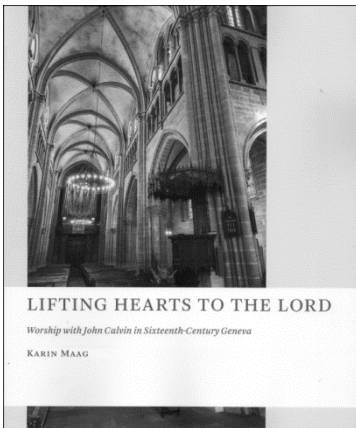
profoundly, Knox is shown from his 1549 period onward to be the Reformed preacher who consciously prefers the gathered church of the like-minded rather than the folk-church embracing the totality of the population.

Dawson's Knox provides an up-to-date and complex portrayal of what may be known today about Knox and Scotland's early Reformation era. It will not easily be surpassed.

Reviewed by Dr. Kenneth J. Stewart, Professor of Theological Studies in Covenant College, Lookout Mountain, Georgia.



***Lifting Hearts to the Lord: Worship with John Calvin in Sixteenth-Century Geneva.* Karin Maag. *The Church at Worship: Case Studies from Christian History*, eds. Lester Ruth, Carrie Steenwyk, John D. Witvliet. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016, 209 pp., paper. ISBN 978-0-8028-7147-3**



Karin Maag is a fine scholar of the 16th century and one with an amazing ability to communicate that scholarship in a comprehensible manner. She currently serves as the director for the H. Henry Meeter Center for Calvin Studies and is professor of history at Calvin College, Grand Rapids. For readers of 16th-century Reformed thought and practice, Maag has furnished us with a most engaging and well researched text.

This volume is part of *The Church at Worship: Case Studies from Christian History*. This series ranges very widely with current studies and forthcoming volumes dealing with a variety of worship case studies both ancient, (for example, 4th century Jerusalem) and contemporary, (for example, Anaheim Vineyard Fellowship).

The series dictates much of the form and thus a standard structure emerges, one which must be added is very well thought-out by the editors and will be most helpful for classroom work, not just personal study. As specific case studies the goal is to allow “specific trees” in the “forest” of liturgical history to speak and not present a full forest perspective, as there are many other works which endeavour to do such.

The chief features of each volume are to first orient readers as to the time frame of the particular case study, including cautionary advisement; next, focus is upon the participation of that entire church community in worship (the key word here being “participation”); then follows primary sources, un-

der a whole range of categories and also attempts to be as interdisciplinary as possible; and finally the volume concludes with a section for devotional use and group discussion.

The overall layout of each volume is a wide-print text with sidebar comment or question done in red text and a glossary of names at the back and a listing for further study and sources cited. All of the above make for a highly readable and interesting series to allow many to benefit from such a study. My one disappointment was with the index, which I found very sparse, at least in this particular volume under review in the series.

Some specifics now about this volume by Maag. The time frame is basically 1541 to 1564, the years in which John Calvin returned and spent in Geneva following his three-year sojourn in Strasbourg. The bulk of the text concerns the worshipping community of Geneva during this time period as explored from the following angles: people and artifacts, worship setting and space, descriptions of worship, orders of services and texts, sermons, theology of worship documents, and polity documents.

Maag has clearly focused upon Calvin but not exclusively; other voices are brought into the picture. One of the most intriguing I found was *Managing a Country Parish: A Country Pastor's Advice to His Successor* (pp. 66-72). I think in part it was because it showed the practical realities of rural ministry in the Swiss Reformed context and helps one be much more realistic and less uniform in describing worship in this period and ecclesiastical grouping. I say this because sometimes one encounters today a perspective that we must duplicate everything in this time period in churches of this tradition without actually being fair and honest to context. Some of the details in the book help to dispel some of these attitudes. For example, I rarely hear anyone today advocating separation of men and women in worship services in the West. It may be customary for some within Anabaptist traditions in the West or amongst some Presbyterian and Reformed churches in the global south, but I do not think the latter for sure are doing it out of following the Genevan practices!

Two other details I found also intriguing were about godparents at baptism, and also naming children at baptism and the names which were banned from being used. Both points could make for some very interesting discussion today, and I also suspect dissent from Genevan ways. Again, this reinforces my point: general principles are one thing but debate in the applications of those principles may not always be universal and binding. There is often an historical context and a reason for such. For example, a godparent was often a good patron for your child. Some may advocate such today, but it is doubtful if one can find a scriptural text to demand the practice. So this does raise some questions about the regulation of worship and its application which readers will need to face.

This book should be included as a text for all senior-level liturgics and worship courses at seminary level, especially in institutions which are Presbyterian or Reformed and should be in the library of any such colleges and

seminaries. It will also serve as a good theme text for Reformation Church History classes or Calvin courses. Working pastors will also benefit from the work and find helpful thoughts to enhance their worship leadership. It will also make for deeper thinking overall and less caricature.

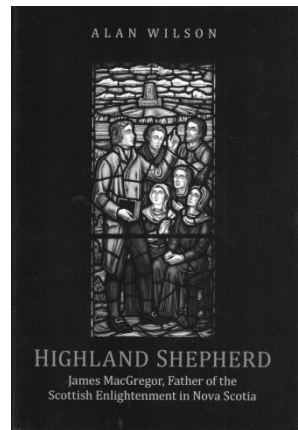
There are several illustrations which enhance the text. The author's introductory comments are in italic and are very precise, reliable, and never overtake the documentary sources. Overall a most helpful and well-published book at a reasonable price. One could find many of the sources in many other places but the benefit of this text is that it brings many of these together in one book. Some are in a new translation by the author and always read very well.

Reviewed by Jack C. Whytock

***Highland Shepherd: James MacGregor, Father of the Scottish Enlightenment in Nova Scotia.* Alan Wilson. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015, 256 pp., hc. ISBN 978-1-4426-4451-9**

When I was appointed in 1963 by the Presbyterian General Board of Missions as a requirement for ordination to serve a five-point pastoral charge on the East River of Pictou County, I had mixed feelings and no experience in a rural congregation. Almost as soon as I arrived, I was told about James MacGregor, missionary to Nova Scotia, who came there at the same age I was at the time (25) and equally a greenhorn. He was annually commemorated in a service at an Elm Tree in Bridgeville on property owned by our Clerk of Session. I would preside over five such services, endeavoring each time to appeal to his example as an Evangelical preacher and missionary. The legends were many, the respect deep, the tradition strong, but MacGregor's faith needed to come alive.

Now we at last have a biography that does James MacGregor (1759-1830) justice and paints a vivid canvas of the early days of the Christian faith in the Maritime Provinces. Almost nonagenarian Professor Alan Wilson, founder of the History Department at Trent University in the early 1960s, has produced a scholarly work, weighted down with detail and an encyclopedic knowledge of relevant Scottish and early Maritime history that is truly phenomenal and also eminently readable. Dr. Wilson displays a grasp of 18th-century Scottish religious and cultural life that helps us to understand MacGregor's background, explaining the complex development of the Anti-Burger denomination as it split from both the established Church of Scotland ("the Kirk") and



the Burgers. What is fascinating is the reality that this small sect actually had the original vision and missionary commitment to reach out to the new colony of Nova Scotia, whose religious life was dominated by the Church of England with few viable alternatives for the Scottish settlers then arriving by the boatload except for the occasional Secessionist minister. Only later would the established Church of Scotland seek to recoup its losses in an unseemly rivalry with Scottish Dissenters, which Wilson chronicles in his book.

As a church planter, frontier preacher, and tireless evangelist, James MacGregor was a phenomenon, which comes out clearly in Wilson's book. From Pictou along the North Shore, to Stewiacke, and then reaching out to Cape Breton, over to Prince Edward Island, and on to New Brunswick, he appears to have covered most of the territory's Scottish settlers. He had a knack for finding and developing lay leadership, as I discovered five generations later. A direct descendent of Robert Marshall, one of the signatories of the Pictou Petition of 8 November 1784 that made MacGregor cross the Atlantic (never to return), Fraser Marshall of White Hill, Middle River, to whom I owe so much, was my mentor and guide in those early years of ministry. Indeed, as I myself travelled throughout Pictou Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in Canada as Moderator subsequently, I got to know the congregations. So much of what Wilson says about those early days is confirmed by my experience of the seemingly unchanging characteristics of those communities. I found myself wishing that I had had all this information a half-century ago!

Wilson fully credits the "passionate evangelicalism" (p. 113) of MacGregor as the motivation for his entire life and labours, something that is not always recognized in other treatments of the same material. A telling sentence on page 196 summarizes beautifully MacGregor's burden as a gentle shepherd: "Like other ministers of the gospel he was a lonely man: he could never put off the role of shepherd which to some degree set him apart from the flock." Wilson has mastered the Communion season as a central part of Highland church life. His explanation of closed communion and the importance of MacGregor as a Secessionist no longer insisting on it very much grasps its spiritual significance. Wilson, in describing MacGregor's first communion service, shows an acquaintance with the Scottish Psalter which for someone like myself brought up on it is impressive and moving.

But Wilson stumbles when it comes to the theological and biblical context of MacGregor's ministry. From the telling citation of the last book of the New Testament as "Revelations" (p. 122) to his brief treatment (p. 191) of MacGregor's eschatology and his robust and responsible postmillennialism, he fails to show how that theology nurtured and strengthened MacGregor's whole mission and vocation. MacGregor's *Essay on the Millennial Age*, a topic (as Wilson says) that was very dear to him, deserves at the very least a doctoral student's Ph.D. thesis, placing it in the context of 18th-century, Scottish secessionist postmillennialism. He refers to "Thomas Hodge of Princeton University" as the author of a three-volume Systematic Theology (p. 191) –

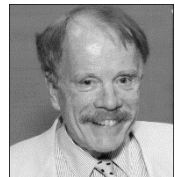
presumably meaning Charles Hodge of Princeton Theological Seminary. Citation of some of MacGregor's Gaelic poetry is a brave move, which I discovered when writing about another minister-turned-poet. Gaelic spelling is fluid and unpredictable. But MacGregor's skill as a bard must be celebrated.

There is another issue I have with the book. Understandably, Wilson wants to catch (and keep) the reader's attention through a mass of detailed information. In doing so he fictionalizes some encounters: going beyond what we have specific evidence for, second guessing what was thought, where people were located, and even what they were saying. In a day of fake news, historians have to be careful to provide information that can be substantiated by hard evidence. This is particularly germane because this autumn two committees of the Presbyterian Church in Canada have been considering a denominational apology for past mistreatment of the LGBTQ community. Such discussions of the past must be based on facts, not skewed by political correctness.

The MacGregor Elm Tree is gone, killed by Dutch Elm disease. So is the MacGregor family church in New Glasgow, Westminster Presbyterian (before 1925 named United Presbyterian). On 8 January, 1986 that ornate MacGregor family church, full of their memorials, located on Temperance St., New Glasgow was destroyed by fire. It was located midway between two other Presbyterian churches (first, a union of several congregations including James Church, named after MacGregor, and the Kirk). The site of the MacGregor family church is now occupied by the charismatic "Lighthouse Ministry Family Worship Centre." And the East River pastoral charge, where I once served, has staggered Sunday service hours and a non-resident minister, their Manse having been sold. The faith and vision of James MacGregor calls out for renewal.

For Christians, particularly those of us of the Reformed faith, this biography is an engrossing narrative of the days when Protestant Christianity was first planted on our shores. Dr. Wilson is to be congratulated on a readable, informative, and fascinating treatment of a great and neglected Canadian original, giving James MacGregor his rightful place in the galaxy of Canadian pioneers. We look forward to his life of Peter, James' son, a founder of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1875. Wilson is making a valuable contribution to our understanding of our heritage.

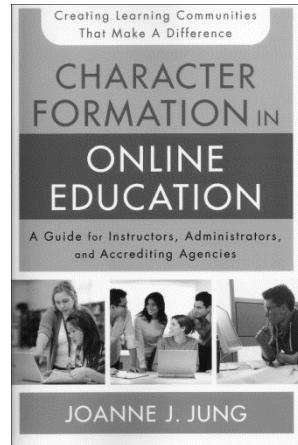
Reviewed by Dr. A. Donald MacLeod research professor of Church History at Tyndale Seminary, Toronto. He is a widely published writer and biographer.



Applied Theology

***Character Formation in Online Education: A Guide for Instructors, Administrators, and Accrediting Agencies.* Joanne J. Jung. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2015, 142 pp., paper. ISBN 978-0-310-52030-6**

There is little doubt that professors and college administrators world-wide continue to grapple with the implications of on-line learning. How can those who have taught for years in traditional settings (and who have so much to offer spiritually and academically) be made comfortable with teaching through technology? How can students form meaningful bonds with their mentors and their peers when they never meet face to face? How can Christian spiritual formation be advanced in an online community of learners? Dr. Jung, associate professor of biblical and theological studies at Biola University in California has skillfully set out the answers to these and many other questions in her book *Character Formation in Online Education*.



The book is divided into three parts. Part one deals with the actual challenge of planning and preparing an online course. Even professors who are not involved in online learning will benefit from the three chapters in this section as Dr. Jung summarizes universal teaching goals before applying them specifically to the development of an online course. Chapter 3, entitled “Partnerships That Deliver: Tag-Teaming with a Course Designer”, is especially helpful and should prove to be a great encouragement to any professors who desire to move into online learning but feel woefully inadequate in terms of the technical knowledge required to get there. The author even provides a job description for course designers so professors and administrators know what to look for in terms of skills, experience, and character.

Part two takes the reader to the heart of the book: the challenge of creating online learning communities that are effective in character formation. The five chapters in this section of the book present a helpful combination of theory and practice as Jung moves from arguing the importance of develop-

ing “heart” in the learning community to practical methods and examples of how to achieve this important depth and development in the online learning experience. Chapter 5 on collaborative learning tools is extremely helpful in thinking through the process of getting students involved in meaningful discussions that apply course material. Chapter 6 discusses hybrid learning – a combination of traditional classroom time with online collaboration as well. This chapter helps the reader to move away from an either/or type of judgment and to think creatively about ways to combine the best of both worlds.

Part three deals with the very important topic of assessment. Once again, professors and administrators of any college will benefit from reading this section, only one chapter, as the importance of effective assessment is emphasized as an essential element of effective teaching. It is refreshing to note that Jung calls for course assessment as well as student assessment. In fact, she provides ten questions to consider that are designed to assess the overall effectiveness of the course and help those involved to increase relevance in future deliveries of the same material. It would have been good to include a discussion on “voice” and the development of teacher/student relationships in the online learning community as a valuable tool for assessing the authenticity of student submissions. Jung provides a helpful recommended reading list for college professors who want to be inspired to be better teachers. Even the titles are inspiring in and of themselves.

The two appendices make this book even more valuable. The first is a glossary of terms that will not only help the reader to navigate the present work but will also serve to educate in the general vocabulary of online learning. The second appendix provides a link and a list of resources available from Biola to further explore the concepts and issues of character formation in online learning.

It would have been helpful to include a discussion on the role of the church in this matter of education and character formation. How can the church “on the ground” be mobilised effectively to support the online learning experience and development of her members? It is somewhat disappointing to think that such an important link is not included as an essential and even obvious element of this topic.

Jung has shared her considerable wealth of experience and training in a practical and approachable format. This book is essential for all who are considering the topic of character formation in online learning. Highly recommended.

Reviewed by Nancy J. Whytock

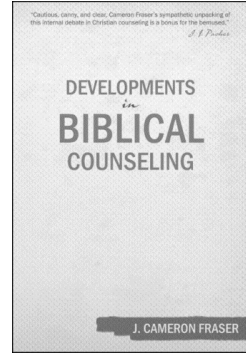
Developments in Biblical Counseling. J. Cameron Fraser. Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage, 2015, 124 pp., paper. ISBN 978-1-60178-385-1

At 124 pages this is a must read and resource to have in your personal or theological college library. Many of us feel there are enormous gaps in our understanding of the development of the biblical counseling/nouthetic movement. Fraser's work is like the primer that we must now read to gain a context for facing this subject. I would encourage all evangelical theological institutions to place this small book on the required reading list for all introductory-level courses in biblical counselling.

In four chapters Fraser as a "reporter" succinctly captures the essence of what we need to know to set us onto further discovery and understanding. The author gives a helpful introduction before launching into the chapters. Chapter one's theme is to lay out the "basic themes of nouthetic counselling as originally developed by [Jay] Adams" (p. 15). Chapter two is on "Some Criticisms of Nouthetic Counseling", and chapter three deals with developments within the nouthetic "school", even to the point where some have dropped the term "nouthetic" (p. 59). This is followed by Fraser's irenically written fourth chapter to present a "modest" presentation on "how some of these developments have a certain affinity with [some] Puritan approaches to counselling that Adams rejects, but which may in fact point in a more consistent biblical direction" (p. 15). Fraser introduces the reader in this chapter (amongst others) to Timothy Keller's article, "Puritan Resources for Biblical Counseling" (1988). This is really Fraser's gracious way of offering his adjustment to the nouthetic model or the "cure of souls". Here the reader will have to make their assessment and come to their own convictions.

Fraser has included a bibliography which again a careful read-through will help newcomers to navigate through this world of the last fifty years in biblical counselling.¹ I believe the author "reports" well (he has served twice as a magazine editor) and appears to be fair and even-handed. Throughout the book he demonstrates a pastor/shepherd's heart to the subject – he has been a pastor of thirty-plus years in western Canada. For many of us who have not explored this subject, biblical counselling, the way we should or could have, Fraser's work is now our go-to primer.

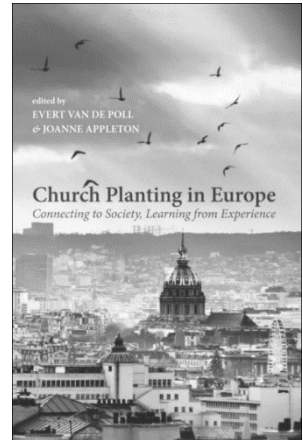
Reviewed by Jack C. Whytock



¹ Many will not take the time to master the large work by David Powlinson, *The Biblical Counseling Movement: History and Context*, (Greensboro, NC: New Growth Press, 2010), 331 pages and double columned!

***Church Planting in Europe: Connecting to Society, Learning from Experience.* Eds., Evert Van de Poll and Joanne Appleton. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2015, 280 pp., paper. ISBN: 978-1-4982-0199-5**

Church Planting in Europe is a collection of essays born out of a significant and large symposium held in Leuven, Belgium in 2014 on the topic of church planting and mission development in Europe. The nineteen chapters are based on the lectures, workshops and discussions generated from the symposium. The editors point to the gap in missiology literature on European-focused church planting/replacement planting and the attendant cultural gap. This forms part of the rationale for the publication with two clear objectives for readers: 1. Readers will be equipped for church ministry and where needed, church restoration. 2. To relate this ministry to the spiritual needs and opportunities in multicultural and postmodern Europe.



The editors have helpfully divided the book into three parts, beginning with “Biblical Reflections”, “Church in Europe”, “Church Planters”, and concluding with “Case Studies”. A discernable theme of reflection runs through all four sections, with writers often considering best practices as well as the failures of various church planting strategies in Europe. The editors note that “[w]hen it comes to mission, evangelization, and church development, things do not work the same way here in Europe as they do elsewhere” (p. 2).

The socio-cultural and religious context to Europe is expanded upon in part two of the book, which, for many readers, will contain the most interesting and pertinent chapters. Of particular note is Evert Van de Poll’s chapter, “Typical Barriers and Bridges for the Gospel in Europe”. He finds a fundamental paradox that sets Europe apart from other mission fields and thus requires a specific missions strategy: Europe is the most Christianized continent, while at the same time Europe is marked by the abandonment of Christianity more than any other part of the world; in a word, secularization.

Van de Poll suggests five barriers to Christian faith for most Europeans and then suggests five bridges for mission outreach. Interestingly, Van de Poll’s barriers and bridges often align; for example, he includes Christianity’s long and influential history in Europe as both a barrier and bridge. Much of Europe’s Christian heritage is misunderstood today, but we, as Christians, have the Bible to help unlock the meaning of this rich cultural heritage.

Likewise, postmodernism is both a barrier and bridge. Van de Poll posits that at its heart, European postmodernism is a reaction to the totalitarian regimes and absolutist claims of 20th century Europe. The questions associated with a postmodern worldview provide openings for Christians to engage and bring to light the pretensions of secular scientific rationalism.

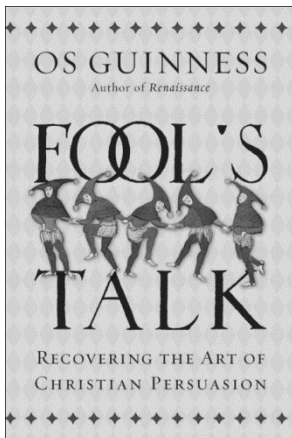
While the focus of the volume is on European missions, there are cross-over points for those involved in church planting in other geographies. Andrew Pownal's chapter, "The Church in a Multicultural Society", is particularly relevant for those involved in city church plants. Also, Jim Memory's chapter, "How Can We Measure the Effectiveness of Church Planting?", is based on research conducted on European church plants, but the methodology presented is extremely valuable and one that could be replicated and adapted in other regions and locales.

In summary, this volume provides practical advice and guidance for how our Christian brothers are approaching the gospel call in Europe with relevant lessons and practices for other church planters as well.

Reviewed by Ian A. Whytock who lives in Halifax, Nova Scotia and attends Bedford Presbyterian Church. Ian works with a public policy consulting group and Asoko Insight.



***Fools Talk: Recovering the Art of Christian Persuasion.* Os Guinness. Downers Grove, IL: Inter Varsity Press, 2015, 270 pp., paper. ISBN 978-0-8308-3699-4**



"We are all apologists now" – this is the opening line of Os Guinness' 2015 book, *Fools Talk: Recovering the Art of Christian Persuasion*. Guinness turns his attention in this book to a sweeping tour of Christian apologetics and cultural analysis of the globalized world in which Christians now live. Guinness points out that we are living in a grand age of secular apologetics brought about by globalizing forces such as social media and Internet sharing and communication. These disruptive forces have been most influential in the way that we communicate, and as such, Christians must critically examine the methods

and strategies we are using to communicate the gospel message.

Guinness' book is squarely in the Christian apologetic tradition but with a focus on the communication or persuasion aspect of apologetics, a component which Guinness believes is sorely lacking in modern Christian apologetics. Guinness does not divorce the message from the medium but merely makes the point that such a powerful message demands powerful persuasion

techniques and these techniques must be adapted to each historical age. In Guinness' own words, "Proclamation and persuasion must never be separated" (pg. 27). To make his point, Guinness provides ample biblical evidence and points to Jesus as the exemplar communicator.

Readers looking for an absolute how-to guide on presenting the gospel will be sorely disappointed. Guinness notes that there is no one way to persuade and that Christian persuasion is more art than science; "It has more to do with theology than technology" (pg. 33). At first glance, the statement may appear contradictory given his focus on persuasive method, but Guinness goes on to explain that while there is a methodology to persuasion, done properly, this will be lost in the message it conveys and the Master it serves.

Guinness succinctly summarizes this key point: "Whatever little of apologetics is method must come from our experience of God and his love, his truth and his beauty, which are the heart of faith" (pg. 45). This distinction is a healthy antidote to many who have fallen into the trap of focusing solely on the methods and technical aspects of persuasion and less on the message being defended and presented. Put another way, apologetics and evangelism cannot be in isolation from one another. In Guinness' own words, "The work of apologetics is only finished when the door to the gospel has been opened and the good news of the gospel can be proclaimed" (pg. 111).

Guinness, in his typical fashion¹, presents a challenging argument for our Christian call to evangelize and persuade people of the power of the gospel, while providing much needed critical commentary on the social and cultural contexts that the gospel is being presented within.

Reviewed by Ian A. Whytock.

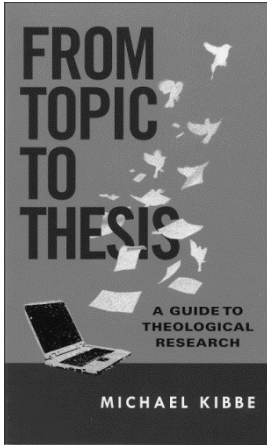
***From Topic to Thesis: A Guide to Theological Research.* Michael Kibbe. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2016, 152 pp., paper. ISBN 978-0-8308-5131-7**

Librarians and professors alike owe a debt of gratitude to Michael Kibbe for his latest book. *From Topic to Thesis* is, according to the subtitle, a guide to theological research. Kibbe, assistant professor of Bible at Moody Bible Institute Spokane in Spokane, Washington has taken the time to summarise the research and writing process for students in a very practical and detailed fashion.

The author's introductory chapter explains to the reader the concept of "topic to the thesis", the student's place in the ongoing dialogue of theologi-

¹ See also my review of Guinness' book, *Renaissance: The Power of the Gospel However Dark the Times*, in *Haddington House Journal* 17 (2015): 95-96.

cal research, the similarities and differences between theological research and research in other disciplines, and the key terms that will be used throughout the book to lay out the best method for conducting such research. Kibbe explains as he concludes his introduction, “You will get the most out of this book if you work your way through it as you are doing your project. Read a step then do it” (p. 44).



What steps does the author propose? He divides these into five broad categories and each receives one chapter in the book. Chapter one deals with finding direction. Here he offers four main points for the student to consider, and he teaches students how to approach primary and tertiary sources as they work toward narrowing down their topic.

The second chapter deals with gathering sources. For those who have read and used the classic work *How to Read a Book* by Mortimer Adler and Charles Van Doren, this chapter reads very much like their discussion on inspectional reading. In my experience as a librarian, this stage of research is often very challenging, as students find it hard to “sift through”

sources and can be overwhelmed by the options. Kibbe offers some very helpful guidelines in the form of four keys to gathering sources. He further makes his point through an excursus on common mistakes when gathering sources. No doubt those of us who have spent time in research will identify mistakes we have made in the past that have been costly in terms of both time and outcomes.

Chapter three outlines five keys to understanding issues. Throughout the book, Kibbe emphasises that the student must be seeking to dialogue on a subject and that entering dialogue means first understanding what has and is being discussed on the topic at hand. As with chapter two, the author not only offers the positive keys but then provides a second excursus on the common mistakes in the research process at this point. For example, he is blunt, almost to the point of humorous, when he says one of the mistakes is too much quoting, “If you can’t say it in your own words, study it until you can” (p. 74).

Chapter four logically follows on with the theme of dialogue by outlining how students can now enter into the dialogue they should have uncovered by following the steps outlined in the previous chapter. The three keys to entering discussion are useful, but even more useful are the questions to ask of both secondary and primary sources. Kibbe’s parting comments to this chapter demonstrate his understanding of the student experience, “When the paper is specifically required to correspond to the course objectives... it never hurts to make clear to your professor that your paper does this!” (p. 85).

The final chapter, in keeping with the title of the book, deals with establishing a position, a thesis. Kibbe notes that this is critical to presenting your

research, “Your thesis is the heart and soul of your paper” (p. 87). His three keys to establishing position warn the student against writing without taking a position, writing too soon, and forgetting that you are entering an existing conversation – humility in writing is essential.

Each chapter includes actual examples that will be helpful to those who have never approached theological research before. At the back of the book there are six appendices: “Ten things you should never do in a Theological Research paper”; “Theological research and writing tools”; “Scholarly resources for Theological Research”; “Navigating the ATLA Religion Database”; “Zotero Bibliography Software”; and “A suggested Timeline for Theological Research papers”. A brief subject index at the back of the book is very useful for quickly honing in on a specific aspect of the research process.

