ARTICLES

The Self-Disclosure of Jesus ................................................................. 7
The Call to Personal Biblical Meditation ........................................... 13
An Historical Example of Kingdom Extension – The Life of William Carey .... 35
To the Punjab and Back ................................................................. 53
Isidor Loewenthal, Missionary to Pakistan ....................................... 67
Christ-centred Preaching: some reflections on an important issue .......... 87
Peter Martyr Vermigli on Union with Christ .................................. 101

BOOK REVIEWS

Cairns, Alan, Dictionary of Theological Terms .................................. 125
Duncan, Ligon, ed., The Westminster Confession into the 21st Century .... 131
MacLeod, A. D., W. Stanford Reid, An Evangelical Calvinist in the Academy ... 140
Hegeman, Cornelius, Mission to the People and Church Maintenance .... 147
Bingham, Derick, The Wild-Bird Child: A Life of Amy Carmichael .......... 152

BOOK NOTICES

Department of Biblical Theology ..................................................... 155
Department of Systematic Theology .................................................. 160
Department of Historical Theology .................................................. 164
Department of Applied Theology ..................................................... 166

CONTRIBUTORS

Editorial Policy

1. The journal will seek to provide students, laity, and ministers with an annual publication to develop their minds and souls through in-depth articles and reviews reflective of the theological basis and ethos of the Trust.

2. The journal will seek to keep readers informed about new books or other publications and thus to be a means of encouraging their stewardship of time and money.

3. The selection of articles and works for review in each journal will usually reflect the fourfold division of the departments in the theological curriculum: biblical theology, systematic theology, historical theology, and applied theology, thereby providing balance as to the content of the journal but also providing balance for the readers to see the unity of the curriculum. It will not be a journal devoted to one department of the theological curriculum.

4. The journal will endeavour to highlight, by way of articles, reviews, or book notices, works to assist students in their studies and others in their ongoing training.

5. The journal will encourage the cultivation of writing and provide an avenue for publication and the exchange of knowledge.

6. The journal will include one article or review devoted to the theme of theological education.

7. The journal will also endeavour to include some news about the wider evangelical Presbyterian community of churches or efforts in mission or theological work.

8. Prior to publication, all articles and reviews will be read by select individuals who uphold the theological basis and ethos of the Trust. It will be their task to comment, proof, and ensure the quality of the journal.

Editorial Board: Jack C. Whytock  
Frank Z. Kovacs  
Kent I. Compton

Manuscripts for consideration and books for review should be sent to the editor:  
Rev. Dr. Jack C. Whytock  
99 North River Road  
Charlottetown, PEI C1A 3K6  
Tel. (902) 892-7273  
E-mail: haddingtonhouse@eastlink.ca

Subscriptions/Donations:  
Annual subscription is $20.00 (Can.) or $20.00 (U.S.) outside Canada and includes the annual journal together with two newsletters. We also welcome Patrons of the Trust. Patrons of the Trust pledge a minimum of $120.00 per year (or $10.00/month) in support of the work of the Trust. All Donations to the Trust of any amount are welcome and appreciated. A tax receipt will be issued for all monies received in support of the Trust. (See page 170 for Patron/Subscription form.) We encourage all in Canada and outside of Canada who desire to see a renewed zeal in Canada for evangelical Presbyterianism to become Patrons of the Trust.

All matters for subscription or finance should be addressed to the Treasurer or the Personal Assistant to the Dean:

Margie Plewes, Treasurer  
37 Shirley Ave.  
Moncton, NB E1C 6N3  
Tel. 506-854-5926  
E-mail: sand@nbnet.nb.ca

Christina Lehmann, Personal Assistant  
Haddington House  
99 North River Rd.  
Charlottetown, PEI C1A 3K6  
Tel. (902) 892-7273  
Email: haddingtonhouse@eastlink.ca
CONTENTS

Articles
The Self-Disclosure of Jesus ................................................................. 7
The Call to Personal Biblical Meditation ........................................... 13
An Historical Example of Kingdom Extension – The Life of William Carey .... 35
To the Punjab and Back ................................................................... 53
Isidor Loewenthal, Missionary to Pakistan ....................................... 67
Christ-centred Preaching: some reflections on an important issue .......... 87
Peter Martyr Vermigli on Union with Christ .................................... 101

Book Reviews
Cairns, Alan, Dictionary of Theological Terms ................................. 125
Duncan, Ligon, ed., The Westminster Confession into the 21st Century .... 131
MacLeod, A. D., W. Stanford Reid, An Evangelical Calvinist in the Academy ... 140
Hegeman, Cornelius, Mission to the People and Church Maintenance .... 147
Bingham, Derick, The Wild-Bird Child: A Life of Amy Carmichael ......... 152

Book Notices
Department of Biblical Theology ..................................................... 155
Department of Systematic Theology .................................................. 160
Department of Historical Theology .................................................. 164
Department of Applied Theology ..................................................... 166

CONTRIBUTORS
Welcome to the 2005 *Haddington House Journal*! I would like to take a moment to make some initial comments. First, in the articles you will discover that we begin with a devotional selection, then move into popularly written articles, and conclude with more technical articles in theological studies. Journals, by their very nature, generally allow one to offer something for everyone, and we trust we have accomplished this in the diversity of articles here presented.

Next, in the last two sections are the book reviews and book notices, each of which serves a distinct function or task. The reviews provide opportunity to outline the work with much greater depth along with liberty for analysis, whereas the notices are very concise but allow readers to learn about some worthy books.

Finally, I draw your attention to the wonderful international body of writers in this volume. We are delighted to see such connections with the wider church for a journal whose home is Canada. To all our contributors, we express our sincere appreciation for your fine work.

We send out this journal in prayer that it will bless the household of faith.

*J. C. Whytock,*
*Editor*
Ewen Edward MacDougall*

* Rev. “Ted” MacDougall was born November 19, 1935, in Charlottetown, PEI. His parents were Rev. Ewen and Edna MacDougall. He studied at Prince of Wales College in Charlottetown, and Carleton College in Ottawa, pursuing a career in science before being called to the ministry. He then attended Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, PA. While there he married Elizabeth Gill; they subsequently had three daughters and one son. In 1962 he received a call to the Free Church of Scotland, Eastern Charge, in PEI, where he remained until his death in March, 2003. In the early years of his ministry, starting in 1968, Ted was also involved in the work of Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship, for which he latterly served as Atlantic Divisional Director. He was also active as an evangelist and youth and Bible study leader in Nova Scotia. In addition to these fruitful ministries, in 1979 Ted teamed up with radio producer-announcer Loren Fevens to broadcast the gospel message, “Word of Hope.” This programme reached via short wave radio to countries around the world, including Lebanon, West Africa, and the former Soviet Union, as well as being broadcast by radio stations in Charlottetown and Nova Scotia. The radio message presented here was heard in the third year of this broadcast ministry.
Let us consider the self-disclosure of Jesus as found in the Gospel of John, chapter 20, verses 24 to 29. It is an account of the resurrection of Jesus and the way in which He appeared to Thomas. Jesus has appeared to the disciples and has shown them the wounds in His hands and in His side. They are all present but Thomas. Reading from verse 24 in chapter 20 of John:

But Thomas, one of the twelve, called Didymus, was not with them when Jesus came. The other disciples therefore said unto him, We have seen the Lord. But he said unto them, Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe. And after eight days again his disciples were within, and Thomas with them: then came Jesus, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst, and said, Peace be unto you. Then saith he to Thomas, Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side; and be not faithless, but believing. And Thomas answered and said unto him, My Lord and my God. Jesus saith unto him, Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.

How easily we can identify with Thomas! We can understand how he would want to have a personal experience of the resurrected Christ before he would believe that Jesus was truly risen from the dead. This is one of the most dramatic accounts of the Bible, and the issues at stake are vitally important. There are several things we need to notice about this account which bear on our own view of the resurrection. It is important to notice that, although all of his brethren have seen the resurrected Jesus, Thomas will not be convinced. He either believes that they have seen a spirit or hallucination or they are not telling the truth. He says that he must not only see for himself, but he must put his finger into the print of the nails and thrust his hand into the wound in Jesus’ side before he will believe. In other words, he will not trust even his own eyes but will have to touch the resurrected Christ. It is understandable considering the issues involved. If Jesus is truly visibly, tangibly alive, then He is truly the Messiah and the incarnate Son of God. If He is not visibly, tangibly alive, then He was just a man and a memory in the minds and hearts of His disciples. Thomas sees the issues clearly and, interestingly enough, those issues have not changed
a bit over the centuries; but, before we consider them further, we will go on with the narrative.

After eight days, the disciples were gathered in the same place and this time Thomas was with them. Thomas has been carrying his doubts around for a whole week. Jesus comes and stands in the midst of the group and says, “Peace be unto you.” Then He says to Thomas, as if He had heard his conversation with the other disciples, “Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side: and be not faithless, but believing.” Thomas answers and says to Him, “My Lord and my God.”

We simply do not know whether Thomas touched the wounds or not. The account does not say that he did. However, he is overwhelmed at the appearance of his risen Lord. His response is: “My Lord and my God.” He knows he is before the God of Israel; the God of his fathers has come to earth. It is a clear declaration from one who acknowledges that there is one God and beside Him there is no Saviour. He knows now that the Promised One has come and that His name is “Immanuel” or “God with us.”

Jesus responds to his statement, “Thomas, because you have seen me you have believed: blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed.” This is a message that can mean a great deal to those of us who live in the twentieth century. We are in the situation of being nearly two thousand years removed from the resurrection of Jesus Christ, yet we are expected to be believers. The question naturally comes to our minds, “How can we believe when we have no opportunity to see or touch the resurrected Christ as the apostles did? How can we have the conviction of the life of Christ when it is impossible to have the evidence they experienced?” There has been a recent trend for some to say that we cannot know the truth of the resurrection, but we can have confidence in the conviction of the disciples. We know that they experienced something, and we can trust their faith for the reality of Christ. This is far from sufficient for most of us. It is not enough for us to have faith in the faith of the apostles. It will not stand up to the modern skeptical mind and attitude of today. It is not enough. There is a way provided for the seeker of the truth.

One of the most marvelous things in the Christian faith is the fact that Jesus is alive. He is glorified at the right hand of God the Father. We are able to know this because the Spirit of God is able to bring the presence of the living Christ into our hearts. The work of the Spirit of God is wonderful and various. The gospel of Jesus Christ is borne to our hearts by the Holy Spirit. He is the author of the writings of the apostles as He brought the words and events of the life of Christ to their
minds. They wrote under His inspiration. Now He takes those same words and applies them to the hearts of those that hear the Word. He is able to convict our hearts of sin and judgment as He applies the Word. Not only this, but He also brings us to repentance and enables us to believe on Christ as our Saviour and Deliverer. Even more than this, He brings the living presence of the glorified Christ into the heart of the believer so that we are able to say that we have Christ dwelling in our hearts. Jesus teaches that if we keep His commandments, both He and the Father will come to us and will make their abode within us. This is by the power and presence of the Holy Spirit.

We have just described one of the greatest mysteries of Christianity, but also one of the basic reasons for its dynamic power. It would seem to the average observer or searcher for the truth of Christ that we are expected to believe a most improbable message. It is beyond reason to suppose that the great God of the galaxies, given that He exists, has come to the planet earth in the form of human flesh and has had a short ministry of three years in a tiny country on the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea, died on the cross and then rose from the dead before ascending to heaven. It is fantastic to the average person to suppose that our mental attitude or belief regarding this person should determine whether or not we live with God eternally or dwell in eternal darkness. This is what the Scriptures teach and this is a capsule of what we hear when we hear the Christian gospel.

Now, if this is true, then it is literally the most fantastic thing or event to have ever happened to the earth. It cannot be overstated. There are only two routes for people to take in Christianity. Either they have to have a supernatural intervention of God in order for them to believe and enter into the salvation we have described, or they have to water down the message of the gospel itself until it has lost its original content and challenge, not to mention its blessing. And, indeed, this has unfortunately happened so that there are many who call themselves Christian who believe nothing like the original message of the apostles as we have it in the Scriptures. There are some who claim that Jesus is just a wonderful example of a man in whom God dwelt and who lived a life we can emulate and copy. The incredible demand of believing on Him as our Saviour from sin and that He rose from the dead is not even in their system. Yet, if we honestly consider historic Christianity, we realize that belief in the deity and resurrection of Christ is the very essential core of the faith.

The great secret that is often bypassed is that God is able supernaturally by the power of His Spirit to convince us and to give us the living presence of the Christ in our hearts. We thus have a dual
testimony to the truth of the resurrected Christ which is just as compelling for us as it was for Thomas to put his fingers in the print of the nails and thrust his hand into Jesus’ side. The dual testimony is this: first, the illumination of the Holy Spirit to our hearts and minds concerning the truth of the gospel record of the death and resurrection of Christ; and secondly, the real experience of the indwelling Christ in the heart so that we actually know His resurrection life within our souls. These two witnesses provide us a bulwark of faith in the most amazing revelation of God to man. It would be impossible to be authentic Christians in any clear biblical sense of the word without the supernatural grace of God upon our souls. Now we can make sense of the words of Christ when He said to Thomas: “Because you have seen me you have believed. Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed.” Such a faith is possible, even in the twentieth century, because of the wonderful presence of God through the Holy Spirit. He is the great convencer of Christ to our hearts, and He will illumine us and show us if we seek the Lord and ask for help. We will not be turned away because the great purpose of God is that we come to salvation through Jesus Christ. The message is for Jew and Gentile, for all upon the face of the earth.

Prayer: Dear Heavenly Father, bless us today with a new assurance of the resurrection of Jesus by the power of the Spirit in our hearts. In His name we pray. Amen.
The Call to Personal Biblical Meditation

Jack C. Whytock

I want to preface this article by saying that I have personally tried to implement what we are going to study, but I feel that I have only begun, because I think it is a subject that takes the Christian all his or her life to come to grips with. But in saying that I also want to make another point. The subject of the call to Christian meditation in the Bible is something that I have become increasingly impassioned about, and especially for the development of Christian leadership. I think part of the reason we have a crisis in Christian leadership is because we are not training leaders in the old biblical art of meditation. I hope by the end of our study you, too, will see the truth of that.

Introduction: Prejudices Against the Practice of Meditation

I want to begin with a word of honesty. I think most of us have some very negative prejudices against the subject of meditation. I think we need to be honest about that. I have identified five prejudices that I see I have had in the past, and perhaps still have to some degree, but I have endeavoured to overcome these.

The first prejudice we find as we come to the study of meditation is something like this: “Now that is more about Eastern religions, the mantras of India – mindless religion, anti-mind, anti-intellectual.” My response to that is: how very little we know about what Christian meditation really is.

The second prejudice we have is this: meditation is on the verge of mysticism. Now we certainly do not want to be accused of being mystics, so we say, “Well, we don’t want to be involved with this.”

---

1 The following article first began as a lecture at a Leadership Conference in Kusadasi, Turkey, February, 2004. It has been expanded and the author gratefully acknowledges those who have so stimulated his thinking through their questions. The purpose here is not an academic treatise but a popular article to instruct and edify.
And my response is: how very little we know of the understanding our forefathers had about Christian meditation. If you only read casually in the life of Samuel Rutherford, you will find an antidote to that whole concept of false mysticism, or anti-intellectual, spiritist mysticism. Intellectual vigor was surely not absent from Samuel Rutherford. He was not a mindless man but a man who understood heart, mystical, intellectual religion. In one sense, he represents the best of that. We need to deal with this prejudice. We are not talking about Eastern mysticism, about anti-intellectual, spiritist mysticism. We are talking about the right element of true, biblical mysticism in faith and meditation.

The third prejudice we have against meditation is (and I actually had someone say this to me): we need to concentrate on the big themes in scripture – covenant, promise, sin, redemption. And I answer, true, meditation is not an over-arching theological construction. But there are over-arching theological principles for living the Christian life that are in the Bible, too. We are not just to be systematic theologians. We are also to become applied theologians, theologians of the heart. We need to be balanced.

Fourth, some people are saying meditation is not related to the latest “in” word – spirituality. Well, my response is, if spirituality does not grow out of meditation, throw out the spirituality.

And the fifth and perhaps most prevalent prejudice or argument against meditation is this, and every one of us will think it: Meditation takes too much time! “I’m busy, Preacher. Don’t you know I have three children in diapers? How do you expect me to meditate? Don’t you know that I have a large congregation? How do you expect me to meditate? Don’t you realize that I do shift work? How can I meditate? I’m tired. I’m worn out, and it’s too time consuming. You are just living back in the medieval period. Will you come into the 21st century?” I am not going to answer that one. I hope by the end of this article the content of what I present will answer this, because at the root of this argument is the issue of values and Lordship.

So, these are some of the challenges and prejudices that are in the world on this subject. Now I want to challenge you from the distant, Scottish past. Let us revisit what was once well understood in Christian circles about the art and the calling of biblical meditation. My challenge from the foggy past of Scottish church history is from the year 1647, and it is the meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. At that meeting, the Presbyterian forefathers produced a Directory and an Act of the Assembly. The Directory was “The Directory for Family Worship” and the Act was “The Act For Family
Worship.” It outlined three spheres of worship, in the non-Kuyperian use of that word. The three spheres were public or corporate worship, family or household worship, and private worship. I want to quote for you what the General Assembly of 1647 said in prefacing the act.

DIRECTIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, CONCERNING SECRET AND PRIVATE WORSHIP, AND MUTUAL EDIFICATION; FOR CHERISHING PIETY, FOR MAINTAINING UNITY, AND AVOIDING SCHISM AND DIVISION.

BESIDES the publick worship in congregations, mercifully established in this land in great purity, it is expedient and necessary that secret worship of each person alone, and private worship of families, be pressed and set up; that, with national reformation, the profession and power of godliness, both personal and domestick, be advanced.

I. And first, for secret worship, it is most necessary, that every one apart, and by themselves, be given to prayer and meditation, the unspeakable benefit whereof is best known to them who are most exercised therein. ² [italics mine]

It is really interesting, in observing the culture of the church in North America, we are in the middle of what is being called “the worship wars.” And those worship wars centre around public worship and family worship. But, you know, the wars never hit the third sphere. How often do you hear the war engaged about secret, private, meditative worship? At least in some of the circles I roam around in, it is not discussed. Why? We in certain circles do not like hearing “piety” and “secret worship,” because it is of the heart and, yes, individualistic. But there is a voice calling us from the distant, foggy past of our heritage, calling us to this idea of piety and meditation in the secret worship of the soul alone with God.

Since we have quoted from the Scottish past, allow me to quote from the English past. Here I need only quote the full title by Nathanael Ranew, *Solitude Improved by Divine Meditation or A Treatise Proving the Duty, and Demonstrating the Necessity, Excellency, Usefulness, ² Act for observing the Directions of the GENERAL ASSEMBLY for secret and private Worship, and mutual Edification; and censuring such as neglect Family-worship* [Edinburgh: General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, August 24, 1647].
Natures, Kinds, and Requisites of Divine Meditation.\(^3\) Surely this full Puritan title might speak to us in our modern age.

Now, the prejudices may be ours, yet the challenge from a dusty past of antiquity I think is still there. Donald Whitney recently said, “The need to meditate on God’s word is the most overlooked and yet possibly the most important part of private worship.”\(^4\) Private worship is more than just reading, just as sitting in a pew is more than listening to a voice. There must be heart absorption. Again from Whitney, “We feel the life-giving power of the living water of Scripture most refreshingly when it percolates by meditation down and into the soul.”\(^5\)

Absorption. Percolation of the Word of God leading to application. James 1:25 – this is the hearer effectually becoming the doer and being blessed.

Now there is my introduction, and I want to proceed with what appears somewhat academic, but is very critical – a brief word study on our subject.

**Point #1 – The Biblical Word-Family of Meditation.**

I want to remind us that meditation is an over-arching principle of the secret life of the Christian, one that needs to be grasped in increasing measure amidst all the wars that are going on around us in the theological realm. As meditation in the Old and New Testaments has a whole group of word families, I first want to develop a biblical theology of meditation from the biblical word groups. To begin with, in the Old Testament there are two main Hebrew words that speak of meditation, translated in most English versions as “meditate” or “meditation.” The first of them, *HawgaH*, we find first in the book of Joshua – Joshua 1:8: “This Book of the Law shall not depart from your mouth, but you shall meditate on it day and night, so that you may be careful to do according to all that is written in it. For then you will...

---

\(^3\) Nathanael Ranew, *Solitude Improved by Divine Meditation* (reprint Morgan, PA: Soli Deo Gloria, 1995). There is no need for me to expand here on the Puritans in general on meditation as Joel Beeke has laid this out well in his essay, “The Puritan Practice of Meditation,” and in “Appendix I: Bibliography on the Puritan Practice of Meditation,” in *Reformed Spirituality*, eds. Joseph A. Pipa, Jr., and J. Andrew Wortman (Taylors, SC: Southern Presbyterian Press, 2003), 73-100, 175-179.


\(^5\) Whitney, 302.
make your way prosperous, and then you will have good success.” (ESV) Some of the other places the word is used are (from the ESV):

Psalm 1:2
But his delight is in the law of the LORD, and on his law he meditates day and night.

Psalm 63:6
When I remember you upon my bed, and meditate on you in the watches of the night

Psalm 77:6 & 12
I said, “Let me remember my song in the night; let me meditate [muse] in my heart.”
I will ponder all your work, and meditate on your mighty deeds.

Psalm 143:5
I remember the days of old; I meditate on all you have done; I ponder the work of your hands.

Now what does the word HAWGAH mean? Literally, it means “to mutter to oneself.” Now, we sort of laugh at that. You know, if you talk to yourself you might be on the verge of dementia. But actually, you are doing what the Bible says. You are muttering to yourself. It is a sound characteristic. It is interesting in the Hebrew HAWGAH is the word which describes the sound of the morning dove. You can hear a dove, can’t you? I used to hear them when I was in the barn at home. You could hear them high in the rafters, and you knew that it was the morning dove. It was “muttering.” It was making a sound. The word is also related to the growling of a lion over its prey, or a cat when it has its little mouse. It purrs over its mouse. It is meditating – “Should I take it and consume it or not? I’ll just give it another few minutes. I’ll think about it a little more.” HAWGAH – to mutter to oneself.

The word is also used speaking of a believer’s sighs in prayer. Have you been with a believer when he is in silent prayer, and maybe there is a heaviness, a sigh? Or sometimes when you are in a small prayer group or meeting, you hear a believer, maybe not doing the “amen” because we are not quite like that, but a quiet “Yes, Lord”. That is actually the beginning of what you are seeing in this HAWGAH – to mutter to oneself.
Now, the other Hebrew word is the one that is used all through Psalm 119. It is the Hebrew word SEE/YACH – to go over a matter in one’s mind; to turn it around; to revolve it in the mind; to silently reflect upon it; to have pious contemplations, thinking about a word. Psalm 119 uses it eight times. I will quote the verses for you (from the ESV):

**Psalm 119:15**
I will *meditate* on your precepts
and fix my eyes on your ways.

**Psalm 119:23**
Even though princes sit plotting against me,
your servant will *meditate* on your statutes.

**Psalm 119:27**
Make me understand the way of your precepts,
and I will *meditate* on your wondrous works.

**Psalm 119:48**
I will lift up my hands toward your commandments, which I love,
and I will *meditate* on your precepts.

**Psalm 119:78**
Let the insolent be put to shame,
because they have wronged me with falsehood;
as for me, I will *meditate* on your precepts.

**Psalm 119:97**
Oh how I love your law!
It is my *meditation* all the day.

**Psalm 119:99**
I have more understanding than all my teachers,
for your testimonies are my *meditation*.

**Psalm 119:148**
My eyes are awake before the watches of the night,
that I may *meditate* on your promise.
Eight times the call to meditate in Psalm 119 – about what? God’s Word, His works, His ways. Now we are starting to see the emergence of our subject. But it is interesting Joshua 1:8 says, in essence: “You are called of God to meditate.” It is a call. Every one of us has a call – to meditate on the Word of God. In Psalm 119 we see a person meditating; he is communing over a matter.

Now there are many Old Testament texts that I could bring in to expand this, but I will give only a few. Remember Genesis 24:63 – Isaac is in the field in the evening, and in the Authorized text they insert the word “meditate.” It says: “He went out to the field in the evening to meditate.” As he looked up he saw camels approaching, and who was there? Rebecca. Now, what was he doing in the field? The Bible translators are at a loss because, on a contextual basis they have to come to the conclusion that Isaac was actually thinking about life and the future. He is head of the clan, and as head of the clan, will he get married? What will the future hold? Where will he go? What will he do? What will life be like? That is meditation. It is to ponder the future. There he was in the evening, out in the desert, meditating.

There are also many other places in the Psalms. I will mention two of the most well known. Psalm 1:2 (ESV), “But his delight is in the law of the LORD, and on his law he meditates day and night.” And Psalm 19:14 (ESV) – the one we used to hear all the time in public worship: “Let the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart be acceptable in your sight, O LORD, my rock and my redeemer.” The deep reflections within.

As an aside, it is interesting that this concept is actually taken over into a term in music – affettuoso (Italian), because it means the solemn motion of a march of dignity, to be deeply affected by a movement of music. Affettuoso – affection. Truth must be felt. Meditation must have an affection. There has to be a connection between truth and the heart. There has to be a depth of feeling and longing, when the soul is affected. It begins with a command – to meditate, but it affects the soul and is a deep murmuring of the heart around the Word. So, yes, I agree, meditation is not an organizing principle in systematics, but rather we discover that it is one of the keys to understanding the spiritual life of the Old Testament saints.