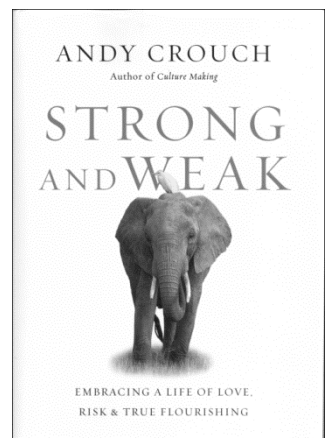
At 152 pages, this small book is packed full of practical help for those involved in theological research. Whether used by individuals or as the primary text for a theological research course, it will be a valuable resource to many and is written in a manner that makes it accessible within any cultural context.

Reviewed by Nancy Whytock

***Strong and Weak: Embracing a Life of Love, Risk & True Flourishing.* Andy Crouch. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2016, 192 pp., paper. ISBN 978-0-8308-4443-2**

On the heels of Crouch’s recent publication, *Playing God*¹, comes another title in the same vein, *Strong and Weak*. As we have seen with Andy Crouch’s insightful work ever since his influential book *Culture Making*², the author makes it his purpose to explore what human flourishing looks like for individuals and communities who call upon the name of Christ.

In *Strong and Weak*, Crouch turns his attention to the delicate balance that a Christian must strike between an exercise of authority and an authentic display of vulnerability. He comes to refer to this balance as “up and to the right” (p. 8), a reference to the diagram that he presents at



¹ Reviewed by Andrew Whytock, in the *Haddington House Journal* 17 (2015): 120-122.

² Reviewed by Christina Lehmann, in the *Haddington House Journal* 12 (2010): 82-84.

the start of the book. The first half of the book examines what flourishing does not look like by showing how abuses of authority or vulnerability can lead to suffering, withdrawing, and exploitation. In the second half of the book, the author turns directly towards his subject and demonstrates through personal stories, biblical references, and historic examples what it truly means to be both strong and weak.

Crouch argues that every one of us has been given authority from God. While some Christians struggle with the call to humility when using their authority, we all have a responsibility to serve with the gifts that we have been given. On the other hand, it is entirely possible for individuals, organizations, and communities to abuse their authority by refusing to pair it with the kind of vulnerability that invites others in and remains open to the necessity of help from others. In the Gospels we see that Christ Himself presented us with a picture of someone who was perfect in authority and vulnerability. He commanded the waves and made the blind see, but He also fell to His knees in prayer and submission to His Heavenly Father.

Strong and Weak is an excellent companion to *Playing God* because it continues the discussion of power as a means to glorify God. While this book may be more accessible to the average reader than *Playing God*, it is no less important to Christians who feel that God is indeed calling them to use their authority to bless others. Crouch sums the issue up himself in the opening chapter of the book, “There really is no other goal higher for us than to become people who are so full of authority and vulnerability that we perfectly reflect what human beings were meant to be and disclose the reality of the Creator in the midst of creation.” (p. 25-26).

Reviewed by Andrew M. Whytock. Andrew lives in Charlottetown, PE and runs his own professional writing services company. He studied creative writing at Cornerstone University, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

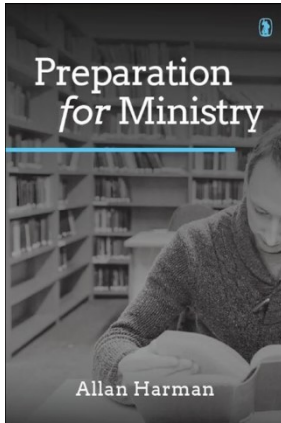


***Preparation for Ministry.* Allan Harman. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 2015, 117 pp., paper. ISBN 978-1-84871-623-0**

Many of us may well recall being given Edmund Clowney’s book *Called to the Ministry* (originally published in 1964) when we were wrestling with that very subject. It has served a couple of generations now and will remain helpful. Now here is a new work written by a committed churchman, pastor, and professor involved in training pastors for the ministry, Allan Harman of Melbourne, Australia, which will be useful for many today. *Preparation for Ministry* covers more topics than Clowney’s work and also adds some classic materials to round out the volume. This is a small book – Harman’s actual written material constitutes about half the book (fifty-seven pages) and to-

gether with the reprint appendices (about fifty pages) the work is less than 120 pages.

Harman addresses the issue first of coming to faith. He then proceeds to a discussion of “the call”. Not that long ago I had a conversation with some ministers who stated that there was no such thing as a call today. I am afraid I strongly disagreed with them and am glad to see that Harman affirms the call.



Next he addresses the matter of what is best for pre-theological studies and concentrates here more on personal development and not advice on educational studies. He has a short chapter on choosing a theological college or seminary and has produced here a very helpful chapter, one of the best sections in this little volume. This chapter concerning choosing where to study could be well used by pastors offering counsel to those in this thinking and investigative phase.

Harman then gives a chapter of advice on the actual “doing” of the theological studies. The book also includes chapters about the period after seminary training and offers advice on the early years in ministry and as well as on “staying fresh”. All of it appears to come from wisdom gleaned over a lifetime and is very sound and practical.

The appendices include a suggested preparatory reading list, a short guide to sermon preparation and two reprints, one from Spurgeon’s *Lectures to My Students* – the chapter on “The Minister’s Self-Watch” – and the other, Warfield’s “The Religious Life of Theological Students”. These are worthy additions and certainly enlarge this little volume into a good one-book resource. One comment here – the Spurgeon material would have benefited with some editorial updating. It may not be digested easily by readers who are not native English speakers – now a very large segment of those who read and study in English.

Preparation for Ministry is a great tool for pastors to use in ministry. Any pastor could find it helpful to have a few copies of this in his library to give away to those asking about a call into the ministry. It is inexpensive as a slim paperback and facilitates a whole range of discussions and conversations to provoke a deeper understanding of the calling to ministry, the preparation for the ministry, and the early years of the ministry. Warmly recommended.

Reviewed by Jack C. Whytock

***The Pietist Vision of Christian Higher Education: Forming Whole and Holy Persons.* Ed. Christopher Gehrz. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2015, 239 pp., paper. ISBN 978-0-8308-4071-7**

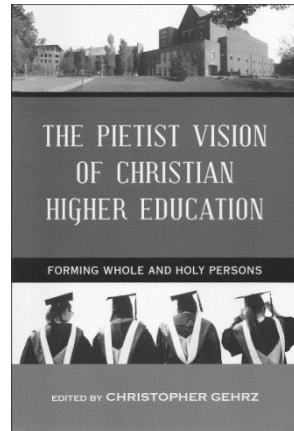
Perhaps it is small, but there does seem to be somewhat of a trend in recent years to go back and take another look at the Pietist movement both historically and in terms of continuing ethos. Modest, yet it does appear to be there. I think of recent reviews which have been published in the *Haddington House Journal* related to aspects of the Pietist tradition and this alone starts to alert one that this tradition is being given another look.¹

I first came across the editor of this volume some time back when researching about theological education and pedagogical methods. He has a fascinating blog, *The Pietist Schoolman* (pietistschoolman.com), hence my interest was awakened even more when I saw this book edited by him.

Obviously, the title of the book indicates that this work is going to explore Pietist thought as it applies to Christian higher education. But what is not quite so obvious is that the book is really a case study chiefly of this vision through the portal of Bethel University in St. Paul, Minnesota, an institution with roots in Swedish Pietist Baptist history (maybe the publisher could have made this more explicit). I found it was actually only once I got into the book that I discovered this. The book comes out of papers developed in part from a June, 2013 workshop facilitated by Christopher Gehrz, “The Pietist Idea of the Christian College” where fourteen current and former Bethel faculty and staff participated. *The Pietist Vision of Christian Higher Education* then grew to seventeen contributors.

The introductory essay by the editor asks a worthy question: “Does Pietism Provide a ‘Usable Past’ for Christian Colleges and Universities?” As would be expected in such a collection, the answer is “yes”. Gehrz sets forth his working definition of a Pietist as both movement and ethos at the outset:

Pietists at all times and in all places seek a more authentic Christianity: not inherited or assumed, coerced or affected, but lived out through transformative experiences of conversion and regeneration. Suspicious of ‘dead orthodoxy,’ Pietists subordinate doctrine to



¹ See the reviews by Ken Stewart of *An Introduction to German Pietism* by Douglas Shantz, in *Haddington House Journal*, 18 (2016), 39-41 and also *The Pietist Impulse in Christianity*, eds. Christian T. Collins Winn, Christopher Gehrz, G. William Carlson, and Eric Holst, in *Haddington House Journal*, 15 (2013), 94-96.

Scripture – with an irenic, or peaceable, spirit prevailing in matters where the Bible leaves open a range of interpretations... Clergy and laity alike form a common priesthood actively engaged in worship, education, evangelism and social action, in the firm hope that God intends ‘better times’ for the church and the world. (p. 20-21)

With basically only a passing comment towards other Pietist strains such as some within the Reformed, the chapter, as so with the whole book, focuses chiefly upon Pietism in the Scandinavian ethnic grouping. Spener and Francke surface many times in the book but as interpreted through Swedish leaders to America and their offspring. Unfortunately often this is a neglected area when American church history is taught, so in that sense alone the book is educational and informative.

Following Gehrz’s opening essay are five essays forming part one, whereby the Pietist historical distinctives are revealed as the backdrop that helped to shape Christian higher education today. Pedagogically there is material here for those not acquainted or consciously Pietists, but perhaps seeing themselves as “evangelicals” only. Reading these chapters as any Christian higher educationalist should be helpful. Be prepared for some controversial opinions as Roger Olson is a wonderful writer but he can generate controversy.

Part two has three chapters dealing with a stereotype of Pietism as “world-denying”. The chapters debunk this as much as any stereotype can be, as there are always plenty of exceptions which have formed the backdrop for such popular stereotypes.

Part three only has two chapters. These chapters focus on the natural and health sciences as related to Pietist values and approaches.

The theme of part four is how to attempt to put such a Pietist vision for higher education into practice, hence the title here, “Problems and Proposals”. Here there is an excellent chapter by Kent Gerber offering many valuable historical lessons and contemporary applications on curating, yes, curating – very well done. But the chapter by Samuel Zalanga, “Neoliberal Challenges to the Pietist Vision of Christian Higher Education” was too broad-stroke. There are many more complexities which needed to be considered, and the problems needed to be more carefully nuanced. There is very little in the way of proposal in that chapter.

As Gehrz introduced the volume, so he also writes the conclusion. He takes us back to his opening theme, “the usable past”. He has an interesting discussion on innovation challenges in higher education such as technology and distance education and the usable past both positively and negatively. There are some excellent pedagogical quotations that an educator will want to keep at hand to use in training events from Gehrz’s conclusion.

I must confess that I was drawn to some of the authors more than others. This is unavoidable in such a collection. Overall I was stimulated to think

about the educational institution where I am also involved; so in this way, even though very much a case-study, this book can force any Christian educationalist (even if one is not in a liberal arts college) to be challenged as leaders. Also the book is certainly making a contribution to the renewal of interest in Pietism. Although this work is limited in many regards to one particular strain within that movement, it is worthy for all to consider.

There are some notes of criticism. First, unfortunately, the preface appears to stereotype all in the Reformed community, just as perhaps the book also tries to dispel certain stereotypes of Pietism. There was some irony in that. Second, I found a couple of chapters were too overloaded. Third, an interesting comment about the weakness of worldview studies also in light of Pietism was made. That comment needed more unpacking.

The discussion is not over on the Pietist viewpoint and higher education – it needs to continue. Overall, this work is a helpful contribution in keeping the discussion going, or should I say, for starting the discussion. Next please.

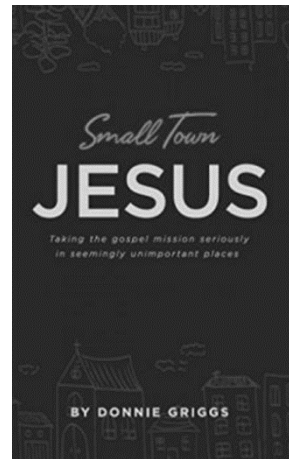
Reviewed by Jack C. Whytock

Small Town Jesus: Taking the Gospel Mission Seriously in Seemingly Unimportant Places. Donnie Griggs. No place: EverTruth Publishing, 2016, 168 pp., paper. ISBN 978-0-9914030-5-9

I looked forward to reading this book since I also live and serve in a small town (2800 people) where we are trying with God's help to bring the good news of Jesus to the people of our small town community.

Griggs devotes the first half of the book to showing how small towns still matter and still present a major mission field for bringing the gospel to broken and hurting people. He laments how small towns are too often forgotten in today's missional church landscape where cities seem to be where the action is in terms of planting and building churches. He makes the case that people in small towns need Jesus as much as those living in larger centres and that the church can make just as much of an impact for the gospel in small towns as in urban areas.

As Griggs rightly suggests, small towns are not immune from the brokenness and social issues that are found in larger centres today. People assume that small towns are more church-ed today than cities, but less and less of the younger generation are found in small town churches today also. Small towns need strong churches and effective leaders just as much as the city.



Griggs builds his case for the importance of small town ministry by pointing to the ministry of Jesus and how Jesus was not only born and raised within a small town but how Jesus did much of his ministry in the villages of Israel along with what He did in the city. While Griggs makes some good points about that, he does get somewhat redundant in this section and sometimes tries too hard to make the point about Jesus doing small town ministry.

In the second half of the book, the author offers some helpful tips on how to do effective ministry in a small town setting. He stresses the importance of getting to know how your small town ticks and how you can only do that by listening and watching how people live their lives. He suggests that understanding the ways that small town people think is crucial in knowing how to point them to Jesus.

In that regard, Griggs stresses that small town pastors shouldn't try to merely copy the methodology of big city pastors and/or churches. The challenge is to understand the needs of your unique community and to address those needs accordingly.

Griggs' use of a "Chapter Pop Quiz" at the end of each chapter in the second half of the book is helpful in raising some good questions about how to evaluate the effectiveness of one's ministry within a small town setting. He does a good job of fleshing out some of the mindsets a pastor will encounter within a small town setting and how a pastor's reputation really matters in a small town. People will soon sense whether a pastor cares enough to "do life with them" in their town. The biggest challenge, says Griggs, is getting people to see that God is big enough to do great things even in a small rural setting.

I did wonder somewhat whether Griggs' town of 9200 is really a small town or not, but the points he makes about small town ministry definitely show that he does understand the intricacies and challenges of serving in a small town setting. The book is very accessible and its shortness and clarity makes it a good read for anyone who is involved in small town ministry in some way.

Reviewed by Henry Steenbergen. Henry is senior pastor of Maitland River Community Church in Wingham, Ontario, has served as an ordained pastor in the Christian Reformed Church for 27 years, is married to Helga, and is a father and grandfather.

Book Briefs

In this section we acknowledge new books we have received over the last year for which we have not provided full book reviews. We have organized these into topical categories to help readers become aware of new books in specific areas. Unsigned book briefs in the first section *Christianity in Africa* are by the editor.

Christianity in Africa

***Pentecostal Theology in Africa*. Ed. Clifton R. Clarke. African Christian Studies Series 6. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2014, 226 pp., paper. ISBN 978-1-62032-490-5**

One cannot understand 20th and 21st century Christianity in Africa without attempting to understand “Pentecostalism” on that continent, theologically, historically, and culturally. This collection of essays will help us in this regard in many ways. It is not definitive, due to the incredible complexity of the subject, yet it does offer many penetrating descriptors and analyses. The work very much takes into account the influence of the late African scholar, Ogbu Kalu. Clarke helps us to understand very well Kalu’s approach to Pentecostalism in Africa and Kalu’s guiding theses, but Clarke is also not afraid to critique Kalu, which I would agree with. There are thirteen essays and eleven different contributors. The editor has contributed four of these chapters. The influence of Regent University School of Divinity, Virginia Beach is clearly there as four of the writers are associated with that institution. In terms of theology, the heart of the book is really found in two essays: the one on Jesus and African Pentecostalism and the one on African pneumatology. They are not exactly “neat” as the movement is not a nice and neatly unified grouping. This is a helpful book written at an advanced level. A very large bibliography has been included.

***Zion Evangelical Ministries of Africa (ZEMA): A Ministry among the Zionists of Southern Africa.* Andy Sullivan. No place: Viking, no year, 98 pp., paper. ISBN 978-0-620-68840-6**

Since there is so little available to gain a better understanding of Zionism in Southern Africa, this will be a welcome addition. The book, originally a SATS thesis written by a missionary of ZEMA, begins by developing the context of John Alexander Dowie and Zion, Illinois before proceeding to the emergence of Zionism in Southern Africa. This is then followed by the central history/story of the book, the Mahon Mission and ZEMA and the emergence of Bible schools, chiefly amongst the amaZioni through to today. The book is short and easy to read. It is very much an introduction to the subject and will provide some of the context and the concept of Bible schools for the amaZioni. The more critical issues raised by church historians and theologians, such as in the above mentioned book brief, are really not raised in this book. For posterity, books should include a year of publication or printing when an ISBN is included.

***Before the Scramble: A Scottish Missionary's Story – The Journal of James Sutherland, Agriculturalist, Livingstonia Mission Central Africa 1880-1885.* Roderick Sutherland Haynes. Renton, WA: Highlander Press, 2015, 179 pp.+ , paper. ISBN 978-1-5153-8079-5**

Artisan missionaries are usually neglected when mission history is being told or written. Yet in Protestant missions history they are an integral part, as one can see when one traces this grouping from the Moravians onwards. This book contains a primary source document, namely, a seven-month long journal (late 1880-May, 1881) of a Free Church of Scotland artisan missionary to the Lake Nyasa region of modern-day Malawi and three primary source letters by the missionary. In total, Sutherland (born in Wick, Scotland) served about five years in Africa and died there. He served at both Livingstonia at Cape Maclear and at Livingstonia at Bandawe as well as Njuju with William Koyi, the Xhosa evangelist to the Ngoni. References can be found to Drs. Laws and Waterson. The book has an attractive cover and contains many illustrations. The author personally transcribed the handwritten journal and letters. The whole text needs closer editing and also has some curious features such as an unusual pagination system following the journal portion. The work is helpful in making primary source materials on missions work in Malawi more available. However, I would have preferred the secondary comment not to have been included but only a brief biographical sketch by way of introduction.

Cruciform Press Series

The following Cruciform Press books are reviewed by Steve Mollins

***A World Upside Down: Four Essays on the Life and Theology of Martin Luther.* Charles E. Fry. Minneapolis, MN: Cruciform Press, 2015, 87 pp., pdf. ISBN 978-1-941114-08-7**

Reformation history often presents a daunting task – particularly as it pertains to understanding the reformers. The complexity of these characters makes their lives and theology difficult to synthesize. Charles E. Fry has masterfully handled just this task as he offers this overview of the life and theology of Martin Luther. The book is divided into four parts that commences with Luther’s biographical highlights, proceeds into his theological emphasis on gospel truths, continues into how these truths exalted God and humbled man, and concludes with an application to the modern reader. This book does a litany of things beautifully. Not only does it provide the essential information about Luther’s life and theology, it continually strikes a devotional note that pulls the reader into the material. Consequently, Fry gives us an excellent introduction to Luther’s thought which is both a suitable introduction for the novice and a refreshing approach for the accomplished historian.

***Anchored in Grace: Fixed Points for Humble Faith.* Jeremy Walker. Minneapolis, MN: Cruciform Press, 2015, 86 pp., pdf. ISBN 978-1-941114-04-9**

Jeremy Walker has jam-packed this book with all of the nuanced essentials of the gospel message. In five chapters Walker gives us the fundamentals of reformed soteriology but has stripped it of the typical “TULIP” heading and replaced it with some colloquial terms. This sets the tone for the remainder of the book, where our author expounds in beautifully concise phrases that will be understandable to the neophyte and edifying to the seasoned preacher. But this is much more than a readable textbook. Each chapter concludes with how the reader should respond to the truths that have just been presented and thereby compliments orthodoxy with the necessity of orthopraxy. *Anchored in Grace* adopts the feel of a good sermon series or an expanded gospel tract. However you perceive it, stock up on a few copies because you will find abundant use for this well-written gem.

***Do Ask, Do Tell, Let's Talk: Why and How Christians Should Have Gay Friends.* Brad Hambrick. Minneapolis, MN: Cruciform Press, 2016, 118 pp., pdf. ISBN 978-1-941114-11-7**

In the last few decades the church has been scrambling to formulate the appropriate strategy to interface with those who experience same-sex attraction (SSA). Brad Hambrick's contribution is a welcome addition that treads wisely across this controversial ground. Hambrick argues for sustained, redeeming interaction with these individuals in the context of friendships. Our author seeks first to establish the basis for such a relationship and then proceeds to explore the dynamics of faithful and loving conversation. Hambrick offers many practical techniques and even loose templates for how the Christian can lovingly engage someone who experiences SSA and not compromise the teaching of Scripture. Yet, at times, we believed the author to communicate an inappropriate passivity toward the sin of homosexuality. Many of the tactics suggested were aimed at saving the relationship while not offending the individual, giving the impression that friendship is as important as holiness. We are certain that this is not what the author intended but think that it could have been balanced with more ways to communicate truth rather than sympathize with the sinner. For that reason, our recommendation is qualified. However, Brad Hambrick's goal was to get the reader thinking more intentionally about relationships in this tense atmosphere; in that, he succeeded greatly.

***Good News About Satan: A Gospel Look at Spiritual Warfare.* Bob Bevington. Minneapolis, MN: Cruciform Press, 2015, 106 pp., pdf. ISBN 978-1-936760-67-1**

This contribution to the Cruciform Press repertoire wades through the often misunderstood territory of spiritual warfare. Bob Bevington presents a biblical theology of Satan and demons through nine chapters that briefly, yet systematically, expound upon the nature and reality of the unseen realm of fallen angels. Books dealing with this topic are often composed from the charismatic/mystical perspective that offers extra-biblical advice and experiential theology; *Good News About Satan* does not belong in that genre. Our author is balanced and biblical, rarely speculating on areas where God is silent. Bevington does not give firm answers to all of the questions raised in demonology, but he does bring Scripture to bear upon them and encourages the reader to incorporate those principles into their life. This is not a book just for those who "feel" that they are being oppressed by the demonic – it is for every Christian who desires to walk in holiness before God and resist the wiles of the world, the flesh, and Satan. The author's gospel emphasis will be an encouragement to the casual reader and a lifeline for the lost.

***Grace: A Bible Study on Ephesians for Women.* Keri Folmar. Minneapolis, MN: Cruciform Press, 2015, 151 pp., pdf. ISBN 978-1-941114-07-0**

Finding a catalyst for good Bible study can be a challenging task. Many study aides end up pulling the reader away from the text rather than into it. Keri Folmar seeks to avoid this error in her inductive consideration of Ephesians. Keri presents a five-step study that has the participant work through aspects of prayer, reading, observation, interpretation and application. The book is laid out on a ten-week schedule that proceeds through the entire book of Ephesians, each week containing five days of questions and exercises for the student. The title informs us that what follows is directed toward women, but there is very little content that is gender specific. In fact, Folmar is about as gender specific as the book of Ephesians. Thankfully, the study contains no cute anecdotes or emotional manipulation. Every word is written with the intention of getting the reader to go deeper in their study of Scripture and keeps with the main point of the text without deviating into peripheral topics. The book can be completed individually or in a group setting – either way, the women in your church will greatly benefit from this study as it pulls them into the Word of God.

***Inheritance of Tears: Trusting the Lord of Life When Death Visits the Womb.* Jessalyn Hutto. Minneapolis, MN: Cruciform Press, 2015, 95 pp., pdf. ISBN 978-1-941114-01-8**

It is difficult to imagine the pain that an expectant mother experiences when death steals her unborn child. The *Inheritance of Tears* is composed of five chapters wherein Jessalyn Hutto expounds upon a theology of suffering and applies those truths to the specific trial of miscarriage. Hutto, herself having gone through two miscarriages, brings an empathetic voice to this oft neglected conversation. She gives a candid perspective that simultaneously offers comfort to the sufferer and wisdom to the counselor. This comfort is provided by presenting miscarriage in the broader context of eternity and within the sovereign plan of our loving God. Consequently, the book leans heavily into the theological aspect of these trials and contains material relevant beyond the specifics of any difficulty. From any other perspective a book on miscarriage would be dismal and depressing. But here you will find the glory of our God and be filled with more reason to worship Him through life's tempestuous storms. We would highly recommend – at the least – having this book on hand to share with the women in your church.

***The Secret of Spiritual Joy*. William P. Farley. Minneapolis, MN: Cruciform Press, 2015, 93 pp., pdf. ISBN 978-1-941114-14-8**

One should be wary of a book that claims to have the secret to anything; especially a biblical truth. But *The Secret of Spiritual Joy* will strike a chord that most Christians neglect. William P. Farley has composed this work with the intent of getting behind the issues that prevent believers from living the life of joy that they have been commanded to. Through the introduction and five chapters Farley, like a wise counselor, identifies the common areas of difficulty for the believer and firmly promotes a biblical perspective toward life and our Lord. The reader is propelled through discussions of humility, gratitude, grumbling and self-pity to arrive at the last chapter where our author advocates the secret of spiritual joy in the amalgamation of these qualities. These components are not the perfect recipe for joy but they are the prerequisites for living a life of joy in the hope of Christ – a disposition that is anchored to our immovable Savior. Farley concludes the book by demonstrating how joy in Christ transcends the common challenges of daily life. Though spiritual joy is not a secret, this book comes as a fresh reminder to set aside our pride, live in gratitude, and rest in Christ.

Academic Articles

Reformed Developments in Two Kingdoms Doctrine or Two Kingdoms Doctrine in the Reformed Tradition

J. Cameron Fraser*

* J. Cameron Fraser currently serves as stated clerk of Classis Alberta South and Saskatchewan of the Christian Reformed Church, while engaging in various other ministries that include preaching, teaching, mentoring, writing and editing. His most recent book is *Developments in Biblical Counseling*.



This article will first explore the Reformation and post-Reformation roots of “two kingdoms doctrine”, specifically in the Reformed or Calvinistic tradition. Then it will move on to consider and compare contemporary Reformed expressions of the doctrine.

Historical Background

Sir, as divers times before, so now again, I must tell you, there are two Kings and two Kingdoms in Scotland: there is Christ Jesus the King, and his Kingdom the Kirk, whose subject King James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member!¹

So spoke Andrew Melville (1545-1622) to King James VI of Scotland, soon to become James I of England and Ireland following the union of the Scottish and English crowns in 1603. Melville’s point was to affirm the independence of the Church of Scotland from state control, a principle for which the Scottish Covenanters would later give their lives.² As the late G. N. M.

¹ Translated into modern English in Elizabeth Whitley, *The Two Kingdoms* (Edinburgh: The Scottish Reformation Society, 1977), 26.