Now we turn briefly to the New Testament. The theme does not stop in the Old Testament; it is carried through into the New. Here we find new words, the Greek language. We start with meletao – to practice, to cultivate, to take pains with, think about, meditate upon. We find it in 1 Timothy 4:15: “Meditate upon these things; give thyself wholly to them; that thy profiting may appear to all.” (KJV) We do not have time
to go through 1 Timothy 4 and see the context fully, but verse 7 of that chapter says: “Exercise discipline over the thought-life of your mind.” That is about Christian living. Verse 15 then comes along and says: “Meditate upon these things.” (KJV) Think about them. Exercise your mind. Reflect. Think it through. Interesting, this is Paul speaking, the Hebrew of the Hebrews, trained in the school of the Pharisees, trained in a Jewish tradition that understood contemplation, meditation, reflection, and care over the Word. Even if it was abused, the system was there.

There is a related group of words in the New Testament. These are from the Greek word *noteo* – of rational reflection or inner contemplation; to perceive, apprehend, understand, gain an insight into, take note of, think over. The word is used in 2 Timothy 2:7 – “Consider what I say.” There you have it – “consider.” This is the word used by our Lord and Saviour in Matthew 6:28. Consider what?: “the lilies of the field.” And in Luke 12:24: “Consider the ravens.” It is also used in the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament: “Consider the ant.” (Prov. 6:6) Consider them, think about them, reflect over them. Now I want you to notice, the lilies, the ravens, and the ant are not the Word of God. They are natural revelation, creation, not Biblical revelation. Thus the Scripture says, “Think about the created order. Reflect over it.” We will expand that thought later.

So the Greek brings you two groups of words talking about disciplining the mind, reflecting, thinking about it, meditating. With this I am going to end our study of these biblical word families.

Yet, at the conclusion of our word study, let us take note that the characters in the Bible, the Old and New Testament saints, meditated. Who wrote the Psalms? Mainly David. He was a meditator, and he was not alone. Remember Isaac. What do you think Jonah was doing? He was doing a lot of meditation. And Daniel and many others. And I think in the New Testament of Mary. What did Mary do? “And she pondered all these things in her heart.” She thought about them. Mary, the mother of Jesus. And, the Lord Jesus, in secret, and Paul and Timothy.

In summary, if we were to set forth a definition of evangelical, Christian meditation, I would see it as the believer’s practice of pondering the scriptures with a heart which desires truth and righteousness, the inner being seeking the leading of the Holy Spirit. I introduce the ministry of the Holy Spirit here, and we will expand that in our next section.
Point #2 – A Portrait of Biblical Meditation

In an attempt, then, to pull all of this Bible language together, let’s create a portrait of the art of biblical meditation. The over-arching truth about the practice of meditation for Christians is that it will be Bible-based. Consider these two quotations. Eugene Peterson put it this way:

The Christian Scriptures are the primary text for Christian spirituality. We don’t form our personal spiritual lives out of a random assemblage of favourite texts in combination with individual circumstances; we are formed by the Holy Spirit following the text of the Holy Scriptures. God does not put us in charge of forming our personal spiritualities; we grow in accordance with the revealed Word implanted in us by the Word.⁶

And Nigel Westhead adds: “There is such a thing as Christian and Bible-based meditation.”⁷ With that introduction, I want to discuss five characteristics that I see emerging in a portrait of the art of biblical meditation.

First, Biblical meditation dwells on Scriptural truth. You must have the Scripture revelation informing you. Now, to be true, this will prove somewhat laborious for those of us living in the information-tech age, because it is not just looking for information. I do not mind the Internet. There are certain things that I love about it. But one thing I almost detest is that we have become information “junkies”. You can get information on anything, but it is usually very poor information because it is so rarely in very much depth. There is a fundamental flaw here, and it is reflective of an Information Age. Too often today we train people to read for information, while what is lacking is the soul learning to savour knowledge and truth. Truth has to be savoured slowly and mulled over. It is laborious because it is a mental exercise – to ruminate on the truth of the Word of God. In Psalm 119 David took eight times to say the same thing. “And I meditate on the Law.” I study it. I think about it. I reflect over it. I do not have small talk on it. I do not rely upon a technique, but on the Truth itself. I am really engaging in it. So the first characteristic I would see of Christian meditation is

---

this: that it is informed from Scripture. It is rooted in truth. And as you and I meditate on truth, we are seeking God and we are saying, “What is the voice of God saying to me? What is His will? And is it going to change my character; an ethical, living change?” Truth informs to change. So the first characteristic in the portrait is that meditation is based upon biblical truth.

Second, to meditate biblically includes meditation on God’s work in history, creation, and providence. I have put all three together. History – Church history and Christian biography inform and inflame. But if you just read them to amass information, you have not meditated. Think about it – Does it change my life? Are there elements here I should implement in my life? Does it encourage me on? Such meditation evokes the right use of history. Creation. My illustration is from an excellent slide I saw recently taken by Peter Morrison. There was a seedling growing in the top of a wooden post. And in meditating over the seedling in the post inspiration was found – growth in the strangest places – grace is like that! Now what is that? That is the art of a biblical meditation in which God’s created world becomes a panoply, informing our soul and causing us to think, “What would God teach me even through His created order?” Hear David in Psalm 8, Psalm 19, and others as well as our Lord Jesus: “Consider the lilies of the field. Consider the ravens.” Think about the created order, but with a spiritual, meditative heart, with a thoughtfulness about it. And
providence. What was Mary doing as she left the temple and she pondered all these things in her heart – the naming of her Son, the holding of her Son in the arms of Simeon, the language of Simeon. Now all of that can generally be called God’s providence, ruling and governing our lives. Mary was pondering God’s providence. Michael Haykin, the new president of Toronto Baptist Seminary, referred to Mary as the New Testament model, not of matrix, but of meditation. Now that is a biblical idea – the model of Mary meditating and pondering over providence shows us one element of meditation. In essence, this is personal soliloquy about providence.

So we meditate on God’s work in history and creation – and that is not limited to the history of redemption in Scripture. God is involved in history since then. We are not Deists. We see in history and creation something to speak to our souls. Hear brother Jonathan Edwards. He wrote in his journal: “I rode out into the woods, having alighted from my horse in a retired place, and as my manner commonly has been, to walk for divine contemplation and prayer.” Secret, meditative worship, there in the New England countryside. George Müeller said, “I find it very beneficial in my health to walk thus for meditation before breakfast.” Now here he is doing something physical, but listen to the spiritual. “And am now so in the habit of using the time for that purpose, that when I get into the open air, I generally take out a New Testament of good-sized type, which I carry with me for that purpose, besides the Bible and I find that I can profitably spend my time in the open air.” Creation, providence, history, meditation. When the Christian awakes to the world around them, all the array of heaven and earth becomes that which you reflect upon and digest.

**Third, you meditate upon what is just and true.** Another characteristic of Christian meditation is that the subject of meditation is that which is just and true. Philippians 4:8: “Finally, brothers, whatever is true, whatever is noble, whatever is right, whatever is pure, whatever is lovely, whatever is admirable – if anything is excellent or praiseworthy – think about such things.” (NIV) Put them into your mind. Put them into your heart. Thinking Christians are meditative Christians. And verse 9 in Philippians 4 goes further, from meditation to reflection to putting into practice. There is a chain. You can trace the chain. You start in thinking and meditation. It leads to reflection, and it says, now we implement it, now we put it into practice.

So the third characteristic of Christian meditation is you meditate upon what is just and true. Good character, noble character, virtuous living, what is beautiful and elegant. Do not be absorbed with that
which is dark. If you fill your mind with dark thoughts, you will become a dark Christian, but if you meditate upon that which is virtuous and lovely, it will bless your soul, there will be a value. So the characteristics of Christian meditation thus far: it is informed and shaped by God’s truth; it includes history, creation, and providence; and it concentrates upon what is just and true.

**Fourth, it is meditating on God’s splendour and majesty**, that is, the attributes of God. Psalm 145:5. “I will speak of the glorious splendour of your majesty, and I will meditate on your wonderful works.” (NIV) And Psalm 63:6, “When I remember You on my bed, I meditate on You in the night watches.” (NKJV) – meditating on the attributes of God, His majesty and glory. It changes private worship. It inflames public worship. It drives the soul to a greater affection for God. So the characteristics of Christian meditation, fourthly, include meditating on God’s splendour and majesty and all His attributes. It is God we meditate upon and commune with.

**And, fifth, meditation inspires, guides, and shapes prayer.** The fifth characteristic of meditation, and I am not original in this, is that meditation inspires, guides, and shapes prayer. I believe there are two sets of twins presented in the Bible on meditation. The first set – we have already mentioned it – *meditation and truth*. You have to twin them together. Twin number two is this: *meditation and prayer*. They are twins. In Psalm 5:1, the NIV says, “Consider my sighing.” I think the stress is a little wrong there. The New King James says, “Give ear to my words, O Lord. Consider my meditation.” Now what is going on there? Give ear to my words is prayer, intercession, supplication, coming to the Lord in prayer. But you will notice the second part of verse 1 says, “Consider my meditation.” Consider my meditative thoughts. Now what is happening is this: biblical meditation is shaping and molding prayer. David has been meditating, muttering to himself. He is muttering away and he is reflecting and it is turning itself into prayer.

I am convinced (though I will not take time to develop this here) that this is the only way to understand what the Apostle Paul is saying in his epistles when he writes such things as, “Pray without ceasing.” None of us can pray intercessorially and with thanksgiving ceaselessly. You can not interpret that with a literalist approach. What he is saying is this: for the believer there is a continual experience of the heart thinking and shaping and molding desires and requests, issuing in prayer. “Give ear to my prayer. Consider my thoughts.” In addition, we
do not always know how to pray about some things. Again, Paul is our encouragement when he says, “There is a groaning of the soul.” (Romans 8:26-27) There is almost a deep calling unto deep in which you say, “Lord, in my unformed praying, will You hear me?” Praying for mercy or for grace. There is a deep shaping of prayer. There is also a shaping of piety there. Keil and Delitzsch said in reference to Psalm 19:14 , (“Let the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart be pleasing in your sight, O Lord, my Rock and my Redeemer.”), “Prayer is a sacrifice offered by the inner man. The heart meditates and fashions it; and the mouth presents it.” But it has to come from somewhere. It has to come from the inner man. It has to be fashioned. And the mouth is simply presenting it by uttering it forth in the form of words.

Meditation will also inspire personal prayer. I quote Müeller, “We are apt often to read the Word with reference to others…. Would that be a good word for them? But when you read it and meditate upon it in reference to your own heart and soul, it will lead you to pray for yourself individually and particularly. So meditation inspires, guides, and shapes private prayer, but it also inspires, guides, and shapes public prayer. That is the fifth characteristic.

So we sketch the portrait of Christian mediation with those five characteristics: it is based upon biblical truth; it includes the realms of history, God’s creation, and providence; it dwells on what is pure, just and good; it is inflamed by the characteristics of God, His splendour and majesty; and it shapes, molds, and issues in prayer in the Holy Spirit.

Point #3 – The Practice of Meditation

Well, you are saying, “It is great theory, brother. How do you do all this? What is it going to look like? What about the practice of it all then?” To make it simple, let’s do another five. In what I am about to say, I will endeavour to show universal practices and not peculiarities and techniques. I am not here to give you a technique. I can not offer that to you because God made you an individual in His image. But I can, perhaps, point out some universal principles that will be an aide in the practice of meditation.

Throughout the Bible we see the practice of meditation in seasons of solitude. Seasons of solitude enhance meditation. Now notice I said “enhance.” They do not guarantee it. Martin Luther spent hours alone in his cell. I can tell you it did not exactly enhance his spirituality. There was a problem he had to deal with first, and that was pardoning grace and the justifying work of Christ’s righteousness. So
note carefully what I am saying here. However, there should be seasons of solitude in the practice of meditation. See Psalm 63:6 – “On my bed I remember you. I think of you through the watches of the night.” The reflection of the psalmist is not corporate. It is singular. “I think of you through the watches of the night.” Solitude. Yes, it is hard to find. We will address that in a moment. But the practice of meditation has to guard seasons of solitude. It will enhance a biblical, spiritual meditation. I believe Paul’s understanding of “praying without ceasing” is methodically akin to “meditating without ceasing.” It is ongoing, day and night, and, of course, is enhanced in solitude but not limited to it.

I was once asked if the practice of meditation is just another way of saying my “quite-time.” I believe it is much bigger than having a daily quite-time. It very well may include this, but is broader in its extent than this.

**Now the second practice is this. We have to read, study, and memorize Scripture**, because it stokes the fire of the furnace of meditation. Now, I realize not all are going to be tremendous readers. I also realize that not all are going to be great memorizers. We are not all the same. But there is a principle that God’s children should try to do some reading and they should try to do some memorization. One may memorize John 3:16 and it may take a year to do that. Another might be able to memorize John 3 in its entirety in a week. But that is the way God has made us. We are different. We are unique. Some may be able to read vast amounts of material well, and enhance their lives. But I would encourage you to ask a question before you start comparing your reading and memory skills to others. Ask this question: “Is my reading an expression of my desire for God?” That is the better question to ask. That changes the emphasis, doesn’t it? Do I desire God? Do I want to plant Scripture in my mind, because it is going to reshape my thinking? Then I will desire to read and memorize His Word in the Spirit’s illuminating power.

Now I will suggest one technique here. If you are not good at reading the Bible, maybe you could select a theme or a text. Say I really want to study the subject of – let’s pick something out – forgiveness. Then work your way from beginning to end through the Bible. It may take you a year. Is there anything wrong with that? No, that is wonderful. Take a concordance; look up the verses; ponder the key words; see how they are illustrated in the Bible. Read different translations. Ask questions about it. Dissect, categorize, think through the meaning, savour the truth. Perhaps, as our forefathers used to do, you could keep a little journal book and write down the verses. Some of
us may need accountability with a brother or sister or a group for us to develop in memorization or a commitment to reading. Fine. But, in any case, start to read and memorize, because it will stoke the fire of

Christian meditation. So, number one, in the practice of Christian meditation, we need to practice seasons of solitude. Number two, we need to read, study, memorize, and stoke the fires of meditation.

**Number three – we need to discipline the mind.** Psalm 1:2: (ESV) “But his delight is in the law of the LORD, and on his law he meditates day and night.” Now that is time – day and night. He had work to do. I have work to do. You have work to do. But what we need is to discipline the mind. I am going to suggest that every one of us tends to discipline our minds extremely well – in a wrong way. We all meditate upon actions that are done against us, and we are well practiced at it. You are doing the laundry. “Boy, so-and-so. They really were uncharitable in what they did or said.” What are you doing? You
are pondering it. You are meditating over it. Then why not discipline your mind to what God would have? Disciple the mind, train and discipline the mind to meditate day and night on what God says. Start to change the themes of your meditating.

Recently I read a very interesting little story. This is so real, and we need to live in a real world. There was a mum who was very busy. She had three small children all in diapers. Well, how do you meditate like that? She found a way. Right at the change table she had an open Bible. Every day she only had time at each diaper change to read one verse of Scripture. But, she said, “I would think about it after every child and it kept me going.” That made me think. You see, there is a time and a place to meditate, but we need to value that and to discipline the mind.

The fourth principle in the practice of meditation is this: pray in the Spirit. Now this means meditation, prayer, and the Holy Spirit are absolutely inseparable. We must practice reading the Word, seeking, praying for the Holy Spirit’s illumination. If we want to truly meditate upon Scripture, we have to recover a right doctrine of the Holy Spirit. We must read it in the power of the Spirit. George Müeller said: “In all our reading of the Holy Scriptures, let us seek carefully to have the help of the Holy Spirit. Let us ask for Jesus’ sake that He will enlighten us.” Those of you who know me realize that I believe the doctrine of the illumination of the Holy Spirit is greatly neglected in the whole loci of theology. Prayer, meditation, and the Holy Spirit. This is an article on the call to meditate on the Word. Then we have to confess anew that the operative power of the Holy Spirit is necessary when we read the Word, privately as well as in public worship.

The fifth principle in the practice of Christian meditation following prayer and the Holy Spirit is very simple – one word – obedience. “If this be neglected, you will find that the reading of the Word, even accompanied by prayer, meditation, and faith, will do you little good.” The book was Spiritual Secrets of George Müeller. Do you agree with that? “If this be neglected, you will find that the reading of the Word, even accompanied by prayer, meditation, and faith, will do you little good.” Now, he is not speaking of perfection there. But he is saying that when you meditate on the Word, you have put it into practice in your daily life. You have to do it. “If you know these things, happy are you if you do them….” And in the measure in which we

---

carry out what our Lord Jesus taught, so much in measure there is a happiness in the children of God. There is the blessing of God.

Point #4 – The Value of Meditation

Those are some of the universal principles in the practice of meditation. But, is there value in meditation? Is it worth the effort? Well, here is my plea: there is a great value! And I take you right back to where we started. *Meditation has value.* It brings me to think again of the dire crisis in Christian leadership today. And, I repeat, I think part of the reason we have a crisis in leadership is because we do not see meditative leaders any longer. Now here is what I see as five of the values in the practice of biblical meditation.

**Number one, it will start to change and renew our minds.** Paul says that in Romans 12:1 and 2. “Therefore, I urge you, brothers, in view of God’s mercy, to offer your bodies as living sacrifices, holy and pleasing to God. This is your spiritual act of worship. Do not conform any longer to the pattern of this world, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind. Then you will be able to test and approve what God’s will is, His good, pleasing, and perfect will.” The Bible is telling us there that we do not think correctly. None of us has correct thinking. Our thinking is not fully sanctified. As Christians we need to manage our thought-life, to pause and ponder, to retreat purposely from this world and to be alone with God, to meditate on Him and His Word. But notice what Paul says. “Be transformed by the renewing of your mind. Then you will be able to test and approve what God’s will is.” I think right there is part of the cause of the crisis in leadership – because we tend to act and speak before we have ever meditated and tested in our hearts our thoughts and subsequent words and actions, and it gets us into all kinds of trouble. Biblical meditation is a means of transforming your mind, and it will transform your thinking. It will transform your piety. It will transform your lifestyle. Here I would contend that in our modern discussions of developing a Christian worldview, we should start one step back – namely, by first establishing the practice of biblical meditation.

**The second value – meditation cultivates joy in the believer.** Psalm 104:34 – “May my meditation be pleasing to Him, as I rejoice in the Lord.” You are directed in thought from yourself to the Lord of grace, and you find joy in Him. Now this is experiential to the core – I am not sure I have met many, in fact I am not sure I have met any Christians who practice and really understand biblical meditation who
do not have the joy of the Lord. I am not saying all the time, but there is a tenor of joy in their lives. Meditation has value – it cultivates joy in the believer.

**The third value of biblical meditation is this: it will make us clear-sighted and balanced leaders.** I address here specifically all who lead. If you are a leader today, I want you to hear this. Meditation will make us clear-sighted and balanced leaders. Now that may be somewhat pragmatic. You might think, “If I pursue this thinking theologically, how might it develop?” If you are a leader, you cannot afford not to think logically and with consistency, yet you also must know when there is not room for consistency. As Ted Donnelly said, “Consistency is the hob-goblin of small minds and small thinking.” Paul was the most inconsistent man alive! He circumcised one day, the next day he did not. Why? Because he thought through the matter and he knew how to make a clear judgment, a discerning call. Meditation will make us clear-sighted and balanced leaders. Think through your leadership. Do you want to be a balanced leader? Do you want to be clear-sighted? Then take up the art of meditation. I believe this would transform our leadership in the Church of the Lord in a wonderful way. I also believe it would take away so much of the strife and the party spirit that is characteristic of every single denomination I visit. I think if we would cultivate a more biblical, meditative heart and practice, we would be more clear-sighted, and we would be more balanced. I do not think it would remedy all the problems, but I think it would help a great deal.

**Value number four, and this one we all love, we shall be spiritually refreshed.** Do you at times need to be spiritually refreshed with God? Yes. Biblical meditation will spiritually refresh you and nourish your soul. Do not put it all on the preacher. Do not count altogether on the public gathering for worship. Public, corporate worship is good. It is the highest form of worship. But there is secret worship, too, through which we will be spiritually refreshed and nourished in our souls. Our souls will be nurtured, progress in faith, and find health. Our hearts will be enflamed. Yes, it will take effort, but it will be worth it.

I used to go with my grandfather collecting sap for maple syrup. He was of the old school. He had the big kettle on a chain. We worked and worked and worked. But, you know, it was worth it – to get that gallon of maple syrup! It was worth it at the end of the day. Even after the boiling and the boiling and the boiling…it was worth it. The old
Puritan, Nathaniel Ranew, in the 17th century said, “Meditation is that which keeps alive the fire on the altar, and helps to make it burn…Meditation is a great heart warmer.” We need spiritual refreshment. We need spiritual nourishment. What did David say in Psalm 39:3? “My heart grew hot within me, and as I meditated, the fire burned; then I spoke with my tongue.” We need nourishment. We need that kind of spiritual fire in the soul. The Church will be led and will be blessed and will be a blessing and you will be blessed. Meditation will make you hot again. The fire will burn.

The fifth value is one I have been thinking about only recently, and is perhaps strange. **Meditation will make you deal with your anger.** There are two verses for that. The one is Psalm 4:4. “Stand in awe, and sin not. Commune (meditate) with your own heart upon your bed, and be still.” Stand in awe and sin not. What was he going to sin over? He was going to lash out with rage and anger. What does the Apostle Paul say? “Let not the sun go down on your anger, your rage.” Meditate it through. Think it through. Stand in awe and sin not. Meditate and commune with your own heart upon your bed and be still. *Selah.* Meditation will help us deal with our anger as well.

So the value. Biblical meditation will transform your mind, renew your thinking, and you will test things. It will bring you joy in the Lord; it will cultivate it. It will make clear-sighted and balanced leaders. It will spiritually refresh and nourish. It will warm the soul. My heart grew hot within me as I meditated, said David. And fifth, it will help us deal with anger.

In conclusion, the call to meditation – does it still reflect something of the Indian mantras? No. We are Christians. There is a Christian call to biblical meditation. There is a challenge from the distance Scottish past. There is a great word-family in the Bible, in Hebrew and in Greek. The characteristics are rooted in the Scripture, but they are expansive beyond that. We see the practice of it in the men and women of the Scripture. It should be a part of our lives. The values of it are immense.

Let us not be afraid to recover the very word “meditation” into our Christian language today. It was Martin Luther who said three things make a theologian: *oration* (prayer), *meditatio* (meditation), and *tentatio* (trial, the struggles to live faithfully by Scripture). I am afraid if we were asked what three things make for a theologian, we might include knowledge or, at best, truth, then orthodoxy and practice. Luther offers us something deeper and ultimately not in contradiction at all to the
truth! We must possess a meditative disposition to the truth which we have as Christians. This is the call that we summons here. It is the art of true, biblical meditation that leads to a vibrant, experimental Christianity.

Select Bibliography


An Historical Example of Kingdom Extension – The Life of William Carey

Sukesh Pabari*

*Sukesh Pabari works with the Pastors’ Training Course in Nairobi, Kenya, under the auspices of Trinity Baptist Church. He was born in Nairobi into a Hindu family and became a Christian while a student at the London School of Economics. He also studied at London Bible College and the University of Liverpool. A major portion of his work today is writing courses for the Pastors’ Training Course and speaking across Kenya. Recently this has taken him to work with the Rendelli in northern Kenya.

I heard Sukesh Pabari deliver this lecture in July, 2004, and was delighted to hear someone with a Hindu background provide perspective on William Carey. We are pleased to include this popular lecture in this year’s Journal. I draw your attention to three things as you read it. First, in his lecture he has extensively sprinkled quotations from Carey’s letters, which are very insightful. Second, he gives us a fuller picture into Carey’s view of kingdom work. Many have a very superficial acquaintance with Carey. This may appear a popular lecture, but I believe you will see that it probes deeply into some critical matters of Carey’s theology. And finally, Pabari’s third section of this lecture focuses on Carey the evangelist, preacher, and translator. It is easy in Carey studies to lose sight of this unified chain. Carey was a “big man”; for example, he was a noted botanist, but first he was an evangelist and preacher. Sukesh Pabari brings a good perspective here.

Editor

The theme of our conference is the extension of God’s kingdom. We do not want to look just in the Bible, although that is very valuable, but we want also to look in history to see how men of God in the past have worked in extending God’s kingdom. Let me begin by asking you
a question: how many of you have heard of William Carey? I want to look at this man, William Carey, not because I want to exalt him, but because he stands out as a great example of a man who believed in kingdom extension and who laboured in kingdom extension. His example is worthy of study and worthy of our following.

I. Who Was William Carey?

I am going to look first of all at the question, who was William Carey and what lessons we can learn from him? We are looking into the eighteenth century. August 17, 1761, William Carey was born in England in a tiny little village called Paulerspury in the middle of England in the county of Northamptonshire. At the age of fourteen, after he finished school, he began training as a shoemaker, working alongside another apprentice. So there were two of them, and this young man, John Warr, had recently been saved. He was full of zeal and was witnessing to William Carey. Carey began to listen to him, and God began to work in his heart. You know how some little sins become very big sins when God is at work. One day William Carey was walking along in the village – this was before he got saved – and he found a fake shilling coin and it was quite a good fake. Somehow he was able to go into a shop and pass it and buy things with it. That created an enormous prick of conscience within him; his conscience raged, because he had passed a bad shilling. God used that to show him his sinfulness and his need of Christ. Finally at the age of fourteen, William Carey was soundly converted to Christ.

Carey had only very basic education, but he had a truly remarkable mind, a mind that thirsted after knowledge. He surrounded himself with books as much as he could. He read, and that is the first example of William Carey that I would commend to you. He was a great reader, and I say to you that we, as servants of God, need to be great readers, not just of the Bible, but of books that will teach us the Bible. In the
village there was a man called Thomas Jones who had a college education, but who had made a mess of his life. He was an alcoholic. But this man taught him Latin and New Testament Greek, and William Carey actually became an expert in both of these languages. A passionate reader of books, in 1783 he read a book called The Voyages of Captain Cook. Cook was a British explorer who had gone to the South Sea Islands and had ended up in Australia. Thus he discovered many of the Pacific Islands that we know of today. We are told that from that time, whenever Carey stood up in a church to pray in public, he never failed to mention the South Sea Islands, the Pacific Islands, in his prayer. It really gripped him that there were people there who were unsaved.

As well as working as a shoemaker, Carey was a school teacher because he had such good knowledge, and he made a globe of the world. He would put it before his pupils and he would show where America was and where the South Sea Islands were and so on. Frequently his pupils would see tears running down his cheeks as he would show them these heathen countries, and he would say, “They are pagans, pagans.” You see, he was moved to tears by the plight that they were not saved.

In 1785, William Carey was appointed a pastor of Moulton Baptist Church in a village near where he was born. He was also working as a teacher. At this time he found another Bible scholar in the village who taught him Old Testament Hebrew. As a pastor, Carey began to attend the local pastors’ fraternal. At that time in England, they used to have association meetings more frequently than once a year. They did not cover the whole country. It was not that every Baptist pastor in the country came to the association meetings, but in the district all the pastors would come together for the meetings. So as a pastor, Carey now began to attend these meetings.

There is quite a humorous account of the first association meeting he attended. There were all these senior, experienced pastors, yet it was the first time of attendance for William Carey and one other man, who had also recently been appointed a pastor. They were young men. Now, there was a tradition in this association that the newcomers chose the subject for discussion. So you imagine going to an association meeting with these wise, experienced men and you are in awe of them, and they say, “Okay, young man, what would you like us to discuss?” Now the other young man who was there was chosen first to choose the subject. He chose some controversial text. I think it was I Peter chapter 3 about Noah and so on. He said, “I’d like us to discuss this.” He thought he was on safe ground. This was a controversial Bible passage, and he
expected they might spend the whole of the association meeting discussing this. However, one of the older men stood up and said, “John Gill has just written a commentary on it, and he has dealt with the subject perfectly. We don’t need to talk any more about it. Who’s next?” And that was the end of that one. Then all eyes turned on William Carey, the next novice. Carey stood up and said, “Is the Great Commission still valid for the churches of today? Do we still have a command from Christ to go into all the nations and preach His gospel and baptize men and women and children in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, teaching them everything that He has taught us?” That question began a series of discussions in the association meetings on the subject of foreign missions.

The reason William Carey is famous is because he is the very first missionary from Protestant England. You see, up to that point, Protestant Churches in England had never sent a missionary abroad. So William Carey began this discussion in the association of Baptist pastors, “Do we have a command from God? Are we under an obligation from God to go to these heathen lands and preach the gospel to them?” Now the other pastors in this small district association said, “Well, of course we have an obligation. But, hey, we’re only a small association. We’re a tiny little group of churches. We don’t have much money. We don’t have any resources. I mean, you’re looking at a mighty work here.” So they delayed and delayed. And Carey just went on hammering this point meeting after meeting after meeting. “We have an obligation to the lost world to take the gospel to them.”

There were two events which were important. First of all in May, 1792, at an association meeting, Carey preached a powerful sermon from Isaiah 54 verses 2-3. Urging his fellow ministers to join hands with him to enlarge the tent, he summed up with those words which we hear so often: “Expect great things from God. Attempt great things for God.” He was saying, “We have nothing because we’re a small association, just a few churches, in each church a few members, not much money, but we have God, and we are to expect great things from God and attempt great things for God.”

Then there was a meeting that took place on October 2, 1792, that key date in the history of British missions. In that meeting this same association consisting of twelve pastors, one deacon, and one student, gathered and said, “Okay, we are officially going to begin a missionary society.” They called it “The Particular Baptist Missionary Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to the Heathen.” We live in the day of sound bites. We would never give a society that long a name. We might give it a little name that people can easily remember. They lived in a
different era, and they wanted the title to convey what they were about. They were Particular Baptists, and they were out to propagate the gospel to the heathen, and so they said so. At that meeting, they said, “Right, what do we pledge towards this endeavour?” And the total of just over £13 was pledged. It was not given, it was pledged, promised. It actually was not given for some years. You know, one church would say, “Well, we think we can give £1 or £2” and another church would say, “We think we can give £3.” And just about £13 was pledged.

There is a lovely book by Iain Murray called The Puritan Hope in which he gives an account of this meeting. Murray says, they did not have much money. If you look at it in terms of worldly goods, they did not have very much. But he says, the one thing they had was faith. That is what moved them – faith. And with that little amount of money, they decided, “We are now a missionary society. We are going to send a missionary.” And of course the moment they resolved that, William Carey shot up from his chair and said, “I am going. I am the one. You want a missionary, I am going.” So he went back to his local church, Harvey Lane Baptist Church in Leicester, where they called a church meeting, and he announced that he was going abroad as a missionary. At this Baptist Church all the minutes of members meetings still exist. Apparently there is just one line written of a meeting that took place; it says, “Our pastor announced that he was going to the Far East as a missionary.” It hardly seems to be a momentous event in the life of the church. I just do not know what the members thought of it. But the secretary saw fit at least to put it down.

So, William Carey gathered his wife and his children and on June 13, 1793, they boarded a Danish ship called the Kron Princessa Maria and went to India. A British newspaper at the time said, “We see not the slightest prospect of success. We see much danger in making the attempt.” William Carey never saw England again. He lived in India forty-two years, died in India, is buried in India. You can visit his grave in India today. He never came back.

India, of course, is a massive country, and the Danish people had an area under their protection. This area, which today we call Bengal, was a Danish protectorate. The Danish people said that they were happy to have him and would protect him. The British would not give him that guarantee, interestingly. The British had a large part of western and eastern India, but would not guarantee him protection. They actually said they really did not want a fanatic missionary going and spreading the gospel in the country. They were trying to engender trade. But the Danes agreed, and that is why William Carey ended up in one of our most famous cities, Calcutta.
II. William Carey’s Theology

Let me take a break from his life story and ask this question: Why did William Carey go to India as a missionary? I say to you, if you can understand Carey’s reasons, it will revolutionize your life. Carey saw something about the kingdom of God. And if we see that, it will really revolutionize our lives and our thinking.

What I want to do is quote from his many letters, and then I want to explain Carey’s understanding of the kingdom. So let us just read through some excerpts. (Please do not see this as a tedious exercise. At the end of this section, you will understand the significance of what I am doing.) He had laboured in India many years. He was in India seven years before he saw his first convert, seven years before he saw a single Indian become a Christian. During those seven years, he wrote to a very close friend of his, Samuel Pierce, one of the original twelve in
that room in Kettering when they set up the missionary society. Carey said to Pierce, “I would not abandon the work here for the finest church in England. God’s cause will triumph. The work, to which God has set His hands, will infallibly prosper. Christ has begun to besiege this ancient and strong fortress, and will assuredly carry it.”

In 1800, an Indian man called Krishna Pal was converted. I was hoping we would sing his hymn in your hymn books. The words I find very telling, very powerful.

1NOW, O MY SOUL, forget no more
The Friend who all your misery bore;
Let every idol be forgot,
But, O my soul, forget Him not.

2Jesus for you a body takes,
Your guilt He bears, your fetters breaks,
Discharging all your dreadful debt;
And can you now such love forget?

3Renounce your works and ways with grief,
And run to this most sure relief;
Forget not Him who left His throne,
And for your life laid down His own.

4Infinite truth and mercy shine
In Him, Whose word is, ‘You are Mine’;
And can you, then, with sin beset,
Such grace, such matchless grace, forget?

5Ah no! till life itself depart,
His Name shall cheer and warm my heart;
And singing this, from earth I’ll rise,
And join the chorus of the skies.

6And when at last all things expire,
And perish in the general fire,
This name all others shall survive,
And through eternity shall live.

Krishna Pal (1764-1822)
tr. Joshua Marshman (1768-1837)

Who wrote that hymn? Krishna Pal. The first Indian convert on Indian soil in Carey’s ministry. It is a wonderful hymn about devotion to Christ. Now, you must remember Krishna Pal faced enormous persecution. He was baptized on December 28, 1800. His wife and her sister had believed, but the night before the baptism they had received a visit from relatives saying, “If you go for baptism, you will die.” Krishna Pal went. He would not let anything stop him from going to that river for baptism. His wife and his sister failed in their courage,
but three weeks later they went and were baptized. In the biography of William Carey you read about how people would come in the night, drag Krishna Pal into the jungle, and beat him up for being a Christian. So he faced enormous persecution. In the face of such persecution, he expressed his love for Christ in a hymn, “My soul, you must not forget Him Who bore your misery on the cross.” Whatever comes, I will never let go of Him. It is a lovely hymn of devotion.

In 1800 Krishna Pal was converted, and William Carey wrote the following in a letter to England: “He’s only one, but a continent is coming behind him. The divine grace which changed one Indian’s heart can change a hundred thousand.” A few months later, in 1801, the Bengali New Testament was translated and printed. He then wrote this to John Ryland, again one of the original twelve: “We want help to fill this country with the knowledge of Christ. We are not working in uncertainty and we are not afraid of the outcome. [In other words, we know the outcome. Christ will conquer. That is what he was saying.] Christ must reign, till Satan has not an inch of territory.”

A few years later, Carey moved from Calcutta to Serampore, a town further inland, where he established a mission station. He said this mission station was a “red-hot centre from which the light and influence of Christianity will radiate throughout a gradually widening circle.” Within a few years he opened a college to train evangelists in Serampore, and he said, “We know that our labours will succeed. We are certain to take the fortress, we shall reap if we faint not.” Please keep in mind that language, “we will take the fortress,” because I will come back to it. When they established the mission station in Serampore, other missionaries came. They drew up something called a Form of Agreement, which was like a constitution to help with the workings of that mission station. He wrote this in the preamble or preface, “He can raise these slaves of superstition, purify their hearts by faith, and make them worshippers of the one God in spirit and in truth. The promises are sufficient to remove our doubts, and to make us anticipate that not very distant period when He will famish [starve] all the gods of India, and cause these very idolaters to cast their idols to the moles and to the bats, and renounce forever the work of their own hands.”

Now those are just a few quotes. But we look at his letters, and we try to construct William Carey’s theology of the kingdom. I want to take you to a passage in Matthew chapter 12 that he referred to fairly frequently in his letters. We will read from verse 22, although I want to concentrate on verse 29.
Then they brought him a demon-possessed man who was blind and mute, and Jesus healed him, so that he could both talk and see. All the people were astonished and said, “Could this be the Son of David?”

But when the Pharisees heard this, they said, “It is only by Beelzebub, the prince of demons, that this fellow drives out demons.”

Jesus knew their thoughts and said to them, “Every kingdom divided against itself will be ruined, and every city or household divided against itself will not stand. If Satan drives out Satan, he is divided against himself. How then can his kingdom stand? And if I drive out demons by Beelzebub, by whom do your people drive them out? So then, they will be your judges. But if I drive out demons by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God has come upon you.

Or again, how can anyone enter a strong man's house and carry off his possessions unless he first ties up the strong man? Then he can rob his house.”

(NIV)

Carey was much influenced by that text, particularly the little parable in verse 29. He made reference to it in his sermons; he made reference to it in his letters. Carey saw two things primarily in this little parable in verse 29. (And Carey was right. There is no question about it, his understanding of this parable is correct.) He saw a house, a big house, with loads of great things in it, and a strong man guarding this house. Carey saw in this that in the Old Testament age, God allowed the devil to have rule over the nations of the world, in the sense that he bound the nations in darkness. The house, you see, is the nations of the world, the peoples of the world. The strong man is the devil who is there, guarding this house. God has allowed him the authority over those nations to keep them in darkness, because God is working towards a glorious plan. And part of God’s plan is to allow the nations of the world to remain in darkness.

Let us turn to Acts 14 and you will see something of this in Paul’s preaching in Lystra. Acts chapter 14. Paul was in Lystra, and a controversy began about who they were. Starting at verse 15, he said, “Men, why are you doing this? [You see, they wanted to sacrifice animals to them, thinking they were gods.] We too are only men, human like you. We are bringing you good news, telling you to turn from these worthless things [from your idolatry] to the living God, who made heaven and earth and sea and everything in them. In the past, he
let all nations go their own way.” Do you see what Paul was saying to the pagans of Lystra? He was saying, in a bygone age God, in His sovereignty and in His wisdom, allowed you, the Gentiles, the nations of the world, to remain in darkness. But now we have come with the message of the gospel. Things are different now – His message is now going into the world.

There is a very similar idea in Acts chapter 17, when Paul preached to the philosophers of the Areopagus. The wording is different, but the idea is very similar. Chapter 17 at verse 30: “In the past God overlooked such ignorance....” Now you see, that is a similar idea. The two discourses of Paul have parallels, one in Lystra and one in Athens, both speaking to outright pagans. And speaking to the philosophers at Athens he said, “At one time you worshiped all these idols that I’ve seen in your city. I’ve been walking around your city. I’ve seen all these idols. You worship those idols. In times past, God allowed you to do that. But now He commands all men everywhere to repent.”

So, when we go back to the parable of Matthew 12:29, the strong man at one time had rule over the house and the goods of that house. But then, as the parable develops, another stronger than he comes, overpowers him, binds him so that he is impotent, and then begins to plunder the goods of the house. Now, when we read about the work of Jesus Christ on the cross of Calvary, we read about how He died for our sins and how He propitiated the wrath of God that was due upon us, and so on. There is much that pertains to us personally in the work of Christ on the cross. But we must never forget that Christ also died to defeat Satan. There is that other aspect of His work that He died to defeat the devil and to bind Satan. A stronger one came, overpowered the strong man, and tied him up.

Now, look at some of these descriptions of the cross of Christ. In John 12:31 it is recorded that Jesus Himself said: “Now is the judgment of the world, now the ruler of this world will be cast out.” It is a passage where He was speaking about His atoning death. Just a few verses earlier He had talked about the grain of wheat which falls to the ground and dies, and unless it does that it remains alone, but if it dies it produces much grain. So, He was speaking about His death. Paul in Colossians 2:15 used similar language. The strong man was guarding the house, but Christ “disarmed principalities and powers, He made a public spectacle of them, triumphing over them.” You know that passage in Hebrews chapter 2 toward the end of the chapter. The verses are very powerful. He said that Christ partook of flesh and blood, “that through death He might destroy him who had the power of death, that is the devil, and release those who through fear of death were all their
lifetime subject to bondage.” Very similar language, is it not, to Matthew 12:29? The imagery is slightly differently, but you surely have the same idea being carried. Here is the one who has the power of death holding people subject to bondage until Another comes, and by His death destroys him who had the power of death, and releases those who were all their life subject to bondage.

Also, in 1 John 3:8 we read, “For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that He might destroy the works of the devil.” Consider Revelation chapter 20, verses 2 and 3. There John talks about his vision, and he says, “He laid hold of the dragon, the serpent of old, who is the Devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years…that he should deceive the nations no longer.” I know some of you may have been taught that this refers to the Second Coming of Christ. I tell you, it is not. It is the first. This is the cross. Revelation chapter 20, verses 2 and 3, brethren, is not speaking about the Second Coming of Christ. If it did, the cross of Christ did nothing, achieved no purpose. It did not do anything. But surely when you look at the language of Colossians 2, you look at the language of Hebrews, you look at the language that John uses in 1 John 3, surely you come to the conclusion that Revelation 20 is speaking about the cross of Christ. It is at the cross of Christ that He took hold of Satan and He bound Satan, that he should deceive the nations no longer.

So, you see what the parable of Matthew 12:29 is teaching us? It is saying, this man guarded the house. Another stronger than he came, overpowered him, disarmed him, bound him. So he is now sitting on a chair, firmly bound, unable to stop the Stronger One from going in and plundering his goods. And William Carey said, “Christ has bound Satan so that he should hold the Indians in their darkness of Hinduism no more. I have come because the strong one is bound. I now have authority in the name of Christ to enter this house and to plunder the goods that are in this house. It is in Christ’s authority and through Christ’s work on the cross that I do this.” Now, of course, he is very firmly on Bible ground there.

Let me draw to your attention a couple of texts. Read Matthew chapter 16. Here you have Peter’s confession, from verse 16, “Peter answered, ‘You are the Christ, the Son of the living God.’ Jesus replied, ‘Blessed are you, Simon son of Jonah, for this was not revealed to you by man, but by my Father in heaven. And I tell you that you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades will not overcome it.” I wonder how you see that text. Do you see in that text that here is the Church and Hades is attacking, attacking, attacking, but unable to win, unable to overcome? I say to you, no, it is
the other way, because He talks about building His Church. He talks about the gates of Hades. You do not use gates on the offensive; you use gates when you are on the defensive. So it is the territory of Satan that is under attack. It is Christ’s people attacking that territory, and the gates of Hades will not be able to withstand the attacks that are being made by the cross of Christ through the preaching of His servants. The gates will give way and the people will come out of that into freedom and life in the kingdom of God. That, surely, is the meaning of Matthew 16:18. It is the Church militant that is pictured here.

In one of those quotes Carey refers to that, doesn’t he? For example, in 1801 when the New Testament was translated into Bengali, he wrote to Ryland, “Christ must reign until Satan has not an inch of territory.” When the training of evangelists began, Carey said, “We know that our labours will succeed. We are certain to take the fortress.” You see, that is the picture he had in mind. It is Satan who is on the defensive. We are attacking his fortresses, and the gates of his fortresses will give way. So Carey was able to say, “We are certain to take the fortress if we reap and faint not.” One of Carey’s colleagues, Joshua Marshman, a man who joined him in 1800, said, “One that is stronger than the strong man armed will assuredly bind him and spoil his goods.” That is Matthew 12:29. He had triumphed over the gods of Greece and Rome and Britain. He would not suffer Satan to defeat him in India. See, that is the idea they had. Christ had already triumphed when His forces had attacked other fortresses. Greece and Rome and Britain had idols, strong fortresses, large doors. They fell. India would not succeed in standing against the gospel of Christ.

Do you understand the view of the kingdom of God that Carey had? It is this kingdom that must expand, because the strong man has been bound and the goods are there to be plundered. Let me refer you to the Great Commission, Matthew 28. It is the text for a sermon that Carey preached at the first graduation at his college. They began this college to train evangelists to penetrate Bengal, and when the first lot were ready to be sent out, he preached on the Great Commission. He said, beginning at verse 16:

Then the eleven disciples went to Galilee, to the mountain where Jesus had told them to go. 17 When they saw him, they worshiped him; but some doubted. 18 Then Jesus came to them and said, “All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. 19 Therefore go and make disciples of all nations.”
Carey went on to explain that the actual command has a context. “Go, therefore...” The “therefore” tells us that some teaching has come before that, and the command comes out as a logical conclusion of the previous teaching. Now, what is the previous teaching? All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to Christ. At one time the strong man ruled, but Christ has defeated him. Christ has bound him. Satan no longer has authority over the nations; Christ does. All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to Christ. Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit and teaching them everything Christ has taught you. It is lovely, isn’t it? And Carey drew his students attention to that and he said, “Brethren, when you go out you will face many trials. You will face persecution; your own countrymen will stone you, beat you. But to Christ belongs all authority.”

There is in the Hindustani language a biography of William Carey. In that biography there is a story which I have never seen in any of the English biographies. There was a man who was a Hindu high-caste Brahmin, and he and Carey became very, very close friends. In fact, Carey learned a lot of his Bengali through this man. When the New Testament was translated into Bengali, William Carey took it and knocked on this man’s door. He wanted to present him with a New Testament. The man came out. For years he had been telling Carey, “You’ll never do it. You will never translate your scriptures into my language.” So Carey took this New Testament. When the man saw it, he knew what it was, and he said, “Will you wait a minute?” And he went back into his house and he brought a booklet. And he said to Carey, “I will take your book if you take mine.” It was a Bhagavad Gita, the most famous of the Hindu scriptures. And Carey, who had read it many times, said to the man, “Tell me, does your book tell you anywhere that Krishna will conquer the world?” And the man said, “Well, no, of course it doesn’t. You know it doesn’t.” And Carey said, “This Book tells me that Christ will conquer the world.” Now that man actually became a Christian. I do not know if it was as a direct result of that conversation, but he did become a believer later on.

So, that was Carey’s view of the kingdom. The strong man is bound and Christ will reign!

III. William Carey’s Missionary Methods

Let us move on then to the third point in our examination of Carey. Carey went to India in 1793. In November he landed in India. What did he do in India? William Carey’s methods of bringing the gospel into India are worthy of our study because they lay down a mighty example
for us today. We are looking at something from over two hundred years ago. But I say to you, take hold of the lessons he has laid down for us, brethren. Take hold of them. They are good, tested through history, and found to be to the glory of God.

Carey’s labours can be summarized under two headings. First of all, he translated and preached the Scriptures and trained others to do likewise. He translated the Scriptures and he preached the Scriptures. I do not want to unduly attack modern missionary methods, but it is a historical fact that Carey never established a school or a medical clinic. In 1818, when he was giving an annual speech at the English college there, he said this: “I have been in the habit of preaching to multitudes daily. And I’m in the habit of discoursing with the Brahmins [the high-caste Hindus].” Now, the reason some of us know so little about Carey is that Carey was such a humble man. Carey was not the kind of man to blow his own trumpet. If he said something, if he made a great claim about himself, you can be pretty sure he was not exaggerating. I would think it pained him to say such a thing because he was by nature such a self-effacing person. But he did make this claim; he said, “Daily I have preached to multitudes.” So, he was a preacher of the Scriptures. He was there in India, faced with all these Hindus. But he was not confused. He was not saying, “I don’t know what I’m going to do now.” He knew exactly what he was going to do. He was going to make the Scriptures available. So, he was a preacher.

Now, Carey was self-supporting. He first worked in a British plantation in Calcutta; and then later on when the British established a university in Serampore, he became a professor there. So he worked for his living, but every spare hour he had, he would get into a boat. This is the area of India where the Ganges flows into the Bay of Bengal. It is full of deltas. I think it is the world’s largest delta. So it is full of rivers and streams, and if Carey wanted to travel up-country, it was the easiest thing to do – he just jumped on a boat and was rowed up. Every hour he had to spare, every weekend, every Saturday he would be on a boat going upstream, going to a village. He may never have been there; it was almost random. He was completely dependent on the providences of God. So they would be rowing along and he would say, “Oh, we haven’t been there. Stop, let’s go there.” They would go there, and he would gather the villagers, open the Scriptures, and preach to them. He would talk with them, chat with them. Then after a couple of hours there, time to move on, next village. They would row up, spot another village, and go in...same thing. And he kept that up for forty years. Carey was primarily a preacher.
Carey was also a Bible translator. In my opinion he is the most remarkable Bible translator in history. I do not know anyone else who has done so much Bible translation. He translated the Bible into six Indian languages, the New Testament into twenty-three Indian languages, and some more books of the Bible into five other Indian languages. That is some effort! It was not just a matter of going and speaking to the Indians. It was a matter of making this Book accessible to the Indians. He translated the Bible into Bengali as well as into Hindi. As I read the list of translations of the New Testament, my mother tongue is there. I find that fantastic – that William Carey, an Englishman, should give me the New Testament in my language. It was a tremendous effort.

Because of his desire to make the Scriptures available, Carey was a trainer. In 1818, Carey and his fellow labourers opened a college for the training of evangelists. Here Indian converts were trained for the task of taking the gospel into the interior, making the Scriptures available by preaching, translating, and sending others. That was his work.

So the first thing that Carey did was to make the Scriptures available. **The second thing** that Carey emphasized, and I again commend his example to you, **he planted local churches**, he emphasized local churches. During his own lifetime he saw something like six hundred Indians baptized and twenty-six churches planted in the Serampore area. You see, Carey knew that we have been sent out to make disciples, not converts. If you conduct evangelistic meetings, God will give you converts. But Christ said to us, “Make disciples.” You have got to do something with those converts. You do not just say, “Praise God, there are now converts in this village. We now move on to the next one. Let’s leave them.” You have got to disciple them. They have got to live godly lives. They have got to break from their Indian culture and live Bible lives. Carey knew the importance of the local church. The local church is God’s family. The local church that we belong to is where we get our strength and our encouragement and our teaching. If you leave an Indian convert alone with no support from a local church, how can you expect him to live a godly life? Yes, he has the Spirit, but God has provided local churches for this purpose, and Carey saw that. Therefore, he made great efforts in planting local churches, training pastors, and visiting those churches to make sure that God’s Word was being preached there.