² For a popular history of the Covenanters, see the above reference. A more extensive treatment can be found in Alexander Smellie, *Men of the Covenant: The Story of the Scottish Church in the Years of the Persecution* (London: Andrew Melrose,

Collins (1901-89) wrote in the Foreword to Elizabeth Whitley's *The Two Kingdoms*, Melville "was enunciating no new principle of Church and State relations, but merely reasserting one which had been basic to the Scottish Reformation, and which inhered in the concordat between Church and State relating to the establishment of the Reformed Church in Scotland."³

The language of two kings and two kingdoms suggests the influence of Martin Luther and Lutheranism, with whom the doctrine is most commonly associated. Back of this is Augustine's massive work, *City of God*, with its distinction between the City of God (or Heavenly City) and the Earthly City. However, while there was early Lutheran influence in the Scottish Reformation, the predominant influence on its leading reformer John Knox (1514-72) and his successor Andrew Melville came from John Calvin, who wrote of a distinction between the "spiritual" and "civil" kingdom.⁴

Matthew Tuininga, Assistant Professor of Moral Theology at Calvin Theological Seminary, wrote his doctoral dissertation on Calvin's two kingdoms doctrine and has summarized his findings in Part Two of a three-part article in *Reformation 21*. He stresses that:

Calvin's two kingdoms doctrine has to be understood in the context of the reformer's eschatology because most of the terms he used to describe the doctrine – spiritual/temporal, heavenly/earthly, soul/body, inward/outward, ecclesiastical/political – are eschatological in Calvin's thought.⁵

Quoting Calvin's *Institutes* 2.2.13, Tuininga notes,

For Calvin, things that are political or earthly are things that are temporal, secular, or passing away. [However,] while Calvin constantly referred to this world or the body as things that are passing away, he qualified such comments by his clear teaching that the work of Jesus is to redeem the entire cosmos. Calvin repeatedly

1908). See also James Barr, *The Scottish Covenanters* (Glasgow: James Smith & Son, 1946).

³ G. N. M. Collins, Foreword to *Elizabeth Whitley*, op. cit., v. The two kingdoms doctrine embraces more than church-state relations, but this will be our focus in this article.

⁴ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 3 vols., trans. Henry Beveridge (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1845), 3.19.15.

⁵ Matthew Tuininga, "The Two Kingdoms Doctrine, Part Two: John Calvin" in *Reformation 21* (<http://www.reformation21.org/articles/the-two-kingdoms-doctrine-part-two-john-calvin.php>), October 2012. See also, "It is this distinction between the two ages, and the institutions of one age and the kingdom of the age to come, that forms the foundation of the classic doctrine." (Tuininga, Part One, September 2012). The doctoral dissertation, scheduled for publication in late 2016 by Cambridge University Press as *Calvin's Political Theology and the Public Engagement of the Church: Christ's Two Kingdoms* was not available at the time of writing.

states that, when Jesus returns, he will bring all things back to the order that they lost by virtue of the Fall.... On the other hand, Calvin passionately and consistently argued that, short of Christ's return in glory, believers should expect nothing but life under the cross.⁶

Calvin "broke with the Zwinglian or Swiss Reformed by arguing that civil law was insufficient for the discipline of the church, and that the ecclesiastical process of discipline was integral to the church's exercise of the keys of the kingdom."⁷ Calvin went further than either Luther or Zwingli in developing what he understood to be a New Testament form of church government separate from civil government, governed by elders or presbyters.

At the same time, Calvin believed that "civil government is necessary to preserve outward order and piety in the age before Christ's return." He argued that civil government "is to enforce the first table of the law, as well as the second.... To be sure, Calvin did not believe civil government was obligated to conform slavishly to the civil laws and penalties in the Torah. But he did believe government was to be concerned with the preservation of outward piety, in addition to justice." He insisted that government "had the duty of 'rightly establishing religion' (4.20.3) in order that God might be honored, the public protected from scandal, and people who did not yet believe the gospel or accept the law might be exposed to its proclamation."⁸

His view found expression in various Reformed confessions, such as the *Belgic Confession* (1561) and the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (1647). The latter confession, in its original wording, strikes Calvin's balance between the roles of the two kingdoms. In Chapter XXIII, paragraph III, it reads:

The civil magistrate may not assume to himself the administration of the Word and sacraments, or the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven: yet he hath authority, and it is his duty, to take order, that unity and peace be preserved in the Church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire; that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed; all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed; and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed. For the better effecting whereof, he hath power to call synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatsoever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God.⁹

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ *The Westminster Confession of Faith and Larger and Shorter Catechism* (Glasgow: Free Presbyterian Publications, 1970), XXIII. III.

When the Presbyterian Church in the United States was formed in 1788, it revised this paragraph so that it now reads:

Civil magistrates may not assume to themselves the administration of the Word and sacraments; or the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven; or, in the least, interfere in matters of faith. Yet, as nursing fathers, it is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the church of our common Lord, without giving the preference to any denomination of Christians above the rest, in such a manner that all ecclesiastical persons whatever shall enjoy the full, free, and unquestioned liberty of discharging every part of their sacred functions, without violence or danger. And, as Jesus Christ hath appointed a regular government and discipline in his church, no law of any commonwealth should interfere with, let, or hinder, the due exercise thereof, among the voluntary members of any denomination of Christians, according to their own profession and belief. It is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the person and good name of all their people, in such an effectual manner as that no person be suffered, either upon pretense of religion or of infidelity, to offer any indignity, violence, abuse, or injury to any other person whatsoever: and to take order, that all religious and ecclesiastical assemblies be held without molestation or disturbance.¹⁰

This change predated and anticipated the First Amendment to the United States' Constitution (1791) which states in part, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof..." It has also been defended on historical and biblical grounds.¹¹

The well-known words of the United States' Declaration of Independence (1776) that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, including life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, are widely considered to be an adaptation of language used by the English philosopher John Locke (1632-1704). Francis Schaeffer (1912-84) in *A Christian Manifesto* asserts that Locke had secularized and drawn heavily from the Scottish divine Samuel Rutherford's (1600-61) classic work, *Lex Rex* (1644).¹² Written in defense of the Scottish Covenanters against the im-

¹⁰ *The Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms As Adopted by the Presbyterian Church in America* (copyright 2005, 2007 by the Orthodox Presbyterian Church) 23. 3.

¹¹ See, for instance, Charles Hodge's "The Relation of Church and State", first published in the *Princeton Review* (1863) and reprinted in Hodge's *The Church and Its Polity* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1879), 106-118.

¹² Francis A. Schaeffer, *A Christian Manifesto* (Westchester, Illinois: Crossway Books, 1981, revised 1982), 32.

position of the divine right of kings,¹³ *Lex Rex* argued that, rather than the king being above the law, he was subject to it. All civil power is derived from God. Power is a birthright of the people that the king borrows from them. If the king abuses that power by oppressing the people, they are entitled to recover it by means of armed revolution.¹⁴

There are certainly echoes of this in the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States. John Macleod in his 1938 lectures at Westminster Seminary, published as *Scottish Theology: In relation to Church History*, notes that Rutherford's influence, and that of others who followed him, "told directly through the teaching of John Witherspoon... and indirectly through the teaching of John Locke.... Jefferson was of this school."¹⁵ However, Rutherford also wrote in *Lex Rex* that "God is the author of civil laws and government, and his intention is therein the external peace, and quiet life, and godliness of his church and people, and that all judges, according to their places, be nurse-fathers to the church (Isa 49:23)"¹⁶ He was a commissioner to the Westminster Assembly and agreed with the teaching of its resulting *Confession of Faith* that the civil magistrate had the authority and duty to suppress "all blasphemies and heresies". He did not envision a situation where equal rights were granted to people of all faiths and none.

Thus, while Calvin's followers in Scotland and elsewhere held to a form of what came to be known as "two kingdoms doctrine" with separate and limited jurisdictions for church and state, they also believed that both institutions were mutually interdependent expressions of Christ's lordship. The establishment of national churches, opposed by the United States' Constitution and the American revisions to the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, was the norm.

Contemporary Developments

As stated previously, two kingdoms doctrine has typically been associated with Luther and Lutheranism. In recent years, however, there has been a revival of interest in Reformed circles more closely identified with the Calvinistic tradition. The principal locus of this has been the faculty of Westminster Seminary in California (as distinct from the original Westminster in Philadelphia). John Frame, a founding faculty member of what was then called

¹³ *Lex Rex* was written in response to a 1644 work by John Maxwell, onetime Bishop of Ross, *The Sacred and Royal Prerogative of Christian Kings*, defending absolute monarchy and the divine right of kings.

¹⁴ Samuel Rutherford, *Lex Rex, or the Law and the Prince: A Dispute for the Just Prerogative of King and People* (Harrisonburg, Virginia: Sprinkle Publications, 1980 reprint).

¹⁵ John Macleod, *Scottish Theology: In relation to Church History* (Edinburgh: The Knox Press and The Banner of Truth Trust, 1974 reprint), 72.

¹⁶ Rutherford, op cit., 105.

Westminster West (1980) who now teaches at Reformed Theological Seminary in Orlando, Florida, has become a trenchant critic of this development and has coined the term “The Escondido Theology”, based on the location of Westminster in California. His book of that name is subtitled *A Reformed Response to Two Kingdom Theology*. The implication of this is that two kingdoms doctrine is not properly Reformed. In one place, Frame concedes that, even though he disagrees with the ideas of the Escondido theologians, they are “within the bounds of Reformed orthodoxy”.¹⁷ Elsewhere, he states that these positions are “an idiosyncratic kind of teaching peculiar to the Escondido school. Those who teach them are a faction, even a ‘sect’.”¹⁸ Yet again, Frame describes them as a mixture of Lutheranism, Calvinism and Klineanism, meaning by the last designation the influence of the late Meredith Kline (1922-2007), who bookended his varied career by teaching Old Testament at both Westminster Seminaries; Philadelphia at the beginning, California at the end. Kline taught some original views of the biblical covenants, making a sharp distinction between grace and works, special revelation and natural law, special and common grace, holy and common, cult and culture, covenant and civil society, spiritual and temporal blessings, and this can be seen in the current formulation of two kingdoms theology.

The leading advocate of two kingdoms doctrine is David VanDrunen, the Robert B. Strimple Professor of Systematic Theology and Christian Ethics at Westminster in California. His views are developed in a number of books and articles, including his semi-popular *Living in God's Two Kingdoms: A Biblical Vision for Christianity and Culture* (2010). The influence of Kline seems evident here, but more directly in VanDrunen's most recent scholarly work, *Divine Covenants and Moral Order: A Biblical Theology of Natural Law* (2014), although he is also critical of Kline at points. For our present purposes, it may be sufficient to focus mainly on *Living in God's Two Kingdoms*.

VanDrunen believes that Scripture “requires a distinction between the holy things of Christ's heavenly kingdom and the common things of the present world.”¹⁹ He briefly outlines opposing views, especially that of neo-Calvinism which “traces back most immediately to the work of the Dutch philosopher and jurist Herman Dooyeweerd (1894-1977),” and “also claims

¹⁷ John Frame: *The Escondido Theology: A Reformed Response to Two Kingdom Theology* (Lakeland, FL: Whitefield Media Productions, 2011), 18.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, xxxix. “These positions” are a list of 32 views (not all of them directly related to two kingdoms doctrine) Frame attributes to the Escondido theologians, noting that “Not all of them make all of these assertions, but all of them regard them with some sympathy” (p. xxxvii). Recently retired Westminster in California President Robert Godfrey denies that these views are held there. See <http://wscal.edu/blog/westminster-seminary-california-faculty-response-to-john-frame>.

¹⁹ David VanDrunen, *Living in God's Two Kingdoms: A Biblical Vision for Christianity and Culture* (Wheaton, Illinois: Crossway Books, 2010), 26.

to be the heir of the Dutch theologian and statesman Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920) and of the Reformer John Calvin (1509-64).²⁰

Neo-Calvinism is associated with the idea of transforming or redeeming all of life, and so fulfilling the cultural mandate of Genesis 1: 26-28.²¹ Contrary to this, VanDrunen asserts that:

The kingdom of God proclaimed by the Lord Jesus Christ is not built through politics, commerce, music or sports. Redemption does not consist in restoring people to fulfill Adam's original task²² but consists in the Lord Jesus Christ himself fulfilling Adam's original task once for all, on our behalf. Thus redemption is not 'creation regained' but 're-creation gained.'²³

Central to VanDrunen's argument is the view that God's covenant with Noah in Genesis 8:20-9:17 established what he calls the "common kingdom", operated by the principle of natural law. This common kingdom "concerns ordinary cultural activities... it embraces the human race in common... it ensures the preservation of the natural and social order... and it is established temporarily."²⁴

By way of contrast, the Abrahamic covenant "concerns religious faith and worship... it embraces a holy people that is distinguished from the rest of the human race... it bestows the benefits of salvation upon this holy people... and it is established forever and ever."²⁵ At the same time,

Scripture portrays Abraham as living a two-kingdoms way of life... The stories about Abraham's life in Genesis 12-25 show that he managed to live as a citizen of two kingdoms by remaining radically separate from the world in his religious faith and worship but simultaneously engaging in a range of cultural activities in com-

²⁰ Ibid., 16.

²¹ In his classic work, *Christ and Culture*, (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1951). Richard H. Neibuhr classified Calvinism's relationship to culture as one of transformation. D.A. Carson argues that these typologies are too rigid. "Instead of imagining that Christ against culture and Christ transforming culture are two mutually exclusive stances, the rich complexity of biblical norms, worked out in the Bible's story line, tell us that these two often operate simultaneously." D.A. Carson, *Christ and Culture Revisited* (Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2008) 227. Frame notes that "'Transformationalism' may be too grandiose a term," – adding that "two kingdoms" is too pusillanimous (Frame, op.cit., 271).

²² That is, the cultural mandate.

²³ Ibid., 26. The phrase 'creation regained' is the title of a book by a leading neo-Calvinist, Albert M. Wolters, *Creation Regained: Biblical Basics for a Reformational Worldview* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001).

²⁴ Ibid., 79.

²⁵ Ibid., 82-83.

mon with his pagan neighbors.... Though God had promised that one day his descendants would possess the entire land, in the meantime Abraham and his household could not be identified with any particular geographical location, but lived as ‘sojourners’ and ‘strangers’ among pagans (Gen 12:10; 15:13; 20:21; 21:34; 23:4; Heb 11:13).²⁶

Next we come to the Mosaic covenant. “Old Testament Israel under the Mosaic covenant teaches us much about the redemptive kingdom. As a ‘kingdom of priests and a holy nation’ (Ex. 19:6; see vv 5-6) Israel was the manifestation of the redemptive kingdom during the time between Moses and Christ.”²⁷ “Israel’s experience under the law of Moses in the Promised Land of Canaan was not meant to exemplify life under the two kingdoms. The cultural commonality among believers and unbelievers ordained in the Noahic covenant was suspended for Israel within the borders of the Promised Land.”²⁸ Unlike Abraham, “the Israelites were not sojourners in the land.”²⁹ “Though Israel was to show kindness to foreigners residing temporarily in Canaan (Deut 10:18-19; 26:12-13), it was not to maintain a common cultural life with pagans in the Promised Land.... In fact, Israel was to destroy the pagan nations who had been living in Palestine.”³⁰

However, the provisions of the Noahic covenant were suspended only inside the borders of the Promised Land. “When Israelites stepped outside of their borders or dealt with nations who lived outside the land...they could once again make alliances and trade in common with the world.... Outside the boundaries of the Promised Land they were again to conduct themselves as citizens of two kingdoms.”³¹

Interestingly, VanDrunen does not deal with the Davidic covenant, which was specifically a covenant of the kingdom (2 Sam 7). He moves on to Israel’s exile in Babylon. Here the model is Daniel and his three friends who became important officials in the kingdom. As such, they never attempted “to impose the Mosaic law upon the Babylonian people”, but neither did they “compromise their higher allegiance to God or give up the hope that they possessed as citizens of the redemptive kingdom.”³²

The portrayal of life in exile in the book of Esther points in a similar direction. Scripture also says that “the godly Israelite Nehemiah, while still in exile, served the Persian king as cupbearer (Neh. 1:11, an important position in the royal court).”³³ These individuals were living out the instructions re-

²⁶ Ibid., 85-86.

²⁷ Ibid., 88.

²⁸ Ibid., 89.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., 95-96.

³³ Ibid., 96.

ceived by the exiles from Jeremiah urging them to buy houses, plant gardens, have children and “seek the welfare of the city where I have sent you into exile and pray to the Lord on its behalf, for in its welfare you will find your welfare” (Jer 29:7).³⁴

In an article in the Dordt College publication *Pro-Rege*, VanDrunen notes that:

Abraham and the Babylonian exiles remain important examples for us as New Testament Christians... The Noahic covenant is still in effect, and Christ providentially upholds and governs all the world (Col 1:17; Heb 1:3). Simultaneously, Christ is building his church and thereby bringing to fruition all the promises of the Abrahamic covenant (Matt 16:18-19; Gal 3:23-29). Because Christ has a twofold kingship, we Christians have a twofold citizenship. By his redeeming grace we are members of his church and citizens of heaven (Phil 3:20); our very lives are hidden in Christ in heaven, where he is seated at God’s right hand (Col 3:1-3). At the same time, by God’s common grace under the Noahic covenant, we are citizens of earthly societies, attached to particular communities, nations, businesses, families, and ethnic groups, all of which are significant for our present lives but none of which defines our identity as Christians.³⁵

Frame sharply criticizes the idea of the Noahic covenant as a covenant of common grace. He agrees that this was a covenant with “all human beings”. But at the time,

“all human beings” consisted of one family, a believing family, who had embraced God’s promise of deliverance through the ark. There is no specific reference to unbelievers, or to a secular state... Indeed... God’s covenant with Noah is an administration of God’s redemptive grace, religious through and through, just as those with Abraham, Moses, David and Christ.”³⁶

Frame also objects to VanDrunen’s use of natural law as the operating principle of the common kingdom. He agrees that “there is such a thing as natural law”. But, “natural law itself is profoundly religious. That is perfectly

³⁴ Ibid., 92.

³⁵ David VanDrunen, “The Two Kingdoms and Reformed Christianity: Why Recovering an Old Paradigm is Historically Sound, Biblically Grounded, and Practically Useful” in *Pro-Rege* – March 2012: 35-36. A much more detailed development of this argument is included in *Living in God’s Two Kingdoms*.

³⁶ Frame, op. cit., 137. This criticism is in a review of earlier book by VanDrunen, *Natural Law and the Two Kingdoms* (Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2009).

evident from Romans 1:18-32, arguably the fundamental text on natural law. There, natural law gives a clear knowledge of God – not just morality, certainly not some secular civil morality – but God himself.”³⁷ Even so, *The Escondido Theology* ends with thirteen reasons why natural revelation is not sufficient to govern culture.³⁸

Frame reserves some of his most severe criticisms for another author in the contemporary two kingdoms movement. Darryl Hart was Academic Dean at Westminster in California from 2000-2003, having previously served as librarian at Westminster in Philadelphia, where he also taught church history. He is now director of academic projects and faculty development at the Intercollegiate Studies Institute in Wilmington, Delaware. Hart is the author of several books, some of which explore the political implications of two kingdoms doctrine. One of these, *A Secular Faith: Why Christianity Favors the Separation of Church and State*, is reviewed in *The Escondido Theology*.

Noting that “secular” is a “scare word to most contemporary religious adherents in America,” Hart takes some time (albeit in the last chapter of his book) to explain the way in which he uses the term. It is derived from the Latin *seclorum* which “typically means an age or generation, similar to the English words ‘era’ or ‘period.’ As such the word accurately signifies a somewhat definite period of time and especially its provisional or temporal quality.” Thus, mainstream Western Christianity has historically “understood that the period of salvation history between the first and second advents of Christ was literally a provisional or in-between time.” In the new heavens and new earth that Christians await, human sinfulness will be “completely and forever gone, thus eliminating the need for government to perform its important earthly function of restraining evil and executing civil justice.”³⁹

The church’s relationship with the state is “deeply intertwined with the periodization or age-diverse character of salvation history.” Here the difference between Israel and the church is key. “While Israel fused the political and religious by making Judaism the law of the land...Christianity separated what the Old Testament bound together.... Consequently, even though religion and politics were one in the period of the Old Testament, in the new *seclorum* of the church these spheres were divided.”⁴⁰

A Secular Faith –

...starts from the premise that Christianity is an apolitical faith. Its message and means, though not indifferent to civil society, transcend all political rivalries, whether between Republicans and Democrats, big business and labor unions, the right and the left... Historically the Christian religion, with the major exception of its

³⁷ Ibid., 146-147.

³⁸ Ibid., 325-329.

³⁹ Darryl Hart, *A Secular Faith: Why Christianity Favors the Separation of Church and State* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2006), 240-243.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 243.

American expression has been concerned not with life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, but with salvation from sin and death.”

Hart’s book is dedicated to the memory and legacy of the original Westminster Seminary’s founder, J. Gresham Machen, who “opposed any church pronouncements on the social or political questions of the day because in so doing, he believed, churches were turning away from their proper mission: ‘to bring to bear upon human hearts the solemn and imperious, yet also sweet and gracious, appeal of the gospel of Christ.’”⁴¹

However, “even though Christianity will not yield social or political norms, it does produce individual Christians who are supposed to love their neighbors, obey laws, and submit to government, and who may be capable of holding political office responsibly.... A fundamental difference exists between the work the church is called to do in proclaiming the message of Christianity and the vocations to which church members are called as citizens.”⁴²

As with VanDrunen, the Old Testament Daniel is a model of public service in a pagan culture. Not only did he refuse to allow the king’s laws to interfere with his religious practices, Daniel also “learned the literature and wisdom of the Chaldeans and excelled to such a degree that he emerged as the wisest of the pagan king’s counselors.” It follows that if Daniel “retained his own forms of Jewish devotion and worship” while “he participated in Babylonian public life even when it explicitly rejected his God, American Protestants may be able to live contentedly with a political arrangement that claims to be religiously neutral and doesn’t require them to abandon their rites, ceremonies or religious practices.”⁴³

Frame offers several biblical and historical criticisms of Hart’s work, complaining that his “treatment of Scripture is very sketchy, though he does argue that his position, and only his position, is scriptural.”⁴⁴ What he finds particularly troubling is Hart’s objection to Abraham Kuyper’s appeal to “the Lordship of Christ over all temporal affairs” on the ground that such an appeal “fails to do justice to the reduced character of Christ’s sovereignty in the Christian era.”⁴⁵ Likewise, Matthew Tuininga, although much more favourable to Hart’s overall thesis, nevertheless finds that “at times Hart presses the distinction between the two kingdoms to the point of separation.” If the historic doctrine “denotes the difference between two ages and two governments,” Hart often writes as if the distinction were between “two airtight

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, x-ii.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 13-14.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 254,257.

⁴⁴ Frame, *op. cit.*, 262.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 258; cf. Hart, *op. cit.*, 228, 230.

spheres, one the sphere of faith and religion, and the other the sphere of everyday life.”⁴⁶

Frame is by no means the only critic of two kingdoms doctrine. Besides several articles and blogs, another book-length critique is *Kingdoms Apart: Engaging the Two Kingdoms Perspective*, edited by Ryan McIlhenny. It consists of several chapters by various critics of the movement with varying degrees of criticism, especially of VanDrunen, along with some strongly worded endorsements, one of which suggests that what is at stake is “a fundamental disagreement on the nature and scope of the gospel”⁴⁷

Another strongly worded criticism of two kingdoms doctrine in general and David VanDrunen in particular is in Nelson Kloosterman’s introduction to two articles he translated from the late Dutch pastor-theologian S.G. de Graaf on “Christ and the Magistrate” and “Church and State”. After sketching the historical background to de Graaf’s articles, originally given as lectures in 1939 on the eve of the German invasion of the Netherlands, Kloosterman states that he finds it “unspeakably difficult” to take seriously Van Drunen’s “timidly innocuous recommendations” that the church should teach “all that Scripture says” on topics such as war (as well as abortion and marriage) “as moral issues but should be silent about such topics as concrete political or public policy issues.”⁴⁸

Kloosterman acknowledges that “in today’s North American context”, de Graaf’s language sounds like that of theonomy/Christian Reconstruction (a competing contemporary vision of the lordship of Christ over all of life). However, the difference between theonomy/Christian Reconstruction and de Graaf and neo-Calvinism lies in the former’s –

...claim that today the state must use the whole Bible as the direct source of public moral standards. In contrast with using the Bible as the direct source, de Graaf shows how the Reformed confessional and theological tradition uses the whole Bible as an indirect source. The church must interpret the precepts of Scripture in terms of their place and function in covenant history, in order to distinguish a precept’s principle from its covenantal-historical application so that we may apply that principle in our living today.⁴⁹

Kingdoms Apart does contain some more irenic chapters, including an introduction by the editor “In Defense of Neo-Calvinism”,⁵⁰ as well as a concluding chapter which is a revision of an earlier article in which he had pro-

⁴⁶ Matthew Tuininga, op. cit., Part One.

⁴⁷ Michael W. Goheen in Ryan C. McIlhenny, ed., *Kingdoms Apart: Engaging the Two Kingdoms Perspective* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P & R Publishing, 2012).

⁴⁸ “‘Christ and Magistrate’ and ‘Church and State’: Two Addresses” by S.G. de Graaf, translated with Foreword by Nelson Kloosterman,” *Ibid.*, 85-94.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 90.

⁵⁰ Ryan C. McIlhenny, “Introduction: In Defence of Calvinism,” *ibid.*, xvii-xl.

posed “A Third-Way Reformed Approach to Christ and Culture.” MacIlhenny notes that he has now further entrenched himself in the neo-Calvinist position. Following a lengthy discussion of the definition of culture, taking as his starting point H. Richard Niebuhr’s classic work, McIlhenny then moves on to discuss what “redeemed culture” looks like, concluding that “Christians are redeemed culture”.⁵¹

Reflections and Conclusions

More could be said. For instance, VanDrunen is concerned to refute the common perception that two kingdoms doctrine is distinctly Lutheran. In addition to Calvin, he cites the seventeenth-century theologian Francis Turretin as stating, “Before all things we must distinguish the twofold kingdom, belonging to Christ: one natural or essential; the other mediatorial and economical.” Turretin later “explicitly uses this distinction to explain the difference between civil and ecclesiastical authority.”⁵²

We saw how VanDrunen opposes contemporary neo-Calvinism, which he says *claims* to be the heir of Abraham Kuyper. He in fact believes that Kuyper’s views were compatible with two kingdoms doctrine, most notably in his doctrine of common grace:

Kuyper’s theology of common grace raises many interesting issues, but I wish to highlight here simply one thing: he grounds common grace in the work of Christ as creator of all things, and special grace in the work of Christ as redeemer. Kuyper continues to use the old Reformed distinction, seen in Turretin, between the Son as mediator of creation and as mediator of redemption. As Kuyper’s colleague Herman Bavinck put it, in language echoing that of Turretin and other earlier Reformed theologians, “the kingship of Christ is twofold.”⁵³ Though Kuyper was not using the terminology of “two kingdoms,” his distinction between common grace and special grace, rooted in the twofold kingship and mediatorship of Christ, reflected the standard categories of his Reformed forbears. That a Two Kingdoms doctrine was part of the Reformed tradition for many centuries cannot be seriously doubted. Further, that the more recent emphasis upon the one kingdom of God and the redemptive transformation of all social spheres according to the terms of this kingdom is, at least to some degree, in tension with

⁵¹ McIlhenny, “Christian Witness *As Redeemed Culture*”, *ibid.*, 251-275.

⁵² VanDrunen, “The Two Kingdoms and Reformed Christianity,” 33. Cf. Francis Turretin, *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, 3 vols., trans. George Musgrave Giger, ed. James T. Dennison, Jr. (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R, 1992-97), 2.486.