As an Indian Hindu convert, I must tell you a story that I find absolutely astonishing. In January, 1803, a Brahmin, a high-caste Hindu, named Krishna Persaud, learned of Christ and believed. The
first high caste convert was baptized in 1803. Now, you remember the first convert was a man called Krishna Pal. In Hinduism, we have a caste system – you have the high caste and you have the low caste. The high caste never has any dealings with the low caste. You dare not enter the home of a low caste person. It is forbidden in Hinduism to enter the house. It is forbidden to shake his hand. That is why greeting in Indian culture is not the shaking of hands. You dare not shake a person’s hand in case you might shake the hand of a low caste person. That is the demarcation between high and low caste – no shaking of hands, hardly any social interaction, certainly no entering of their house, eating together, nothing of the sort.

Now Krishna Persaud, this high caste Brahmin, was saved. A few months later he married Krishna Pal’s daughter. One was from the highest caste, one was from the lowest caste. This man broke every tradition known in India and married the daughter of a low caste Hindu. William Ward wrote the account in his diary, “In my opinion, this has never happened in thousands of years of Indian history.” And he was right. It could not happen that there was a wedding feast where high caste converts, low caste converts, middle caste converts were there celebrating the wedding of a high caste Hindu convert to a low caste Hindu convert girl. But they did not allow their traditions to hold them. They broke with their traditions and lived Bible lives. Friends, I put it to you as a challenge. They did not hold their traditions. There was no dowry. He’s says that very clearly. In Indian culture there is not even the sight of a wedding without a dowry. In Indian culture dowry is so strong. No dowry. You are not having it. No caste system. We are not having it. We are not Hindus. We are Christians. And we live by the Bible. Why? Because strong local churches had been established. And those strong local churches taught the Scriptures and encouraged the converts to live Bible lives. They drew their strength and encouragement from the local church.

On the morning of his wedding, William Ward recorded in his diary that Krishna Persaud left his home and the streets were lined with Hindus who spat at him. They spat at him as he walked from his house to the church to get married. And he smiled and he said, “I will bear all for Christ.” He did not give up. Of course, Hindus would not come into the church for the wedding. They jeered at him from outside, screamed at him, would not believe he would do it. When he did it and he and his bride walked out of the church, they jeered and screamed. Those men and women drew their strength from the local church. They did not say, “Our traditions have always taught this. We can’t break with it.” They did not say that. They broke. They broke because they had the support
and encouragement of a local church. Local churches are so important in the plans and purposes of God in the extension of His kingdom. Let us keep that in mind.

So the two main things that Carey did were as follows: he translated and preached the Scriptures and training others to do likewise; and he planted local churches.

IV. What Lessons Do We Learn from William Carey?

In closing then, three lessons from the life of William Carey. **First, we see how important it is to understand what the Bible teaches about the kingdom of God.** You see, Carey grasped it, that Christ has bound the strong man and the doors are open. The plunder is there to be taken. We need to get that understanding, that the kingdom is now Christ’s. All authority in heaven and earth is with Him now. So even when Carey was discouraged, in 1794 when he had been in India for two years without a single convert, he wrote in a letter, “When I left England, my hope of India’s conversion was very strong; but, among so many obstacles it would have died unless God had upheld it. Well, I have God and His word is true. Even if the superstitions of the heathen were a thousand times stronger than they are, and the example of the Europeans a thousand times worse than it is, even if I was deserted by all and persecuted by all, yet my faith, fixed on that sure word of God, would rise above all obstructions and overcome every trial. God’s cause will triumph.”

**The second lesson from Carey is that we see the importance of preaching.** What is mission? What is evangelism? What did Paul do in Thessalonica, in Lystra, Philippi, Berea, Corinth, Athens, Ephesus? He preached. You read Acts chapter 20, his account of his time in Ephesus. He preached in public; he preached house to house – repentance towards God, faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ. Paul preached. Carey preached. The history of missions is so full of examples of men who simply went to the darkest of places, the strangest of places, and preached. Livingston preached in southern Africa. As he traveled from place to place, every Sunday he held meetings where he preached. Hudson Taylor in China preached. And Carey in India preached. I say to you, it is so important for us to take hold of God’s Word, not imposing our ideas into what the passage is saying, but taking out of the passage what it is saying, and making it known to the people. We read what happened in Thessalonica when Paul did that. The power of the Spirit accompanied the Word of God, and they left their idols and turned to Christ. Preaching.
And then **thirdly, we see the importance of the local church for the sanctification of Christians and the furtherance of God’s kingdom.** You know the challenges of the Christian life in the face of temptations from Satan, the draw of the world, the culture from which we come, the demands of those in our villages. You know the problems. You know you need help, support, encouragement, prayer. Where is it going to come from? The local church. Why did Paul plant local churches in every place he visited? On his first missionary journey, when he went back to Darby, Lystra, Iconium, what did he do? He planted local churches. We read about that in Acts 14. On his second missionary journey, we see Philippi, a local church; Thessalonica, a local church; Berea, Athens, Corinth, Ephesus – local churches. They are not just a little after-thought – “Oh, by the way, perhaps we should plant a local church.” They are central in God’s purposes if we are to live godly lives and further His kingdom.

And so we have the life and example of William Carey. Christian biography is instructive and inspiring. I encourage all of you to take up a biography on William Carey. My recommendation would be S. Pearce Carey’s biography on his grandfather, William Carey.¹ I believe this will inflame you for Christian ministry in extending the kingdom.

---

¹ This is one of the finest biographies that I have read and I highly recommend it to you – *William Carey*, by S. Pearce Carey, published by Wakeman Trust (ISBN: 1-870855-140) and available at www.wakemantrust.org/booklist.html. Please get hold of this book and read it. I think you will be encouraged for your labours.
To the Punjab and Back

Jack C. Whytock

Each issue of the Haddington House Journal includes one article highlighting foreign missions activity. These articles are written more in a journalistic news fashion. In October, 2004, Dr. Whytock traveled to Pakistan to preach at the 71st annual Sahiwal Convention and to teach at a Pastors’ Retreat. Along with this report on Pakistan, we have appended a separate article. It is a biographical sketch of one of the most significant yet much neglected missionaries to this part of the world, Isidor Loewenthal.

Introduction

What does the mention of “the Punjab” conjure up in your mind? For some of us in the West it has a certain mystique. It is the land of Rudyard Kipling, who made his home in Lahore, a great city of the Punjab, during the period that inspired his famous novel, Plain Tales from the Hills. Perhaps for some it evokes smells – heat, sweat, curries, and for others sounds – “Oh, yes, the sounds.” For anyone who has been there, the sounds of the Punjab never leave; they are always inside you. There is something of that mystique which continues to haunt the traveler, and, yes, in a different way, even the Christian traveler. He sees a mass of people going in every direction, flooding the streets of Lahore. There is a great sense of the barrenness of these souls. And of souls there is no end – over fifty million in this one province. Half of Pakistan lives here.

I will begin by setting the Punjab in its place in modern Pakistan. The Punjab Province is one of four provinces, Sind, Baluchistan, and North West Province being the others. Kashmir still remains a province in dispute with India. The capital city of the Punjab is Lahore. Also in the Punjab Province are the nation’s chosen federal capital, Islamabad, and its twin city, Rawalpindi. Three other noted cities of the Punjab are Sahiwal, Multan, and Gujranwala. Sahiwal, where I spent most of my
time, is a long-standing centre for Christian work. Multan, a noted city with Muslim factions, was the scene of Pakistan’s worst terrorist attack to date in October, 2004, which killed forty-one and injured another hundred and twenty. On that day I was one hundred kilometers away in Sahiwal. Finally, Gujranwala is the home of the Gujranwala Theological Seminary, founded in 1877.

The topography of the province is mainly a vast plain. It is dry land with large “dunes” in places, many of which are man-made. Yet also here are the pine-covered foothills of the Himalayas, leading you to the beautiful Murree Hills. The vast plain is crisscrossed with canals, the great legacy of the British and their methodical efforts to make the Punjab productive. Years later, the canals are still working, making the land arable for rice, wheat, corn, oil seeds, cotton, and sugarcane. Here is the heart of Pakistan’s textile trade. The streets of the province’s cities and villages are filled with three-wheeled rickshaws, camels, trucks (which look like they have been rebuilt five times since World War II), tractors, donkeys, and of course people moving everywhere. “People movers” can be anything!
Moving briefly to another province, I want to say something about the North West Frontier. Here half of the area is under tribal rule, with autonomous governance by tribal law and general “supervision” from the federal Pakistani government. This is the province with the famous Khyber Pass and the capital city of Peshawar, the land of the Pushtuns or Pathans, said to be one of the largest tribal societies in all the world – truly an unconquered people. Peshawar is the city of “The Arabian Nights,” of the tribesmen of turbans and rifles. It is to Peshawar that we will return to learn the tragic story of the death of Rev. Isidor Loewenthal on April 27, 1864. It is here near Peshawar, at the Khyber Pass, that we find that great crossroads of Asia and the subcontinent – where the “road” from China to the Mediterranean meets the route from India to central Asia. What a region – the land of the ancient Silk Route through the Himalayas, the Karakorams, and the Pamirs!

In one sense, Pakistan is an old land with cultures dating back for centuries and millennia, an ethnic mix of Persians, Greeks, Huns, Arabs, and Afghans, as well as others. In another sense, Pakistan is a very young nation, established in 1947 as “the land of the pure,” that is, a pure Islamic State. In 1849, the Punjab of modern Pakistan formally came under British influence when it was annexed by the East India Company and then directly under the British Crown in 1857. Starting in the early 1930’s, a movement began which aimed to found an all Islamic nation on the subcontinent, separate from the Hindus. The result was that the Punjab, once one great Indian province, was torn apart at partition in 1947. Six million Muslims fled from India to what would become modern Pakistan, and four million Hindus fled in the opposite direction to what was to be modern India. The two-way migration was horrific, with estimates of well over three quarters of a million deaths in just a few weeks, just before partition was concluded. It makes for chilling reading as novelist Kushwart Singh has immortalized it in his epic novel, *The Last Train to Pakistan*. Pakistan today is the second largest Islamic nation in the world, with 98% of its population being Muslim.¹

The history of Pakistan since independence has been a continued saga of conflict, corruption, and instability with alternating periods of

military dictatorship and democratic parliamentary rule. In 1999, increasing authoritarian rule and corruption led to public dissatisfaction and a military coup led by General Pervez Musharraf, the present military chief and president of Pakistan. Musharraf has promised to return the nation to more democratic control. Due to his cooperation with the West in the defeat of the Taliban and the “War on Terror,” he is disliked by some right wing, minority Islamic fundamentalist parties in Pakistan who have grown in strength since the September 11, 2001, attacks. But overall, Musharraf enjoys widespread support of the Pakistan people, who are mostly moderate Muslims.

Christianity in Pakistan

In the land mass now known as Pakistan, evangelicals have been labouring for nearly two centuries. Early work was begun in 1834 by Presbyterians from the United States, workers from Britain’s Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) in 1840, and later the Zenana Missionary Society. Lahore was the first station to be opened by the Presbyterians. The C.M.S. started its labours in Karachi in 1850 and followed with work in Peshawar, Multan, Narowal, Bannu, Lahore, and Quetta. The early American Presbyterian Mission was augmented by other Presbyterian bodies: the United Presbyterians, the Church of Scotland, and the Associate Reformed Presbyterians. Roger Hedlund of Serampore College, Madras, described the development of the evangelical community in the Punjab as unique in three ways. First, there was a “large-scale conversion movement in Punjab from 1880 to 1930.” Second, as a result of the first, an indigenous Punjabi metrical paraphrase of the Psalms and songs for worship was produced; and third, a revival broke out that resulted in further conversions through the Christian Life Convention in Sialkot in 1904 and for years following this Convention. One can see the significance which has to be attributed to the Sialkot Convention and later to the Sahiwal Bible Convention for the advancement of the gospel in Pakistan.²

The Christian community of the Punjab, now several generations old, is mainly of Hindu or Sikh background, although some have come from Muslim or animistic tribal peoples. I will focus for a moment on Sahiwal, as that is chiefly where I spent my time. Sahiwal is the city’s name today, but during the British period it was known as the District of Montgomery. In 1900 the area still did not have the great irrigation canals which would turn this vast desert plain of seven thousand square miles into a fertile land. At the turn of the twentieth century, however, the various Presbyterian bodies knew Montgomery, with the planned canals, would soon have a great influx of settlement. Thus, they assigned Montgomery to the Associate Reformed Presbyterians, and in 1910 a famous telegram was sent back to the Synod meeting in Charlotte, North Carolina, “Montgomery occupied today.” On Christmas Day, 1910, a congregation was begun there.

The Punjab had experienced a tragic first decade of the twentieth century with some of history’s worst epidemics of cholera and bubonic plague (some eight million died from these in that decade). In 1905, ten thousand more died in a devastating earthquake in Lahore. Thus, medical missions became a critical enterprise starting in 1914. The British government agreed to sell a parcel of land in central Montgomery for what would eventually become the Nancy Fulwood Hospital Society’s work, Sahiwal Christian Hospital. As was common, educational mission work also followed, with boys’ and girls’ schools begun in Montgomery as well as in other villages. Thus, by 1947, at the time of partition, this one Presbyterian mission had opened twelve schools with eleven hundred students. As Emily van Dalen wrote, “Out of these schools were to come the future nurses, doctors, teachers, and pastors of the denomination.”³ Then in 1949, the Nurses Training School was opened, which today, with its one hundred students, is having a tremendous impact for the medical community in Pakistan. It is amazing to think in a nation that is only 2% Christian, 15% of Pakistan’s medical care is provided by Christians.

But there has been real human cost in all this work. It is John Piper in Let the Nations be Glad! who boldly reminds us that we must not ignore the reality or effects of the suffering: “Therefore we must not judge too quickly the apparent setbacks and tactical defeats of the church. If you see things with the eyes of God, the Master Strategist, what you see in every setback is the positioning of troops for a greater

---

³ Emily van Dalen, A Brief History of World Witness (Greenville, SC: World Witness, 2003), 12.
advance and a greater display of his wisdom and power and love.”

On February 1, 1960, young Esther John, a Muslim convert, was martyred. It was humbling to stand and teach in the chapel on the grounds of the Sahiwal Christian Hospital and see above the chapel doors, “Esther Memorial Chapel.” It is the price of the gospel and it continues into the twenty-first century. In 2001 and 2002 there were martyrs in the Punjab, Presbyterians amongst them.

One institution which has attracted interest in Pakistan for over fifty years is the Murree Christian School, set in the beautiful Himalayan foothills. The school was begun after partition by the United Presbyterians, who felt the need for a school in Pakistan. The United Presbyterians took the school through the process of transition into becoming a cooperative body which has remained active ever since. The school was forced to close temporarily due to terrorism but reopened in 2004. For an amazing book describing the period of terrorism, I refer you to *Angels in the Rafters*. This is a riveting

---


testimonial of a suicide attack on Murree Christian School, two months in planning. The book contains a brief description of what happened, student and staff testimonials, and a list of the six staff members who were killed in the attack.

The actual attack was on Monday, 5 August, 2002, and lasted fifteen minutes. It was discovered later that the terrorists had been living outside the school for two months observing the daily schedule. However, due to rain on the day of the attack, students were not outdoors as usual at that time. Also, the terrorists missed the gathering for coffee break for that day’s schedule by fifteen minutes! The details of the day are incredible. On one building the doors actually resisted the attackers because they opened outwards and not inwards! Teachers had acted quickly and locked virtually all doors they could with the inside locks, which had only been installed months earlier. All of this proved too much for the terrorists and without killing one child or teacher, they were forced to scale a fence and escape. Police later told school staff that the terrorists had intended to enter the hostel and detonate explosives. The terrorists left a note “describing the attack as retaliation for Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Palestine and promising more.”

On the fourth floor of the old nineteenth century British church, the Grade 11 physics class was quickly joined by the Grade 10 students high under the rafters. One student asked if they could sing, and so they began, “Our God is an Awesome God.” They later learned that somewhere else in the building the same hymn was being sung. God in His mercy chose to protect those children and young people.

Then there was the Board’s action to seek a safe site for the students to complete the academic year. Within days, the Board had located a facility in Chiang Mai, Thailand, where students and staff were welcomed with open arms. When one considers the logistics of visas, etc., it is incredible to think that within six weeks Murree Christian School, Thailand, opened with seventy students! Later, in August, 2004, the school was able to return to Murree, Pakistan.

The Lord’s ways are wonderful and mysterious. The staff, students, and families have all been deeply affected. For the families of the six nationals killed, the Lord’s people around the world have made provision and have established a fund to educate the fifteen children left fatherless. As I write this, I wonder what our Lord has in store in the years to come for many of these young people whose lives were protected. The Kingdom of God marches forward amidst much strife, but with great promise:

---

6 Morton, 10.
“Let the beloved of the LORD rest secure in him, for he shields him all day long, and the one the LORD loves rests between his shoulders.”
Deuteronomy 33:12 (NIV)

God Meant It For Good

What a privilege the Lord granted me this past October to travel to Pakistan and to meet many of our brethren there. The chief reason for my being invited there was to conduct a Pastors’ Retreat through a series of lectures on Church Growth for three Presbyteries of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Pakistan – Sahiwal, Heelbar, and Ravi, and to preach at the 71st Annual Sahiwal Convention. This teaching opportunity in Pakistan fitted well with the goals of the Mobile Theological Training Team (MT3), to train national church leaders. Shortly after my arrival, at the conclusion of my first sermon in the large, outdoor tent on the opening evening of the Convention, we were informed of new security measures for foreign visitors. This came because earlier that day, on October 7, there was a terrorist bomb blast in the nearby city of Multan. This had direct implications upon the Sahiwal Convention. We could no longer have the big, outside evening tent meetings where we had hoped to reach two to three thousand with gospel messages because the government imposed a ban on all such outdoor religious gatherings following the Multan attack. However, we saw the hand of the Lord in the rearranging of the meetings in a wonderful way. We changed venues to the Esther Chapel at the Sahiwal Christian Hospital, and the Pastors’ Retreat was expanded to become a combined Pastors’ and Nurses’ Training Retreat on Church Growth. I repeated the first session given the day before to the pastors, this time to a full chapel – about 130. I am

7 Events during October were highly publicized in leading newspapers, such as the following:

not certain of all the evangelical denominations present, but the praise and spirit of prayer grew with each passing day inside that chapel. It was wonderful to observe the signs of earnest study growing over the audience of nurses, student nurses, doctors, and pastors. For these lectures I was granted a wonderful translator, who became a real inspiration to me. The Lord certainly reminded us of the need for flexibility according to His providential leading. The end result was that we covered six lectures on Church Growth with a biblical expository focus. The Lord obviously wanted to reach the leaders, and we had far more time to do this than was originally planned. In all things to God be the glory! We concluded the retreat on Saturday afternoon with a lovely luncheon served in the Hospital Auditorium. In God’s grace the Body is continuing to be strengthened and to persevere in the work of Kingdom extension.

Due to restrictions at the time, I was unable to visit other extensive works of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod, including the agricultural work in outlying villages. However, I want to briefly share about my encouraging tour of the Sahiwal Christian Hospital, conducted by Dr. Michael Misari, and also of the Nurses’ Training School, conducted by nursing superintendent, Miss Florence Wilson. I was able to view these facilities as well as to meet the doctors, the
nursing heads, and the hospital administrator, John Gill. This gave me a greater appreciation and understanding of the work in Pakistan. The Hospital (a 120-bed facility with three operating rooms, complete lab facilities, etc.) and Nursing School were both so very clean and in good repair; they gave an excellent testimony for our Lord. Also, I was struck by the evangelistic efforts and spiritual focus at the Hospital and at the Nursing School. It was a great encouragement for me to see that the Word had clearly not been supplanted by good deeds – a proper balance was there. The evening dinner and programme by the nursing students really touched my heart – to hear such clear Christian testimonies of students coming to life in Christ.

Pakistan and the Church of Today

Christians today are generally free to gather for worship, although as I personally experienced, this, too, can be restricted. Under law (sharia), it is illegal to evangelize a Muslim, and the penalties if convicted can be imprisonment or death. However, true justice even under that law does not always occur. We must remember that according to extreme Islamic theology, Islamic martyrs have their sins forgiven, avoid all purgatory, are taken into paradise, and receive crowns of honour. Thus, many Muslims are zealous to fight the
“infidel” and persecute the Christian evangelist.\textsuperscript{8} Unfortunately, much of this persecution is difficult to document. While we hear statements that President Musharraf and his government are trying to “relax” the situation for Christians, there remains much uncertainty.

In the March, 2004, 	extit{Voice of the Martyrs} magazine, several stories were told of Christian men and women who are presently suffering for their Christian witness.\textsuperscript{9} In fact, rarely does a month go by that this Christian organization is not highlighting Christian oppression in Pakistan. If readers will but take a moment to study the website of The Voice of the Martyrs, “Persecution News,” they will see a sobering reality. During 2004, this website carried twenty-three stories of Christian oppression in Pakistan, about two stories per month. The first was the murder of a pastor in the Punjab in January, 2004, while he was waiting for a train to Lahore. Later police reported it could have been cardiac arrest. When the autopsy confirmed death by a bullet to the heart, the police story changed to “strife within the local church”! Also, in January, 2004, in Karachi, a car bomb went off in front of the Bible Society building, injuring eleven. Then a verdict was given on January 28, 2004, dating back to an August, 2002, murder of three nurses at the Presbyterian hospital in Taxila during their morning prayers in the Chapel. An additional twenty-three had also been injured in that bombing. In February, 2004, a Christian businessman, age thirty-three, who ran a bookstore, was kidnapped and murdered. And the list goes on.\textsuperscript{10}

What should this cause us to do? I believe first it should cause us to desire to be informed about the wider church. We must not ignore the plight of fellow believers in the Body. Second, surely it must impact our prayers in public worship, in prayer gatherings, and in private. I am reminded of that classic Puritan work, 	extit{The Directory for the Publick Worship of God}, and its “timely,” although dated, examples for prayer, amidst the timeless principles. I quote: “To pray...for the deliverance of the distressed churches abroad from the tyranny of the antichristian


\textsuperscript{9} Communications Team, “Pakistan: Not Fear But Christ,” 	extit{The Voice of the Martyrs} (March, 2004) 2-5.

\textsuperscript{10} “Pakistan,” <http: www.persecution.net/country/pakistan.htm> (20 January 2005).
faction, and from the cruel oppressions and blasphemies of the Turk. . . .”

My journey home was from the capital of the Punjab in Pakistan to Delhi, India, and then safely back to Canada – hence “To the Punjab and Back,” a story of God’s grace.

Bibliography


Kipling, Rudyard. Plain Tales from the Hills. Original 1889.


---


Newspaper Articles:


Isidor Loewenthal, Missionary to Pakistan
1827-1864

Helen H. Holcomb*
edited by Jack C. Whytock

*Helen H. Holcomb was the author of Men of Might in India Missions: Their Leaders and Their Epochs, 1706-1899. She was the wife of Rev. James Foote Holcomb, and they served as Presbyterian missionaries in India for over twenty years. This article originally appeared as chapter 12 in this 1901 book. It has been edited and slightly modernized for the Haddington House Journal and footnotes have been added. Interest in Loewenthal has been growing recently as there has been a renewed discussion of Jewish missions. Loewenthal thus takes his place amongst the more familiar names of Edersheim and Saphir.

Late in the afternoon of a November day in 1846, when rain was falling drearily, a stranger came to the house of the late Rev. S. M. Gayley, living near Wilmington, Delaware. He was a young man of diminutive stature and carried on one arm a basket containing thread, needles, and other small articles that he offered for sale. He looked very forlorn, drenched with rain, insufficiently clad, and shivering with cold. To help one who seemed in dire need, a part of his small stock was purchased. Then silently the young man covered the remaining articles to shield them from injury by the storm and turned slowly toward the door. But he had come to a household where hearts beat kindly. Mr. Gayley entered the room just as the stranger was about to pass out and gave him a cordial invitation to spend the night under his roof, an invitation that was most gratefully accepted.

---

1 Helen H. Holcomb, “Isidor Loewenthal” in Men of Might in India Missions, the Leaders and their Epochs, 1706-1899 (London and Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1901), 292-319. This is a most fascinating book, containing thirteen chapters of biographical studies of some of the famous missionaries to the sub-continent, starting with Bartholomew Ziegenbalg. Holcomb wrote several books including Mabel’s Summers in the Himalayas.
Engaging his guest in conversation during the evening, Mr. Gayley found that he possessed more than ordinary ability and was an accomplished linguist, having not only a good knowledge of Hebrew, but also being acquainted with several of the modern languages. It was certainly a pity, he reflected, that a man of such attainments should be engaged as a peddler. He accordingly invited him to remain for a time in his house while he would try to secure for him a position as a teacher.

The young man who had been brought providentially to this Christian home was Isidor Loewenthal, the son of Jewish parents, and born in the city of Posen, in Prussian Poland, in the year 1827. He was the eldest of a family of eight children. While the father had little regard for Judaism, though observing its principal rites and ceremonies, his mother adhered strictly to the traditions of the Rabbis, and instructed her children carefully in the tenets of the Jewish faith.

At a very early age, Isidor was placed in a Jewish school, where he acquired the rudiments of science, learned to read the Hebrew text, and repeated prayers which he did not understand. The boy made rapid strides in learning and gave evidence of the possession of unusual mental gifts. While still very young, he entered the Gymnasium of his native city. A Gymnasium in German education is considered an elite high school. There he studied the ancient classics, natural science, metaphysics, mathematics, music, Hebrew, and several modern languages. At the age of seventeen, Isidor had passed successfully through the entire course of study usually taught at such institutions.

His father felt that, having bestowed upon his son a liberal education, he should now put to practical use the knowledge he had acquired. Accordingly, he made arrangements to place him as a clerk in a mercantile house in Posen. But the young man showed little aptitude for business, much to the disappointment of his father. All his leisure hours were devoted to his favourite studies. He greatly desired to enter one of the German universities, and arrangements for this were completed when an event occurred which changed the whole course of his life and made him henceforth an exile from his native land.

He had become associated with educated young men who had imbibed liberal political sentiments. Young Loewenthal, in full sympathy with such views, was not careful to conceal his opinions. An original poem containing sentiments adverse to government appeared

---

2 See the brief biographical sketch of Loewenthal in Jacob Gartenhaus, *Famous Hebrew Christians*, chapter 20 (Chattanooga/Grand Rapids: International Board of Jewish Missions/Baker, 1979), 127-128.
in one of the public journals. It was traced to Loewenthal, with the result that he was brought under the notice of the police. Finding that he was in danger of arrest, he fled from home and with difficulty escaped to Hamburg. From there he took passage on board an English ship for New York, where he arrived in the autumn of 1846. He was now safe from pursuit, but he was alone in a strange land, almost destitute of means, and ignorant of the English language.

He tried to find employment in New York, but not meeting with success he went to Philadelphia. Here, too, he found every door closed to him. If there was no employment for him in the cities, surely he could find work in the country, he reasoned. From one farmhouse to another he wearily made his way, offering his services for such wages as the farmers might choose to give him. Looking at his small stature, and finding that he was quite unacquainted with farm work, no one was willing even to give him a trial.

His purse was now very light and his heart very heavy. As a last resort he invested his meager total savings in a small stock of thread, needles, buttons, etc., and with his basket on his arm, set out as a peddler. Happily his experience in this field was brief, and a brighter career opened before the desolate stranger. That day in November, 1846, while peddling his wares, he stopped at the home of Rev. Gayley (the incident which began this article). This meeting and invitation to stay the night was to have far-reaching implications for Isidor and for the history of Christian missions. Mr. Gayley was able to secure for him the position of French and German teacher at Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania. Mr. Loewenthal entered upon his congenial duties in the beginning of 1847. He had by this time acquired some knowledge of the English language; however, not content with his attainments and with untiring industry, he addressed himself to study.

Thus, by the close of the session he could both speak and write English with classical purity, and in a short time he had acquired a considerable knowledge of English literature. Not only did he devote his hours of leisure from college duty to study, but also long hours of the night. Sometimes whole nights were spent over his books. One of Mr. Loewenthal’s characteristics was an iron will, which enabled him to bend all his energies to the accomplishment of whatever he undertook. Another distinguishing feature of his strongly marked character was a marvelously retentive memory, which held for practical use whatever knowledge he in any way acquired.

When he began life in a strange land, Mr. Loewenthal resolved not to disclose his lineage. Accordingly, during the time spent in Mr. Gayley’s home that gentleman received no intimation that the stranger
under his roof was a son of Abraham. This fact he first learned through a letter from Mr. Loewenthal some time afterward. To Mr. Gayley he owed more than a home when he was homeless and kindly interest when he had not a friend in the New World. Under his roof he received his first religious impressions and became convinced of the truth of Christianity. This good news he communicated to his benefactor in a letter written in July, 1847. In that letter he told him how as his guest he had felt that he could not without rudeness absent himself from the morning and evening devotions of the family; how the word of God read on these occasions and the earnest supplications offered led him to feel that he had an immortal soul, a soul in danger; how, although he did not then disclose his feelings to his host, he began to read his Bible and to pray; how finally, God had removed the evil from his heart and had revealed to him Jesus as his Saviour. The second man to influence Isidor was a fellow Jew, Victor Herschell, a student at Lafayette College. Herschell and Loewenthal were roommates and one evening Herschell, who had become a Christian, prayed out loud for the salvation of his roommate, who was then present. By morning, Loewenthal had come to faith in Christ. Herschell also went on to become a missionary. He served in Jamaica and was murdered there in 1865 by a mob attack.

In the autumn of 1847, while on a visit to Mr. Gayley during a vacation in the College, Mr. Loewenthal made a public profession of his faith in Christ as the true Messiah and was baptized and received into the Rockland Presbyterian Church, to which Mr. Gayley then ministered. “So through a series of steps – contact with a Christian family and the Bible, then with a Jewish friend who believed – Loewenthal came to know the Messiah and publicly professed Him in 1847.”

Soon after this event he entered the senior class of Lafayette College and graduated with honours. He then acted for some time as tutor in the College and later as teacher of languages at Mount Holly, devoting his leisure hours to philological studies, in which he made notable

6 Robinson, “Jews for Jesus...”. 
progress. In the autumn of 1852, he resigned his situation at Mount Holly and entered Princeton Theological Seminary. In theological study he took the keenest interest, but while maintaining a high rank in this department, he still pursued his philological studies. As he wielded a facile and powerful pen, he was a valued contributor to the *Biblical Repertory*. This journal had been founded by Charles Hodge in 1824 and was to become the Seminary’s great tool for disseminating information.

---

7 The full name was “The Society of Inquiry on Missions and the General State of Religion,” founded in 1814 at Princeton. The Society’s purpose was to promote missions at Princeton and to ensure that an earnest engagement occurred in such. They looked to the London Missionary Society for encouragement and inspiration. The Seminary Professors were all honourary members, whereas the students were subscribing members. I am unaware of a full study on this Society and its impact upon American missions. It is one of the silent feeders of the great missionary enterprise of the nineteenth century. The role of the Society was critical for Loewenthal and others. See, David B.
chose for his subject “India as a Field of Labor.” It was a masterly production, evincing great ability and a comprehensive knowledge of the subject. Princeton Seminary in the 1850’s was a true centre of evangelical missionary discussion and zeal. During the first fifty years of the Seminary’s existence (f. 1812), one out of every three students went forth “on missionary ground.” Among this great number were Isidor Loewenthal and Levi Janvier.  

Having completed his course at the seminary, Mr. Loewenthal acted for a time as tutor at Princeton College and filled his position with marked ability. But his heart was set on India as the field of his future labours. He was licensed to preach the gospel in 1855 by the Presbytery of New York, and in August of that year sailed for India, where he arrived in the following November.

In 1834, when mission work was begun in India by the Presbyterian Church of America, work among the Afghans was contemplated; yet, as both the men and money sent from America were required for the evangelization of more accessible parts of the country, no attempt was then made to reach the Afghan population. However, not long before Mr. Loewenthal’s appointment to India, the Executive Committee in America had been led to consider beginning work among the Afghans by the offer of $7,500 from a Christian military officer, Captain H. Conran, whose duties in Attock, Peshawa, and other far northern cities had led him to feel a deep interest in the spiritual welfare of the Afghans. It was felt that Mr. Loewenthal’s linguistic talents especially fitted him for the contemplated mission. Missionaries would not be allowed to reside in Afghanistan, yet as many of the people came down from this northern country to Peshawar (Pakistan), numbers could thus be reached with the gospel, their language could be learned, and the Scriptures translated. In this way, when a door should be opened into this closed land, there might be a preparedness to enter.

Mr. Loewenthal’s first year in India was spent in Rawal Pindi (Pakistan), a city two hundred miles north of Lahore. The year was devoted to the study of the language and rapid progress was made –

---


9 the patron
such an extent that he was soon able to preach fluently in the local language. Near the end of 1856, the annual meeting of the mission was held in the station of Dehra. At its close, Mr. Loewenthal wrote to the Executive Committee in New York: “The Mission have sent me to Peshawar, with a view of penetrating, as soon as ever I can, and in whatever way possible, into closed up Afghanistan. I go with great diffidence and tremblingly hope for the manifest aid of the Lord.”

Peshawar is a city on the borders of Afghanistan. Many of the peoples here (in the twenty-first century this is the North West Frontier Province) belonged to one of the world’s largest tribal groups. It had been known historically as a dangerous region. English officials, both civil and military, had therefore felt that it would be exceedingly imprudent to permit any Christian teaching among the Afghans. A Commissioner stationed at Peshawar said, when consulted on the subject of allowing a missionary to reside in the city, that no missionary should cross the Indus river while he was Commissioner of Peshawar.

One afternoon, not many months after he had made this emphatic declaration, the Commissioner was sitting in the verandah of his bungalow when a tall Afghan appeared and salaaming profoundly, presented a petition. The Commissioner took it and began the reading. The next moment the Afghan’s knife was plunged into the heart of his unsuspecting victim. His successor in office was Sir Herbert Edwardes, a man who feared God and who felt that to permit the gospel to shed its rays in the dark places of the earth would bring blessing and not disaster. A meeting had been appointed for the 19th of December, 1853, to consider the subject of a Christian Mission to Peshawar. It was the day of the Races, and it was suggested that, on this account, the meeting should be deferred. “Put off the work of God for a steeple-chase!” exclaimed the godly Commissioner. “Never!” The meeting was therefore held on the appointed day. The number in attendance was not large, but God was present by His Spirit. Sir Herbert Edwardes took the chair and spoke as one inspired, for he had just come from his closet, where he had held intercourse with the King of Kings.

It was decided at this meeting to ask the Church Missionary Society to begin work in Peshawar, and an encouraging amount for the purpose was at this time subscribed. One English officer, sympathizing with the murdered Commissioner rather than with his successor, when the paper asking for subscriptions for the proposed Mission reached him, wrote: “One rupee towards a Deane and Adams revolver for the first missionary.” The missionary, he felt, would need firearms for his protection, and he said that missionaries coming to Peshawar could not
exist without the protection of his sepoys. This officer was transferred to Meerut before the outbreak of the mutiny there, and together with his wife was cut down by his own sepoys at the very beginning of the mutiny.

The first missionaries sent to Peshawar were: Rev. C. G. Pfander, Rev. Robert Clark, and a devoted layman, Major Martin, who had resigned his commission in the army to enter upon the work of a missionary. All belonged to the Church Missionary Society. They reached Peshawar in January, 1855. Mr. Pfander began at once to teach and to preach. A school for boys was opened in May, and of this Mr. Clark had charge. In addition to his other duties, Major Martin organized the secular work of the Mission, kept the Mission accounts, carried on a large part of the correspondence, and gave generous financial help to the infant enterprise.

Mr. Loewenthal therefore found Christian workers in Peshawar on his arrival. Here he was to pitch his tent and be ready to move into the regions beyond as soon as the Lord should open the way. Meanwhile he would be occupied in study, in preaching to the people as soon as able to use the language, and above all, in preparing a translation of the Holy Scriptures into Pushtu, the language of the Afghans. The languages spoken in Peshawar were Hindustani, Persian, and Pushtu. Hindustani was spoken in the city and in the cantonments and was the official language of the government. The higher and more educated classes spoke Persian, while Pushtu was the language spoken in the villages and by all the surrounding tribes. Knowledge of Arabic was also necessary, the better to secure attention in argument, as the population was almost exclusively Mohammedan.

Mr. Loewenthal, after he had become somewhat acquainted with the city, wrote:

Peshawar is interesting as a sort of Alsace, a borderland between countries—the Gibraltar of the East, where Jew and Gentile, exiled Europeans and refugee Asiatics, Bengalis and cut-throat Afghans meet and jostle each other. One sees ambassadors from Yarkand, silk-dealers from Bokhara, long-

---

haired Belooches, close-shaven Moguls, adventurers from Herat, and scholars from Kandahar.

The streets of the native city were irregular and the houses were chiefly of mud, low and flat-roofed. Around the city ran a low mud wall intended as a protection against robbers. A quadrilateral fortress, Fort Jumrood, whose walls rose to a great height, dominated the city. The European quarter was in striking contrast to the native city, with its pleasant bungalows set in the midst of spacious compounds, gay with flowering shrubs. The surrounding scenery was full of grandeur. The valley was sixty miles in length, bounded on the east by the Indus and girt on every side by hills, some of which were bare and rocky and others clothed with vegetation. Rising above all, two hundred miles to the southwest was the snow-capped peak of Takht-i-Suleiman, or “Solomon’s Throne.”

But other thoughts than of the grandeur of the scenery filled the heart of the missionary as he looked out over the enchanting prospect. He wrote:

Standing before the wild range of the Suleiman mountains, gazing evening after evening as the sun is setting behind it, on the line of savage, habitationless, precipitous crags, standing so distinct against the brilliant sky, following morning after morning the strong sunlight of these latitudes as it penetrates one by one the rugged passes and the jagged clefts – forbidden by man and nature to cross beyond, and knowing that once beyond he might pass through this vast cradle of nations, from the Khyber to the great commercial entrepôt of Yezd in one direction and beyond the Oxus as far as Orenburg in the other, and be everywhere almost the first to announce the glad tidings of salvation through Jesus Christ, the missionary is apt to fancy these mountains more and more insurmountable barriers; sickness and exhaustion cause him to feel his own weakness and littleness daily more keenly, and he would be tempted to despair were there not a voice crying in the wilderness, ‘Prepare ye the way of the Lord.’

Of the inhabitants, Mr. Loewenthal wrote:

The Afghan is fierce and bloodthirsty and is never without weapons. There is hardly a man whose hands are not stained
with blood. They are faithless to public engagements, unless the keeping of a promise would further their own interests. Like all Mohammedans, they are excessively sensual. They are very avaricious and this passion is the safeguard, which the ruling powers have against their religious frenzy and uncontrollable ferocity; and yet the surface of all Mussulman [Persian for ‘Muslim’] life is thoroughly religious. God, if not in all their thoughts, is certainly in all their words.

The missionary, before he learned that their words were by no means an index to their thoughts, felt reproved when he observed how constant was their verbal recognition of God in all they did, and how continual the avowal of their dependence on Him in all the common affairs of life. The Afghan’s morning salutation is, “Peace to you.” If you ask after his welfare, he answers “Thanks to God.” If you say a storm is rising, he replies “God is great.”

On the night of the 11th of May, but a few months after Mr. Loewenthal’s arrival, news reached the officials in Peshawar of the mutiny of the native troops in Meerut. Five days later Sir Herbert Edwardes was summoned to Rawal Pindi to attend a Council. Returning to Peshawar on the 21st he found a crisis impending, as during his absence a succession of plots had been discovered. Letters had been intercepted from Mohammedan fanatics, exhorting the sepoys of the disaffected regiments of Peshawar to follow the example of the troops in Meerut. There were in the valley two European regiments and six or seven regiments of Sepoys; of the latter the majority were disaffected. It was decided to disarm a large proportion of these troops, and some were sent out of the valley.

One Sikh Sirdar, on being asked why he always inquired so anxiously about the safety of Peshawar, replied by rolling up the end of his scarf and saying, “If Peshawar goes, the whole Punjab will be rolled up in rebellion like this.” But Peshawar was saved. The summer, however, was one of painful anxiety. Mr. Loewenthal wrote at this time, “Things outwardly seem to go on as usual, but everyone is aware that he is standing on a mine, and that the train is laid. I am, however, perfectly calm, without fear, and feel content and happy.”

Through all the uncertainties and trials of his first year in this frontier city, Rev. Loewenthal had diligently improved his time in the study of the languages, and could say that he had in some small measure succeeded in acquiring the colloquial use of the Persian language, but had failed as yet in making himself master of the Pushtu. The inherent difficulties of the language, the want of proper helps, the
difficulty of access to the people speaking it, and the excessive heat which had prevailed for several months of the year are some of the reasons given why his progress in the Pushtu had been less rapid than he desired.

Unable to penetrate into the Afghan country beyond Peshawar, Mr. Loewenthal kept continually in mind the thought of evangelizing the people of this closed land through the press, especially through the Word of God translated into Pushtu, which is spoken from the Indus in the east to Herat in the west, and from the Hindu Kush in the north, to the deserts of Baluchistan in the south, an extent of country larger than the whole of France.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, Dr. Leyden, the professor of Hindustani in the College of Fort William, Calcutta, made the first attempt to produce a Pushtu translation of the Scriptures. In 1811 a translation of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark into this language was completed. At Dr. Leyden’s death, the year following, the scribe previously employed by Dr. Leyden continued the translation under the superintendence of the Serampore missionaries. An edition of the entire New Testament in this language was printed at Serampore in 1818. A few copies of this edition found their way into European libraries, and some, doubtless reached Afghanistan through Afghan merchants who carried the fruits of Kabul as far as Calcutta. When a lieutenant (after Sir Herbert Edwardes) was sent by the government to the Bannu District in the year 1848, he found a copy of the New Testament in Pushtu in the hands of an Afghan. It had been given him at Hardwar, when as a boy he had accompanied his relatives to the great fair held at this place, with the injunction to take care of the Book and neither fling it into the river or the fire, but preserve it until the day when the British should be rulers of his country. The man had kept the Book wrapped carefully in many folds of cloth and perhaps had never read a page of the Sacred Volume or allowed any one else to do so.

When missionary work was begun in Lodiana by the Presbyterian Church of America in 1834, copies of the Serampore Pushtu version of the New Testament were given to the Afghans found there, many of whom had accompanied their exiled King, Shah Shujah, to this place. At the time of Mr. Loewenthal’s residence in Peshawar, very few copies of this edition existed. After careful examination it was decided not to print this version, but instead, to prepare a new translation.

In the year 1821, the Serampore missionaries had issued an edition of the Pentateuch in Pushtu, and in 1832 the historical books of the Old Testament in the same language had also been issued, but of these
portions of the Old Testament Mr. Loewenthal was unable to procure even a single copy.

As soon as he felt himself sufficiently familiar with the language, he began a translation of the New Testament Scriptures into Pushtu. Progress was necessarily slow in the beginning of such an enterprise, but the diligent missionary was not discouraged. Nor was he faint of heart because there seemed no immediate prospect of penetrating into Afghanistan. In reference to this he said:

Though at this moment, Afghanistan seems closed, events which may take the most sagacious statesmen and diplomatists by surprise may furnish the key and suddenly the gates may burst open. At that moment let the Church be ready to go in and possess. Though like Achaean warriors we may have been lying ten years before the impregnable city, every moment of that time may have been needed to fit us for the final conquest. The representatives of the world, the merchant and the soldier, will be ready for the juncture; the philanthropist and the political economist will offer to this people their civilization. But what is civilization without the Gospel?

Life on the borders of a wild country like Afghanistan, even in peaceful times, was not without its excitement. Writing to his friends in America in February, 1858, Rev. Loewenthal said:

After my recovery from a severe attack of fever, I had planned an expedition into the Yusufzoy country when a sudden attack of the Afghans upon an Assistant Commissioner’s camp, in which his tents were burned, five of his servants killed, some horses of his escort carried away and he himself narrowly escaped with his life, warned me that the time was not yet. Robberies, many connected with murders, are of nightly occurrence in the city. Some thieves, about three weeks ago, dug into my house, ransacked it and came to the bed where I enjoyed a very sound sleep, but did no harm beyond carrying off what clothes they could find and some cooking furniture. They also took out a large and costly Persian manuscript, but not being of a literary turn, they left it outside, where I found it in the morning, together with the trunks they had emptied. They might have done much more
mischief, and it is hard to tell why they did not. The Lord is very good.

The year 1859 passed tranquilly. Mr. Loewenthal was occupied in preaching and in translating the Scriptures into Pushtu. This latter branch of labor was most congenial to him, and as he gained in experience, his conviction of the supreme importance of his work deepened. A Pushtu translation of the Holy Scriptures would reach a larger proportion of the Afghans than would a translation of the Scriptures into the Persian language, as only the more highly educated among them were acquainted with the Persian. Mr. Loewenthal observes:

It is rare to receive much assistance from the Afghan writers in the investigation of truth. There is no cultivation of their language and literature going on at this time, and the epoch seems propitious for the creation of a new, a Christian literature. Reading is very much left to the women now; a state of things which can hardly be true of any other part of India. The women can tell you in rhyme and metre what twenty-five things make a prayer nugatory, or what is meant by saying that God has neither quiddity nor quantity, etc.

“Free-spoken are these Afghans,” he wrote on another occasion. “‘You priests read,’ they say sometimes, ‘because you are paid for it. Pay us, and we will read, too, even your Holy Book, if you will. Nobody reads to be instructed. Why should we read?’” Mr. Loewenthal found in his intercourse with these stalwart men of the North what the missionary finds in other parts of India, the lamentable absence of a sense of sin and of the necessity of a Savior, the only basis of real religion. Mr. Loewenthal asks in one of his letters:

Where is the standing-ground then to be found from which to work the lever of conversion? Theoretically and speculatively the answer may be difficult; practically, it is not; men have been converted; this one fact outweighs all theories [and] arid calculations to the contrary, and the most satisfying consideration is that conversion is not man’s work; the missionary is sent simply to preach the Gospel, and no nation, assuredly, even in a mere moral and political point of view needs the Gospel more than the Afghans.
Mr. Loewenthal preached in Pushtu in the city when his audience consisted chiefly of people drawn from the villages, but Persian was the language usually employed. Frequent visits were made to the villages in the vicinity of Peshawar. The discussions and conversations in the bazaars of the city and in the villages procured for the missionary frequent visits from so-called learned men, who came rather to air their erudition and to confound the missionary than to seek instruction. With the desire of the missionary to be courteous to all, there was a jealousy of the precious hours that he feared were but wasted in fruitless discussions. “The Afghans are the greatest idlers imaginable,” he wrote, “and waste many a day for the missionary.” Discussions were occasionally held in the vicinity of some city mosque, but from those encounters he usually returned burdened with the conviction that no real good had been accomplished.

From time to time, professed inquirers after the truth presented themselves, but when put to the test of sincerity which the missionary thought it right and wise to apply, and which consisted in a willingness to work for their bread, they were frequently found wanting.

Mr. Loewenthal mentions in one of his letters how and why an inquirer came to him to be instructed. The man had fallen into perils among his own countrymen. He had been persecuted and oppressed, and to crown all, his wife had been carried away while he was absent from home and the offender refused to restore her. Beside himself with sorrow and anger, the man ran through the streets and bazaars of Kabul crying out that religion and truth, morality and faith had departed from Islam, that the religion of the Mohammedans was cruelty, oppression, and wrong, and that he was going to Peshawar, where the English ruled, and would there become a Christian. He did not find it so easy a matter as he had thought to change his faith. When he made inquiries on the subject, of either Hindu or Mohammedan, he was told that every one must remain in the faith in which he was born. One day a Jew passed the shop in which the much-perplexed man was working as a cobbler, and this man was pointed out to Mushki, the Kabuli, as one who had become a Christian. Accosting the Jewish stranger, he asked him who had made him a Christian; and he was at once conducted to Mr. Loewenthal. Mr. Loewenthal commented:

A wonderful specimen of humanity he was. His language was neither Persian nor Pushtu. He called it Kabuli, and after a good deal of close attention I found that it was a curiously dipped kind of Persian. But one’s tongue gets to be very loose in this Asiatic Babel, and in a few days I could talk as bad
Persian as any Kabul cockney. The entire extent of Mushki’s religious knowledge consisted in this – there is one God and Mohammed is his prophet. His memory was marvelous. To read to Mushki the Lord’s Prayer three times was sufficient to enable him to repeat it accurately. Doctrines until then quite new to him, presented to him clearly once, thenceforth became his property for aye. He was ready to confess himself a sinner, but had no conception of guilt. That he was inquiring concerning the Christian religion gave him, he maintained, a sufficient claim to support, and he refused to engage in any employment.

Mr. Loewenthal was eventually obliged to withdraw his support. The man then began to wander about the country, calling himself a Christian.

Although Mr. Loewenthal’s chief employment was the translation of the Scriptures into Pushtu, yet he did not neglect the work of preaching. Very frequently he preached to great crowds of “ vociferous, fanatical, gainsaying people,” some of whom came to his house for more quiet discussions.

In the summer of 1862, Mr. Loewenthal made a tour into Kashmir. He wrote to his friends in America:

The climate is wonderful and the beauty of the valley such as to sustain the descriptions of the travellers and even of poets. Man alone, and his works are here, too, in grating harmony with the loveliness of God’s creation. I have tried to preach, but with little success or satisfaction. Kashmiris understand only Kashmiri, which I do not know yet. I have found people who know Persian, but these belong to the respectable classes who do not form the crowds the missionary usually has to address in bazaar preaching. Some of the latter, however, both Hindus and Mohammedans, have been visiting me in Srinagar, and thus the Gospel has been preached to a few.

Of the hindrances to work, either in the bazaars of the city, or in the surrounding villages during the hot season, Mr. Loewenthal’s experiences coincide with the experiences of probably every missionary on the plains of India. He says:
I find it almost impossible to get back from the preaching in the villages, without being exposed to the sun later than I can bear it, and the result is prostration. It is not the pain so much which I regret, as the absolute loss of so much time. In the evening there is a steaming crowd in a close bazaar with the thermometer near a hundred, and not a breath of air, and loud clamouring until the voice absolutely seems to refuse to sound.

But the discomfort of such experiences, aside from the apparent unfruitfulness, was less trying than the conviction that he was thereby in a great measure unfitting himself for the literary work which “the greatest variety of men, in unconscious concert persisted in thrusting upon him,” so that he was often perplexed as to the line he ought to pursue.