⁵³ Herman Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics*, vol. 4, ed. John Bolt, trans. John Vriend (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2008), 371-72.

this earlier tradition also seems to me an inevitable conclusion (for which I have argued at length elsewhere).⁵⁴

The above is a quote from VanDrunen's *Pro-Rege* article previously cited, in which he seeks to defend two kingdoms doctrine from attacks arising from neo-Calvinist writers. The "elsewhere" he refers to is an article in the *Calvin Theological Journal*, "Abraham Kuyper and the Reformed Natural Law and Two Kingdoms Tradition." Frame dismisses this article as "very implausible" but John Bolt of Calvin Theological Seminary, perhaps the foremost contemporary Kuyper scholar in North America, finds it to be "exactly right" and identifies himself as also holding to the two kingdoms view. Bolt notes that:

Berkhof (and Bavinck) insist on a twofold kingly office for Christ: a *regnum potentiae* and a *regnum gratiae*. Christ indeed rules the world but he governs his church differently. Today, ...we are losing the limited task of the church (preach the gospel, make and nurture disciples) and turning the church into a world-changing institution. If we keep this up, we will lose the church's candlestick. The spiritual irony of this should not be lost on us: the gospel DOES change the world but it does so indirectly, over a long period of time, by changing persons, families, clans, tribes, nations who then end up creating new institutions that are compatible with a Christian (i.e. biblical) anthropology...⁵⁵

In addition to his doctrine of common grace, Kuyper distinguished between the church as institute and organism. This was in keeping with his doctrine of sphere sovereignty, whereby Christ is sovereign over all of life, which is divided into several spheres (including ecclesiology, politics, science, education, commerce, art and more). No sphere may usurp the authority of another sphere. Thus, for instance, the church as institute deals with strictly spiritual matters related to eternal salvation and should not involve itself in the politics of the state. The church as organism, on the other hand, consists of believers everywhere carrying out their various vocations, including politics, consistent with Kuyper's well-known assertion that "there is not a square inch in the whole domain of our human existence over which Christ, who is Sovereign over all, does not cry, Mine!"⁵⁶ Kuyper himself demitted his ministerial credentials to enter politics and ultimately become Prime Minister of the Netherlands (1901-1905).

⁵⁴ VanDrunen, "The Two Kingdoms and Reformed Christianity," 34.

⁵⁵ Personal email correspondence, June 8, 2016. See also John Bolt, *A Free Church, a Holy Nation: Abraham Kuyper's American Public Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 2001).

⁵⁶ James D. Bratt, ed., *Abraham Kuyper: A Centennial Reader* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 488.

Kuyper's sociological doctrine of sphere sovereignty is open to criticism. The only spheres clearly delineated in Scripture are the family, church and state. But it seems not unreasonable to find some common ground between the two kingdoms doctrine and the church as institute and organism.⁵⁷ Many critics of two kingdoms doctrine accuse it of being dualistic, even docetic, compromising Christ's lordship over all of life. In this connection, it is worth quoting VanDrunen again where he says, "Perhaps some versions of the two-kingdoms doctrine have fit such stereotypes. My task... is not to defend everything that has gone by the name 'two kingdoms,' but to expound a two-kingdoms approach that is thoroughly grounded in the story of Scripture and biblical doctrine."⁵⁸ Again, "Some people indeed fall into unwarranted 'dualisms,' but dualism-phobia must not override our ability to make clear and necessary distinctions."⁵⁹

Frame points out that the two kingdoms doctrine taught at Westminster in California is a novelty in that it builds on the distinctive views of Meredith Kline, and that it is distinctively American in its view of church-state separation.⁶⁰ In the first section of this article, we saw how the Reformation and post-Reformation advocates of the doctrine believed that the state had a right and duty to support the Christian church. This found expression in Reformed confessions of faith such as the Belgic and Westminster. For the most part, this belief was supported by references to the Old Testament theocracy. But did this do sufficient justice to the fact that under the new covenant, "the Israelite theocracy no longer exists, and there is no other nation that is covenanted with God as Israel was"?⁶¹

Frame, from whom the immediately preceding quotation is taken, goes on to say that "this does not take away from the fact that God continues to rule the nations."⁶² He is insistent that this means God has one kingdom, not two. On the face of it, this seems patently obvious. Scripture nowhere speaks of two kingdoms of God, but then neither does it use the language of common grace or cultural mandate (or Trinity) even if the concepts are there. It is al-

⁵⁷ Other writers have referred to the church as organization and organism. D.A. Carson wonders if too much emphasis on the church as organism does full justice to the biblical definition of *church*. He suggests that it may be more helpful to distinguish between the roles and duties of the *church* and those of *Christians*. D.A. Carson, *Christ and Culture Revisited* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 148-153.

⁵⁸ VanDrunen, *Living In God's Two Kingdoms*, 14.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁶⁰ It could equally be said that neo-Calvinism as developed by Kuyper and his followers was a novelty in giving priority to the political implications of Calvinism and in its development of sphere sovereignty.

⁶¹ Frame, *op. cit.*, 265. See also David VanDrunen, chapter 4 in *Divine Covenants and Moral Order: A Biblical Theology of Natural Law* (Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2004).

⁶² *Ibid.*

ways preferable to use explicitly biblical language, but the real question is whether the concept is there.

One need not agree with all VanDrunen or other two kingdoms advocates say to affirm that the New Testament model of the church is of sojourners travelling through this world to the final consummation (Psalm 39:2; 1 Chron 29:15; Phil 3:20; Heb 11:9-10, 13, 16; 1 Peter 1:1, 2:11)⁶³ seeking to be preserving salt and light to the nations (Matt 5:13-14), but as an often persecuted people to whom the kingdom of heaven belongs (Matt 5:10) and who desire to be with Christ, which is “better by far” (Phil 1:23). While it is true that the Old Testament prophets did not confine their warnings to the nation of Israel,⁶⁴ it seems equally true that the Old Testament models of political engagement relevant to us today are Daniel and Esther in Babylonian exile.

Reformation and post-Reformation advocates of two kingdoms doctrine, especially in the Reformed tradition, made significant strides in promoting the spiritual independence of the church. In their personal piety, they often meditated on the above themes. For instance, those most familiar with Samuel Rutherford’s writings do not think first of his *Lex Rex*, but of his letters and sermons suffused with an otherworldly piety.⁶⁵ (This is an emphasis often lacking in modern neo-Calvinism, as one of its own leaders has acknowledged.)⁶⁶ But Rutherford and others like him lived in a time much different from ours, one where Christianity was still the official religion of the state, and this influenced their thinking on church-state relations.

In discussing Calvin’s significance for contemporary debates, Matthew Tuininga notes how Calvin’s view of the responsibility of the civil magistrate influenced the original wording of the *Belgic* and *Westminster* confessions of faith that was subsequently modified by most Presbyterian and Reformed churches (at least in North America). He then notes, “The question is, did these confessional adjustments simply reflect the influence of the times, or

⁶³ Frame, mistakenly in my view, states that “God’s people are rarely called pilgrims in Scripture, 1 Peter 2:11 being a somewhat isolated example” (op. cit., 6). He also downplays the temporary nature of life in this world in his critique of “otherworldliness” (254-55). See Psalm 103:15-16, James 1:10, 4:14; 1 Peter 1:24, 4:7a etc.

⁶⁴ See Frame, op. cit., 264. See also Van Drunen, *Divine Covenants and Moral Order*, 164-208.

⁶⁵ *Quaint Sermons of Samuel Rutherford: Hitherto Unprinted* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1885). *Letters of Samuel Rutherford* was reprinted in 1973 by the Banner of Truth (Edinburgh). My copy is from 1894, published in London by Oliphant, Anderson, Ferrier.

⁶⁶ See Al Wolters, “Generally speaking, neocalvinists are more noted for their intellectual ability and culture-transforming zeal than for their personal godliness or their living relationship with Jesus Christ” in “What Is to Be Done...Towards a Neocalvinist Agenda”, <https://www.cardus.ca/comment/article/282/what-is-to-be-done-toward-a-neocalvinist-agenda/>. It is worth pointing out, as e.g. Carson does (op. cit., 152-53), that significant social reforms have historically been a by-product of spiritual renewal rather than political activism as such.

were they motivated by Scripturally grounded, theological convictions?" Tuininga continues,

Certain contemporary two kingdoms advocates argue that the theological basis for these shifts can be found in Calvin's own two kingdoms doctrine, although not in his application of that doctrine. They tend to argue that Calvin was inconsistent, simply a product of his time, and bound by the assumptions of Christendom. But if such is the case, where does Calvin's argument, or his exegesis, break down? And how can we be so sure that it is not we who are simply products of our time, bound by the assumptions of modernity?⁶⁷

Later, Tuininga answers his questions as follows:

Although Calvin and the other reformers argued that magistrates should enforce the first table of the law and even work to establish the true church, I believe their argument for this was based on flawed exegetical, philosophical and experiential reasoning. The exegetical flaw was the assumption that the Mosaic penal code was an expression of the timeless natural law, resulting from their failure to see how it too was typological. The philosophical flaw was the reliance on Plato and other pagan philosophers as evidence that even the natural law requires magistrates to enforce the true religion. The experiential flaw was their lack of confidence in the preaching of the gospel and the sovereignty of God to preserve the church against the gates of hell.⁶⁸

Tuininga's last point might be debatable,⁶⁹ but in general I believe he puts the matter well, as does the revised version of the *Belgic Confession* (reflecting Kuiper's language of sphere sovereignty) in its teaching that God has placed the sword in the hands of the government to:

⁶⁷ Tuininga, op. cit., "Part Two: John Calvin."

⁶⁸ Tuininga, op. cit., "Part Three, The Teaching of Scripture," November 2012.

⁶⁹ He has subsequently clarified, "Calvin would have said that he had full confidence that God would protect his church. But then he would have said that God uses magistrates to do this, and one way he does so is by having magistrates enforce revealed and received religious truth. And when Calvin makes that argument, he actually argues that if magistrates don't do this, the truth will be polluted and the masses won't know what to believe. So in point of fact, Calvin seems to argue that God will not preserve the church through the ministry of the church alone, or even through the work of secular governments, but only through governments that actively promote and defend the truth. And that's where I think he was wrong, and that's what I meant by that statement" (Personal email correspondence, September 8, 2016).

...punish evil people and protect the good. And being called in this manner to contribute to the advancement of a society that is pleasing to God, the civil rulers have the task, subject to God's law, of removing every obstacle to the preaching of the gospel and to every aspect of divine worship. They should do this while completely refraining from every tendency toward exercising absolute authority, and while functioning in the sphere entrusted to them, with the means belonging to them. They should do it in order that the Word of God may have free course; the kingdom of Jesus Christ may make progress; and every anti-Christian power may be resisted.⁷⁰

In other words, it is the task of the church to advance the kingdom of God by the preaching of the Word of God and the resistance of every anti-Christian power. It is the state's responsibility to preserve and maintain an orderly and peaceful society in which the church is free to go about its God-given task (see 1 Tim. 2:2-4).

No one has said this with more biblical balance and passionate devotion than the late Edmund P. Clowney (1917-2005), Westminster Seminary's first president in Philadelphia and later in California.⁷¹ Clowney's method of teaching and writing has been called "bicycling through the Bible". Whatever the subject, he would start with Genesis and move rapidly to Revelation, packing in as much rich biblical material before forming his conclusions, which in this case are as follows:

The "politics" of the kingdom are the pattern, purpose, and dynamic by which God orders the life of the heavenly polis in this world.....

The heavenly community of Christ is called to an earthly pilgrimage....

The distinction between the state as the form of the city of this world and the church as the form of the heavenly city remains essential....The church is the new nation (1 Peter 2:9), the new family of God (Eph 3:15)

Since the church anticipates the form of the world to come, it transcends the social and political forms of the world....

To be sure, the life of the worldly kingdoms is influenced by the life of the church in their midst; the people of God are like salt to preserve the world from its corruption; the kingdom works as a

⁷⁰ *The Belgic Confession*, Article 36 in *Ecumenical Creeds and Confessions* (Grand Rapids, MI: CRC Publications).

⁷¹ Michael Horton has expressed appreciation for Clowney "who helped me understand, among many other things, 'two kingdoms' thinking without calling it that" (Michael Horton, "A Response to John Frame's *The Escondido Theology*," Blog in *White Horse Inn.org: For a New Reformation*, Friday, 10 February 2012).

leaven, penetrating the world with the influence of Christian faith, hope, and love....

The Christian will be charged with otherworldliness, aloofness, non-involvement. He cannot forget his heavenly citizenship to be conformed to this world

Yet the church is not a retreat where the pious await the parousia. The church has an agenda, set not by the world but by the Lord. Christ commissioned the church to live for the purpose for which he lived and died.... Christ's great commission expresses the political objectives of his kingdom—the evangelization and edification of the nations in adoring fellowship with the Triune God.

The politics of the kingdom demand that Christians take seriously the structure of the church as the form of the people of God on earth.⁷²

On this understanding, the church of Jesus Christ is not one institution in the kingdom of God, as in neo-Calvinism. It is the institutional kingdom of God on earth. This position has an honourable pedigree and in fact reflects the language of the *Westminster Confession of Faith*.⁷³ Yet, because of the institute/organism distinction, its members are called to be active in all legitimate spheres of life, including the vocational, educational⁷⁴ and political. They may do so as individuals or as organizations of individuals. They may be co-belligerents (to use Schaeffer's term) with those of other faiths and none, or they may organize into distinctly Christian lobby groups, perhaps even Christian political parties. But in seeking to represent the name of Christ, they must always remain vigilant not to simply baptize secular agendas with his name and thereby bring reproach on the mission of his church.

This is not to say that the institutional church has no responsibility to the state. Some critics of two kingdoms doctrine point to the nineteenth-century doctrine of the spirituality of the church in Southern Presbyterianism as a precursor. It is said that one effect of this was that leading Southern theologi-

⁷² Edmund P. Clowney, "The Politics of the Kingdom," *Westminster Theological Journal* (Spring, 1979): 303-310. See also Clowney's *The Doctrine of the Church* (Philadelphia, PA: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1976) and chapter 9 of *The Church: Contours of Christian Theology* (Downers Grove, IL: 1995), 187-197.

⁷³ *Westminster Confession of Faith*, XXV. II. "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."

⁷⁴ Clowney was a strong advocate of Christian schools as extension of the family. My own sons attended Christian schools, although I did not have that option for myself. But as VanDrunen demonstrates in the final chapter of *Living in God's Two Kingdoms*, "Christians must also be on guard against condemning other Christians' decisions about matters for which Scripture does not bind the conscience" (162).

ans like Thornwell and Dabney were able to support slavery and slaveholders. Likewise, the complicity of the German church in the rise of Nazism and of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa during the apartheid era are pointed to as massive failures of ecclesiastical responsibility and thus of Christian witness. But these tragic outcomes were not and are not necessary outcomes of two kingdoms theology, or its twin, the spirituality of the church. The doctrine of the spirituality of the church is clearly taught in the *Westminster Confession of Faith* when it states: “Synods and councils are to handle or conclude nothing but that which is ecclesiastical: and are not to intermeddle with civil affairs which concern the commonwealth, unless by way of humble petition in cases extraordinary; or, by way of advice, for satisfaction of conscience, if they be thereunto required by the civil magistrate.”⁷⁵ This still leaves room for “humble petition in cases extraordinary; or by way of advice for satisfaction of conscience.”

Michael Horton, in a *White Horse Inn* blog on “Two Kingdoms and Slavery”, discusses how a two kingdoms approach could have addressed this issue in the nineteenth century. First, in exercising its spiritual function, by preaching the whole counsel of God against the sin of modern slavery, including kidnapping, theft and murder, much different from the largely debt-based indentured servitude of ancient (including biblical) societies. This would be accompanied by the exercise of discipline (the keys of the kingdom) against slaveholders and slave traffickers. Second, while the church has no authority to determine the details of public policy, “it does have the authority – indeed the obligation – to declare God’s condemnation of public as well as private sin.” This means that “there is nothing in the ‘two kingdoms’ or ‘spirituality’ doctrine to keep the church from proclaiming to the civil powers directly what it proclaims to the world from the pulpit.” These two points relate to the official proclamation of the institutional church. Horton’s third point corresponds to the institute/organism principle discussed above. The church “is not only the people of God gathered, but the people of God scattered into the world as parents, children, neighbours and citizens.”⁷⁶

Matthew Tuininga has also made the point that the spirituality of the church, properly defined, does not mean an avoidance of the church’s social responsibility:

That the kingdom of Christ is spiritual means that it is of the age to come, though it breaks into the present age through the power of the Holy Spirit... The church is not to meddle in politics, abusing its spiritual power for political ends, as Calvin argued and the Westminster Confession rightly maintains, but that does not mean it should cease proclaiming the righteousness of the kingdom, with all of its political and social implications.... Until we understand

⁷⁵ *Westminster Confession of Faith*, (1647 edition), XXXI. V.

⁷⁶ Michael Horton, “Two Kingdoms and Slavery,” <https://www.whitehorseinn.org/2013/09/two-kingdoms-and-slavery>.

how the spirituality doctrine not only permits the use of church discipline and the diaconate to promote the righteousness and justice of the kingdom, but *requires* it, we have not grasped just what it is that spirituality means. To politicize the church is surely a horribly misguided attempt to manipulate the Spirit for our own purposes, but to muzzle the Spirit or partition the social dimension of human life from the gospel is hardly less a display of rebellion.... Our call is to make and train disciples of the gospel of Christ, a gospel that is spiritual even as it is comprehensive, a gospel that saves individual souls even as it promises the restoration of all things in Christ.⁷⁷

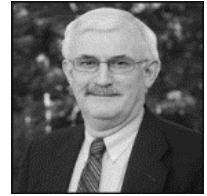
Applying this line of thinking from Horton and Tuininga to two kingdoms doctrine, it becomes clear that this doctrine does not require a withdrawal from the world and a compromising of Christ's universal lordship, something of which contemporary exponents of the doctrine are often accused. On the other hand, as Tuininga has also pointed out, neither does it require a commitment to post-Reformation views of the relationship between the church and the civil magistrate. As VanDrunen and Bolt have argued, it may even be compatible, rather than in conflict, with the legacy of Abraham Kuyper as they describe it. Certainly, there are differences, but to the extent that both stress the spirituality and the unique mission of the church, along with the obligation of Christians to be salt and light in society, there may be room for more fruitful dialogue and cooperation in the ongoing reformation of Christ's kingdom on earth.

⁷⁷ Matthew Tuininga, "Rightly Defining the Spirituality of the Church," February, 2016. <http://www.reformation21.org/articles/the-kingdom-and-its-righteousness-rightly-defining-the-spirituality-of-the-church.php>

The Early Scottish Reformation in Recent Research: Literature Since 1960

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The Church of Scotland, the major representative of the Protestant Reformation in that nation has, over the past sixty years declined from a membership of 1,319,574¹ to a current 352,912.² While the focus of this paper is not ecclesiology, but historiography, this alarming trend does provide the backdrop to our study. Our purpose is to explore and explain the ebb and flow of writing on the early Scottish Reformation in the period since 1960. We choose that year as a point of departure because it was celebrated as the four hundredth anniversary of the formal adoption of the Reformed religion by Scotland's Parliament in 1560. This essay will group writing about Scotland's early Reformation under six categories which are broadly chronological. We may begin by first speaking of...

I. Ecclesiastical History at the Fourth Centenary of the Scottish Reformation (1960)

Sixty years ago, writing about the Scottish Reformation – while not ignored by social historians within Scotland – was still chiefly the occupation of church leaders and ecclesiastical historians. If one wanted to learn about Scotland's Reformation era, one might still have relied on the early 20th century work of the Glasgow ecclesiastical historian T.M. Lindsay in two volumes, *History of the Reformation*.³ Yet in connection with the Reformation centennial of 1960, Edinburgh ecclesiastical historian J.H.S. Burleigh produced the handsome volume *A Church History of Scotland*, chapters of which reflected mid-20th century understandings of Scotland's reform.⁴ The

¹ <http://www.brin.ac.uk/2011/scottish-kirk-statistics-2010/> accessed 22 October, 2016.

² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Church_of_Scotland accessed 22 October, 2016.

³ Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1906. T&T Clark was reprinting Lindsay as recently as 1964.

⁴ Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960.

Church of Scotland also drew attention to great leaders of the Reformation era in the commendable volume *Fathers of the Kirk*, edited by Ronald Selby Wright.⁵ Similarly representative of a churchly approach to the national Reformation was the Stuart Louden volume *The True Face of the Kirk*,⁶ an exploration of 16th century church organization and life, and Duncan Shaw's *The General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland 1560-1600*, a study of Scottish Presbyterianism's national assembly.⁷ In this period, Church of Scotland writers produced two studies of John Knox: Elizabeth Whitley's *Plain Mr. Knox*,⁸ a sympathetic biography, and James S. McEwen's historical-theological study, *The Faith of John Knox*.⁹ It would be fair to classify with them the 1974 Knox biography, *Trumpeter of God* by the Canadian Presbyterian writer W. Stanford Reid.¹⁰

By my reckoning, this largely 'ecclesiastical' curation of Scotland's Reformation era continued into the mid-1970s. On the one hand, it included a collection of largely Roman Catholic essays bearing on the Reformation era taken from the *Innes Review* and published as *Essays on the Scottish Reformation: 1513-1625* edited by David McRoberts.¹¹ On the other hand, it entailed a study of the Scottish Reformed Church's sacramental life: G. B. Burnett's *The Holy Communion in the Reformed Church of Scotland*.¹² A festschrift for the former Edinburgh ecclesiastical historian Hugh Watt, *Reformation and Revolution* (1967), contained important character studies of some sixteenth century leaders.¹³ By the end of this period, the St. Andrews ecclesiastical historian James K. Cameron had produced an impressive scholarly edition of the *First Book of Discipline of 1560*.¹⁴ This period of ecclesiastical curation was showing signs of being overtaken by a new approach symbolized by the publication in 1975 of another volume intended to mark a milestone, *John Knox: A Quatercentenary Re-Appraisal*¹⁵. This volume, though edited by a Church of Scotland minister-scholar, gave wide berth to a corrective approach to this pillar-figure of the Reformation era and to the period itself. So we may speak, second of

II. Corrective Approaches, Generated Primarily from Within the Scottish History Faculties

The Scottish university history faculties had not been oblivious to the Reformation era in the first half of the 20th century. Scottish historians such

⁵ Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960.

⁶ Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963.

⁷ Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1964.

⁸ London: Skeffington, 1962.

⁹ London: Lutterworth, 1962.

¹⁰ New York: Scribners, 1974.

¹¹ Burns and Oates: Glasgow, 1962.

¹² Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1960.

¹³ Duncan Shaw, ed. Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1967.

¹⁴ Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1972.

¹⁵ Duncan Shaw, ed. Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1975.

as Peter Hume Brown¹⁶ and John D. Mackie¹⁷ had both given attention to the Reformation period in that era. But Scottish history as a subject of university research and writing was a late-bloomer, emerging only as the 19th century gave way to the 20th. The nation's Reformation history was a strand of national life only beginning to gain the attention of the universities.¹⁸ That they had begun to do so by mid-20th century was illustrated by the Edinburgh historian W. Croft Dickinson's production in 1949 of the critical edition of John Knox's *History of the Reformation*.¹⁹ Dickinson, in addition to compiling what is still the best collection of Scottish historical documents in *A Source Book of Scottish History*,²⁰ had also turned his attention to the Reformation era in his contribution of volume one of the *New History of Scotland*.²¹ But the real indicator of the dawn of a new era of interest in the Reformation period within the History faculties had already been served in the commemorative year of 1960. Gordon Donaldson, a protégé of Dickinson at Edinburgh since 1947, had drawn fresh attention by the 1960 publication of his book, *The Scottish Reformation*.²² Here was a fresh, intensely-researched approach to the subject; it was quickly recognized as an interpretation that stressed the importance of initiatives taken by Tudor England to advance Reformation in Scotland as a means of cementing cross-border relations. On Donaldson's reading, the Reformation in Scotland was intended to have resembled that in England to a very high degree.

The stage had been set by Donaldson's work of 1960 for much more widespread Reformation-era work by Scotland's historians. Edinburgh economic historian T.C. Smout did so with the first of two volumes surveying the nation's history: *A History of the Scottish People: 1560-1830*.²³ Here, the emphasis was upon the fabric of society rather than on pillar figures in the Church. The Glasgow social historian Jenny Wormald dealt with the Reformation period in her 1981 volume in the 'New History of Scotland', *Court, Kirk and Community 1470-1625*.²⁴ In this same period, Wormald's Glasgow colleague (and a former Gordon Donaldson postgraduate student) James Kirk

¹⁶ P. Hume Brown, *Scotland Before 1700* (1893); *John Knox: a Biography* (1895).

¹⁷ John D. Mackie, *John Knox* (London: The Historical Association, 1951).

¹⁸ A fascinating account of the struggles faced by Scottish history to assert itself as a discipline is provided in Marinell Ash, *The Strange Death of Scottish History* (Edinburgh: Ramsay Head Press, 1980).

¹⁹ W. Croft Dickinson, ed. *John Knox's History of the Reformation* 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1949).

²⁰ W. Croft Dickinson, ed. *A Source Book of Scottish History*. 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1952).

²¹ Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1962. A second volume, by G.S. Pryde, completed the set.

²² Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960. The lectures on which the chapters of the book were based had been earlier delivered at Cambridge.

²³ London: Harper-Collins, 1969. After 1980, Smout's focus shifted, coincident with his departure from Edinburgh for St. Andrews, from Economic history to Scottish history.

²⁴ London: Edward Arnold, 1981. The re-issued multi-volume 'New History of Scotland' replaced the older 2 volume work of Dickinson and Pryde.

released a massively-researched edition of the *Second Book of Discipline* of 1576.²⁵ Now both of the early books of Scottish Reformed polity were accessible to students again. What made Kirk's work especially noteworthy was that it took issue with the interpretation of the national Reformation put forward in 1960 by his former 'doktorvater' at Edinburgh, Gordon Donaldson. Kirk opposed Donaldson's proposal that the development of a more detailed Presbyterian polity in the 1570s, after the decease of John Knox in 1572, represented a departure from an original quasi-Episcopalian trajectory. Kirk also eventually released a volume of related essays on Scotland's 16th century Reform, *Patterns of Reform*, in the year 2000.²⁶ Meanwhile, yet another Glasgow historian, Ian B. Cowan – a medievalist, released a strikingly independent analysis of the Reformation period, stressing continuities and discontinuities with the period preceding. His, *The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in Sixteenth Century Scotland*²⁷, is a sympathetic volume which exercises independent judgment through extensive reliance on archival materials. The Edinburgh historian Michael Lynch provided a stimulating essay on "Calvinism in Scotland: 1559-1638" in the important 1985 volume, *International Calvinism 1541-1715*.²⁸

The History faculties within Scotland were really only in the early stages of what was becoming a flood. In that same period, they edited and contributed to festschrifts in honor of two senior scholars: each collection focused on the Renaissance and Reformation era. These were *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in Honour of Gordon Donaldson*, edited by Ian B. Cowan²⁹ and *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England and Scotland 1400-1643* in honor of James K. Cameron, edited by James Kirk.³⁰ All this momentum had developed within Scottish history departments in advance of the launch (in 1993) of the St. Andrews Reformation Studies Institute, which as of this writing has led to the publication of one hundred volumes on the Reformation period (a good portion of which were focused on Scotland).³¹

This almost forty-year period, in which Scottish Reformation studies were largely taken over and curated by members of history departments (rather than departments of Divinity), may be said to have made a lasting change. Reformation history-writing in Scotland a half-century earlier had still centered on 'great men'. Yet, over time it had been established that intensive archival research and a close consideration of socio-political conditions was of paramount importance in proper assessments of this period.

²⁵ Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1980.

²⁶ Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000.