Rev. Loewenthal took great delight in cold weather itinerations. On one occasion he was traveling with the officer in charge of the District of Yusufoy, who moved about with a large escort of foot and horse. He was asked by his host not to preach in the frontier villages and not to create any excitement. In regard to these restrictions, he said, “They are woeful dogs, but limping is better than not to be able to walk at all,” well knowing that only when under the protection of so powerful an escort would it be possible in outlying districts to preach the gospel at all. On this tour he preached in some villages to large and attentive crowds, and in places where he was not allowed to go to the people the people came to him. “I am pretty well known,” he wrote, “to many of the better classes, so as soon as my presence was known, respectable Khans, learned Mullahs, zealous Imams and other cleanly-dressed, large-turbaned Afghans crowded into my little tent, and we had disputations all day long. I distributed some few of the Gospels in Pushtu and made the truth known to many.” During this tour he spent the time at his command in revising and correcting his Pushtu translation of the New Testament.

In the summer of 1862, he wrote to the Executive Committee in New York, “I hope you will receive early next year three copies of the Pushtu New Testament, one, as you requested, for your Library in the Mission House, one for the Library of Princeton Seminary, and one for the American Oriental Society.”

In the autumn of 1863, Mr. Loewenthal was again at the front, “accompanying a considerable military force which it was thought would only have a march through a hitherto unknown part of the Afghan country and no fighting.” These circumstances Mr. Loewenthal
thought favorable to his becoming acquainted with tribes to whom he might have access in more peaceful times, and as a large part of the force was to consist of frontier regiments, he would always have in camp a congregation of Afghans. “I have two or three services on Sunday in English,” he wrote, “and have also had opportunities of preaching to the Afghans, and have even distributed some Pushtu Gospels. I am not usually exposed to fire; attending the wounded is one of my most arduous duties.”

Letters received in New York from India dated the 31st of March 1864, conveyed the tidings of the death of the Rev. Levi Janvier, D.D., at the hands of a Sikh fanatic at Anandpore, in the Punjab. Mr. Lowenthal, after hearing of the death of Dr. Janvier, wrote to his friend in England, Major H. Conran, whose generous gift had opened the way for the beginning by the Presbyterian Church of America of a Mission to the Afghans, “Strange it is that such an eminent and useful man should have been cut off in his prime. Why was not I taken and he spared?” But the end of life for him also was nearer than he dreamed. Dr. Janvier met his death on the 24th of March. On the night of the 27th of the following April, Mr. Loewenthal was in his library deeply engrossed in study. The hour of midnight came, but it passed unheeded. An hour or two longer his fascinating studies held him, then pushing aside his books, he walked out into the cool night air, as was his custom before seeking his couch. He was in his own garden, with no thought of danger. There was the sharp report of a pistol, and Mr. Loewenthal dropped to the ground, the ball having penetrated his forehead. His own watchman, who, it was said, took his master for a robber, had shot him.

Thus passed away one of the most remarkable men that India has ever known. He had spent only seven years in Peshawar, yet in that brief period he had made himself acquainted with the Pushtu, and had translated into this difficult language the whole of the New Testament, and put the same through the press. He had also nearly completed a Pushtu dictionary. He could preach with facility in the Pushtu, Persian, Hindustani and Arabic languages. It has been said that probably no other foreigner at that time in India had so thorough a knowledge of Asiatic literature and so intimate an acquaintance with the manners and customs of the people of the land and with Oriental politics as he. He

---

11 Rev. Janvier had spent twenty years as a faithful missionary. His last task was to conduct a communion service before returning to his home. Later that night he was shot by his chokeydar (watchman). See also, The Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (New York: Mission House, 1865), 19-27.
had a thorough knowledge of the religious system of the people, and as a disputant with Mohammedans and other religionists he was a master. His library, which filled the four sides of his study, the higher shelves reached by a ladder, contained the rest of the books and most ancient manuscripts to be found in any private library in India.

He enjoyed the friendship of men of the highest rank in both the civil and the military service in India. He possessed genius in the truest sense. His versatility was marvelous, he having what is exceedingly rare, a seemingly equal aptitude for all branches of study, excelling in whatever he undertook. He was an accomplished musician, mathematician, metaphysician, and pre-eminently a linguist. As a philologist he stood in the front rank. He conducted a large correspondence and was a valued contributor to British and American quarterlies. Many have benefited from his scholarship and have built
upon his labours. He had fine conversational powers, and in the social circle was a delightful companion. As a Christian he was sincere, humble, devout and zealous.

After the death of Mr. Loewenthal, Major Conran did not lose interest in opening the way for a mission into Afghanistan. He put aside a sum of money for this purpose and corresponded with the Mission Committee in New York in reference to supplying the place of the fallen missionary. The way to this did not seem plain. “Feeling my strength failing,” wrote Major Conran to a friend in India, “as I knew not the day of my death, I felt the responsibility of keeping the Lord’s money idle, perhaps to fall into unworthy hands, and made it over to another society.”

Afghanistan still remains a closed land, but the wild inhabitants of the regions beyond Peshawar have now the gospel in their own language and one day the missionary will enter in “to plant the Cross and teach the Book.”

Standing beside the grave in the beautiful English cemetery in Peshawar where rest the remains of Isidor Loewenthal and looking out over the hills surrounding the valley and beyond which he so longed to penetrate, we have thought that perhaps God has now revealed to him the reason why he was held back from entering Afghanistan with the gospel.

While not yielding to a feeling of impatience because there are yet lands closed to the heralds of the Cross, let us unite in the prayer contained in the old Church litany of the Moravians:

“Keep our doors open among the heathen,
And open those that are shut.”
Amen.

---

Bronze tablet placed by the students of Princeton Theological Seminary in the Classroom Building known as Stuart Hall, Princeton, New Jersey

OF THESE THE WORLD WAS NOT WORTHY

WALTER MACON LOWRIE
class of 1840,
thrown overboard by pirates in the China Sea, 1847

JOHN EDGAR FREEMAN
class of 1838,

ROBERT McMULLEN
class of 1853,
who, with their wives, were shot by the order of Nanasahib, 1857, at Cawnpore, India

LEVI JANVIER
class of 1840,
stabbed by a Sikh fanatic at Lodiana, India, 1864

ISIDOR LOEWENTHAL
class of 1854,
shot accidentally or by design at Peshawur, India, 1864

JOHN ROGER PEALE
class of 1905,
killed with his wife by a mob at Lien Chow, China, 1905

FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH

Christ-centred Preaching: some reflections on an important issue

Derek Thomas*

* Derek Thomas is currently the John E. Richards Professor of Systematic and Practical Theology at Reformed Theological Seminary, Jackson, Mississippi, and the Minister of Teaching at First Presbyterian Church (PCA), Jackson. He also serves as Editorial Director for the Alliance of Confessing Evangelicals. He holds the Ph.D. from the University of Wales and was born in Wales. He was formerly the minister of Stranmillis Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Belfast, Northern Ireland, and editor of the Evangelical Presbyterian Magazine.

Luther had this saying which the Puritans loved to cite: that the person who could distinguish between law and grace could thank God and know himself to be a Christian. Which leads me to suggest that the person who can rightly preach Christ from the Scripture can know himself to be a preacher.

Preaching Christ from the Scriptures would seem to be a self-evident issue. When the risen Jesus walked with his disciples on the road to Emmaus, Luke tells us, “beginning with Moses and all the

1 A modified form of this address was given at Westminster Seminary in California on the occasion of their 25th anniversary celebrations, January, 2005.
prophets, he [i.e., Jesus] explained to them what was said in all the Scriptures concerning himself” (Lk 24:27). This passage has become something of an interpretive crux in homiletical and hermeneutical discussions of late. When Jesus expounds the Bible, He says that it is all about Him (cf. Jn 5:39, 46). The apostles say the same (Jn 1:45; Acts 10:43; Rom 3:21). Thus, it is argued, if we interpret any portion without relating it to Him, we fail to say the very thing that He and His apostles say it is about. Paul seemed to mimic the concern when writing to the Corinthians, “I resolved to know nothing while I was with you except Jesus Christ and him crucified” (1 Cor 2:2).

A plethora of books has emerged over the last decade giving testimony to the hermeneutical and homiletical concerns of Christ-centred preaching. Among them are two books by Edmund Clowney, The Unfolding Mystery [1991] and Preaching Christ in All of Scripture [2003]. Both are two of the most valuable contributions to the issue of Christ-centred preaching. Additionally, there is the highly praised volume by Bryan Chapell, Christ-Centered Preaching [1994, another edition is due in March, 2005].

To this should be added two further volumes, one from Graeme Goldsworthy, Preaching the Whole Bible as Christian Scripture: The Application of Biblical Theology to Expository Preaching [2000], and another by Sidney Greidanus, Preaching Christ from the Old Testament: A Contemporary Hermeneutical Method [1999]. Mention ought also be made of Sidney Greidanus’ two other volumes, The Modern Preacher and the Ancient Text and Sola Scriptura: Problems and Principles in Preaching Historical Texts [2001 (1970)], both of which add significant insights into some of the theological and genre-sensitive issues governing biblically-sound preaching.2

In reformed circles, the whole issue of redemptive-historical preaching has become a matter of importance, some of whose devotees

---

have advocated methodologies of preaching at odds with past reformed traditions.\(^3\)

Even from this admittedly narrow (reformed) focus, the trend toward more Christ-centred messages in expository preaching certainly seems to be upon us. Over the last decade, and especially in the last five years, the trickle of materials advocating the necessity of a redemptive theological interpretation of Scripture has become a torrent.\(^4\)

**Identifying the Issue(s)**

There are several issues that rise to the surface in the debate over Christ-centred preaching, some of which are related to wider hermeneutical concerns rather than merely preaching methodology. As a starting point, and one that is outside the scope of our concerns here, is the place of preaching itself (whether it be Christ-centred or not). It is difficult to engage in a debate about the hermeneutic employed in preaching the Bible when preaching itself is given such minimalist attention. What is the place of preaching in the plan of God for the

---

\(^3\) The *Kerux* magazine, for example, and the writings of James Dennison. See the particularly acidic review of Bryan Chapell’s book by Gary Findley in *Kerux* 11 (May 1996), 37-41. Findley contrasts Chapell and Greidanus with Vos, arguing that the latter’s two-world cosmology better suits a hermeneutic of Christ-centred preaching.

Church and its existence and growth and maturity? In an age of increasing skepticism about oral monological communication, what place does traditional preaching have when it is viewed as so much opinionated indoctrination at best and tyrannical sectarianism at worst? Does J. I. Packer’s definition of preaching still carry weight in our post-modern, visual age?

An applicatory declaration, spoken in God's name and for his praise, in which some part of the written Word of God delivers through the preacher some part of its message about God and godliness in relation to those whom the preacher addresses.\(^5\)

This is a valid question but one that can be left for another occasion. Assuming the timeless validity of preaching as the means by which God’s Word is made known, what are the essential features of a method of Christ-centred preaching that give cause for concern in today’s (reformed) church and seminary? Three seem to be especially prominent.

i. The hermeneutic of preaching Christ as the centre of the biblical message, and of the Scriptures as a whole. This is more complicated than it appears, particularly for evangelicals for whom the phrase “Christ-centred” rings true for many reasons, not least the Reformational slogan solo Christo. Does the Bible have a central-theme and if so, what is it? That this theme is Christ seems to be correct, even if more nuanced answers seem to be needed in order to make it more accurate.

ii. Attention needs to be given to what is meant by preaching Christ from the Old Testament in particular. Some fairly

---

\(^5\) J.I. Packer, *Truth and Power: The Place of Scripture in the Christian Life* (Colorado Springs: Harold Shaw Publishers, 1996), 123. One may recognize allusions to both Philips Brooks (truth through personality) and D. Martyn Lloyd-Jones (logic on fire) in this definition. Packer introduces this definition by saying, “Sermons can be looked at from various angles and defined in a number of ways. An institutional definition of a sermon would describe it as a hortatory monologue delivered from a pulpit to people in pews as part of a liturgical program. A sociological definition would highlight the expectations that sermons seek to fulfill and the responsibilities that they are thought to impose. A homiletical definition would view the sermon as didactic communication, put over by means of a special rhetorical technique.” 122
weighty theological and historical issues rise to the surface, not least what one reformed historian has labeled, “The Marcions Have Landed!”⁶ There are testamentary (dispensational-covenantal) issues involved that are particularly crucial and have historically divided the Christian Church. Of particular exegetical concern is the question: Is every text of the Old Testament to be viewed through the grid of Christ and His redemptive work? This becomes all the more crucial given the strongly worded pronouncements of recent authors on this subject:

“…all texts in the whole Bible bear a discernible relationship to Christ and are primarily intended as a testimony to Christ.”⁷

“In its context, every passage possesses one or more of four redemptive foci. Every text is predictive of the work of Christ, preparatory for the work of Christ, reflective of the work of Christ, and/or resultant of the work of Christ.”⁸

“The unity of redemptive history implies the Christocentric nature of every historical text. Redemptive history is the

---


⁸ Bryan Chappell, Christ-Centered Preaching, 275. Bryan Chappell insists that this is not what he is attempting in his Christ-Centered Preaching: “When I use the word ‘Christ-centered’ or the phrase ‘Christ-centered preaching,’ I am not attempting to say that Jesus has to be shown to be present in every biblical text. Sometimes people hear the words ‘Christ-centered preaching’ and they are preaching a passage where Israel is wandering in the wilderness and they say, ‘Now where is Jesus? Is He behind that bush or is He in that camel track? I don’t see Him.’” In, “What is Expository Preaching? An Interview with Bryan Chapell,” in Preaching 16 (March-April 2001), 7. Chappell goes on to say that he is happy with using the term “redemptive-preaching” as a synonym for “Christ-centered preaching.” See also Chapell’s :The Future of Expository Preaching,” in Presbyterion:Covenant Seminary Review 30 (Fall 2004), 2:65-80.
history of Christ. He stands at its center, but no less at its beginning and end…it is Christ who is the real center and pivot of the history of the Old Testament. He is not only the end of its history—He stands at the center of its history and its beginning also…‖

―…every message from the Old Testament must be seen in the light of Jesus Christ.‖

iii. Does the hermeneutic of Christ-centered preaching necessarily invalidate “biographical preaching”? Whether explicit or otherwise, a growing concern over the validity of biographical (moralistic) preaching has gained credence in reformed homiletical literature, almost to the extent that historical texts are no longer to be viewed as having a narrative grounding of its own. In the interests of the wider redemptive-historical meta-narrative, the story itself seems to be un-earthed.

Wider attention now needs to be given to all three of these issues.

Preaching Christ as the Central Motif of Scripture

Is there a unifying principle of theology/Scripture? The issue is of greater interest than at first appears. After all, various responses to this question have been given even within the narrower focus of reformed theology. Thus, covenant, law-gospel, kingdom, and eschatology have been suggested as playing “central” roles in the theology of the Bible, and each with some considerable justification.

Within Reformed theology, from Herman Witsius (1636-1708) onwards and possibly before him, the idea of covenant as engaging the unifying theme of theology has gained wide acceptability. Covenant thus is a way of reading the Bible that is itself part of the overall

10 S. Greidanus, Preaching Christ from the Old Testament, 51. Several reviewers of these works have pointed out that a concession to the hermeneutic of preaching Christ from the Old Testament ought not necessarily imply preaching Christ from every text of the Old Testament. Thus Todd Murphy, reviewing Greidanus, can say, “Greidanus is not absolutely clear, but it does seem that he is saying “every text” must somehow be a witness to Christ. Thus, his seven methods could theoretically be turned into a more sophisticated grab-bag of homiletical tools to make every text “witness to Christ.” This begins to show itself in the suggestion that one must preach wisdom literature “redemptive-historically” in spite of the common consensus that Israel’s wisdom traditions are rooted rather in a theology of creation.” See, Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society, 44 (June 2001), 2: 331.
interpretation of the Bible that it undergirds. As such, Bible readers discern:

- that God is revealing in Scripture His work of creation, providence and grace, works carried out by a God who exists in three persons, Father, Son and Holy Spirit.
- What Bible readers note is the triune God’s determination to raise fallen man from ruin and certain perdition to share in Christ’s glory.
- They discern that this has both redemptive-historical aspects as the plan unfolds through a complicated history in which, as in a good novel, the *dénouement* is only resolved gradually and climactically in birth, life, death, resurrection, ascension complex of Jesus Christ.
- God takes fallen creatures and re-makes them, an act that is both judicial in its justification and transformational in its sanctification and glorification.

Nowhere is this more distinctly summarized than in the Westminster Confession: “The distance between man and God is so great that although reasonable creatures owe obedience unto him as their Creator, yet they could never have any fruition of him as their blessedness and reward, but by some voluntary condescension on God’s part, which he hath been pleased to express by way of covenant.” (7:i). *Exactly!*

This is the bigger picture without which such things as: the plan of salvation, faith, the church and its sacraments, worship *let alone Jesus Christ as prophet, priest and king*, make no sense at all. They each appear as so many disparate elements without any linkage. Covenant – that bond which God establishes between Himself and His people, the mediator of which is Jesus Christ (Larger Catechism, Q. 36).

Scripture, therefore, is not understood unless viewed covenantally. This hermeneutical device ensures that we view the larger picture within the smaller one, that wherever we may be historically in the narrative of redemption, there is one goal, one purpose, one mind at work providentially ordering all things toward a decisive goal. Hence the whole Bible revolves around a twin-covenantal theme: man created then ruined; man redeemed, then glorified. A covenant of works/covenant of grace is how historically this has been viewed. The failure of the covenant of works provided God with an opportunity to reveal in embryo the solution – the Seed of the woman crushing the head of Satan, whilst the devil manages only to bruise the Mediator’s heel (Gen 3:15). This *proto-evangelium* is embryonic of the gospel in
its victorious character (*Christus Victor*). Each book of the Bible, as well as the history that underlies it, makes sense only as this covenant of grace is seen to be unfolding, first along specific (though not altogether confined) theocratic (Jewish) lines within Abraham’s seed, the nation of Israel, then bursting into cosmic (trans-national) lines at Pentecost. True, something decisive takes place at Pentecost, but it is not something that was not anticipated and even foreshadowed in pre-Pentecost Old Testament times. Thus what emerges is an unfolding drama in which:

i. There is one mediator of the covenant, the Messiah (Christ), first typified in terms of three offices (*munus triplex*): prophet, priest and king.

ii. There is one people of God, the covenant community, the church (the “Israel of God” Gal. 6:16). Thus a line is drawn from Abel through Noah and Abraham to the world-wide church of God today which confesses the name of Christ.

iii. There is one pattern of covenant piety (about which more needs to be said in a minute). Covenant purpose and covenant life are thus linear from Genesis to Revelation, from Eden to Eternity.

Covenant theology thus ensures that nothing that God does is viewed *apart* from Christ as the covenant Mediator. To cite Geerhardus Vos, “For the Reformed, therefore, the entire *ordo salutis*, beginning with regeneration as its first stage, is bound to the mystical union with Christ. There is no gift that is not bestowed by him and that does not elevate God’s glory through his bestowal.”

It is only as Christ is viewed within the overarching theme of covenant that we can ensure a faithful preaching of Christ that is true to Scripture. Thus viewed, the meaning of “Christ-centredness” takes on a somewhat wider shape, encompassing a Trinitarian understanding of the Being and Work of God in which it is possible (even accurate) to suggest that Christ is “at the centre.” Without such a focus, the

---

11 *Redemptive History and Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Richard B. Gaffin (Philadelphia: P & R, 1980), 248. This is true despite Vos’ over-emphasis on the eschatological aspect of union with Christ. By stressing too little the existential aspect whereby we are brought into union with Christ, a tendency to presumptive regeneration often follows.
temptation arises to view Christ too narrowly, at worst in some Christomonistic fashion.

**Preaching Christ from the Old Testament**

Is the Old Testament sub-Christian (as Marcion, Harnack, Schleiermacher and Bultmann have argued)? Or is it simply pre-Christian (as James Barr has argued)?

Jay Adams once wrote, “If you preach a sermon that would be acceptable to the member of a Jewish synagogue or to a Unitarian congregation, there is something radically wrong with it.”

The problem of the blank page between the Testaments is one of the greatest issues in theology. Few have summarized the issue of the relationship between the Old and New Testaments as well as Calvin in his *Institutes* (Book 2). If the page was torn out, few would have difficulty in reinserting it – the coming of Christ seems to be overwhelmingly transitional. Thus Alec Motyer describes the Old Testament as “the Book with the answers in the back.” Like a detective novel where the riddle awaits the dénouement, the “coming together,” in the closing pages, the New Testament seems to be built on the Old, the Old seems to expect the New. But this does not make interpreting the Old Testament necessarily easier. The concern for rooting texts in their historical context can often cloud larger tracts of meaning poured into them by the light of the New Testament. The Psalm citations in Hebrews, for example, seem to be interpreted in a way that goes far beyond what the original writers would necessarily have seen. Their Christological fulfillment seems self-evident given their new interpretation; but coming to these Psalms “cold” would probably not yield such interpretations. The Old seems to beg for the

---


Kuyper: protasis-apodosis structure of a sentence (OT is the “if” and the NT is the “then it follows that”). Augustine famously viewed the Old Testament as a room full of furniture with the lights dimmed. Calvin’s favourite metaphor was taken from Hebrews 10:1, viewing the Old Testament as a “sketch.” Calvin is nodding to Chrysostom. See Chrysostom, *Sermons in the Epistle to the Philippians*, no. 10, MPG 62:257, cited in Leslie W. Barnard, *Studia Theologica* 36 (1982):2: “Similarly in painting: an artist sketches a king, but until the colours are applied he is not called a king; and when they are put on the type is hidden by the truth and is not visible; and then we say ‘Behold the King!’” Other New Testament pictures include, Copy (spodeigma) John 13:15; shadow (skia) (Heb 8:5); pattern (tupoõ) (Heb 8:5)
light of the New in order for them to be understood. “Mere” historical grounding will not yield all their nectar.

On the issue of preaching Christ from the Old Testament, some strongly worded pronouncements have been made concerning even the greatest of exegetes. Sidney Greidanus, for example, takes Calvin to task at this point. “Calvin did not sufficiently focus on producing explicitly Christ-centered sermons in the context of the whole Scripture” and as such, provides “an inadequate model for preaching in our post-Christian culture.”

According to David Puckett, in a recent analysis of Calvin’s exegetical method and hermeneutic governing his use of the Old

---


Jerome Friedman suggests that Calvin would not have been surprised by this charge since the term Judaizer was a frequent epithet of the times by all sides. “The Lutheran author Hunnius described John Calvin as a judaizer much as Calvin believed Lutheran liturgy was highly judaistic. On the other hand, Roman Catholic spokesmen thought Lutheran preoccupation with scriptural literalism was judaistic while both Reformed and Lutheran thinkers assumed Roman Catholic interest in ceremony and ritual reflected judaizing tendencies. Expressing a rare ecumenism, all agreed that Michael Servetus was a severe judaizer by any and all standards. For his part, Servetus lamented his being persecuted by judaizing Christians, Calvin in particular.” Jerome Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1983), 182. On Calvin’s view of Lutheran liturgy, see his letter to Guillaume Farel, April 1539. [CO 10:340]. See also, David Puckett, *John Calvin’s Exegesis of the Old Testament* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 1-18.
Testament, all of this shows that “ambiguity and tension existed throughout the Christian era concerning the role of the Old Testament in the life and thought of the church.” Puckett’s conclusion, following an exhaustive study of Calvin’s Old Testament commentaries, is one that Ford Lewis Battles has also voiced: that Calvin attempted to find a middle way between the opposing extremes of Jewish interpretation on the one hand, and Lutheran, Christo-centric interpretations on the other, finding himself “on the Christian end of any Jewish-Christian exegetical continuum.” Puckett reaches this conclusion from examining the commentaries alone. However, it may be argued that the desire to reach Christological conclusions is heightened in preaching, which requires careful exegetical work to be applied in a way that a commentary does not.

A crucial question that needs to be addressed in this issue can be put this way: the entire Old Testament bears witness to Christ but does the Old Testament bear witness only to Christ? True, Luke 27:44 refers to things written “in the prophets and law of Moses,” not necessarily implying that every text speaks that way. It is interesting to note that Sidney Greidanus seems to have changed his mind on this issue over the past quarter-century. In Sola Scriptura (written in the 1970’s) he spoke of “God-centered” preaching, rather than Christ-centred preaching, but in Preaching Christ from the Old Testament he speaks of “Christ-centered preaching”.

Preaching Christ As Both Saviour (Who Justifies Us) and Lord (Who Sanctifies Us)

A particular issue that has gained notoriety in reformed expository preaching is Brian Chapell’s so-called, “Fallen Condition Focus” (FCF). The entirety of the narrative of Scripture is to be seen in relation to Genesis 3:15, the protoevangelium. To suggest that any text of Scripture can be fulfilled apart from a consideration of the text’s

---

15 Puckett, Calvin’s Exegesis, 1-2.
18 Greidanus, Preaching Christ from the Old Testament, 36-37.
relationship to justification by faith and man’s moral inability to do anything meritorious is to promote Pharisaism. It is to preach moralism – inadvertently conveying the notion of acceptance by good works performed on our part and by our own efforts. It is to draw attention to ourselves and away from the saving work of Christ. Thus biographical preaching which focuses on individual biblical characters and suggests that we should be like them (or not like them) receives the same opprobrium.  