²⁷ London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1982.

²⁸ Menna Prestwich, ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985, 225-256.

²⁹ Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1993.

³⁰ Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991.

³¹ <https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/reformation/> accessed 27 November, 2016.

III. The Emergence of Urban and Regional Reformation History

In the same decades that Scottish University History departments were making the Renaissance and Reformation period a more important focus of their research, there was another development in historical method gathering momentum: the expansion of studies in urban and regional history. As applied to Reformation-era studies, this development seems to have first manifested itself in the small volume of Bernd Moeller, *Imperial Cities and the Reformation*³² (E.T. 1972). It soon became widespread, as illustrated in the volume of Stephen Ozment of 1975, *The Reformation in the Cities*.³³ Ozment (of Yale) made plain that this emphasis on urban and regional history reflected a turn away from the pursuit of Reformation studies from the standpoint of intellectual history (which had concentrated on questions of the continuity and discontinuity of ideas) to social history (which found its subject matter by 'drilling down' into the public records which societies had preserved for posterity).³⁴

It is clear what has unfolded in subsequent decades. There rapidly appeared studies of the Reformation as it expressed itself in the urban settings of Basel,³⁵ Zurich,³⁶ Strasbourg,³⁷ and Geneva.³⁸ At least one volume explored the advance of the Reformation in English towns.³⁹ As this methodology began to be utilized in Scottish history, it yielded studies of how the Reformation established itself in Angus and Mearns,⁴⁰ in Edinburgh,⁴¹ in Ayrshire,⁴² in Perth⁴³ and in Fife.⁴⁴ These studies highlighted which locations

³² Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972. The volume had appeared in Europe in 1966.

³³ New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975.

³⁴ See the discussion in his *Reformation in the Cities*, 1-14.

³⁵ Hans R. Guggisberg, *Basel in the Sixteenth Century: Aspects of the City Republic before, during and after the Reformation* (St Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1982).

³⁶ Robert C. Walton, *Zwingli's Theocracy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967).

³⁷ Miriam U. Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform: A Study in the Process of Change*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967). Thomas A. Brady, *Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation in Strasbourg: 1520-1555* (Leiden: Brill, 1978). Lorna Jane Abray, *The People's Reformation: Magistrates, Clergy and Commons in Strasbourg 1500-1598* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985).

³⁸ William Monter, *Calvin's Geneva* (New York: Wiley, 1967). William G. Naphy, *Calvin and the Consolidation of the Genevan Reformation*. (1994) 2nd edition (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press 2004).

³⁹ Patrick Collinson and John Craig, eds. *The Reformation in English Towns 1500-1640* (London: MacMillan, 1998).

⁴⁰ Frank Bardgett, *Scotland Reformed: The Reformation in Angus and Mearns* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1989).

⁴¹ Michael Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1991).

⁴² Margaret H.B. Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1997).

⁴³ Mary Verschurr, *Politics or Religion? The Reformation in Perth 1540-1570* (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2006).

⁴⁴ David McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish Parish: The Reformation in Fife 1560-1640* (London: Ashgate, 2010).

were most susceptible to religious change (those with access to the North Sea), which social classes were most likely to support religious change (craftsmen and the mercantile class in support), and the utter dependency of early Scottish Protestantism upon the landed aristocrats, whom Knox had called the “Lords of the Congregation”, for its establishment in particular locales. It was not Edinburgh but Dundee that had first been called the “Geneva of Scotland”. And not Edinburgh but Perth was the first to overthrow the Roman religion. Those who published such regional researches had immersed themselves in local as well as national archives and demonstrated how local trends both converged with and differed from religious trends at large in the nation. Though this methodology was not devised in connection with the St. Andrews Reformation Studies Institute, such regional and urban Reformation studies are still continuing there.

The same ‘drilling down’ so as to understand the social change that the Reformation brought about for people at town-level was manifest in this period in two volumes which – though not focused on particular locales – still sought to portray what religious reform meant for ordinary folk at what we might call a ‘local’ level. One was reckoned to be an outstanding volume for its year 2002: American historian Margo Todd’s *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*.⁴⁵ A similar investigation of the Reformation-era piety and practices of ordinary people, not limited to Scotland, was soon after published by Alec Ryrie: *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*.⁴⁶

IV. Trans-national Reformation Studies

Coinciding with this turn to conduct Reformation studies from an urban and regional standpoint was a second development unfolding in the same decades: the effort to depict local and regional Reformation movements as parts of a larger trans-European whole. The trend itself got underway with a 1992 volume edited by Andrew Pettegree, *The Early Reformation in Europe*.⁴⁷ No one had earlier denied that the Reformation had manifested itself across national boundaries; yet such treatments of the period had either been provided by single authors writing about single nations or else single authors surveying the whole trans-European movement. But now, collegial historians – each expert in their own region – combined their efforts in anthologies of essays. Yet, though this 1992 volume was initially produced for use by undergraduates at the University of St. Andrews and though at least three contributors had Scottish connections, it contained no chapter regarding Scotland’s reform. Scotland’s was not an early Reformation.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.

⁴⁶ Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

⁴⁷ Andrew Pettegree, ed. *The Early Reformation in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁴⁸ One reason for Scotland’s non-inclusion in this volume is, however, that its official Reformation came late.

This lack was made good in two subsequent volumes. In 1994, Robert Scribner produced a similar volume on the Reformation era. *The Reformation in National Context* sought to show how this one movement had expressed itself regionally in neighboring European societies.⁴⁹ Julian Goodare of the University of Edinburgh was the historian describing Scotland's age of Reform. Andrew Pettegree returned to the field in the year 2000 with another edited volume, *The Reformation World*.⁵⁰ This volume offered chapters surveying cultural and religious forces in early modern Europe, as well as a country-by-country examination of the unfolding of the Reformation. The chapter on Scotland was the work of an American historian, Michael Graham of Akron, OH.

In a variation on this trans-national approach, two volumes appeared early in the same year of this new century; both were single-author and of identical name: *The Reformation in Britain and Ireland*. The authors, Felicity Heal and Ian Hazlett⁵¹, each attempted to depict in one volume the Reformations of the adjacent nations of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales in their inter-relationships. Their books reflect a fresh approach by U.K. historians which was gaining ground in those same years; it went by the name "four nations history".⁵² This methodology reflects the resurgence of regional consciousness in the various regions of a formerly more unified United Kingdom. Yet in spite of their considerable commonalities (e.g. titles, year of publication), the two historians wrote two very different books. Hazlett, then professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Glasgow, wrote a compact book in which the parallel Reformations of England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland were given distinct chapter-length treatments. Of course, commonalities and interdependencies were acknowledged across national boundaries, yet care was taken to ensure that the narratives regarding each nation were discrete. Heal's approach, by contrast (and reflecting her standpoint at Oxford in the larger, wealthier nation), puts forward England's Reformation as the master-narrative of which the regional movements of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland are to be understood as adaptations. In Heal's approach, one could recognize echoes of the line of interpretation taken by Gordon Donaldson in 1960.

⁴⁹ Bob Scribner, Roy Porter, and Mikulas Teich, eds *The Reformation in National Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁵⁰ Abingdon: Routledge, 2000.

⁵¹ Felicity Heal, *The Reformation in Britain and Ireland*. Oxford History of the Christian Church (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). W. Ian P. Hazlett, *The Reformation in Britain and Ireland: An Introduction* (London: T&T Clark, 2003).

⁵² On these developments in the writing of history, see Raphael Samuel, "Four Nations History" in the *History Workshop Journal* 40 (Autumn 1995), iii-xxii. One can see an example of the "four nations" approach displayed in Simon Schama's *A History of Britain*. 3 vols. (New York: Hyperion, 2000).

V. New Character Studies

We have come a fair distance from the hey-day of the 1960s, when it was so much in vogue for ecclesiastical historians to focus attention on John Knox and his circle of co-religionists.⁵³ Yet the subsequent shift of focus to social and regional history did not mean that Scottish Reformation leaders had been utterly neglected. Though it was by no means focused chiefly on the Reformation period, the publication in 1993 of the *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*⁵⁴ provided up-to-date articles with then-current bibliographies. Patrick Hamilton, early Scottish disciple of Luther, has been made the object of fresh research.⁵⁵ Another Scottish Lutheran, Alexander Alesius, has been researched in a series of insightful articles since 1964.⁵⁶ The mentor of Knox, George Wishart, has recently been re-examined in a volume of conference papers edited by the American historian, Martin Holt Dotterweich.⁵⁷ Two American writers, Richard L. Greaves and John Kyle, devoted considerable energies in the period since 1980 to researching the thought of John Knox.⁵⁸ In 1999, Knox was again the subject of a major volume of essays, this one edited by Roger Mason: *John Knox and the British Reformations*.⁵⁹ More recently, two works have given attention to the career of the one deemed to have been John Knox's successor: Andrew Melville. A 2011 volume by Ernest Holloway focused on Melville as a late Renaissance humanist educator in both Glasgow and St. Andrews.⁶⁰ A 2014 conference volume, *Andrew Melville (1545-1622): Writings, Reception, and Reputation*⁶¹ gave this major late Reformation character wider consideration. No major examination of Melville's career had been undertaken since 1819.⁶² Most recently has come the groundbreaking Knox study of 2015 by New

⁵³ So, for example R. Selby Wright, *Fathers of the Kirk* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960). See for example.

⁵⁴ Nigel M. de S. Cameron, ed. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993 (U.S. edition: Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity).

⁵⁵ James Edward McGoldrick, "Patrick Hamilton, Luther's Scottish Disciple", *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XVIII.1 (Spring 1987).

⁵⁶ John T. McNeill, "Alexander Alesius, Scottish Lutheran (1500-1565)", *Archiv fur Reformationsgeschichte* 55 (Dec 1964), 161-191. Gottfried Wiedermann, "Alexander Alesius' Lectures on the Psalms at Cambridge, 1536", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 37.1 (1986): 15-41.

⁵⁷ Martin Holt Dotterweich ed., *George Wishart Quincentennial Conference Proceedings*. np, 2013.

⁵⁸ Richard L. Greaves, *Theology and Revolution in the Scottish Reformation: Studies in the History of John Knox* (Grand Rapids: Christian Universities Press, 1980). Richard Kyle, *The Mind of John Knox* (Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1984); *The Ministry of John Knox* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2002); Richard G. Kyle with Dale W. Johnson, *John Knox: An Introduction to his Life and Works* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2009).

⁵⁹ Roger A. Mason, ed. *John Knox and the British Reformations* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999).

⁶⁰ Ernest L. Holloway, *Andrew Melville and Humanism in Renaissance Scotland* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

⁶¹ Roger A. Mason, ed. *Andrew Melville (1545-1622): Writings, Reception and Reputation* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 2014).

⁶² This was the work of Thomas M'Crie (1772-1835).

College, Edinburgh ecclesiastical historian Jane Dawson; this work capitalized on the author's discovery of manuscripts left by the associate of Knox, Christopher Goodman.⁶³

VI. Renewed Ecclesiastical History

Ecclesiastical historians never forgot about the Scottish Reformation, but in the situation presented in a Scotland which was steadily less Christian, the past half-century was a period in which the theme of Protestant origins received steadily less attention. This was perhaps a reflection of retrenchment within the faculties of divinity. But that this generalization requires qualification is illustrated by the Jane Dawson *Knox* biography, just noted. Dawson is drawing a steady stream of research students for such investigations. The Scottish Divinity faculties have still been able to produce such valuable studies as *Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland*; the volume sheds light on Scottish worship practices from the 16th century forward.⁶⁴ The late David F. Wright left an important chapter on Scottish Reformation thought in the *Cambridge Companion to Reformation Theology*.⁶⁵ The question of the liturgical indebtedness of the Scottish Protestant Reformation to the antecedent era of Catholic reforming efforts has recently been explored by Stephen Mark Holmes in *Sacred Signs in Reformation Scotland*.⁶⁶ Ian Hazlett, former occupant of the chair of Ecclesiastical History at Glasgow, is as I write this, assembling an important anthology of essays, *Companion to the Scottish Reformation*.⁶⁷ An even more ambitious project is underway under the general editorship of Professors David Fergusson of New College, Edinburgh, and Mark Elliot of St. Andrews. The three-volume *History of Theology in Scotland* is to deal with Scottish theological developments across the centuries, with the first volume (to 1680 A.D.) giving thorough attention to Scotland's Reformation era. The project involves contributors from both the U.K. and North America.⁶⁸

With this noted, we may now remark that a trend in recent decades is the production of quality research on the early Scottish Reformation by scholars not resident in or teaching in that country. The two comprehensive anthologies of essays just named both demonstrate this development in their lists of contributors. Beyond this, we can name in passing such studies as the 2006 *Origins of the Scottish Reformation* by Durham University ecclesiastical his-

⁶³ New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015.

⁶⁴ Duncan B. Forrester and Douglas B. Murray, eds. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1984).

⁶⁵ David F. Wright, "The Scottish Reformation: Theology and Theologians" in David Bagchi, ed., *Cambridge Companion to Reformation Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), chap. 14.

⁶⁶ Stephen Mark Holmes, *Sacred Signs in Reformation Scotland: Interpreting Worship 1488-1590* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

⁶⁷ Forthcoming, Brill, 2018.

⁶⁸ Forthcoming, Oxford University Press, 2019. Details are available here: <https://www.historyscottishtheology.div.ed.ac.uk/>.

torian Alec Ryrie.⁶⁹ The Canadian church historian Jack C. Whytock has produced the only modern history of Scottish theological education since Reformation times: *An Educated Clergy: Scottish Theological Education and Training in the Kirk and Secession 1560-1850*. This was followed by the release of the same author's study on the First Book of Discipline.⁷⁰ Another Canadian, David G. Mullan, has produced two important studies: *Episcopacy in Scotland: 1560-1638*⁷¹ and *Scottish Puritanism 1590-1638*.⁷² The American church historian Aaron Clay Denlinger has recently edited and contributed to the valuable collection *Reformed Orthodoxy in Scotland: Essays in Scottish Theology 1560-1775* and followed it up with the release of an anthology of the writings of Robert Rollock (1555-1599).⁷³

In light of these recent trends, one is entitled to wonder whether future Scottish Reformation research will not be driven as much by the questions and concerns of Christian historians outside Scotland as by those still arising in the 'fatherland'. Perhaps Christian historians of the Presbyterian 'diaspora' – with their constituencies – maintain an earnestness and curiosity which will serve as an 'engine' driving an ongoing desire to understand and to appropriate from Scotland's Reformation when that curiosity is retreating in the land of origin.

⁶⁹ Manchester University Press, 2007.

⁷⁰ Carlisle: Paternoster, 2007. Whytock's research on Scottish Protestant origins has been published as *Continental Calvinian Influences on the Scottish Reformation: The First Book of Discipline (1560)*. (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2009).

⁷¹ Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986.

⁷² Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

⁷³ London: T&T Clark, 2015. *Some Questions and Answers about God's Covenant and the Sacrament That Is a Seal of God's Covenant: With Related Texts* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2016).

The Reformation of the Space for Public Worship

Jack C. Whytock

As we focus on the 500th anniversary of the Reformation, one senses a certain repetitiveness in the themes explored: salvation, authority, polity/church governance, worship, the Christian life, ecclesiology, sacraments, education, the Kingdom, and the key leaders – all very good themes. However, a particular area which is rarely addressed is the impact of the Reformation upon the “space” set-aside for public worship.¹ In fact, this particular theme is rarely mentioned in Reformation church history courses or lectures. The purpose of this paper is: firstly, to provide a popular and brief discussion on the situation which the Reformers inherited at the time of the Reformation in the early 16th century concerning designated space for public worship and, secondly, to discuss how the Reformers reacted to this. Obviously, many generalities will be made in this popular study since the way the Reformers reacted to the issue of space for public worship is less than uniform. This paper will tend towards the Magisterial Reformers of the Reformed branch, but, even in somewhat limiting the scope of this discussion, generalities will need to be made.² The discussion will then be carried further, thirdly, to raise the question of the ongoing use of designated space for worship today in

¹The word “space” has taken on a significance of its own in recent years which was formerly indicated by other words such as place, location, and building. The word “space” itself is a neutral word and often depends upon the adjectives used with the word, such as “sacred space”. This paper will employ the term “space” without the adjective unless in quotations and will use the word virtually as synonymous with “place”. James F. White says it quite well, “Any Christian community needs a *place* for worship of the Incarnate One. It can be anywhere but it has to be somewhere that is designated so that the body of Christ knows *where* to assembly.” [italics mine], James F. White, *Introduction to Christian Worship Revised Edition* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1990), 89. My personal conviction is that the building used for worship is not any more sacred than another place, such as a meeting location for worship under an Acacia tree.

² Two authors of recent note who have written extensively about European Protestant church architecture are Andrew Spicer and Nigel Yates. Serious readers would benefit from these authors. See, Andrew Spicer, *Calvinist Churches in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); and Nigel Yates, *Preaching, Word and Sacrament: Scottish Church Interiors, 1560-1860* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2009) and *Liturgical Space: Christian Worship and Church Buildings in Western Europe 1500-2000*, (Aldershot, Hampshire, UK: Ashgate, 2008).

evangelical and Reformed churches. It should be obvious that the use of designated space visibly expresses theological convictions, and these will be duly noted as the paper unfolds in its three parts. A word of advice about reading this article: reading the text body only will reveal the general popular story-line; however, for more technical discussion and source information, the reader should also consult the footnotes throughout.

1. Public Space for Worship at the Time of the Eve of the Reformation

What did the public space for worship look like on the eve of the Reformation? General comments here are in order with an understanding that no-doubt somewhere in Europe in 1517 exceptions or unique permutations could be found. Generally, the space for public worship was rectangular as to the foot-print of the space/place with or without cross-arms (transepts).³ Within this rectangular overall shape the interior focal point was the short wall at the front. The focus of this short wall was the high altar for the celebration of the mass. Often the building was configured so that this short wall was facing eastward, although this was not a universal custom by any means.

In small village churches the rectangular design was simple and may not always have included an elaborate screened area where the high altar was enclosed behind nor may it have included side transepts. If the building was a larger church complex, then the design included a screened chancel with two side rows for choir stalls and clergy or monks and nuns, virtually a “church within a church”⁴. The orientation of the choir stalls/rows was more-or-less against the two long walls, loosely speaking, and at right angles to the altar.

This pattern can still be seen in ecclesiastical architecture to this day in many an Anglican church and other Protestant churches. It also has been adopted within many Parliamentary traditions stemming from England, whereby the House of Commons has a dais where the high altar would have been and two rows of benches on the long walls for the members of the parliament to sit.⁵

Usually the main space, the nave, did not have pews, benches or permanent chairs provided for the lay people of the congregation. Pews or benches were found in some church buildings in Europe before the Reformation but not universally. Some churches did have some stone benches around the inside of the exterior walls as seating for the elderly primarily.

³ “Footprint” refers to the shape of the building as outlined on the ground, similar to a human footprint, the outline of the shape of one’s foot pressed into the ground.

⁴ Another name for this is the “two-room church” (of the Medieval Period) — for the sanctuary and the nave. J.G. Davies, “Architectural Setting”, in *The New Westminster Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, ed. J.G. Davies (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986), 28.

⁵ See, James Macnutt, *Building for Democracy* (Halifax, NS: Formac, 2010), 7-8, for a helpful historical summation on the development of the space in St. Stephen’s Chapel, the Palace of Westminster, as a Parliament (House of Commons specifically).

There is some dispute as to whether or not the space for the public to assemble (the nave) was divided by gender, but the evidence appears to suggest that generally men and women were separate from one another in the worship space and sat or stood apart from each other prior to the Reformation.⁶

There was much diversity in the public portion of the building. It appears that some brought their own stools, some kneeled, some sat on benches, and others stood. This also tells us a great deal of what actually was going on in worship – the focus was generally not long sermons but the drama of the altar and private worship matters.⁷

There does appear to be evidence of some departures from this general description above. For example, some evidence seems to indicate special spacial orientation may have been dualistic, in that a high altar may have been on the short, front wall but an elaborate high pulpit in the centre of the one long wall (often by a column row). This type of special orientation may have been more-so with certain chapels where “preaching” was also more particularly emphasised as opposed to the medieval norm where it was not. There is evidence that also some large church buildings had similar large high pulpits in the nave portion again towards the long wall and not as a central pulpit on the short wall as that was reserved for the altar. These cathedral churches often had special preachers.⁸

Thus the changes which many of the Reformers brought about in public worship space were not totally without some measure of precedent, but the conclusion is clear that the vast majority of pre-Reformation church buildings were true to the spacial orientation of the general description above, namely the focal point being the high altar on the short wall and generally screened and with side-rows of stalls in a separate chancel, then a more open nave for the “people”.

Other significant features were included in larger churches (cathedrals, basilicas, and abbey churches): side-chapels honouring perhaps a particular saint and again, with appropriate orientation, again always with a central altar and no pulpit generally present. The other overall chief interior features were colour, imagery, containers of various shapes and sizes, and elevated chairs for the hierarchy of the clergy or governing classes. The imagery range was vast – biblical scenes, biblical characters, church fathers, noted leaders both

⁶ A. Thomas Lambert, “Preaching, Praying, and Policing the Reform in Sixteenth-Century Geneva” (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1998), 122-123.

⁷ Karin Maag, *Lifting Hearts to the Lord: Worship with John Calvin in Sixteenth-Century Geneva*. The Church at Worship: Case Studies From Christian History, eds. Lester Ruth, Carrie Steenwyk, John D. Witvliet (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 43. Also, White. *Introduction to Christian Worship*, 102. White states that “until the 14th century the nave was clear of chairs and pews”. There does appear to be variance about just when chairs/pews may have been introduced as furnishings.

⁸ See White, *An Introduction to Christian Worship*,

ecclesiastical and civil, noted saints, and heroic activities remembered whether the slaying of a dragon or marching in a Crusade. Such imagery could be depicted through painted frescoes, stained glass, statuary, containers or relic vessels/reliquaries, and architectural structural embellishments.

The architectural styles of the pre-Reformation churches display much variety. The buildings might exhibit an overall Norman, Romanesque, Gothic, or Classical style (and often incorporating ancient Roman basilica floor designs). In many regards this style factor is not the most critical factor in coming to understand pre-Reformational interior church space.⁹ The more significant matter is the spacial interior orientation and focus and the specific features of the interior and its furnishings because this is really much more significant for understanding the relationship between the space designated for public worship at the time of the Reformation and what theological underpinnings were at work here.

Finally, a brief discussion is necessary concerning choir space in the pre-Reformation churches. Choir space was either near the high altar in the chancel area and/or in a rear balcony. Music accompaniment may in some instances have been with an organ – often located in a rear balcony, although it could be situated in a variety of locations depending upon the size of the instrument. Since it was the choristers who were the singers, those in the nave did not generally participate to the same extent vocally – some might but many did not, they listened. Looking at this through the lens of the Reformers, this use of space and the lack of congregational involvement in singing would appear to represent a failure to understand the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers.

Summation

It can be said that generally the interiors of church buildings in Europe at the time leading up to the Reformation focused upon the high altar situated at the short wall. This was the focus – the drama of the mass. The clergy kept their back to the nave while conducting the ritual of the mass. Generally long preaching times were not the focus, thus seating was not consistently patterned in the interiors. It would appear, though, that gender segregation was quite common as was social segregation.

⁹ The point can be made that all of the above mentioned styles still used a common theological framework yet had a very similar spacial interior usage and design. After the Reformation all of these overall styles could still be found in Reformational churches, yet we will see often with very new spatial interior usage and design yet still it could be called a Gothic structure etc. We need to be careful that we not see Pugin's thesis that Gothic was the only style suited for church buildings to be re-imposed upon earlier periods. Such a thesis has never received universal, inter-generational support. The reality is that at the time of the Reformation there was a diversity of styles of church buildings. St. Peter's, Rome at the centre of the Reformation conflict was being built in the Classical style. Also, since many church buildings were built over many years, they contained more than one style.

The church buildings were generally open at least daily, if not permanently. They were places to go for private worship, whether to pray, to mediate, to confess, whether in the main nave or in side-chapels. Thus the interior of the buildings was designed for much more than simply a place for public Sunday worship venues.

There is a clearly defined theology which emerges from looking at these church interiors. The visual drama of the mass was the focus along with an emphasis on priestly ministry. There was clearly a de-emphasis almost universally upon preaching and the auditory; and related to this was often the lack of organised seating – it was simply not always necessary. Singing had come to have designated space and thus limitations of full congregational involvement developed with this. Since the auditory was not the primary focus, the visual took a larger role through the development of iconography. Thus the overall result was to see the church building as sacred space and even within it there was a more sacred space – the chancel versus the nave.

Aesthetically a sense of beauty emerged which was complex and with elaborate ornamentation combined often with impressive soaring bulk, at least in the larger structures. However, definitions of what constituted beauty in church buildings were not always uniform. There were attempts to move sometimes to a much plainer or minimalist style, but this was generally a minority approach.

2. The Reformation of Space for Public Assemblies

With the Reformation, came an incredible variety in adapting medieval parish churches, cathedrals, monastic chapels, and abbeys into new Protestant places for worship. (It must be noted that the building of new, purpose-built Protestant worship places took time and did not happen immediately after 1517. Many believe that the first purpose-built Protestant church was not constructed until 1544 in Torgau at Hartenfels Castle¹⁰). Some of this adaptation was more pronounced whereby new walls were constructed in some medieval cathedrals or abbey churches. For example, where the screen was, now a wall appeared so that the congregation could be in the nave and a new parish school in the former chancel or vice versa.¹¹

For many following the Reformed branch of the Reformation, the focal point of the interior moved now from the high altar to the high pulpit located either on the short wall or on a side, long wall, such as at St. Peter's Geneva, where in Calvin's church the pulpit was moved in 1541 to a side, long wall by an aisle column support and the screen and chancel stalls were removed.¹²

¹⁰ See, Jack C. Whytock, "Scottish Liturgics and Church Architecture", A Study of a Transplanted Kirk on Prince Edward Island", *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 39.2 (2014), endnote 13, page 63.

¹¹ White, *Introduction to Christian Worship*, 103.

¹² J.G. Davies, "Architectural Setting", 34.

The congregation was now seated in a shape of a star design around the pulpit, at the front of the nave and in the two transepts and in the former chancel.¹³ The pulpit spoke of the importance of the Scriptures and of providing a desk for the preacher to have freedom for preaching.¹⁴ These Reformation high pulpits were massive and could display remarkable craftsmanship. The Protestants were not the first to construct such massive pulpits. There was precedence before and during the Reformation whether in a cathedral or by Jesuits, who also were constructing such pulpits in some places in the 16th century.¹⁵

The raised pulpit allowed the preacher to have better eye-contact and also was viewed as a way to aid audibility. To help further with the audibility, a sounding board was often constructed above the pulpit. The point is clear – the Word is to be read and preached with effect to be heard by all in the interior or meeting space.

Going together with the pulpit is seating. Thus a move to universal seating in Protestant churches became the norm. Before it was hap-hazard, but now it was to become universal. Thus moveable benches or fixed pews started to appear with much more regulatory, although stools continued to be encouraged in many congregations where benches or pews had not been completely provided.

The sermons were now longer and hence the practical need for seating was necessitated. The emphasis was upon learning together the truth of God's Word. Benches and stools still allowed for flexibility and movement of the space to accommodate communion tables. Pews usually are fixed and do not allow as much flexibility, thus aisles or space near the pulpit must be provided for communion tables.

In terms of seating, gender segregation appears to have been fairly universally practiced in the early Reformation churches whether in Switzerland or Scotland. In part it may have been custom from the pre-Reformation period, or in part to imitate the Early Church, but also it was thought as a way to be less distracting to separate men from women.¹⁶

¹³ J.G. Davies, "Architectural Setting", 34. It should be noted that this is not exactly the way it is today at St. Peter's, Geneva. Care always needs to be taken when discussing church architecture that we not conclude that "as we see things today, that is how they were originally" — either by the Reformers and what they did to reconfigure space, or what later generations did in reconfiguring an evangelical and Reformed church interior in the early 20th century for example. See my article, "Scottish Liturgics and Church Architecture", 56. Also one does wonder if the star-shape in 1541 was Calvin's ideal that a church be built more in the round as did occur in some of the French Reformed *temples*. See, Maag, *Lifting Hearts to the Lord*, 45, and the *Temple de Paradis*.

¹⁴ White, *Introduction to Christian Worship*, 96.

¹⁵ White, *Introduction to Christian Worship*, 102.

¹⁶ See, Andrew Spicer, "'Accommodating of Thame Selfis to Heir the Worde': Preaching, Pews and Reformed Worship in Scotland, 1560-1638", *History* 88 (2003b), 415.

The next major change was the space to be provided for the communion table or tables, especially for many within the Reformed branch. These tables were to be constructed of plain wood and to look very much like a table and not in any way like an altar, hence no box tables.¹⁷ Space was to be made whereby the people could come in relays to the table/s and be seated, again by gender, or they would queue at the table/s and receive the bread at one end and the wine at the other end of the table as they walked, again segregated by gender.¹⁸ These tables were usually mobile and often not seen in the interior if communion was not being observed on that Sunday.¹⁹

There is no evidence in the Reformed branch of the Reformation of ever eating meals or serving beverages after or before the services of public worship in the church interior space. This was in many ways something which would develop later with more pietistic groups through the agape love feast or with Anabaptists but not with the Magisterial Reformers.²⁰ This does raise the question whether this was viewed as a very important aspect of the use of church interior space? The answer is quick to answer – no. Provision for eating and drinking was not in the church interior, hence no need for kitchens either. Thus slowly non-moveable seating (fixed pews) was to become the norm, as the only space needed for some movement was around the communion tables.

Fonts also underwent reformation. Baptismal fonts remained in the buildings, but sometimes they changed locations, migrating from the entrance door to closer to the pulpit area. This, too, was making the point that the sacrament was not a private family matter but a matter for the whole congregation to witness. Fonts for holy water were destroyed or abandoned. Also fonts generally became less elaborate and many were “basins/bowls” placed near the pulpit or attached to the side of the pulpit with a bracket.

What did the Reformers do with the chancel/choir stalls? Again the answer is varied. Some removed them altogether as in the case of St. Peter’s (Ste. Pierre), Geneva. Others kept them but basically the chancel became a

¹⁷ Modern box tables in some evangelical and Reformed churches often did not start to appear until the liturgical changes of the later 19th century.

¹⁸ See, Yates, *Liturgical Space: Christian Worship and Church Buildings in Western Europe 1500-2000*, 18. There was diversity of custom in the emerging Reformed churches whether you came and sat at the table or whether you walked to the table or even sat at your bench for communion. On rare occasion some came and knelt.

¹⁹ Whytock, “Scottish Liturgics and Church Architecture”, 53-64. Many of these tables were collapsible. Some churches left the communion table up in the former chancel and would only use that space on communion days and all other worship took place in the former nave, such at the church at Emden. See. Yates, *Liturgical Space*, 21.

²⁰ The evidence is not conclusive that the Reformers were reacting against some Medieval churches where in the nave dances, eating, drinking and plays were conducted. J.G. Davies, “Nave”, in *The New Westminster Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, 388.

dead space; others walled it off; still others retained it for a “choir” or for the leading singers. The change was more in the direction of full congregational singing. However, the school boys often sat in front of the pulpit, and they became the leaders of congregational praise (such as at St. Peter’s, Geneva). So in some respects the chancel choir moved into the nave whereby all sat together to praise the Lord.

Concerning colour, imagery, and containers –iconoclasm– the story is well known on this and again various forms of the Reformation of interiors occurred. The relics of the saints were removed, the walls were made white, and many stained glass windows were destroyed or removed. The move especially by the Reformed branch was towards simplicity and plainness. It has often been said that there was no longer an aesthetic of beauty. This is actually misleading as any interior designer today will tell one that minimalism, currently a popular design expression, has its own aesthetic of beauty.

Immediately after the Reformation in many Reformed areas, the church buildings were locked outside of public worship times. This was a change from the pre-Reformation period. It was to break with the past about the space being used for private worship practices; many of these practices were viewed as non-biblical. The point was perhaps needed due to immaturity of development, but often one reaction can lead to another problem: could it be that from this a conviction developed inadvertently amongst some that the building was “sacred” and only for worship and not to be used for any other purposes such as eating or drinking a beverage in the worship space? The question is worthy of consideration.²¹

Nevertheless, though the Reformers were not necessarily all of one opinion or conviction, clearly there was a general move towards seeing the space where the congregation gathers as a “place” and not as “sacred” space. The church building was generally seen as a space to meet but it was not seen as sacred. The Reformation would work through stages in its developmental history. The Puritans began to use the language sometimes of the place they met as “the meeting house”. This clearly is to make the point – the church is the people of God, not a building. Hence it really does not fit to describe a Reformed building as sacred space for many within the Reformational context.²² The Anglican branch may have various streams of thought within it on this, as so may the Presbyterians currently or even historically.²³ In France

²¹ I myself have had Reformed people tell me that serving coffee in the place where worship is conducted is not appropriate. This does appear to support a view of “sacred space”.

²² David Gobel, “Reforming Church Architecture”, *New Horizons* (February, 2011), 6-7. This Christian magazine was one of the few popular Christian magazines which I have found to actually devote a cover to the theme of church architecture. See also the article by Larry Wilson, “How to Lay Out Our Worship Space” in that same issue, *New Horizons* (February, 2011).

²³ For a helpful article upon the tensions within Scottish Presbyterianism and Scottish Episcopalianism on space/sacred space of the early 17th century, see Andrew

the worship space after the Reformation was extremely varied – barns, houses, outdoors, and sometimes new purpose-built places – *temples*.

Summation

The Magisterial Reformers transformed the interior space of the existing medieval churches by making the focal point the pulpit. The exact location of this appears to be usually to one side of the long wall but again not universally. Generally the screens were removed at the chancel. With the emphasis upon the auditory, fixed seating arose and became much more common after the Reformation. The seating plan could vary as to shape and was also generally gender segregated. Singing was more emphasised through full congregational singing but could be led by one group; yet all were to participate, thereby the chancel choir stalls were not universally used. Thus people and clergy were brought much closer together – not in “two rooms”. The interiors also underwent a movement to a much plainer appearance yet with a beauty still present. Many had portable communion tables made of wood introduced for communion times. The interior space was used only for preaching and teaching meetings but not for what our modern age would call “fellowship” times. Tensions did arise however over civil seating in these newly designed interior spaces.²⁴ For some of these matters summarised here there are some Medieval precedents, yet these are muted and not general.

3. Reformed and Reforming: The Use of Space for Public Worship Today²⁵

Is there still a latent pre-Reformation attitude or theology sometimes expressed by some evangelical and Reformed Christians with such statements as “they worship in an industrial warehouse or a hotel dance-room – I want to worship in a proper church”?²⁶ How does this reflect the words of Jesus to the Samaritan woman: “... a time is coming when you will worship the Father neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem... true worshippers will worship the Father in spirit and truth, for they are the kind of worshippers the Father seeks.” (John 4:21,23 NIV 1984)? Is it possible to make Protestant church buildings our holy/sacred places so that we lose the spirit of flexibil-

Spicer, “‘What kinde of house a kirk is’: conventicles, consecrations and the concept of scared space in post-Reformation Scotland” in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 81-103.

²⁴ Spicer, “‘Accommodating of Thame Selfis to Heir the Worde’: Preaching, Pews and Reformed Worship in Scotland, 1560-1638”, 405-422.

²⁵ I think it is appropriate to apply the dictum *Semper Reformanda* to this discussion on church architecture.

²⁶ As a church planter many years ago, I received this comment many times from folks who adamantly told me that they were “Reformed”. I would reply, “Yes, we worship in space which was often a bar and a dance hall Monday through Saturday.”

ity which is actually biblical. We will explore these questions now through some specific examples.

Let's begin with fixed seating of pews or moveable benches/chairs. Fixed seating greatly limits what can be done in a space. The use of chairs which can be quickly stacked or moved immediately changes or transforms a space as to its function. It means that the space can quickly be converted into a space for meals or for standing to have tea, coffee, and conversation. Also, the space can become a place for a game of floor-hockey or aerobic classes or a sleep-over by a youth convention. Are any of these activities incompatible with Christians doing such when they gather or should they do these activities in space never used for public Sunday worship? Do economics allow for a space reserved only for Sunday public worship to be built to accommodate say three hundred people plus another public space built for eating or playing a game for two hundred people? Economically and also aesthetically it may be very beautiful to have two separate spaces, but is it necessary from the biblical vantage point of the new covenant community? The rationale biblically is very difficult to find, but perhaps economically some congregations can afford two such spaces and this may be much more aesthetically pleasing. John Calvin in Book III of the *Institutes* warns his readers of ascribing to our church buildings "hidden holiness"²⁷. Even though we may confess that in evangelical and Reformed churches we do not subscribe to the statement of sacred space, there does appear at times to be a hearkening back to such thinking. The Reformation of space has not completely ended.

Wholistic ministry recognises the value of believers eating together and visiting with one another. Pews are a relatively modern circumstance and they do place limitations upon space for such eating at informal gatherings. Many times I have experienced (in Africa, Asia, and South America) that immediately following the Communion service the white plastic chairs are moved around to allow for easier service of the hot food and sodas in the same space. Yes, meals are served in the same space where a few minutes before public worship was conducted, where men and women sat segregated by gender. It all seems rather in keeping with the Church being a people and with practical financial realities for many Christian communities where the luxury of two spaces is not feasible.²⁸ There appears to be no evidence that evangelical and Reformed churches ate together four hundred to five hundred years ago in worship space. Yet they were very flexible in transforming the space which they inherited into new preaching and teaching places. I would

²⁷ As translated by Karin Maag from Calvin's *Institutes*, in *Lifting Hearts to the Lord*, 110.

²⁸ Larry Wilson, "Suggestions Toward Reflecting and Reinforcing Principles of Biblically Reformed Worship in Our Church Buildings", *Ordained Servant* 10.4 (2001), 87-88. Wilson's suggestion number one appears to be more in the direction of having two separate spaces if I am interpreting this correctly. I suspect the date 2001 may be part of the context for reading this suggestion and today this may not be written in the exact same way (my supposition).

assert the continuing transformation of ministry does not need to stop with how the Reformers transformed their inherited space.

Allow me to reflect over a worship experience which my wife and I recently had in London, England. It was at London City Presbyterian Church.²⁹ They use the historic 1788 building of St. Botolph-without-Aldersgate with the adjacent courtyard where John Wesley was converted. The building they worship in is an elegantly adorned Classical Georgian church. The interior is a three-sided gallery with central aisle and apse and choir stalls with no rood screen and side high pulpit, and communion table against the apse wall. The interior has been modified with chairs now in three-quarters of the main floor seating area and fixed pews remaining at the back and in the gallery.³⁰ The large font remains in the building near the front left door. The interior pattern is quite typical of many church buildings of London built after the style of Gibbs and St. Martin-in-the Fields or All Souls Langham Place by John Nash. St. Botolph-without-Aldersgate bears the marks of a modified post-Reformation plan for many Anglican churches or even for many Presbyterian churches. The London City congregation worships in this space.

The Sunday we recently worshipped there, they used a central small lectern and then after the service there was a meal served in this same space. The chairs were all moved and tables were brought out for people to sit around. Tables were laid out down the centre aisle and across the front. Food was served under a gallery aisle. Then we heard a mission presentation with informal questions at the conclusion of the meal. Folks stayed for some time visiting and talking in this space. There is no immediate church hall or fellowship hall nearby so if food is served it seems there is only one space available to do such other than eating outside in the courtyard, which was not feasible given the late November weather in London.

One notes that the building has undergone modifications especially as regards fixed seating. The result is really a space with both fixed and moveable seating, something which is actually becoming quite common now in many UK church buildings. The alternative is to try and dig a space underneath the building for a hall or else go off-site to locate another space for a hall. Economic realities would appear to be again at the forefront and also a change in thinking whereby a wholistic ministry is being developed.

The high-pulpit was not used, and such is now often the case in many of these older churches. Rather a small portable lectern is placed in the centre of the short wall (front). The sermons were about thirty-five minutes at each

²⁹ Sunday, November 19th, 2016.

³⁰ Conservation for heritage interiors is not always a simple matter for historic church buildings have often undergone various major renovations. One needs to exercise caution concerning preservation as the question may be preservation for which renovation period of an historic church interior? Secondly, the issue of conservation does raise matters of aesthetic value and community heritage. We will not focus upon these points in this paper.

service that day so seating does help rather than having to stand for the sermon, so it would appear that the tradition established, post-Reformation of people gathering to hear the Word of God expounded and be seated to aid one's concentration was in evidence.

The question remains: are two spaces needed or can one space be multi-purpose both for public worship and for congregational fellowship, eating, informal talks and open discussion, or is there a fundamental violation of biblical principle in this "movement" and arrangement? I would assert that in using one space what we are really seeing is consistent with the Reformed principle of the use of space not as sacred but as space as the place to meet. In many ways this is an illustration of ongoing reform and flexibility. To become slaves to all aspects of space as then adopted or implemented by evangelical and Reformed churches at the time of the Reformation can be very problematic. We actually become slaves to a new tradition of space.

Let us take another example. The month before, my wife and I worshipped at St. John's United Church in Fort Beaufort, Eastern Cape, South Africa.³¹ This is a modest Gothic revival church building with a large pulpit on the right and a lectern on the left and a choir area behind.

We worshipped in the church space and then after the service a fellowship meal was served in the adjacent space of the church hall, a former building for worship until the new Gothic one was built. This Gothic church has fixed pews, which are as the word fixed implies not moveable. Thus it is rather difficult to drink and eat in this space. Hence the use of the adjacent hall next door. This meal allowed students who were with us to visit members of the congregation and vice versa and become acquainted with each other – a very vital aspect of Christian life and theological college life as well.

Summation/Conclusion

Things have changed from the days of the Reformation, yet the audible preaching of the Word was given prominence and was still carried forth in both of these very different locations as described above in London, England and in Fort Beaufort, South Africa. Hopefully, the above serves as a basic starting point for a discussion of evangelical and Reformed church architecture and of how we use space or place for public worship and ministry today. The focus of this contemporary discussion has centred on worship and wholistic ministry and the concept of multipurpose space. There are many more contemporary aspects which need to be discussed, including the use of technology.³²

³¹ 23 October, 2016.

³² At the Fort Beaufort, SA service, the announcements were presented via PowerPoint before the service began and were reinforced in the weekly bulletin. I have found many congregations running announcements on PowerPoint projection prior to a service. Such technology was not used in the Reformation period. Again, Biblical principles need to be explored and applied to the use of technology as in the use of space.

The Magisterial Reformers certainly had some very clear guiding principles when they began to redesign their places of worship, and these principles were all tied with theological underpinnings. The changes which the Reformers enacted from the Medieval period have been duly noted in this paper. Yet to become slaves to all the ways the Magisterial Reformers redesigned and even purposely designed their places of worship is not right either.

There is clearly a distinction between principle and flexible circumstances in the space used for public worship. On this 500th anniversary of the Reformation, we need to uncover the guiding principles which the Reformers saw as essential in their places of worship and then work these out within our context. There is incredible flexibility of circumstances and yet this is to be guided by principles rooted in the Scriptures about public worship.

Now over to you for reflection and comment. If you would like to comment and give feedback please engage with the author at: jcwhytock@gmail.com . Your suggestions for part three and where we must continue to go in this discussion will be most welcomed as the author hopes to create a more extensive paper in the future on this third point.

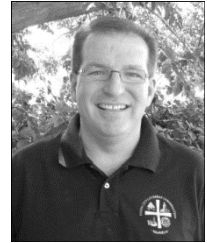
“The reparation would be according to the ability and number of Kirks. Every Kirk must have dorres, close windowes of glasse, thack able to withhold rain, a bell to conuoate the people together, a pulpet, a basen for baptizing and tables for ministration of the Lords Supper. In greater Kirks and where the congregatation is great in number, must reparation be made within the Kirk, for the quiet and commodious receiving of the people. The expenses are to be lifted partly of the people and partly of the teinds, at the consideration of the Ministry.”

The First Book of Discipline, ed. J. K. Cameron (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1972), 203.

The Protestant Reformers and the Mission of the Church

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The Charges against the Reformers

When it comes to the mission task of the church the Protestant reformers have received strong criticism from both church historians and mission scholars. Among the latter is Stephen Neill who served as a Professor of Missions and Ecumenical Theology in the German University of Hamburg. In his well-known book *A History of Christian Missions* Neill writes:

Naturally the Reformers were not unaware of the non-Christian world around them. Luther has many things, and sometimes surprisingly, kind things, to say about both Jews and Turks. It is clear that the idea of the steady progress of the preaching of the Gospel through the world is not foreign to his thought. Yet, when everything favourable has been said and can be said, and when all possible evidences from the writings of the Reformers have been collected, it all amounts to exceedingly little.¹

Similarly, J. Herbert Kane, an evangelical scholar who taught at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, criticises the churches of the Reformation for a lack of missionary enterprise. He comments:

¹ S. Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973), 222.

One would naturally expect that the spiritual forces released by the Reformation would have prompted the Protestant churches of Europe to take the gospel to the ends of the earth during the period of world exploration and colonisation which began about 1500. But such was not the case. The Roman Catholic Church between 1500 and 1700 won more converts in the pagan world than it lost to Protestantism in Europe.²

Kane goes on to identify deficiencies in the reformers' theology as the main contributing factor.³ He argues that the reformers believed that the Great Commission had been achieved by the apostles by taking the good news to the ends of the world as it was known at that time. Consequently, there was no longer any need to send out missionaries to faraway countries. Kane also sees the reformers' views on predestination as a stumbling block.⁴ Their 'preoccupation' with the sovereignty of God, Kane believes, prevented them from promoting the spread of the gospel among pagan nations. Finally, he mentions the reformers' 'apocalypticism' with its negative view of the future as a hindrance to global mission.⁵

In his book *What in the World is God Doing?* C. Gordon Olson speaks of the Great Omission of which Luther, Calvin and their fellow reformers were guilty.⁶ The reason for their failure, Olson believes, was a spiritual one. The Reformation which they had started lacked deep spiritual roots. Olson goes on to explain what he means by that:

The Reformation was not a great revival in which tens of millions of people were born again. Probably there were only a minority of Protestants who really came to the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ. The rest were swept along with the tide. With the territorial church arrangement of Europe it was not hard to be a Protestant without being born again. It is important to understand that the Reformers did not spell out a clear doctrine of regeneration or new birth. Much reliance was placed upon baptism and communion, which were seen as 'sacraments'...the more we learn about the spiritual state of the reformation churches, the more it seems like Christ's words to the Sardis church in Revelation 3:1, 'I know your deeds; you have a reputation of being alive, but you are dead.' Be-

² J.H. Kane, *A Concise History of the Christian World Mission* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book, 1982), 73.

³ Kane, *A Concise History of the Christian World Mission*, 73.

⁴ Kane, *A Concise History of the Christian World Mission*, 74.

⁵ Kane, *A Concise History of the Christian World Mission*, 74.

⁶ C.G. Olson, *What in the World is God Doing?* (Cedar Knolls: Global Gospel Publisher, 1998), 119.

fore there could be world evangelism, there had to be spiritual renewal. That was two centuries in coming.⁷

Such criticism of the Protestant reformers, which is shared by many other authors, is anything but new.⁸ In his work *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions from the Reformation to the Present Time* published in 1901 German missiologist Gustav Warneck has laid, as Schulz writes, the foundation for the widespread criticism of the reformers.⁹ If Neill's and Kane's criticism is harsh Warneck's judgement like that of Olson is devastating. Thus, he states:

We miss in the Reformers not only missionary action, but even the idea of mission, in the sense in which we understand them today. And this is not only because the newly discovered heathen world across the sea lay almost wholly beyond the range of their vision, though that reason had some weight, but because fundamental theological views hindered them from giving their activity, and even their thoughts, a missionary direction.¹⁰

The question one has to ask is whether such criticism of the Protestant reformers is justified. Were the reformers really indifferent to mission? Is there really a lack of mission emphasis in their theologies?

The Critics and their Flaws

Most of the critics of the Protestant reformers like Neill, Kane, Olson or Warneck share a view of mission which emphasises its global dimension. Warneck, for examples, defines mission as 'the regular sending of messengers of the Gospel to non-Christian nations, with the view of Christianizing them'¹¹. Olson's definition has a similar thrust. 'Mission', he writes 'is the whole task, endeavour, and program of the Church of Jesus Christ to reach out across geographical and/or cultural boundaries by sending missionaries to evangelize people who have never heard or who have little opportunity to

⁷ Olson, *What in the World is God Doing?*, 119.

⁸ E.g. P. Johnstone, *The Church is Bigger Than You Think: The Unfinished Work of World Evangelization* (Fearn: Christian Focus, 1998), 54-61; D. MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 427; N. Thomas, *Readings in World Mission* (London: SPCK, 1995), 32-33; J. Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 18.

⁹ K.D. Schulz, *Mission from the Cross: The Lutheran Theology of Mission* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2009), 46.

¹⁰ G. Warneck, *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions from the Reformation to the Present Time: A Contribution to Modern Church History* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1901), 10.

¹¹ G. Warneck, *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions from the Reformation to the Present Time: A Contribution to Modern Church History*, 10.

hear the saving gospel'¹². If we understand mission first and foremost in such a way, i.e. as the enterprise of taking the gospel to places where there is no Christian presence, the charge against the Protestant reformers might be justified. Martin Luther, though he recognised the Turks' need of salvation in Christ,¹³ was not actively involved in the sending of missionaries to them or any other non-Christian nation. Calvin supported the sending of two preachers from Geneva to the Portuguese colony of Brazil in 1556.¹⁴ However, this was his only direct involvement with overseas mission work.

While on the surface the charges against Luther, Calvin and their followers seem to be warranted, a closer examination shows that they are problematic. Firstly, the critics seem to ignore the fact that there are several valid reasons why the Protestant reformers were not more focused on world mission. The reformers as the word indicates considered it their first task to reform the church, which was a time-consuming endeavour.¹⁵ Their regional churches were, as Bosch points out, 'involved in a battle of sheer survival; only after the Peace of Westphalia (1648) were they able to organize themselves properly'¹⁶. Furthermore, in contrast to the Roman Catholic Church in countries like Spain and Portugal which were maritime powers with colonies outside Europe, most Protestant churches in Germany or Switzerland did not have any direct links with overseas countries.¹⁷ It would have been difficult for the reformers to pursue overseas mission work as it was possible for Spanish and Portuguese Roman Catholic monks who could rely on the support from their monarchs and willing navigators.¹⁸ The reformers would have had to proceed without such sponsorship of their territorial rulers, raise sufficient funds, and find both missionaries and experienced seafarers, who were willing to take the former to other continents. Missionaries would have been particularly difficult to find as monasteries, which had served as mission centres for a thousand years, had been abolished in Protestant countries.¹⁹ Schulz concludes: 'Thus the lack of missionary intent and enterprise is mostly a case of historical circumstance, which many scholars – who often level scathing criticisms against the reformers – are loath to admit.'²⁰

¹² Olson, *What in the World is God Doing?*, 13.

¹³G. Miller, 'From Crusades to Homeland Defense', *Christian History* 21/2 (2002).

¹⁴ H.U. Reifler, *Handbuch der Missiologie: Missionarisches Handeln aus biblischer Perspektive* (Nürnberg: VTR, 2005), 164.

¹⁵ D. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1991), 245.

¹⁶ Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, 245.

¹⁷ Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, 245.

¹⁸ K.J. Stewart, 'Calvinism and Missions: The Contested Relationship Revisited', *Themelios* 4/1 (2009): 67.

¹⁹ Stewart, 'Calvinism and Missions: The Contested Relationship Revisited', 67-68; Thomas, *Readings in World Mission*, 32.

²⁰ Schulz, *Mission from the Cross: The Lutheran Theology of Mission*, 45.

Secondly, it has to be said that the critics' view of mission tends to be rather narrow. While they are right in emphasising the centrality of the Great Commission and the global dimension of mission they seem to forget that the church is not exclusively sent 'to the ends of the earth'. The critics seem to overlook the fact that the church is also called to be involved in mission on a local and regional level. In the version of the Great Commission recorded by Luke in Acts 1:8, Jesus commissions his disciples to be his 'witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth'. What we have here are three stages of witness. As Köstenberger and O'Brien point out, these stages have to be interpreted not only geographically but also theologically and ethnically.²¹ They continue:

The first stage is Jerusalem, where Jesus finished his work and where Israel was to be restored in the remnant of Jews who believed in him as Messiah. The second stage is Judea-Samaria...referring to the area of the ancient kingdoms of Judah and Israel. This fulfils the ancient promises of the restoration of the whole house of Israel under one king... Finally, the apostolic witness will extend to 'the ends of earth', a key expression which... indicates that God intends his salvation should reach all peoples. Geographically, the phrase denotes the end of the world in a general sense. Ethnically, it refers to the Gentile world. If the gospel is for the Jews first, then it is also for the Gentiles...²²

In other words, the disciples would begin with their missionary work in Jerusalem, the capital of the Jewish nation. From there, they would continue in the surrounding area of Judea. 'But then the Christian mission', as Stott comments, 'would radiate out from that centre..., first to despised Samaria, and then far beyond Palestine to the Gentile nations, indeed to the ends of the earth'²³. The message here for the church is clear: God's people are going out to others to be witnesses for Jesus. However, this mission usually starts at home. There is something wrong if Christians seek to reach faraway nations for Christ but show no interest in their own neighbours, both immediate and more distant, or as Hughes puts it: 'Followers of Christ yearn for the gospel to go to the ends of the earth and their own community. There can be no burden for distant unreached peoples without a burden for unreached neighbours.'²⁴ If we apply this broader interpretation of Jesus' Great Commission,

²¹ A.J. Köstenberger & T. O'Brien, *Salvation to the Ends of the Earth: A Biblical Theology of Mission* (Leicester: Apollos, 2001), 130.

²² Köstenberger & O'Brien, *Salvation to the Ends of the Earth: A Biblical Theology of Mission*, 130-131.

²³ J. Stott, *The Message of Acts: To the Ends of the Earth* (Leicester: IVP, 2000), 42.

²⁴ R.K. Hughes, *Acts: The Church Afire* (Wheaton: Crossway Books, 1996), 18.

we will see that the Protestant reformers were indeed actively involved in missionary outreach.