The problem with the FCF principle is that it, too, tends to focus on man and human need. It is a hermeneutic that focuses on justification, and in some circles on definitive sanctification, at the expense of progressive sanctification. It suggests that there is no category of “ought,” or moral imperative, that has validity in a reformed hermeneutic of Scriptural ethical interpretation. This is a bigger issue than can be outlined here, but it remains stubbornly at the centre of much preaching, leading, in some at least, to what appears to be an antinomian strain. Ethics becomes merely reflecting on what we are by grace (the so-called moral indicative) without regard for the consequent demand (the so-called moral imperative).

At root is the age-old issue of the understanding of the relation of law and gospel, of the relationship of justification to sanctification, and especially of what Calvin called the third-use of the law. The problem with viewing every text of Scripture from the point of view of the Fallen Condition Focus (the paranoia that unless we do this we produce Pharisees) fails to see the indicative-imperative axis of Pauline ethics. Thus biblical ethics has no fear of the imperative (“Do this” not because it assumes “Do this and live” but because it models “Do this because of who you are”). Biblical ethics has to do with expressing

---

19 See, Brian Chapell, Christ-Centered Preaching, passim.
20 Todd Murphy points out Greidanus’ aversion to ethical content in preaching in his Preaching Christ from the Old Testament. “In various places throughout, he makes strong comments about “ethical preaching” and “moralism.” We certainly agree that preaching is far more than ethics and that moralistic preaching is an easy tap for the common preacher. However, Greidanus himself seems somewhat averse to granting OT narrative much of a moral voice in spite of the strong moral bent in so much Hebrew narrative.” Murphy’s review in Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society, 44 (June 2001), 2: 331. Another reviewer notes that where Greidanus “does judge application as appropriate, he seems to prefer corporate, rather than personal, examples.” (H. David Shuringa, Calvin Theological Journal 36 (April 2001):1, 213-14). Interestingly, Greidanus chides Chapell, in a review of the latter’s Christ-Centered Preaching for his insistence that “a truth without an
God’s covenantal relationship to us in covenantal relationships between ourselves and others, animated by the gratitude which is the reflex of those who have tasted grace.  

The propriety of preaching biblical characters and the charge that doing so necessarily implies moralistic preaching is one of immense significance, not only because it questions the practice of the (reformed) church of past and present, but also because it radically changes the way we understand the nature of the Bible – particularly its historical sections. As those charged, like Paul, to declare “the whole counsel of God” (Acts 20:26-27) – a focus on what God has done as well as what God requires – preachers must relate their messages to Christ. Christ’s mediation, His cross and resurrection especially, will not only inform us of what Christ has done for us, it will also (Paul-like) inform us of what the cross-resurrection axis demands. Preachers apparent application falls short of the requirements of formal propositions” (Chapell, 141, 142, 143, 144). See Sidney Greidanus’ review of Bryan Chapell’s Christ-Centered Preaching in Calvin Theological Journal 30 (1995), 282-285. The Redemptive-Historical Focus (RHF), on the other hand, focuses on something bigger: the unfolding of God’s saving plan in space and time. This is an improvement. It draws attention to the work of God in history. It is less anthropological in its focus than the FCF principle. But it, too, assumes that everything in Scripture has a redemptive focus. Is no part of Scripture reflective of a distinction between general and special revelation? Is no regard to be given to what Calvin, in his outline of the Institutes, distinguishes as the revelation of God the Creator and the revelation of God the Redeemer? What place is there for the sermons of Acts 14 and 17, for example, in which the thrust of the message is general revelation? 

Interesting observation of the role of the Reading of the Law in Calvin’s Strasbourg and Genevan liturgies of 1543 and 1545. It comes after (not before) the confession of sin and absolution. It functions as Calvin’s understanding of the third use of the law (tertius usus legis).

See also Sidney Greidanus, “The Necessity of Preaching Christ also from Old Testament Texts,” in Calvin Theological Journal 34 (April 1999):1, 188-197. “A common way of preaching the Old Testament is biographical or character preaching, which focuses on the biblical characters and presents them as examples of what to do or what not to do. This human-centered, character-imitation preaching rarely gets to God’s revelation of himself, let alone God’s revelation of himself in Jesus Christ. A second, and far better, way of preaching the Old Testament focuses on God and his redemptive acts. Unfortunately, this God-centered preaching frequently fails to make the connection with God’s ultimate revelation of himself in Jesus Christ.” 188. Greidanus goes to suggest that one of the reasons for this lack of Christ-centredness is the concern for ecumenicity with other “faiths.” 189.
will insist on a resolution not to know anything “except Jesus Christ and him crucified” (1 Cor. 2:2). That does not mean that preachers will harp all the time on the bare facts of the crucifixion. But it will mean that they will draw all the lines that lead to Calvary and beyond it, to glory.

Such Trinitarian-centred, Christ-focused, redemptive-historically sensitive preaching will both inform us of what God has accomplished on our behalf as well as drive us to “work out our salvation with fear and trembling,” imitating the godly in as far as they are reflective of Jesus-likeness, and avoiding the ungodly aspects of even the best of God’s saints, seeing these as blemishes unfit for Christ’s kingdom.
Peter Martyr Vermigli on Union with Christ

W. Duncan Rankin*

* Dr. Rankin studied at Clemson University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Covenant Theological Seminary, Reformed Theological Seminary, and New College, Edinburgh. He taught systematic theology at Reformed Theological Seminary in Jackson, Mississippi, for ten years. At present, he combines pastoring Covenant Presbyterian Church (PCA), in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, with being an Adjunct Professor of Theology at RTS. His Ph.D. dissertation was “Carnal Union with Christ in the Theology of T. F. Torrance.”

The two quotations immediately below from the Reformer Peter Martyr Vermigli reveal that, through their correspondence, there was an ongoing exchange of ideas between the Genevan Reformers and Peter Martyr Vermigli. This relationship has given an importance to Vermigli’s thought, as some Barthian scholars have sought to use his views to bolster their interpretation of Calvin’s doctrine of union with Christ. In this valuable contribution to the debate, Dr. Rankin lets Vermigli speak for himself and then challenges the assertions of those scholars who have sought to over-emphasise the place of “incarnational” union with Christ in his theology.

“But unless some other kind of communion were offered us, this would be very general and feeble; for the whole human race do already hold in this wise communion with Christ. They are in fact men, as He was….‖

Peter Martyr Vermigli, “Martyr to Calvin, Strasburgh, March 8, 1555,” in Gleanings of a Few Scattered Ears, 342.

---

“Somewhat is the conjunction of one and the same matter which we have in common with Christ from his incarnation…. Yet nevertheless it is not proper to Christians, for the Turks and Jews, and as many as be comprehended among the number of men, are in this way joined in Christ.”


What is the doctrine of union with Christ, according to Italian Reformer Peter Martyr Vermigli (1500-1562)?

Martyr’s Letters to Calvin and Beza

In his letters to John Calvin and Theodore Beza dated 8 March 1555, Peter Martyr treats union with Christ under three distinct headings: natural, spiritual, and mystical. Midway through his letter to Calvin, Martyr summarizes:

We have then here, thus far, two communions with Christ. One is natural, …the other is effected by the Spirit of Christ…. But I think that between these there is an intermediate one, which is the fount and origin of all the

---


3 A brief synopsis of Martyr’s life is as follows:

Peter Martyr (1500-1562) was born in Florence, Italy, the son of a Savonarola sympathizer, and studied eight years at the University of Padua. He was to become an abbot of the Augustinians and then a prior. It appears that Martin Bucer’s commentaries and the writings of Hulrich Zwingli made a deep impression upon him. Eventually he was forced to leave Italy and seek refuge in Zürich before becoming Professor of Theology in Strasbourg (1542), where he also married a former nun. In 1547 he went to Oxford, and following Mary’s accession to the throne, he was imprisoned. Six months later he was allowed to return to Strasbourg and then back to Zürich. An accessible text on his writings is The Peter Martyr Reader, eds. John Patrick Donnelly, Frank A. James, III, and Joseph C. McLelland (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 1999).
celestial and spiritual likeness which we obtain, together with Christ.⁴

After treating the third kind of communion with Christ, Martyr then consolidates his position: “These communions with Christ I acknowledge, but others (to say the truth) I do not understand.”⁵ Each of these three degrees will now be treated in more detail under separate headings.

**Natural Communion with Christ**

The first degree of communion with Christ is an implication of the incarnation. Quoting Hebrews 2:14, Peter Martyr explains to Calvin:

> And, firstly, it seems to me, that He was pleased (as is said in the Epistle to the Hebrews) to communicate with us, in flesh and blood, by the benefit of His Incarnation.⁶

How does Martyr conceive of this incarnational communion occurring? His line of argument in the letter to Calvin is decidedly biological and genetic, pointing to our parents as the source of this communion. It is “natural, which we derive through our origin from our parents.”⁷ Martyr then reiterates this biological theme to Calvin: “…in corporal flesh and blood they had from their very birth a natural fellowship with Him.”⁸

---

⁴ Martyr to Calvin, 343.
⁵ Martyr to Calvin, 343-344. To Beza, he recaps: “You see therefore what my judgement is on this matter. I believe that there are three degrees of our communion with Christ . . . .” Martyr to Beza, 106.
⁶ Martyr to Calvin, 342.
⁷ Martyr to Calvin, 343.
In his letter to Beza, Martyr duplicates his biological argument:

Somewhat is the conjuncture of one and the same matter which we have in common with Christ from his incarnation.9

He concludes, “Then do we begin after some sort to be like unto him when we be born men….”10

We have seen that Martyr qualifies this natural communion with Christ with the terms “somewhat” and “after some sort.” His qualifications do not end there, however. In his letter to Calvin, he concludes his treatment of natural communion with a candid appraisal:

But unless some other kind of communion were offered us, this would be very general and feeble; for the whole human race do already hold in this wise communion with Christ. They are in fact men, as He was….11

Martyr's discounting of incarnational communion as unexceptional is echoed in more specific terms to Beza:

Somewhat is the conjuncture of one and the same matter which we have in common with Christ from his incarnation…. Yet nevertheless it is not proper to Christians,

---

9 Martyr to Beza, 105. LC, 777: “Conjunctio ejusdem naturae, quam cum Christo ab ejus incarnatione communem habemus....” Note that Gorham’s translation of naturae should perhaps read “nature,” rather than “matter.” Martyr also here cites Hebrews 2:14. He later designates our human nature as that “which by the benefit of the first creation was all in one nature with that which Christ in his birth took of the Virgin ….” Martyr to Beza, 105.

10 Martyr to Beza, 105. Martyr gives no explanation for natural communion that would not also apply to the relationship between any two other human beings.

11 Martyr to Calvin, 342. Gorham’s translation continues this last sentence: “They are in fact men, as He was man.” The final word “man” is, however, editorial embellishment and potentially misleading. The Latin reads: “Verum, nisi aliud communionis genus intercederet, communis admodum haec esset & debilis. Nam quotquot humana specie comprehenditur, hac ratione jam cum Christo communicaunt: sunt quippe homines, ut ipse fuit.” LC 768.
for the Turks and Jews, and as many as be comprehended among the number of men, are in this way joined in Christ.¹²

Thus, in his 8 March, 1555, letters to Calvin and Beza, Martyr plainly acknowledges a relationship that Christ has with all men by virtue of his human nature. This he takes as the starting point of his doctrine of union with Christ, although he says it is little more than that. By studying non-Christians in the world around him, Martyr reasons that the effect of this natural, biological correspondence is rather limited. In isolation, it is a completely ordinary phenomenon that is weak in its direct effects – it does not produce extensive Christ-likeness. Rather than “incarnational union,” Martyr’s referred terminology in his letters for this fellowship of natures is “natural communion.”

**Spiritual Communion with Christ**

The second degree of communion with Christ, described by Peter Martyr’s 8 March, 1555, letter to John Calvin, is brought about by the Holy Spirit. This spiritual relation is effected by the Spirit of Christ, by which we are from our very regeneration renewed into the fashion of His glory.¹³

Unlike the natural communion, Martyr envisions this communion as distinctively and properly for elect Christians only, beginning at their

¹² Martyr to Beza, 105. *LC*, 777: “Conjunctio ejusdem naturae, quam cum Christo ab ejus incarnatione communem habemus…. Non tamen Christianis est propria, sic enim Judaei, Turcae, et quotquot hominum censu comprehendentur, cum Christo conjunguntur.” NB: Gorham’s “in Christ” is better translated “with Christ.”

¹³ Martyr to Calvin, 343.
conversion. The subsequent progressive work of the Spirit in the believer’s life makes him or her more and more Christiformia or “Christ-shaped” and thus fit for eternal life. Touching the believer even in body and nature, this “renovating influence of the Spirit” has a decidedly eschatological horizon. The process does not, however, truncate the believer’s own humanity or confuse him substantially with Christ. 

Martyr gives his most moving passage on the doctrine of union with Christ when describing to Beza this progressive relation:

Now then we consist no more of our weak and feeble flesh, nor of faulty and corrupt blood, neither of an unsavoury and sickly soul, but we are clothed with the flesh of Christ, we are

---

14 Martyr to Calvin, 342: “So besides that communion [i.e., natural communion], there is added this; that, in due season, faith is breathed into the elect, whereby they may believe in Christ....” Martyr relates the same to Beza: “Wherefore it behoves that there comes another likeness [other than natural communion] whereby the nature of every Christian, as touching soul, body and blood, is joined to Christ. And that is when by the help and endowment of Christ’s benefits we are renewed...” (Martyr to Beza, 105). Martyr’s language here was obviously not intended to apply to Turks, Jews, and other non-Christians.

15 Martyr to Calvin, 342-343: At conversion, “faith is breathed into the elect, whereby they may believe in Christ; and thus they have not only remission of sins and reconciliation with God (wherein consists the true and solid method of justification), but, further, receive the renovating influence of the Spirit whereby our bodies also, our flesh, and blood, and nature, are made capable of immortality, and become every day more and more conformable to Christ (Christiformia), so to speak.”

16 To Beza, Martyr repeats this theme. The believer’s human body and soul are “adorned and daily more and more restored and finally made perfect” at the resurrection “by the heavenly gifts, which through believing, we have obtained” (Martyr to Beza, 105). The editor of Beza’s correspondence thus terms the second degree of communion with Christ in his introductory notes not as “spiritual” but as “étrangère, par la résurrection.” Beza, 153.

17 Martyr to Calvin, 343: “Not that they [the elect] lose the substance of their own nature, and actually pass into the Body and Blood of Christ; but in spiritual gifts and properties they approach as men to Him, as in corporal flesh and blood they had from their very birth a natural fellowship with Him.”
Thus, the terms “clothed,” “watered,” and “live and are moved” are for Martyr dynamic processes in the life of believers, implying real growth. In his letter to Beza, the Italian Reformer closes his discussion of this second degree of communion with Christ with a clear summary:

You have therefore my singular good brother in few words comprehended the beginning and end of our communion or conjuncture with Christ. Then do we begin after some sort to be like unto him when we be born men and finally when by the faith of Christ we are restored unto his merits, gifts, benefits, and properties; which as we at our conversion begin to obtain, so we shall not have it fully perfect before we be advanced to eternal life by the blessed resurrection.

By explicitly relating these two degrees of communion with Christ, Martyr indicates that spiritual communion is built upon natural communion, presupposing it both conceptually and chronologically.

Thus, in his 8 March, 1555, letters to Calvin and Beza, Peter Martyr depicts not just the beginning of our communion with Christ, but also the end. Though ordinary and feeble, the starting point is a natural communion that all men share by virtue of being human. The ending point, on the other hand, is a spiritual communion by the power of the Holy Spirit, particular to elect Christian believers only. The glorious end Martyr envisions is obtained by the progressive influence of the Spirit in the believer’s life, making him daily more like Christ.

These two degrees of communion with Christ do not constitute the whole of Martyr’s doctrine of union with Christ. Behind his experience of this second spiritual degree of communion – and in the pages of the Bible – he sees evidence of a third degree of communion with Christ driving the former. To this third degree I now turn.

Mystical Communion with Christ

In his 8 March, 1555, letter to John Calvin, Peter Martyr points to a third and final conjunction with Christ – a “mystical communion” – which he denominates “an intermediate one” between the natural and

---

18 Martyr to Beza, 105. This vivid imagery opens Martyr’s treatment of the second degree of communion with Christ in his letter to Beza.
19 Martyr to Beza, 105.
the spiritual relations previously described.\textsuperscript{20} This union of secret mystery, like the second degree expounded before it, is peculiar to Christians alone and begins only at their true conversion: grafted into the Body of Christ, the glorified Lord becomes the true Head of the elect, and they truly obtain Him.\textsuperscript{21}

Martyr posits the priority of this secret relation between the glorified Christ and the believer to any spiritual communion that takes place progressively:

This communion with our Head is prior, in nature at least, if not in time, to that later communion which is introduced through renovation.\textsuperscript{22}

Thus, mystical communion ranks before spiritual communion, not vice versa, according to Martyr.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{20} Martyr to Calvin, 343: “But I think that…there is an intermediate one, which is the fount and origin of all the celestial and spiritual likeness which we obtain, together with Christ…, this mystical communion….‖ In his letter to Beza, Martyr echoes: “Therefore between the first conjunction, which I call nature, and the latter, which I may justly say is of likeness or similitude, I put this mean which may be called a conjunction or union or of secret mystery….‖ (Martyr to Beza, 105-106). The Latin reads: “\textit{Proinde inter primam conjunctionem quam naturae voco, & postremam quam similitudinis jure appellerim, hanc mediam pono, quae unionis aut arcani mysterii dici potes} ….” LC, 778.
\textsuperscript{21} Martyr to Calvin, 343: “It is that whereby, as soon as we believe, we obtain Christ Himself, our true head, and are made His members…. Wherefore, when we are converted, Christ is made ours and we His, before we are rendered like Him in holiness and inherent righteousness. This is that secret communion whereby we are said to be grafted into Him.” Again, this is not something Peter Martyr posits of Turks and Jews.
\textsuperscript{22} Martyr to Calvin, 343.
\textsuperscript{23} Martyr to Calvin, 343: “And from this [mystical] communion which I have now explained that latter one [progressive spiritual communion] is perfected so long as we live on earth. For the members of Christ are ever intent on becoming more like Him.” Whether mystical union necessarily occurs in a temporal interval before the first spiritual improvements in the life of the elect, Martyr wisely abstains from resolving. Could Martyr’s hesitation over this temporal sequence be prompted by uncertainty over the experience of Old Testament believers, who shared in the benefits of Christ before the incarnation and their mystical union with the historical Christ? Whatever the
Continuing with this anatomical theme, Martyr then gives an extended illustration of this relationship between mystical and spiritual communion with Christ. Just as the heart pumps blood to every organ through veins that unite them, so too does Christ the fount of life send his Spirit to each member united to Him. Mystical communion provides the same connection between Christ and His members that veins provide between the heart and liver. The succor of the Spirit then engenders progressive communion, growth, and renovation of lifestyle in the believer.

His letter to Beza shows clearly that Martyr was compelled to acknowledge the existence of mystical communion by more than just his own personal experience; the Scriptures also lead the Reformer to his conclusions. The scriptural passages Martyr acknowledges as implying this third mystical degree of communion with Christ are Ephesians 4:16 and Colossians 2:19, as well as the marriage motif in Ephesians 5:30-32. His primary concern is to account for the fullness of the Holy Spirit in the believer flowing “from the Head itself” to all case, it is clear that a believer does not work his way up to mystical union via spiritual improvements.

Curiously, Gorham omits this portion of Martyr’s 8 March, 1555, letter to Calvin. It is found, however, in Anthonie Marten’s translation. See Common Places (hereafter, CP) [Appendix], 97.

Aware that any illustration can be taken too far, Martyr cautions: “And although that this similitude ought not to be curiously orged as touching all the parties thereof, yet doth it after a sort laie the matter before our eyes, and doth shewe us, that after we be now men as he was, this first communion with Christ, that we are made his members, ensueth.” CP [Appendix], 97.

As Martyr vividly describes it: “For according as the spirit floweth from him, he fashioneth and ioyneth unto him sometime this member and sometime that, and by the spirit it selfe, maketh the same like unto him in properties and temperature, forsomuch as they naturallie agree now together.” CP [Appendix], 97.

Martyr to Beza, 105: “Howbeit between the beginning and end of this communion we must grant and believe that there is a mean, which is secret and much less perceived than those two extreme communions rehearsed. Yet nevertheless it is perceived, if with a faithful attention we consider the Holy Scriptures.”

Allusions to these passages are clear in both letters. Martyr points Calvin to the same scriptural metaphors he mentions to Beza. Martyr to Beza, 106: “…the mystical degree is expressed in the Holy Scriptures under the metaphor of members and the head, of the husband and the wife.” See also Martyr to Calvin, 343.
His limbs. Paul’s thematic intertwining of marriage and the believer’s relation to Christ leads Martyr to acknowledge that the elect are after conversion “flesh of His flesh, bone of His bone.” No extended exegesis, however, is given in this correspondence.

The physical distance between the glorified Christ and the believer on earth puts no stop to this secret communion, according to Martyr. Saving faith, the Word of God, and the sacraments are all “bonds or fastenings” that have their origin from Christ and supply believers with an efficient flow of the Spirit from the Head. These are then not just “notes and symbols of a true communion with Christ” but “ties and joints through which the Spirit of God becomes efficacious…”

Although Martyr holds the sacraments in this high position, he does not think that they are absolutely indispensable and is wary of sacramental theories that might twist this important mystical bond into a crass mixture of substances between Christ and the believer. Cyril of Alexandria’s teaching provokes special concern from him. He fears this teaching would

29 Martyr to Calvin, 343: “It is that whereby, as soon as we believe, we obtain Christ Himself, our true head, and are made His members. Whence from the Head itself (as St. Paul says [Eph. iv. 16]) His Spirit flows, and is derived through the joints and ligaments into us, as his true and legitimate members.”

30 “This is that secret communion whereby we are said to be grafted into Him. Thus we first put Him on; and so are called by the Apostle flesh of His flesh, bone of His bones” (Martyr to Calvin, 343). This is obviously deduced from a comparison of Ephesians 5:31-32 with Genesis 2:23-24.

31 Martyr to Calvin, 343: “Nor does interval of space hinder this mystical communion, but it may be enjoyed while we live on earth, although the very Body of Christ be seated and reigning with the Father in Heaven.”

32 Martyr to Calvin, 343: “It is quite sufficient that we be knit by certain links and ties of a spiritual kind unto Him. And yet these bonds or fastenings hang upon and are derived from the Head Himself; and these are, Faith (in the first place), God’s Word, and His Sacrament. Through those means the Spirit flowing from our Head, is diffused through the Church, and quickens and shapes His members in due proportion.”

33 Martyr to Calvin, 344. Martyr goes on to qualify this statement, making faith in the believer a necessary prerequisite.

34 “These [three] communions with Christ I acknowledge, but others (to say the truth) I do not understand. I speak thus chiefly in regard of that which some even of the Fathers introduce, especially Cyril; who make the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ in such wise our food, that they assert it to be really intermingled with our substance. I cannot see how they can escape the position when they thus speak; that our identical flesh and blood, which is so
tie grace and the Spirit either to the outward Word or to Sacraments, as though none could possibly be united to his Head, – I mean Christ, – without them. In adults, faith is the only necessary link and joint whereby we are united to Christ, and that indissolubly.  

Ending his polemic on a conciliatory note, however, the Italian Reformer concludes:

This is which, perchance, the Fathers intended by their own hyperbolical expressions, in the immoderate use of which they have both left us their writings obscured, and moreover, have afforded a large handle to many errors.  

In his closing sentences to Beza, Martyr recaps his teaching and then also emphasizes that mystic union does not imply a mingling of substance between Christ and the believer. Paul’s marriage motif in Ephesians 5 itself rules out a mixture of substance: husbands and wives are indeed one without it. Martyr posits a vital exchange, not a material one, between Christ and the believer based on an accomplished association between them almost too marvelous to describe.

nourished, is transmuted into the same personal substance with Christ; thus diffusing His Body into innumerable places” (Martyr to Calvin, 344). Martyr’s repudiation of Cyril of Alexandria is also repeated to Beza: “I will not so easily subscribe to Cyril who affirmed such a communion as thereby even the substance of the flesh and blood of Christ, first is joined to the blessing (for so he calls the holy bread) and then that it is also mingled by the meat [per illum cibum, i.e., the food, the sacramental elements] with the flesh and blood of the communicants” (Martyr to Beza, 106). Martyr obviously has in mind transubstantiation.

35 Martyr to Calvin, 344.
36 Martyr to Calvin, 344.
37 Martyr to Beza, 106: “And even as the substance of the head is not mingled with the substance of the foot or hand, although it be knit and joined to them by most straight knots. Again as the substance of the body of the husband grows up not to one and the same body with the wife, although by a singular bond it be coupled together with it, so are we by a wonderful and inward society joined with the body and blood of Christ, although that our substance of each part remain unmingled.” This is also emphasized in Martyr’s letter to Calvin. See Martyr to Calvin, 343.
Mystical communion with Christ is, then, for Peter Martyr a fact in the life of elect believers only. Its reality is actively enjoyed by them, but it is biblical teaching that ultimately drives Martyr to posit its existence. Because of this secret union, the gift of the Holy Spirit is the believer’s in full measure. Thus, mystical communion is prior, at least in nature if not in time, to spiritual communion effected by the Holy Ghost. Saving faith, the Word of God, and the sacraments are the hooks that bind the believer to Christ, through which the Spirit becomes efficacious, overcoming the linear distance between Christ and true believers. Any mixture of substance, Martyr says, is definitely not in view.