The Reformation Cities – Regional Mission Hubs

In manifold ways cities, such as Wittenberg, Geneva, Zurich, Basel and Strasbourg, served as the regional mission hubs of the Reformation movement.²⁵ Firstly, it was in these cities that the reformers developed their ideas and taught them to their followers. Secondly, it was in these cities that the reformers produced their writings and had them printed. Thirdly, it was from these cities that not only merchants and traders but also itinerant evangelical preachers and pamphleteers, as well as former students of the reformers, went out in all directions to spread the message of the Reformation.²⁶ Stewart, for example, stresses the central importance of these cities for the Calvinist Reformation when he writes:

From them streamed out many hundreds of persons who – often after finding a safe haven from persecution in a particular city of the Reformation – returned to their home regions with the theological and pastoral training required to fit them for work as pastors and evangelists. They went out in response to appeals from cells of evangelical believers in France, the Low Countries..., north Italy, and regions of the Alps. Particularly in France, there is evidence of a determination to build networks of congregations systematically across the kingdom. From Geneva alone (by no means the only “sending” center) more than two hundred preachers were sent out during the fifteen year period 1555-1570.²⁷

What Geneva, Basel and Zurich were for the Protestant Reformation in Switzerland, southern Germany, the Netherlands and France, Wittenberg was for the Reformation in northern Germany, north-east Europe and Scandinavia. Like these Swiss cities Wittenberg served as a mission hub from which the re-discovered message of salvation by God’s grace alone, through faith alone, in Christ alone spread to other parts of Europe.

Olaus Petri – the Leading Swedish Reformer

The history of Swedish Lutheranism began when Olaus Petri²⁸ came to Germany in 1516.²⁹ From 1516 to 1518 he studied together with his brother

²⁵ Stewart, ‘Calvinism and Missions: The Contested Relationship Revisited’, 68-69.

²⁶ P.E. Pierson, ‘The Reformation and Mission’, in *Evangelical Dictionary of Missions*, eds. H. Netland and C. van Engen (Grand Rapids: Baker Books: 2000), 814; L.W. Spitz, *The Protestant Reformation, 1517-1559* (New York: Harper & Row: 1985), 184.

²⁷ Stewart, ‘Calvinism and Missions: The Contested Relationship Revisited’, 68.

²⁸ Also known as Olavus Petri, Olof Persson or Olof Petersson.

Laurentius under Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon in Wittenberg. The two Swedish brothers were, as Heininen and Czaika write, strongly influenced by the teachings of the two German reformers.³⁰ While in Wittenberg Olaus Petri heard Martin Luther lecture on Hebrews and Galatians and became a firsthand witness of the controversy over the sale of indulgences by the Catholic Church through Johann Tetzel.³¹ When the Petri brothers returned to Sweden from Wittenberg in 1518 they started to preach against a seller of indulgences who had come into the country.³² They also managed to win Laurentius Andreae, who later became chancellor of the Swedish kingdom,³³ to the cause of the Reformation.³⁴

Enjoying the protection of the new Swedish king Gustav Vasa Olaus Petri and his brother began preaching against other Roman Catholic practices such as saint-worship and pilgrimages to healing shrines.³⁵ In 1526 Olaus Petri, who had been appointed secretary to the council of the city of Stockholm two years earlier,³⁶ published his book *Useful Instruction*, and a year later *Answers to Twelve Questions*, in which he insisted that it was the primary task of the church to preach the pure gospel.³⁷ Petri also contributed to the translation of the New Testament into Swedish.³⁸ Scott comments on Petri's writing ministry and its influence:

He wrote profusely and with a remarkable persuasiveness; he had a knack for establishing intimate contact with his reader. For ten years he almost enjoyed a monopoly of the printing press that had been introduced in Stockholm in 1526, and he produced a flood of translations and pamphlets. In his reforming zeal Master Olof wanted to arouse debate on the whole question of church reform, but the powerful Bishop Brask refused. Nevertheless the eager

²⁹ N. Blåder, *Lutheran Tradition as Heritage and Tool: An Empirical Study of Reflections on Confessional Identity in Five Lutheran Churches in Different Contexts* (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2015).

³⁰ S. Heininen and O. Czaika, 'Wittenberg Influences on the Reformation in Scandinavia', *European History Online 2012*. <http://iegego.eu/en/threads/crossroads/religious-and-confessional-spaces/simo-heininen-otfried-czaika-wittenberg-influences-on-the-reformation-in-scandinavia>; access: 20.08.2016.

³¹ T.R. Skarsten, 'Olaus, Petri (1493-1552)', in *The Encyclopedia of Protestantism, vol. 1-4*, ed. H.J. Hillerbrand (London: Routledge, 2004), 1746.

³² T. Lindsay, *The Reformation* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 2006), 55.

³³ Lindsay, *The Reformation*, 55.

³⁴ Heininen and Czaika, 'Wittenberg Influences on the Reformation in Scandinavia'.

³⁵ Lindsay, *The Reformation*, 55.

³⁶ F.D. Scott, *Sweden: The Nation's History* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988), 128.

³⁷ R.T. Jones, *The Great Reformation* (Downers Grove: IVP, 1997), 106.

³⁸ Scott, *Sweden: The Nation's History*, 128.

young man found occasion to answer in print various objections of those who clung to Roman doctrines and practices.³⁹

Hans Tausen – the Danish Luther

In 1523, five years after Petri had graduated, the Danish monk Hans Tausen came to Wittenberg to study under Luther. Tausen, who later became the father of the Danish Reformation, belonged to the order of Knights Hospitallers at Antvorskov.⁴⁰ He had trained at the universities of Rostock, Copenhagen and Leuven. While in Wittenberg he started to embrace the ideas of the Protestant Reformation, so that his superiors called him back to Denmark in 1524. They feared that Tausen was too close to Luther. This fear was not unwarranted. Vind writes that ‘Tausen must have been immensely impressed by the proximity to Luther and his fellow theologians, since shortly after his return home, he began his evangelical preaching’⁴¹. Back in Antvorskov Tausen taught in a sermon on Maundy Thursday that people are saved through Christ alone.⁴² This kind of preaching was not without consequences. On the one hand, it triggered persecution by the Catholic Church, but on the other hand, he gained the support of the people. Inspired by Tausen’s preaching there was a growing enthusiasm for the teachings of Luther in Denmark.⁴³ Vind writes:

In 1525 he was sent away from the monastery in Antvorskov to the monastery of the Order of St John in Viborg, probably on account of irregular preaching. In Viborg he continued to preach, and presumably he became more and more critical of the existing church. We know that around 1526 he was expelled from his order. When the bishop sought to arrest him for heresy, he was defended by the citizens of Viborg, and they managed to get a letter of protection for him from King Frederik I.⁴⁴

In the following years Tausen translated the works of Luther from German into Danish and repeatedly called upon King Frederik I to introduce the Reformation in Denmark, which Tausen considered the duty of the king.⁴⁵

³⁹ Scott, *Sweden: The Nation’s History*, 128.

⁴⁰ R.H.C. Dreyer, ‘An Apologia for Luther: The Myth of the Danish Luther: Danish Reformer Hans Tausen and “A Short Answer” (1528/29)’, in *The Myth of the Reformation*, ed. P. Opitz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 213.

⁴¹ A. Vind, ‘Approaching 2017: The Influence of Luther in Denmark’, *Studia Theologica* 65 (2011): 123.

⁴² J.L. Larson, *Reforming the North: The Kingdom and Churches of Scandinavia, 1520-1545* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 202.

⁴³ Jones, *The Great Reformation*, 100.

⁴⁴ Vind, ‘Approaching 2017: The Influence of Luther in Denmark’, 123.

⁴⁵ M. Schwarz Lausten, ‘Luther nach 1530: Theologie, Kirche und Politik’, in *Lutherjahrbuch: Luther nach 1530: Theologie, Kirche und Politik*, ed. H. Junghans (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 18.

This, however, happened only in 1537 through King Christian III,⁴⁶ but there is no doubt that Tausen together with Jorgen Jensen Sadolin played a crucial role in the evangelical movement and the post-Reformation Danish Lutheran Church.⁴⁷ Gideon and Hilda Hagstoz summarise Tausen's role well when they write:

As a royal chaplain he drew immense crowds in Copenhagen. In 1530 he presented an independent confession of faith of forty-three articles, a counterpart of the Augsburg Confession. He stipulated the Bible alone as sufficient for salvation, the eucharist a commemoration of Christ's death, the Holy Spirit the third person of the Godhead; and purgatory, monastic life, indulgences, mass, and celibacy of priests he declared contrary to Scripture. He was named one of the seven superintendents of the realm; he shared in the construction of the ecclesiastical constitution; and he served for nearly twenty years as bishop of Ribe, until he died.⁴⁸

Mikael Agricola – Reformer and Father of Finnish Literature

In Finland, which had been part of Sweden since the middle of the 12th century,⁴⁹ the Protestant Reformation was mainly the work of theologians educated at Wittenberg by Luther and Melanchthon.⁵⁰ The reason why most Finnish reformers trained in Wittenberg was that in the 1530s a number of Swedish bishops began to grant scholarships to enable students to study at the birthplace of the Reformation.⁵¹ Among those who came to Wittenberg was Mikael Agricola. Like many others Agricola had been deeply impressed with the evangelical preaching of Petrus Särkilathi in the late 1520s.⁵² However, unlike many of his fellow students he did not receive a scholarship, though Luther had written a letter of recommendation in which he had asked

⁴⁶ M. Schwarz Lausten, *Die heilige Stadt Wittenberg: Die Beziehung des dänischen Königshauses zu Wittenberg in der Reformationszeit* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2010), 92.

⁴⁷ M. Schwarz Lausten, 'The Early Reformation in Denmark and Norway, 1520-1559', in *The Scandinavian Reformation: from Evangelical Movement to Institutionalisation of Reform*, ed. O.P. Grell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 20.

⁴⁸ G.D. Hagstoz and H. Hagstoz, *Heroes of the Reformation* (Rapidan: Hartland, 1996), 300.

⁴⁹ J.E. Lavery, *The History of Finland* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006), 1.

⁵⁰ B. Vogler, 'The Spread of the Reformation in Germany and Scandinavia (1530-1620)', in *The Reformation*, ed. P. Chaunu (London: Guild Publishing, 1989), 195.

⁵¹ Heininen and Czaika, 'Wittenberg Influences on the Reformation in Scandinavia'.

⁵² E.I. Kouri, 'The Early Reformation in Sweden and Finland c. 1520-1560', in *The Scandinavian Reformation: From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalisation of Reform*, ed. O.P. Grell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 65.

the Swedish king for funding for Agricola.⁵³ Agricola left for Wittenberg in 1536 and returned home three years later.⁵⁴ Upon his return he was appointed rector of the cathedral school in Turku. Eighteen years later King Gustavus made him bishop of Turku and gave him the task to train the first Protestant pastors in Finland.⁵⁵ Just like Olaus Petri Mikael Agricola had an influential writing ministry which shaped the Reformation in Finland. Jones notes:

Agricola was an immensely productive author and scholar, the father of Finnish literature. He undertook the translation of the Bible and published his New Testament in 1543. In 1544 he published his manual for ministers, A Biblical Prayer Book and five years later his two service books for conducting the liturgy of the Mass. Agricola had a deep interest in promoting spirituality and although Lutheran in his theology, he had a real respect for late mediaeval devotion and never indulged in bitter polemics against Roman Catholic practices. His generous and pious spirit, with a warm concern for pastoral care of his flock and the promotion of practical Christian living left a lasting mark on the spiritual life of his country.⁵⁶

Jones' evaluation of Agricola's ministry is shared by other scholars. The Finnish Reformation is sometimes called the quiet Reformation as it was not actively supported by large segments of society (as it was the case in Denmark and Germany), but almost exclusively carried by members of the clergy.⁵⁷ This, however, does not mean that the work of Agricola and other Finnish reformers was in vain. On the contrary, they reminded the Finnish people of the nature of true, biblical faith. Andersen writes:

[W]hen the Roman superstructure of sacramental magic, justification by works and the worship of saints was done away with, the reformers were able to touch hands with the true religious life of the later middle ages, with its reverence for Christ, the mystery of the Passion and penance which in evangelical form provided the transition of the new age. The writings of Agricola show this clearly. The reformers were aiming at a personal faith...⁵⁸

⁵³ Lavery, *The History of Finland*, 40.

⁵⁴ Kouri, 'The Early Reformation in Sweden and Finland c. 1520-1560', 65.

⁵⁵ E. Vainio, *Reflections of Pastoral Significance* (Lulu.com. Publishing 2010), 85.

⁵⁶ Jones, *The Great Reformation*, 109.

⁵⁷ Vainio, *Reflections of Pastoral Significance*, 45; N.K. Andersen, 'The Reformation in Scandinavia and the Baltic', in *The New Cambridge Modern History*, vol. 2: *The Reformation 1520-1559*, ed. G.R. Elton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 164.

⁵⁸ Andersen, 'The Reformation in Scandinavia and the Baltic', 164.

In summary, we have seen that Wittenberg played a central role as a regional mission hub for the Reformation movement in northern Europe or as Heininen and Czaika put it: ‘An examination of the Reformation in Scandinavia shows that reforming influences emanating from Wittenberg were taken up in all parts of Scandinavia.’⁵⁹ Consequently, the allegation against Luther and his fellow reformers of lacking any missionary involvement is unjustified. But what are we to make of the accusation that their theologies were not missional at all?

Martin Luther – the Father of Evangelical Missions?

Quite to the contrary to what the critics claim, some scholars, such as Scherer and Pitt, have conferred the title of ‘Father of Evangelical Missions’ to Martin Luther.⁶⁰ While this title is probably too strong a term, it is true that the theologies of Luther, Calvin and other reformers with their focus on both the Word of God and the Church of Christ contain important mission principles. To fully appreciate the missional character of the reformers’ theologies one needs to look at the situation of the church on the eve of the Reformation.

On the eve of the Protestant Reformation religion played an important role in the lives of most Europeans but the message of the biblical Christian faith was hardly heard.⁶¹ The true gospel had almost vanished and the visible church had become a spiritually and morally corrupted institution. For hundreds of years the church had used a policy of assimilation as one of their main mission strategies: elements of pagan religions and cultures were not rejected but assimilated into the church.⁶² This strategy was very successful. The church expanded and became more and more influential.⁶³ However, over time the pagan elements started to have an impact on the practice and doctrine of the church. There was, for example, a strong belief in supernatural powers.⁶⁴ Only priests could say the words at Holy Communion which transformed wine into blood and bread into flesh, and only priests could bless buildings and animals and thus provide a kind of supernatural protection.⁶⁵ Supernatural power was also ascribed to the Bible and the church liturgy. Birkett notes:

[I]t was because of a belief in the inherent power of words that the church resisted translating the Bible from Latin into the common

⁵⁹ Heininen and Czaika, ‘Wittenberg Influences on the Reformation in Scandinavia’.

⁶⁰ D.J.Hesselgrave, *Paradigms in Conflict: 10 Key Questions in Christian Missions Today* (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2005), 348.

⁶¹ K. Birkett, *The Essence of the Reformation* (Kingsford: Matthias Media, 2009), 11.

⁶² Birkett, *The Essence of the Reformation*, 15.

⁶³ Spitz, *The Protestant Reformation, 1517-1559*, 49.

⁶⁴ Birkett, *The Essence of the Reformation*, 15.

⁶⁵ Birkett, *The Essence of the Reformation*, 22.

tongue. The argument was that the words themselves, as recorded, had to be preserved... This attitude to the Bible could also be seen in church ceremony. Gospel texts were thought of to be powerful as the collection of particular letters, quite apart from their actual message. Books of the Gospels were kissed and venerated. Also the Latin liturgy was considered to be powerful in the same way as the Bible, ...conveying power to those who used them, even if their meaning was not understood.⁶⁶

The church was without doubt a powerful institution. With its mediating power it dominated people's everyday life. However, the most powerful person in the church was the pope in Rome. He had the authority to appoint bishops and clerics, and he benefited from this system financially: candidates had to pay their way into the office and while the post was vacant all the income went to Rome.⁶⁷ The church might have been highly influential but it was also an institution facing a severe crisis.⁶⁸ Chaunu describes this crisis well when he writes:

With the system of Indulgences, everything rested on the Church... The letters which the money changers dispatched to... Rome, and which in exchange for tinkling florins came back receipted with the pardon and the passport to heaven, bear witness to it. The Church had the key to Scripture which it alone knew and which it scarcely troubled itself about any more. It alone knew, it alone provided, it alone saved. That might have been comforting, but it was dangerous: you should never pull too hard on a single rope.⁶⁹

The time was clearly ripe for changes. It was ripe for the rediscovery of biblical truths and a fundamental reform of the church.

The Reformers and their Confidence in the Gospel

In his book *Evangelical Truth* John Stott writes about mission: 'The Christian Church is called to mission, but there can be no mission without message. So what is our message for the world?'⁷⁰ The answer that Stott gives is to the point: the Christian message for the world is the message of the cross, i.e. the gospel. The message of mission Stott writes 'centres on the cross, on the fantastic truth of a God who loves us, and who gave himself for

⁶⁶ Birkett, *The Essence of the Reformation*, 23-24.

⁶⁷ Birkett, *The Essence of the Reformation*, 27.

⁶⁸ T. Brandt, *Kirche im Wandel der Zeit, Teil 1: Von Paulus bis Luther* (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus Verlag, 1977), 221-222.

⁶⁹ P. Chaunu, "The Pre-reformation Climate," in *The Reformation*, ed. P. Chaunu (London: Guild Publishing, 1989), 56.

⁷⁰ J. Stott, *Evangelical Truth: A Personal Plea for Unity, Integrity and Faithfulness* (Leicester: IVP, 2003), 96.

us in Christ on the cross'⁷¹. This is the message Christians must proclaim.⁷² This is the message they must glory in: 'My thesis', Stott continues, 'has been that for our acceptance with God, for our daily discipleship, and for our mission and message to the world, we...should glory in nothing but the cross.'⁷³

Luther and Calvin would have wholeheartedly agreed with Stott. They lived in a time when the message of the cross was no longer at the centre of the life of the church.⁷⁴ They lived in an age when people were told that they could obtain spiritual blessings, including the forgiveness of sins, by paying certain sums of money to the church.⁷⁵ However, through the study of the Scriptures the reformers came to realise that the true gospel was very different from the gospel the church had taught them. They realised that while the Bible teaches the condemnation of sinful people, it also teaches that sinners are offered free forgiveness through Christ.⁷⁶ John Calvin summarises the heart of the gospel well when he writes:

Finally, God took pity upon this unfortunate and thoroughly unhappy man. Although the sentence which he passed upon him was correct, he nevertheless gave his only and much-loved Son as a sacrificial victim for such sins. By reason of this amazing and unexpected mercy [...], God commended his love towards us more greatly than if he had rescinded this sentence. Therefore Christ, the Son of God, was both conceived through the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit and born of the virgin. He was finally raised up on the cross, and through his own death delivered the human race from eternal death.⁷⁷

The Protestant reformers rediscovered the biblical gospel of justification.⁷⁸ They came to realise that people are justified by faith alone; that they cannot contribute anything to their salvation because on the cross Christ has

⁷¹ Stott, *Evangelical Truth: A Personal Plea for Unity, Integrity and Faithfulness*, 96.

⁷² Stott, *Evangelical Truth: A Personal Plea for Unity, Integrity and Faithfulness*, 97.

⁷³ Stott, *Evangelical Truth: A Personal Plea for Unity, Integrity and Faithfulness*, 98.

⁷⁴ Spitz, *The Protestant Reformation, 1517-1559*, 51-52.

⁷⁵ T. Lindsay, *Martin Luther: The Man Who Started the Reformation* (Fearn: Christian Focus, 2004), 47.

⁷⁶ Cf. Birkett, *The Essence of the Reformation*, 38.

⁷⁷ Quoted in AE. McGrath, *The Christian Theology Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 187.

⁷⁸ J. Stott, *The Cross of Christ* (Leicester: IVP, 1989), 182.

already achieved everything for them.⁷⁹ The reformers understood that justification is a gracious act of God by which a believer is declared righteous. Melancthon writes:

For what cause is justification attributed to faith alone? I answer that since we are justified by the mercy of God alone, and faith is clearly the recognition of that mercy by whatever promise you apprehend it, justification is attributed to faith alone... For to trust in divine mercy is to have no confidence in any of our own works. Anyone who denies that the saints are justified by faith insults the mercy of God. For since our justification is a work of divine mercy alone and is not a merit based on our own works,... justification must be attributed to faith alone.⁸⁰

The Reformers and the Proclamation of the Gospel

Luther and his fellow reformers not only came to embrace the biblical gospel, they also emphasized the necessity to proclaim it. In his *Large Catechism* Luther writes the following about the second petition in the Lord's Prayer:

For the coming of God's kingdom to us occurs in two ways; first, here in time through the Word and faith; and secondly, in eternity forever through revelation. Now we pray for both these things, that it may come to those who are not yet in it, and, by daily increase, to us who have received the same, and hereafter in eternal life. All this is nothing else than saying: Dear Father, we pray, give us first Thy Word, that the Gospel be preached properly throughout the world; and secondly, that it be received in faith, and work and live in us, so that through the Word and the power of the Holy Ghost Thy kingdom may prevail among us, and the kingdom of the devil be put down, that he may have no right or power over us, until at last it shall be utterly destroyed, and sin, death and hell shall be exterminated ...⁸¹

Luther recognises that the gospel needs to be preached both to those who already belong to Christ through faith and to those who are not yet part of the kingdom. We can see here, as Schulz writes, 'the missionary dimension to Luther's theology: God's mission takes place within the Church, and yet it

⁷⁹ Cf. M. Reeves and T. Chester, *Why the Reformation Still Matters* (London: IVP, 2016), 26.

⁸⁰ Quoted in McGrath, *The Christian Theology Reader*, 231.

⁸¹ M. Luther, 'The Large Catechism', in *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Lutheran Church*. <http://bookofconcord.org/lc-5-ourfather.php>; access: 25.08.2016.

also extends beyond the Church to those still held in unbelief⁸². Interestingly, Luther stresses that the gospel has to be proclaimed ‘throughout the world’. By using this phrase, he acknowledges the global aspect of evangelism. The gospel has to be proclaimed to all unbelievers whether they live close by or far away so that they can come to a personal faith in Christ. Finally, Luther also recognises that the evangelising church is involved in a spiritual battle. The church in mission is always confronted with the devil and his powers. Mission, therefore, is never ‘done in a neutral zone’⁸³.

The obligation to proclaim the gospel to all nations is also acknowledged by Calvin. In his *Commentary on Timothy, Titus, Philemon* Calvin states the following in connection with 1 Timothy 2:4:

[T]he Apostle simply means, that there is no people and no rank in the world that is excluded from salvation; because God wishes that the gospel should be proclaimed to all without exception. Now the preaching of the gospel gives life; and hence he justly concludes that God invites all equally to partake salvation. But the present discourse relates to classes of men, and not to individual persons; for his sole object is, to include in this number princes and foreign nations. That God wishes the doctrine of salvation to be enjoyed by them as well as others, is evident...⁸⁴

It is striking that both Luther and Calvin stress the role that God plays in the missionary proclamation of the gospel. It is God who is responsible for the preaching of the gospel. It is his will that all nations hear the gospel. Yes, it is God himself who preaches the gospel and it is God who invites people to receive salvation. Put differently, mission is first and foremost God’s mission, or as Schulz notes: ‘God is the subject. Our activity must subordinate itself to God’s doing, and any success is due to Him.’⁸⁵

The Protestant reformers hold that whenever the Word of God is proclaimed properly God’s voice can be heard.⁸⁶ The voice and the words of the preacher, writes Luther ‘are not his own words and doctrine but those of our Lord and God.’⁸⁷ This notion is based on the reformers’ view of mission.⁸⁸ To them the missionary proclamation of the gospel is an essential part of

⁸² Schulz, *Mission from the Cross: The Lutheran Theology of Mission*, 50.

⁸³ Schulz, *Mission from the Cross: The Lutheran Theology of Mission*, 50.

⁸⁴ J. Calvin, *Commentary on Timothy, Titus, Philemon* (Grand Rapids: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, undated), 40. <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/calvin/calcom43.pdf>; access: 29.08.2016.

⁸⁵ Schulz, *Mission from the Cross: The Lutheran Theology of Mission*, 50.

⁸⁶ Reeves and Chester, *Why the Reformation Still Matters*, 46.

⁸⁷ M. Luther, “Sermons on the Gospel of St John”, in *Luther’s Works*, vol. 22, ed. J.J. Pelikan (St Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1957), 526.

⁸⁸ Reeves and Chester, *Why the Reformation Still Matters*, 46.

God's salvation plan. While salvation is achieved through Jesus' death on the cross and his resurrection, it is distributed through the Word of God by the Holy Spirit.⁸⁹ Without this distribution through the preaching of the gospel and the work of the Holy Spirit who applies the gospel to sinners no one would be saved. In his work *Against the Heavenly Prophets in the Manner of Images and Sacraments* Luther underlines the central role which the Word of God plays in the life of Christians:

Christ on the cross and all His suffering and His death do not avail, even if, as you teach, they are 'acknowledged and meditate upon' with the utmost 'passion, ardor, heartfelnness'. Something else must always be there. What is it? The Word, the Word. Listen, lying spirit, the Word avails. Even if Christ were given for us and crucified a thousand times, it would all be in vain if the Word of God were absent and were not distributed and given to me with the bidding, this is for you, take it, take what is yours. If I now seek the forgiveness of sins, I do not run to the cross, for I will not find it there. Nor must I hold to the suffering of Christ, as Carlstadt trifles, in knowledge or remembrance, for I will not find it there either. But I will find in the sacraments or gospel, the Word which distributes, presents, offers, and gives me that forgiveness which was won on the cross.⁹⁰

The Reformers and the Central Roles of the Holy Spirit and the Church in Mission

While for the last two hundred years mission in general and cross-cultural mission in particular have been dominated by mission agencies and other para-church organisations,⁹¹ the Protestant reformers clearly had a church-centred approach to mission. For the reformers, it is the church which 'serves as the catalyst and base for missionary outreach'⁹². It is the task of the church to preach the Word of God to both believers and unbelievers, to incorporate new believers through baptism into the church and to strengthen them through teaching and the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the faith.⁹³ All this happens on the local, congregational level.⁹⁴ Luther believed, as Kolb and Arand note, 'that God gathered his people into communities, into congregations gathered by and around his Word as it was proclaimed, read, and

⁸⁹ Reeves and Chester, *Why the Reformation Still Matters*, 47.

⁹⁰ Quoted in R.D. Preus, 'The Theology of the Cross', *Reformation and Revival* 8/1 (1999): 49.

⁹¹ Cf. P. Johnstone, *The Church is Bigger Than You Think: The Unfinished Work of World Evangelization* (Fearn: Christian Focus, 1998).

⁹² Schulz, *Mission from the Cross: The Lutheran Theology of Mission*, 53.

⁹³ Schulz, *Mission from the Cross: The Lutheran Theology of Mission*, 52.

⁹⁴ Schulz, *Mission from the Cross: The Lutheran Theology of Mission*, 53.

shared in its sacramental form'.⁹⁵ This conviction stems from the reformers' understanding of the church. According to them the marks of the church are two: the Church of God is present wherever the gospel is properly preached and the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper are properly administered. Calvin puts it this way: 'Wherever we see the Word of God purely preached and listened to, and the sacraments administered according to Christ's institution, it is in no way to be doubted that a church of God exists.'⁹⁶ Similarly, Luther writes that 'anywhere you hear or see such a word preached, believed, confessed and acted upon, do not doubt that the true *ecclesia sancta catholica*, a "holy Christian people" must be there, even though there are very few of them'⁹⁷. Luther did not like the idea of the church as an institution.⁹⁸ He rather saw it as the community or assembly of believers.

Luther also recognises the central role the Holy Spirit plays in the mission with which the church has been entrusted. Commenting on the third article of the Apostle's Creed Luther writes the following in his *Large Catechism*:

I believe that there is upon earth a little holy group and congregation of pure saints, under one head, even Christ, called together by the Holy Ghost in one faith, one mind, and understanding, with manifold gifts, yet agreeing in love, without sects or schisms. I am also a part and member of the same, a sharer and joint owner of all the goods it possesses, brought to it and incorporated into it by the Holy Ghost by having heard and continuing to hear the Word of God, which is the beginning of entering it. For formerly, before we attained to this, we were altogether of the devil, knowing nothing of God and of Christ. Thus, until the last day, the Holy Ghost abides with the holy congregation or Christendom, by means of which He fetches us to Christ and which he employs to teach and preach to us the Word, causing it [this community] daily to grow and become strong in the faith.⁹⁹

Luther argues that it is the Holy Spirit who works in and through the church. It is the Spirit of God who through the church's preaching brings individuals to faith in Christ and into the church and thus sets them free from the influence of the devil. It is also God's Spirit who through the church's preaching strengthens the faith of believers and equips them to bear fruit.

⁹⁵ R. Kolb and C.P. Arand, *The Genius of Luther's Theology: A Wittenberg Way of Thinking for the Contemporary Church* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 180.

⁹⁶ Quoted in McGrath, *The Christian Theology Reader*, 270.

⁹⁷ Quoted in McGrath, *The Christian Theology Reader*, 266.

⁹⁸ Reeves and Chester, *Why the Reformation Still Matters*, 135.

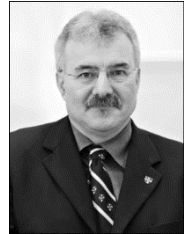
⁹⁹ Luther, 'The Large Catechism'.

In summary, we have seen that it would be wrong to speak of a lack of mission emphasis in the theologies of the Protestant reformers, in particular in Luther's and Calvin's theologies. On the contrary, the reformers formulate some important mission principles. First, they leave us with no doubt that mission is first of all God's mission. Second, they emphasise that the gospel is the message of mission which must be proclaimed both within and outside the church, and which must be believed by individuals. Third, they stress that mission is a church-based endeavour. It is local communities of believers which the Holy Spirit uses to expand the universal Church until the return of Christ. Fourth, the reformers also remind us that the evangelising church is always involved in a clash between truth and untruth, i.e. between the truths of God and the lies of the devil. Fifth and finally, in an age when mission has become a very broad and at times vague concept, the 16th century Protestant reformers remind us that the proclamation of the gospel of Jesus Christ forms the heart of what God is doing in and through His Church.

“Faith only justifieth”: The Witness of Jane Grey, an Evangelical Queen¹

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It is February 10 in the year 1554. We are in a room in the Tower of London, where the Lady Jane Grey (1537-1554), who had been Queen of England for little over a week the previous year – from July 10-19, 1553 – is imprisoned. She has been condemned to death by her cousin Mary I (1516-1558), also known to history as “Bloody Mary.” Though Mary, a die-hard Roman Catholic, is determined to end Jane’s earthly life, Mary also wants to save Jane’s soul. And so she has sent one of her most able chaplains, a Benedictine monk by the name of John Feckenham (c.1515-1584), to speak to Jane and convince her of her theological errors.² Feckenham was no stranger to theological debate, since he had debated a number of leading Protestant theologians in the early 1550s, men like John Hooper (1500-1555) and John Jewel (1522-1571). He may well have thought that a young woman like Jane would be hard-pressed to withstand the power of his reasoning.

Jane recorded the conversation after Feckenham had left her. According to Jane’s account – and we do not have a similar account from Feckenham, though

¹ This article appeared originally as a chapter in Michael A.G. Haykin, *Eight Women of Faith* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2016) is used by kind permission of Crossway.

² His real name was John Howman; he was born in Feckenham, Worcestershire, and, as historian J. Stephan Edwards notes, it was customary at the time for monks to drop their family surname and to use instead only their forename and the name of the town where they had been born – thus ‘John de (or ‘of’) Feckenham’ (in an interview with Justin Taylor, “The Execution of Lady Janes Grey: 460 Years Ago Today” [<http://www.thegospelcoalition.org/blogs/justintaylor/2014/02/12/the-execution-of-lady-jane-grey-460-years-ago-today/>]; accessed July 27, 2015]).

there seems no reason to doubt the veracity of Jane's recollection – after Jane had confessed her faith in the Triunity of God, she affirmed that people are saved by faith alone. Feckenham responded to this by citing 1 Corinthians 13:2, “If I have all faith without love, it is nothing.” In other words, Feckenham was maintaining that salvation was the result of both faith and love shown by good works. Jane stood her ground and replied:

Jane: True it is, for how can I love him in whom I trust not? Or how can I trust in him whom I love not? Faith and love agreeth both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.

Feckenham: How shall we love our neighbour?

Jane: To love our neighbour is to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and give drink to the thirsty, and to do to him as we would do to ourselves.

Feckenham: Why then it is necessary to salvation to do good works and it is not sufficient to believe.

Jane: I deny that and I affirm that faith only saves. But it is meet for Christians, in token that they follow their master Christ, to do good works, yet may we not say that they profit to salvation. For, although we have all done all that we can, yet we be unprofitable servants, and the faith only in Christ's blood saveth.³

Who was this remarkable young woman and how did she come to be in this precarious position in the infamous Tower of London? In some ways, Jane's story is a difficult one to tell since it cannot be understood without due consideration of the politics swirling her life. So as we remember her story, while our focus is going to be on her Christian faith, the political scene cannot be ignored. Jane was the granddaughter of Henry VIII's (1491-1547) youngest and favourite sister, Mary Tudor (1496-1533), and was thus that wily monarch's great-niece. During Jane's life she stood fourth in line to the English throne after Henry's three children – Edward VI (1537-1553), Mary, and Elizabeth (1533-1603) – and was elevated to the crown after the death of her cousin Edward VI in 1553. Thus, any consideration of Jane's life inevitably involves looking at the politics of the day.

³ *An Epistle of the Ladye Jane...Whereunto is added the communication she had with Master Feckenham...Also another epistle which she wrote to her sister, with the words she spake upon the Scaffold before she suffered* (n.p., 1554), [18-19], spelling modernized. This source is not paginated. The text can also be found in *The Harleian Miscellany* (London: Robert Dutton, 1808), I, 369-371, with the original spelling in which Jane wrote it.

Jane’s early days

Jane Grey was born to Henry Grey (1517-1554), the Marquis of Dorset, and his wife, Frances (1517-1559), the niece of Henry VIII, at their palatial Leicestershire home, Bradgate Manor, early in October 1537. She appears to have been named after the queen of the day, Jane Seymour (c.1508-1537), the third wife of Henry VIII and the mother of the future Edward VI.

Jane’s parents were highly ambitious, callous individuals who balked at nothing to get ahead. They initially hoped that they could marry Jane off to Henry VIII’s only son, Edward, who had been born in the same month as Jane. Thus, Jane’s parents imposed on her a rigid system of education, requiring her to master Latin, Greek, French, and Italian, so as to make her attractive to the future monarch. In 1546, when Jane was nine, she was sent to Henry’s court, to live under the guardianship of Queen Katharine Parr (1512-1548), the sixth and final wife of Henry VIII. All of this was part of her parents’ selfish scheme to marry her to Edward and so advance their standing in society. But in the providence of God this led to Jane’s coming under the influence of Katharine Parr, one of the most charming and intelligent women of the day, a woman who, moreover, was a genuine Christian. In the words of one of her chaplains: “Her rare goodness has made every day a Sunday”⁴ It appears to have been the case that it was during this stay in the household of Queen Katharine that Jane came to a living faith in Christ.⁵ As Paul Zahl has noted, Katherine was “Jane’s real mother in Christianity.”⁶

In 1547, though, Katherine Parr was widowed as Henry VIII died and as a result Jane soon returned to her parents’ home. Henry was succeeded by his son Edward, who was crowned Edward VI on February 20, 1547. He was but nine years of age. Yet, he was surrounded by a number of godly counselors, including the Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), the Archbishop of Canterbury, who were determined to make

⁴ Faith Cook, *Lady Jane Grey: Nine Day Queen of England* (Darlington, Durham: Evangelical Press, 2004), 39. Faith Cook’s work has been very helpful in studying Jane Grey, as has the brief essay by Paul F.M. Zahl, *Five Women of the English Reformation* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publ. Co., 2001), 56-74.

For a recent biography of Katharine Parr along with an edition of some of her writings, see Brandon G. Withrow, *Katherine Parr: A Guided Tour of the Life and Thought of a Reformation Queen* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2009).

⁵ Cook, *Lady Jane Grey*, 43.

⁶ Zahl, *Five Women*, 59.

England a bastion of the Reformed faith.⁷ The great French Reformer John Calvin (1509-1564) actually wrote a letter to Edward's guardian, his uncle Edward Seymour (c.1500-1552), in which he likened Edward VI to King Josiah. And in time the young English monarch was indeed like Josiah, eager to have his subjects learn biblical truth. Of a hundred or so extant treatises from Edward's hand, a number clearly evidence Edward's commitment to the evangelical faith.

When Jane returned to her parents' home in Bradgate, they seem to have considered her a "symbol of failure and a wasted effort – and they treated her accordingly."⁸ Jane's response was to pour herself into her continued her studies. She began to excel in Greek and even entered into correspondence with such continental Reformers as Martin Bucer (1491-1551), then living in Cambridge, and Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575) of Zurich.⁹ She was growing in grace and becoming articulate in her faith, though there is also evidence that she was strong-minded and at times displayed a very stubborn streak like many of her Tudor relatives.¹⁰

Marriage & Edward's death

In the spring of 1552, King Edward had the measles, and not taking time to recover, he soon began to show symptoms of tuberculosis. As the year wore on, it became increasingly clear to those who were close to the King that he would not reach adulthood. Now, Henry VIII's will had named his daughter Mary as next in line to the throne. If Edward did not marry and produce an heir, a Catholic would rule England. Edward's chief Minister, John Dudley (1504-1553), the Duke of Northumberland, well knew that he would be punished by Mary for his support of the Protestant cause. He began to seek a way to prevent her being queen. Jane Grey was fourth in line to the throne, and represented, for Northumberland, his only real chance to retain the power and status he had attained. He thus began to foster a close association with Henry and Frances Grey and in due time convinced them to wed their daughter Jane to his son, Guildford Dudley (1535-1554).

⁷ On Cranmer, see Michael A.G. Haykin, *The Reformers and Puritans as Spiritual Mentors: "Hope is kindled"* (The Christian Mentor, vol. 2; Kitchener, ON: Joshua Press, 2012), 31-48.

⁸ "Lady Jane Grey – Biography: Jane and the Seymours – till Somerset's fall (1549/1550)" (http://www.geocities.ws/jane_the_quene/bio3.html; accessed July 27, 2015).

⁹ Cook, *Lady Jane Grey*, 94-99.

¹⁰ Cook, *Lady Jane Grey*, 93.

Early in May 1553, Jane was told by her parents that she was to be married to Guildford. Though Jane protested and utterly refused, for she despised Guildford, it was ultimately to no avail. After her father had sworn at her and cursed her, and her mother given her an awful beating, she relented.¹¹ So it was that on May 25, 1553, Jane was married to Guildford at Durham House in London.

Eight weeks later, on Thursday, July 6, 1553 the fifteen-year old King Edward died, surrounded by his counsellors, who had gathered at his bedside. In his final days, encouraged by John Dudley, but also very much in accord with his own thinking, he had changed his father's will and made Jane his heir. Both of his half-sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, had been disinherited by their father before Henry VIII's death and Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had declared both of them illegitimate, and thus technically neither could inherit the throne.¹²

News of Edward's death was kept from Jane until Sunday, July 9, when she was informed that she had to go to the Duke of Northumberland's residence, Syon House at Isleworth on the Thames. When, two hours later, Jane entered Syon House from the riverside she first went into what was known as the Great Hall, where she was told of the death of King Edward and her succession to the throne. Overwhelmed with the news of the death of her cousin, and coupled with the shock of hearing herself proclaimed Queen, Jane fainted. None apparently went to help her until she eventually revived by herself and stood up and adamantly maintained that she was not the rightful Queen. That was Mary's right. Dudley responded by telling her: “Your Grace doth wrong to yourself and to your house.” He then recounted the terms of Edward's will, which named her as his heir. Jane's parents joined in, demanding that she accept. At this, she knelt in prayer and found the inner strength to say a little while later, while still kneeling: “If what hath been given me is lawfully mine, may thy divine Majesty grant me such grace that I may govern to thy glory and service, to the advantage of this realm.”¹³

Queen Jane

The following day Jane was rowed up the Thames to the Tower of London where monarchs traditionally stayed until their coronation day. Proclamation was made to the people of London that “Jane, by the grace

¹¹ Cook, *Lady Jane Grey*, 109-110.

¹² Cook, *Lady Jane Grey*, 116.

¹³ Cook, *Lady Jane Grey*, 126-127.

of God, [is] Queen of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith and of the Church of England and Ireland, under Christ on Earth, the Supreme Head.” Most of them would have been quite surprised since Jane was hardly known in the capital. Moreover, they would have regarded Mary as the rightful heir despite the fact that she had been disinherited.

From Sunday, 9 July, to Wednesday, 19 July, then Lady Jane Grey was Queen. She signed a few documents, perhaps six in all, she dined once in state and made one or two appointments. She also resolutely refused to agree to the request of her husband and the violent demand of her mother-in-law that Guildford Dudley should be made King.

As soon as Mary had heard of Jane being made Queen, however, she marched on London with an army, and all but one or two of those courtiers who had sworn to defend her to the death, melted away in the face of Mary’s military might. Even Jane’s own father declared Mary the rightful queen, hoping that he could escape with his life.¹⁴ It is noteworthy that Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, did not desert Jane to her foes. As for Jane herself, an eyewitness account indicates that she seemed relieved that she was no longer queen. Naïvely, she hoped she could simply return to her home. But Mary – soon to be Mary I – did not trust her and committed her to prison in the Tower.

Jane condemned to death

On July 24, Jane’s father-in-law, Dudley, who had been arrested was also brought to the Tower as a prisoner. In the hope of securing a pardon from the Queen he recanted his Protestant beliefs, saying that he had been seduced “by the false and erroneous teachings” of the evangelicals. He requested the right to attend mass, which was granted by Mary. With disgust, Jane watched from her window in the Tower as he was escorted to mass, and she was heard to say, “I pray God I, nor no friend of mine die so.” Dudley was granted a small reprieve, but he could not escape death. He was beheaded on August 23, 1553.

Jane and her husband Guildford, Dudley’s son, were put on trial on November 13. Both were found guilty and sentenced to death. But Jane really did not expect to die in such a way and initially Mary probably had little intention of carrying out the sentence. But a civil uprising known as the Wyatt Rebellion changed her mind. Sir Thomas Wyatt (1521-1554) raised a small band of soldiers in Kent who were angered when they heard Mary was planning to marry King Philip II (1527-1598) of Spain. In their minds, to have a Spanish Catholic King on the English throne was utterly unthinkable.

¹⁴ Cook, *Lady Jane Grey*, 135-141.

Wyatt was able to win his way to London by February 7, 1554. But when he entered the capital, townspeople of London refused to countenance his cause and the rebellion collapsed. Now, intimately involved in this rebellion was Jane’s father, Henry Grey. His involvement all but determined Mary to take Jane’s death. On February 7, 1554, Mary accordingly signed the death warrants of “Guilford Dudley and his wife...” When Henry Grey was executed, it should be noted, he affirmed that he died “in the faith of Christ, trusting to be saved by his blood only (and not by any trumpery).”¹⁵

The conversation with Feckenham

It was thus that Jane met John Feckenham a few days later after her death warrant had been signed and had the conversation, of which part has been cited above. The full conversation runs as follows

Feckenham first speaketh: What thing is required in a Christian?

Jane: To believe in God the Father, in God the Son, in God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God.

Feckenham: Is there nothing else required in a Christian, but to believe in God?

Jane: Yes, we must believe in him, we must love him with all our heart, with all our soul and all our mind, and our neighbor as ourself.

Feckenham: Why then faith justifieth not, nor saveth not.

Jane: Yes, verily, faith (as St. Paul saith) only justifieth.

Feckenham: Why St Paul saith: If I have all faith without love, it is nothing.

Jane: True it is, for how can I love him in whom I trust not? Or how can I trust in him whom I love not? Faith and love agreeth both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.

Feckenham: How shall we love our neighbour?

Jane: To love our neighbour is to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and give drink to the thirsty, and to do to him as we would do to ourselves.

Feckenham: Why then it is necessary to salvation to do good works and it is not sufficient to believe.

Jane: I deny that and I affirm that faith only saveth. But it is meet for Christians, in token that they follow their master Christ, to do good works, yet may we not say that they profit to salvation. For

¹⁵ Cited Zahl, *Five Women*, 66-67.

although we have all done all that we can, yet we be unprofitable servants, and the faith only in Christ's blood saveth.

Feckenham: How many sacraments be there?

Jane: Two, the one the sacrament of baptism, and the other the sacrament of our Lord's supper.

Feckenham: No, there be seven.¹⁶

Jane: By what Scripture find you that?

Feckenham: Well, we will talk thereof hereafter. But what is signified by your two sacraments?

Jane: By the sacrament of baptism, I am washed with water and regenerated by the Spirit, and that washing is a token to me, that I am the child of God. The sacrament of the Lord's supper is offered unto me as a sure seal and testimony, that I am by the blood of Christ, which he shed for me on the cross, made partaker of the everlasting kingdom.

Feckenham: Why, what do you receive in that bread? Do you not receive the very body and blood of Christ?

Jane: No surely, I do not believe so. I think that at that supper I receive neither flesh, nor blood, but only bread and wine. The which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is drunk, putteth me in mind, how that for my sins the body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed on the cross, and, with that bread and wine, I receive the benefits that came by [the] breaking of his body, and the shedding of his blood on the cross for my sins.

Feckenham: Why, doth not Christ speak these words: "Take, eat, this is my body?"¹⁷ Require we any plainer words? Doth not he say that it is his body?

Jane: I grant he saith so, and so he saith: "I am the vine, I am the door,"¹⁸ but yet he is never the more the vine nor door. Doth not St. Paul say that he calleth those things that are not as though they were?¹⁹ God forbid that I should say that I eat the very natural body and blood of Christ, for then either I should pluck away my redemption, either else there were two bodies, or two Christs or else two bodies, the one body was tormented on the cross, and then, if they did eat another body, then either he had two bodies, either else if his body were eaten, it was not broken upon the cross, or else if it were broken upon the cross, it was not eaten of his disciples.

¹⁶ Roman Catholicism holds to seven sacraments – baptism, confirmation, auricular confession, the eucharist, marriage, holy orders, and last rites – while Protestants have historically held to two, baptism and the Lord's Supper.

¹⁷ Mark 14:22.

¹⁸ John 10:9; 15:1-10.

¹⁹ Romans 4:17.

Feckenham: Why is it not as possible that Christ by his power could make his body both to be eaten and broken, as to be born of a woman without the seed of man, and as to walk on the sea, having a body, and other such like miracles as he wrought by his power only?

Jane: Yes, verily, if God would have done at his supper a miracle, he might have done so, but I say he minded no work or miracle but only to break his body and shed his blood on the cross for our sins. But I pray you answer me to this one question, Where was Christ when he said: “Take, eat, this is my body”? Was he not at the table when he said so? He was at that time alive, and suffered not till the next day. Well, what took he, but bread? And what break he, but bread? And what gave he, but bread? Look what he took, he break, and look what he break, he gave; and look what he gave, that did they eat; and yet all this while he himself was at supper before his disciples, or else they were deceived.

Feckenham: You ground your faith upon such authors as say and unsay, both with a breath, and not upon the church. to whom you ought to give credit.

Jane: No. I ground my faith upon God’s Word and not upon the church. For if the church be a good church, the faith of the church must be tried by God’s Word, and not God’s Word by the church, neither yet my faith. Shall I believe the church because of antiquity? Or shall I give credit to that church that taketh away from me that half part of the Lord’s supper, and will let no laymen receive it in both kinds but themselves? Which thing if they deny to us, they deny us part of our salvation, and I say that is an evil church, and not the spouse of Christ, but the spouse of the devil, that altereth the Lord’s supper, and both taketh from it and addeth to it. To that church I say God will add plagues, and from that church will he take their part out of the Book of Life. Do you not learn that of St. Paul, when he ministered it to the Corinthians in both kinds?²⁰ Shall I believe that church? God forbid.

Feckenham: That was done of a good intent of the church to avoid an heresy that sprung on it.

Jane: Why, shall the church alter God’s will and ordinances for a good intent? How did King Saul the Lord define?

With these and such like persuasions, he would have had me to have leaned to the church, but it would not be. There were many mo[re] things whereof we reasoned, but these were the chief.²¹

²⁰ See 1 Corinthians 11:17-34.

²¹ *Epistle of the Ladye Jane*, [18-23].

This conversation is important for it shows the way that Jane had clearly embraced the key doctrines of the Reformation as her own. According to Paul Zahl, there may well have been a number of others present at this conversation and thus it maybe have been akin to the public debates that took place between Roman Catholics and Protestants during the Reformation era.²² This would explain the way the conversation highlights three key areas of dispute during the Reformation: how are men and women saved? What is the meaning of the Lord's Supper? And upon what basis does one affirm answers to these questions?

As to how a person is saved, Jane maintains what had become the standard evangelical perspective: people are saved by faith alone. It is not faith and love or faith and good works that saves, but faith alone. This faith involves both love and good works, in that true faith issues in works of love and goodness. But Jane affirms unequivocally that salvation is first and foremost based on simple trust in God.

Then, in the second area of debate between Jane and Feckenham, Jane maintains that the Lord's Supper is a memorial – “[it] putteth me in mind” – and a vehicle of assurance – it is “a sure seal and testimony,” and not at all an event where Christ's physical body and blood become present to the believer. This was a decisive issue of the Reformation: what is the nature of the Lord's Supper and how is Christ present at his table?²³ Though they could not agree among themselves as to the nature of Christ's presence, all of the Reformers denied the late medieval Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, that the bread and wine became the very body and blood of Christ during the course of the celebration of the Lord's Table. Jane also by implication denied this doctrine when she rejected the idea of the ubiquity of Christ's body.²⁴

The Reformers also opposed the Roman Catholic practice of only offering the bread, and not the wine, to the laity during the Lord's Supper, a practice that had become almost uniform by the late Middle Ages. For Jane, Roman Catholic practice in this regard was an indication that the Church of Rome was the spouse of the devil, not of Christ, since she flagrantly altered Christ's commands. This is part of a larger discussion that Feckenham had introduced by saying that Jane was listening, not to the church, but to various individual authors, whom he would have regarded as heretics. The question at the heart of the exchange between Jane and Feckenham at this point had to do with the source of authoritative doctrine. For Feckenham, that source was indeed Holy Scripture, but Scripture as it was interpreted by authorized teachers of the church. Jane, on the other hand, insisted that she was basing her views on the Word of God alone. And it was by this Word that all doctrine had to be tested. She clearly rejected the view that only those doctrines were to be believed that were approved by the Roman Catholic Church.

²² Zahl, *Five Women*, 68.

²³ Zahl, *Five Women*, 69.

²⁴ Zahl, *Five Women*, 69.

Before Feckenham left, he told her he was sorry for her, since, he said, “I am sure we two shall not meet,” that is meet in heaven, as he regarded Jane as a heretic. In the face of death, though, Jane’s faith shone out clearly and she replied:

Truth it is that we shall never meet, unless God turn your heart. For I am sure (unless you repent and turn to God), you are in an evil case, and I pray God, in the bowels of his mercy, to send you his Holy Spirit. For he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it please him to open the eyes of your heart to his truth.²⁵

Feckenham was so impressed by Jane’s courage that he asked if he could escort her to the scaffold on the day of her execution, which was to be February 12. Jane agreed, for Mary had refused her request to have an evangelical minister accompany her.²⁶

Some final words

That night Jane wrote in her Greek New Testament a letter for her younger sister Katherine (1540-1568):

I have here sent you, good sister Katherine, a book, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth than precious stones. It is the book, dear sister, of the Law of the Lord. It is his testament and last will, which he bequeathed unto us wretches, which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy. And if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest desire follow it, it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It will teach you to live and learn you to die.

...And as touching my death, rejoice as I do, good sister, that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am assured that I shall for losing of a mortal life, win an immortal life.²⁷

Here we see three things about Jane’s faith. She shares the Reformation love of the Scriptures: “it is more worth than precious stones.” Then, central to this love is Jane’s clear understanding as to why the Bible was given to humanity by God: to lead sinners – those whom Jane calls “us wretches” – to “eternal joy” and “immortal and everlasting

²⁵ *Epistle of the Ladye Jane*, [24].

²⁶ Cook, *Lady Jane Grey*, 187-188.

²⁷ *Epistle of the Ladye Jane*, [25, 27].

life.” And then we also see here, Jane’s deep assurance of salvation, which the Reformers also generally affirmed.

Why did Jane have such assurance? Well, a final document that she wrote on the eve of her execution tells us. She wrote the following three sentences in her prayer book, the first in Latin, the second in Greek and the final one in English:

If justice is done with my body, my soul will find mercy with God. Death will give pain to my body for its sins, but the soul will be justified before God. If my faults deserve punishment, my youth at least, and my imprudence, were worthy of excuse; God and posterity will show me favour.²⁸

She had assurance of salvation because she was justified before God, that is, made right with God, and was therefore confident of his favour.

Jane’s earthly end

Shortly before 11 o’clock on the morning of February 12, Sir John Brydges (1492-1557), the Lieutenant of the Tower of London, came to lead Jane out to the scaffold that had been built against the wall of the central White Tower, at its northwest corner (the corner closest to the Chapel of St Peter-ad-Vincula).²⁹ At the scaffold, Jane was met by Feckenham, along with several other Roman Catholic chaplains. An observer recorded what then took place.

She mounted the scaffold stairs and standing there in that chill February morning, Jane briefly addressed the small crowd gathered and urged them to know that she died “a true Christian woman” and that “I do look to be saved by no other mean, but only by the mercy of God, in the blood of his only Son Jesus Christ.” She then knelt and recited the fifty-first psalm in English. Feckenham followed in Latin, after which she told him, “God I beseech Him abundantly reward you for your kindness to me.” Feckenham was at a complete loss for words and began to weep. Seeing his distress, Jane apparently leaned over and kissed him on the cheek and for a few moments the Roman Catholic chaplain and the evangelical queen stood hand in hand.³⁰ She then gave her gloves to a lady-in-waiting and her prayer book to Sir John Brydges. The executioner, after he had asked Jane for forgiveness which she gave, told Jane to stand near the execution block. She knelt, fumbling to tie a handkerchief around her eyes. Once blindfolded she should have been directly in front of the execution block and then she could have easily laid her neck in the groove on the block. But she had misjudged the distance. Unable to locate the block, she became anxious. “Where is it? What shall I do? Where is it?,” she asked, her voice falter-

²⁸ Cited Zahl, *Five Women*, 67, n.3.

²⁹ J. Stephan Edwards in the interview with Justin Taylor, “The Execution of Lady Janes Grey.”

³⁰ Cited Cook, *Lady Jane Grey*, 198.

ing. No one moved to help her – perhaps unwilling to be an abettor in her death.³¹ Finally, after what must have seemed an eternity, a bystander leaped onto the scaffold and guided her to the block. Her last words were called out in a clear voice, “Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit.”

³¹ Cook, *Lady Jane Grey*, 200.

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