**Martyr on Incarnational Communion**

Does the picture of Martyr’s conception of union with Christ gathered from his correspondence with Calvin of 8 March, 1555, fit with his other theological writings? Can this understanding of Martyr’s doctrine of incarnational communion be confirmed in his wider corpus and thought?

Unfortunately, a definitive scientific edition of Martyr’s works has yet to be compiled, leaving the scholar with numerous and varied editions of his commentaries, lectures, and treatises. The most complex mixture of Vermigliana is found in the posthumously published *Loci Communes* collections, which runs to thirteen different major Latin editions, dating from 1576 until 1656, and one English translation, dated 1583.

---


Compiled mainly from his commentaries, the *Loci Communes* editions are a topical arrangement of the theological excurses Martyr wove into the fabric of his passage-by-passage comments on the biblical text.\(^40\) Arranged after the pattern of Calvin’s 1559 *Institutes*, the first Latin edition was assembled by Robert Masson some fourteen years after Martyr’s death. Subsequent editions include various collections of Martyr’s letters and a short bibliography by Josiah Simler.\(^41\) Thus, while caution must be exercised when using the *Loci Communes*, it does provide the best one-volume summary of Martyr’s overall theology available.\(^42\)

**The Loci Communes**

A survey of Martyr’s *Loci Communes* confirms the conclusions we have drawn from his letters to Calvin and Beza on incarnational communion with Christ. The clearest section treating this topic is given under the heading “What is the union of the godlie with Christ,” drawn from Martyr’s commentary on Romans 8.\(^43\) Here the Italian Reformer begins considering the most obvious fact of all – Christ is “joined with all men” by virtue of his humanity.\(^44\) Universal in scope, this relation is obviously not peculiar to Christians. It is a natural communion, based

\(^{40}\) Donnelly, Kingdon, and Anderson, x-xi.

\(^{41}\) Donnelly, Kingdon, and Anderson, 98.

\(^{42}\) Precedent does exist in serious Martyr studies for relying on the *Loci Communes* quite heavily. For example, see J.P. Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli’s Doctrine of Man and Grace* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), 154-159. It could even be argued that the *Loci Communes* gives the reader Martyr’s most mature reflection on a theological topic, rather than his more abbreviated thought in his running commentary on the biblical text. It is safest to allow Martyr himself to draw the connections between passages and topics, rather than for the twentieth-century researcher to attempt an interpolation or extrapolation. Advice for the researcher when using the *Loci Communes* is given in M.W. Anderson, *Peter Martyr: A Reformer in Exile (1542-1562)* (Nieuwkoop: B. DeGraaf, 1975), 536-537.

\(^{43}\) *CP* [3], 77-79. The marginal note at the first of this section reads: “In Rom. 8, at the beginning.” Martyr’s *In Epistolam S. Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos commentarij doctissimi* was first published in 1558. Donnelly, Kingdon, and Anderson, 18.

\(^{44}\) “First commeth in place, that which is common unto all mortall men: for the sonne of God, because he tooke upon him the nature of man, is joined with all men” (*CP* [3], 77-8). The Latin reads: “*Primum id occurrit, quod omnibus mortalibus est commune. Dei enim filius, quáia suscepit humanam naturam, cum omnibus hominibus conjunctus est.*” *LC*, 353.
on the biological or genetic “flesh and blood” connections between all men. While this material relationship is *generalis*, it is yet *inferma*, since the natures of unregenerate man and of Christ are so very different: Christ’s human nature is pure, but ours is polluted. In pointing to this conjunction, Martyr is merely emphasizing the likeness of kind between Christ and his fellow men. Therefore, Martyr turns in another direction to define “what it is to be in Christ.”

Only by the work of the Holy Spirit can the nature of man be reconditioned after the image of Christ. To be “in him after such a sort” is the biblical image. Therefore, the remainder of the excursus

---

45 CP [3], 78: “For seeing they have fellowship with flesh and blood, as testifieth the epistle to the Hebrews, he also was made partaker of flesh and blood. But this conjunction is generall, and weake, and onlie (as I may terme it) according to the matter….” The Latin reads: “Nam cum ipsi commercium habeant cum carne & sanguine, ut testatur Epistola ad Hebr, ipse quoque carnis & sanguinis factus est particeps. Sed ista conjunctio generalis est & inferma, tantum, ut ita dicam, juxta materiam” (LC, 353). Note that Hebrews 2:14 was also cited by Martyr in his correspondence to Calvin and Beza. Again, there is nothing in Martyr’s argument that does not also apply to the relationship between any two human beings.

46 “But this conjunction is generall, and weake, and onlie (as I may terme it) according to the matter: for the nature of man far differeth from that nature which Christ tooke upon him. For the humane nature in Christ, is both immortall, and exempted from sinne, and adorned with all purenes: but our nature is unpure, corruptible, and miserablie polluted with sinne …” (CP [3], 78). The first word of the above quote is the turning point of Martyr’s thought in this section of the *Loci Communes*.

47 Martyr begins considering rhetorically: “Now must we see, what it is to be in Christ” (CP [3], 77). The Latin reads: “Videre ja oportet, quid sit esse in Christo” (LC, 353). He first turns to consider natural communion: “First commeth in place, that which is common unto all mortall men: for the sonne of God, because he tooke upon him the nature of man, is joined with all men” (CP [3], 77-8). The Latin reads: “Primum id occurrit, quod omnibus mortalibus est commune. Dei enim filius, quia suscepit humanam naturam, cum omnibus hominibus conjunctus est” (LC, 353). However, Martyr quickly adds that our pollution makes us quite different by nature from Christ, so that he points elsewhere for the true meaning of “in Christ.”

48 “…our nature is unpure, corruptible, and miserablie polluted with sinne: but if the same be indued with the spirit of Christ, it is so repaired, as it differeth not much from the nature of Christ.” CP [3], 77-78.

49 CP [3], 78: “Wherefore the Apostle pronounceth them free from sinne, which do abide in Christ, and are in him after such a sort, as I have now
from Martyr’s commentary on Romans 8 in the *Loci Communes* explicitly applies only to regenerate Christians.\(^5^0\) Here the remaining two degrees of union with Christ are outlined, although perhaps not as fully as in Martyr’s correspondence.\(^5^1\) The earlier date of this material may account for this difference in development.\(^5^2\) Thus, the major outlines of Martyr’s threefold union with Christ are present in his earlier writing on the subject.

**Christ’s Conception**

The key matter with regard to this present investigation is that incarnational communion is seen as universal yet infirm. Yet why is this relation both so general and so weak? One approach to answering this question is to examine Martyr’s understanding of the incarnation in

---

\(^{50}\) *CP* [3], 78. Martyr later reinforces this division between the regenerate and the unregenerate: “It is a mere imagination brought by our adversaries, that there can be withered and dead members in the body of Christ, the which may be renewed againe. A member that is dead, is a member no more, neither yet ought to be called a member…” (*CP* [3], 79). Thus, Martyr clearly denies that the unregenerate are members of the body of Christ.

\(^{51}\) The titles “mystical” and “spiritual” communion are not used here. Martyr does, however, draw out two dimensions of the regenerate’s union with Christ: one a definitive act of grafting, the other a dynamic process of nourishment (see *CP* [3], 78). These two categories correspond to Martyr’s division of mystical and spiritual communion in his correspondence. Both apply only to those in whom the Holy Spirit lives, and only then does Martyr apply the biblical image of “ingrafting.” The Johannine ingrafting theme is one of Martyr’s favorites. See, for example, *CP* [2], 624, *CP* [2], 629, and *CP* [Appendix], 124-126.

\(^{52}\) Although the *Loci Communes* was first published in 1576, the material in this section was drawn from Martyr’s Romans commentary, which was first published in 1558 but was based on his Oxford lectures of 1550-1552. Donnelly, Kingdon, and Anderson, 18.
more detail. Precisely how does he envision the incarnation as having occurred? The *Loci Communes* goes into great detail on the specific mechanics of Christ’s conception when expounding the Apostles’ Creed.\footnote{This moving exposition by Martyr of the Apostles’ Creed is found in *CP* [2], 612-640.} These details help shed further light on the nature of Martyr’s doctrine of incarnational communion with Christ.

Martyr firmly believes in the virgin birth of Christ and sees it as ensuring that the Saviour was born without original sin.\footnote{“Wherefore, to exempt Christ, according to the flesh, from the common fall of all mankind, so as he might ever reteinne his own nature; the wisdome of God decreed by a wonderful counsell, that man, which was to be assumed in the unitie of person, should have a beginning, both divine and humane.” *CP* [2], 616.} Mary’s biological and genetic contribution to her son was purified by the Holy Spirit who overshadowed her, the result being the creation of “a singular and perfect man.”\footnote{“For this cause, as it had beene foreshewed by the angell unto Marie, so the holie Ghost came downe into her, and by the principall power thereof, the blood being now purified by his grace, did create a singular and perfect man, which the merciful God, even God, which was the word from everlasting, did miraculously take upon him.” *CP* [2], 616.} The body of Christ was prepared by this purification, whereas his soul was immediately created perfect by God.\footnote{“Insomuch as the wombe of the virgine Marie, and holy mothere was the divine furnace, whereby the holie Ghost, of a matter well purified, builded this one onelie bodie, which was a most obedient instrument of a noble soule. And by this means, all the old blemishes of Adam were alienated from Christ...” (CP[2], 616). Donnelly shows that Martyr was an immediate creationist instead of a transducianist: “the soul is created sinless but becomes contaminated by original sin as soon as joined to a body which descends from Adam.” See Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 91-92, 112. The purification of Mary’s blood prevents this contamination in the case of Jesus.} Thus, Martyr considers the cleansing of Mary’s seed, which results in Christ’s original righteousness, to be properly the work of the Holy Spirit.

Martyr is comfortable drawing close connections between the body of Christ and the body of Adam before the Fall.\footnote{“And by this means, all the old blemishes of Adam were alienated from Christ, albeit that his bodie, as concerning the nature and form of creation, was not much disagreeable from the bodie of Adam. For our first parent Adam also was marvellouslie, and by divine power created out of the earth, without accustomed seed.” *CP* [2], 616-617.} Martyr also draws a
close connection between the cleansing of Mary’s blood at the incarnation and the later regeneration of the elect at their conversion. Both the cleansing of the precursor to Christ’s human nature and the cleansing of the elect involve a “heaping of divine gifts” upon human nature.⁵⁸

In the only major study of Martyr’s doctrine of man to date, Donnelly has shown that the Italian Reformer is true to his Aristotelian and Thomist roots.⁵⁹ Martyr’s works “are in fact shot through with the Aristotelian principles of being.”⁶⁰ Using the four Aristotelian causes, Martyr analyzes the full union that regenerate believers have with Christ.⁶¹ His conceptions of substance/accidents, matter/form, and person are also all traditional.⁶² Therefore, Donnelly concludes, Martyr can “insist that man has the same substance (that he is the same

⁵⁸ “…[W]ho so is regenerated by Christ, must call to remembrance, what and how great hath beene the love of God towards us, who disdained not our soul and uncleane nature; but cleansing the same, did cloth himselfe therewith, to make us partakers of his divine nature…. [T]he divine word hath cleansed our nature, by heaping of divine gifts upon the same. And this is not onelie to be understood, touching that man [i.e., Christ], which it assumed; but all them, which with him in true faith be joined together as members of him.” CP [2], 617.

⁵⁹ Terming Martyr’s philosophy of man as “popular Aristotelianism,” Donnelly concludes his long chapter on Martyr’s anthropology: “Aside from the rational indemonstrability of the soul’s immortality and the enumeration of the internal senses, almost all of Martyr’s teaching in this chapter have direct parallels in Thomas Aquinas” (Donnelly, Calvinism and Scholasticism, 100). In a lengthy review, J. C. McLelland praises Donnelly’s treatment of Martyr’s anthropology as a “solid analysis” (J. C. McLelland, “Calvinism Perfecting Thomism? Peter Martyr Vermigli’s Question,” 574). See also McLelland, “Peter Martyr Vermigli: Scholastic or Humanist?”, 150.

⁶⁰ Donnelly, Calvinism and Scholasticism, 72.

⁶¹ “Hereby it is manifest, in what sort faithfull and godlie men are in Christ; and that by all the kinds of causes. For Christ and we have all one matter, also we have the selfe-same first entrances of forme: for we are indued with the selfe-same notes, properties, and conditions which he had. The efficient cause whereby we are moved to worke, is the same spirit whereby he was moved. Lastlie, the end is all one; namelie, that the glorie of God may be advanced” (CP [3], 78). For a discussion of the material, formal, effective, and final causes, see Donnelly, Calvinism and Scholasticism, 157-158.

⁶² Donnelly, Calvinism and Scholasticism, 71-74. For example, “Martyr accepts the traditional definition: a person is an individual substance of a rational nature.” Donnelly, Calvinism and Scholasticism, 73.
individual and remains in the same species) even after the resurrection and its gift of risen qualities.‖

This same note of continuity is seen in Martyr’s understanding of the incarnation itself: the substance of Mary, which is purified by the Holy Spirit, remains human substance even after it is changed by God. Thus, when Martyr calls natural communion with Christ “tantum, ut ita dicam, juxta materiam,” he is very specifically highlighting the continuity between Christ and man, even in his fallen state. In declaring the incarnational conjunction to be generalis, Martyr is pointing to this continuity of substance. In declaring the incarnational conjunction to be infirma, however, Martyr is pointing to their profound discontinuity of accidence. Only after regeneration by the Holy Spirit can a fallen man be said to have a continuity of accidence with Jesus Christ. This continuity of accidence also applies to Christ and to Adam before the Fall.

Vermigliana Secondary Literature

The important matter of union with Christ – even incarnational communion – has not gone unnoticed by scholars of Peter Martyr Vermigli. Anderson calls attention to Martyr’s correspondence with Calvin on union with Christ, noting that “Martyr broached the question in his revisions for the Consensus which Calvin could not insert at the last moment.” In his article on Martyr’s Romans commentary, repeated references to the doctrine testify to its importance in the Reformer’s understanding of sanctification. The longest treatment of union with Christ in Martyr’s thought is given in Anderson’s Peter Martyr: A Reformer in Exile (1542-1562). This ten-page treatment is decidedly historical in emphasis; Anderson’s goal is apparently to show

---

63 Donnelly, Calvinism and Scholasticism, 72.
64 “…[F]or the nature of man far differeth from that nature which Christ tooke upon him. For the humane nature in Christ, is both immortall, and exempted from sinne, and adorned with all purenes: but our nature is unpure, corruptible, and miserablie polluted with sinne.…” CP [3], 78.
65 “…[O]ur nature is unpure, corruptible, and miserablie polluted with sinne: but if the same be indued with the spirit of Christ, it is so repaired, as it differeth not much from the nature of Christ.” CP [3], 77-78.
66 Christ, however, “excelled Adam in all excellent gifts of nature.” CP [2], 617.
67 Anderson, “Peter Martyr, Reformed Theologian (1542-1562),” 58.
68 Anderson, “Peter Martyr on Romans,” 401-420.
69 Anderson, Peter Martyr, 186-195.
that Martyr’s exegesis may well have shaped Calvin’s understanding of the doctrine.⁷⁰ He does not treat incarnational communion.

Donnelly devotes a brief section to Martyr’s doctrine of union with Christ, noticing the fundamental difference between the Saviour’s communion with men in general and the regenerate in particular.⁷¹ The grounding of union with Christ in predestination is stressed by Donnelly, but this “material union” is not developed further.⁷² Donnelly’s brief section on union with Christ in Martyr’s theology is commended by McLelland, who wished that it had been longer.⁷³

McLelland’s interest in union with Christ dates back to his New College Ph.D. dissertation, completed in April, 1953, under the supervision of T. F. Torrance and published in 1957 without significant revision.⁷⁴ This work on Martyr’s view of the sacraments is divided into three parts, the second of which is entitled “Union with Christ” and sets out Martyr’s teaching on the church, baptism, and eucharist. However, it is in two shorter sections that McLelland specifically treats

---

⁷⁰ Anderson’s style is woodenly factual and his line of logic convoluted. He spins a web of multiple names, dates, and events, finally drawing a conclusion that is most difficult to follow. His main concern is to suggest that Martyr, rather than Bucer, influenced Calvin’s view of progressive sanctification through his doctrine of union with Christ. He concludes, “After Martyr’s I Corinthians (1551), letters to Calvin and Beza of 1555 and Romans of 1558, Calvin spoke about union with Christ. Martyr left his mark on Calvin’s theology.” Anderson, Peter Martyr, 194. See also John Calvin, Calvin: Theological Treatises, trans. and ed. J. K. S. Reid (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954), 292 [CO 9:490-491].

⁷¹ “For Martyr justification brings man into a new relation with Jesus Christ. Since the incarnation there has been a material union based on the Word’s assumption of human nature. Christ shares flesh and blood with all men, but the justified achieve a higher union with Christ, a union by insertion into Christ.” Donnelly, Calvinism and Scholasticism, 157.

⁷² Donnelly, Calvinism and Scholasticism, 157-158.


incarnational communion, each citing Martyr’s letters to Calvin and Beza.\footnote{These are found on pages 88-91 and 142-147 of McLelland’s \textit{Visible Words of God}, the published form of his Ph.D. dissertation. The importance of the doctrine of union with Christ in McLelland’s eyes should not be downplayed. In one article he calls union with Christ “perhaps the distinctive characteristic and contribution of his [Martyr’s] theology…” (McLelland, “Calvinism Perfecting Thomism? Peter Martyr Vermigli’s Question,” 575). In another article he designates union with Christ “the literal heart of his [Martyr’s] theology, yet one still neglected by recent research.” McLelland, “Peter Martyr Vermigli: Scholastic or Humanist?”, 150. It is odd that something so important to him has not been dealt with in more detail in his own work.}

The first section that discusses natural communion with Christ is titled “The O.T. Saints as Members of Christ.” Explaining the relationship between the incarnation and Old Testament believers, McLelland mentions Martyr’s teaching:

By His Incarnation, Christ effected a “general union” with all mankind, weak and “material” but real and of ultimate significance for revelation.\footnote{McLelland, \textit{Visible Words of God}, 88.}

McLelland then passes on to Christ’s spiritual communion with Old Testament saints.

What is noteworthy here is that this is the only time McLelland ever treats Martyr’s clear theme that natural communion by virtue of the incarnation is \textit{debilis} and \textit{inflrna}.\footnote{The theme is mentioned in a long block quote at the beginning of the later section, but merits no comment on that occasion.} McLelland draws no particular conclusions from the fact that this degree of union is “weak.”\footnote{The selective use of quotation marks in the block quote above is McLelland’s. In truth, Martyr does use the term “weak” side-by-side with the terms “general” and “material.”} Instead, he stresses that it is “real and of ultimate significance for revelation,” smothering Martyr’s \textit{debilis} with other theological concerns.\footnote{Martyr does not specifically claim that incarnational communion is important for revelation. This is, rather, one of McLelland’s theological deductions that cannot be substantiated by the material examined in the present study. The main question McLelland is addressing in this section is a good one: “But does not this presuppose the Incarnation as historical actuality, and so deny the O.T. saints membership in this same Christ which we have for our Head?” McLelland appears, however, to compress the importance of the}
The later section in the dissertation where McLelland discusses incarnational communion with Christ is titled “Union and Communion” and deals principally with the believer’s union with Christ. McLelland does, however, correlate it with incarnational communion:

Christ actually joins Himself to man by two unions: by Incarnation and by Spirit. The latter presupposes the former, and together they reveal a union as close as it is complete. …In terms of the Incarnation, every man is ‘in Christ’. But the second union means that Christ is ‘in us’, for His properties are truly put into us, properties that are not ‘natural’ as those of the first, general union were: freedom over sin, eternal life, even incorruptibility.  

Martyr’s letters to Calvin and Beza are then correlated with these two degrees of union and used to introduce the mean between them: the believer’s mystical union with Christ.

The significance of this section for Martyr’s doctrine of incarnational communion is that the watch-words debilis and infirma have dropped from McLelland’s comments altogether. Martyr is intent on stressing the paucity of effects that flow from men solely having flesh and blood like Jesus. McLelland’s terminology is, however, at best ambiguous and could even convey exactly the opposite meaning. Martyr’s language is much more cautious than McLelland’s blanket claim in the block quote above. While Martyr admits the incarnation produces a natural communion between Christ and all humans, his use of the key biblical phrase “in Christ” is more restrained and qualified. He does not attach it to mere natural communion: for Martyr, all men are not “in Christ” or “engrafted into Christ.” In this way, the nature of Martyr’s doctrine of incarnational communion has been obscured by exclusively stressing its extent.

incarnate Christ as the ante-type of Old Testament revelation into the incarnation itself, which is in turn compressed into incarnational union.


80 McLelland, Visible Words of God, 142-143.

81 See footnote 93. When considering the biblical phrase “in Christ,” J. S. Stewart chided Deissmann’s more aggressive interpretation: “Having made his discovery, he is inclined to apply it everywhere without exception. He forces his key into every lock. He gives to certain passages a weight more than the words can really bear” (see J. S. Stewart, A Man in Christ [London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1935], 157-158). Has McLelland done the same with Martyr?
Between the time McLelland completed his dissertation and its publication in Britain and America, his first article on Peter Martyr appeared in the *Scottish Journal of Theology.* Arguing that Martyr did not believe in double predestination, McLelland proposes that union with Christ is the key to a proper understanding of predestination because it provides the right Christological context for the doctrine. In short, union with Christ is “the normative dogma of Reformed theology.”

In the final three paragraphs of the article, McLelland struggles with the mysteries of rejection and iniquity. He concludes the first of these three paragraphs with the observation that Martyr saw God’s will as the final, but not the efficient, cause of these phenomena.

The second of these three paragraphs opens stressing “the positive doctrine that informs all Peter Martyr’s theology: faith means union with Christ.” McLelland next claims that predestination is “specifically related to” union with Christ, giving a “striking example of this” in Martyr’s use of predestination to explain infant baptism. McLelland then concludes the paragraph:

Or again, Martyr makes much of the fact that by His Incarnation Christ united all men to Himself, and only on the

---

82 Unfortunately, McLelland’s name was misspelled when printed. J. C. McClelland [sic], “The Reformed Doctrine of Predestination According to Peter Martyr,” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 8 (1955): 255-271. During this time, the *Scottish Journal of Theology* was edited by McLelland’s former Ph.D. supervisor, T. F. Torrance. The occasion for McLelland’s writing was Barth’s juxtaposition of his “impressive critical analysis” of predestination and his “historically misleading” claim that Peter Martyr’s proper treatment of predestination occurred “after Calvin.” See McClelland [sic], 255-256; and Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics* II/2, ed. G. W. Bromiley and T. F. Torrance (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1957), 84.

83 McLelland’s claim that Peter Martyr Vermigli did not believe in double predestination has been dismissed by more recent scholarship. For example, see Frank A. James III, “A Late Medieval Parallel in Reformation Thought: Gemina Praedestinatio in Gregory of Rimini and Peter Martyr Vermigli,” in *Via Augustini: Augustine in the Latter Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation; essays in honor of Damasus Trapp,* ed. H. A. Oberman and F. A. James, III in cooperation with E. L. Saak (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), 183.

84 McClelland [sic], 255 and 270.

85 McClelland [sic], 270.

86 McClelland [sic], 270. The emphasis is McLelland’s.
basis of this universal union with Christ is the inward union of faith possible.\(^8^7\)

The third and final of these paragraphs resolves the dilemmas of rejection and iniquity in light of the doctrine of union with Christ:

The mystery of rejection, like the mystery of iniquity itself, can be rationalized as much by rescuing God from all contact with it as by assigning it to his will. But what must save the doctrine of predestination from a logic which perverts the Gospel into the half-will of a rationalized Deity is the Christological context and content: *in Christ* and *into Christ*. And precisely here the distinctive contribution of Peter Martyr to the theology of the Reformation has ultimate relevance, for he was explicit where others were implicit in referring all theology to this Christological touchstone.\(^8^8\)

McLelland’s final footnote points to John Calvin as an example of one who agreed with Martyr's more explicit doctrine of union with Christ.

If McLelland’s statements on Martyr’s doctrine of incarnational communion were ambiguous in his dissertation, then his first article in the *Scottish Journal of Theology* removes the ambiguity. McLelland gets so caught up in the glories of Christ’s spiritual union with the regenerate and a desire to protect God from Calvinistic forms of logic, that he appears to inflate natural union and the use Martyr makes of the doctrine. Here natural communion with Christ has been elevated to new heights. No longer is it a thing of great weakness – *debilis* and *inferior* – producing no substantive effects in the lives of those it touches. Rather, it is the new hinterground of meaning in light of which all theology is now to be defined. It is even something of which “Martyr makes much,” which from our research appears most doubtful.

Instead, Martyr’s doctrine of natural communion with Christ appears to have been redeployed – and in the process inescapably reshaped – by McLelland. Proceeding by paraphrase at this pivotal point in his line of historical reasoning, the raw material of Peter Martyr Vermigli has been reforged into a fundamental part for the

\(^{87}\) McClelland [sic], 271. This is the first explicit reference to incarnational union in McLelland’s article. No specific references to substantiate this sweeping claim are given.

\(^{88}\) McClelland [sic], 271.
Barthian engine that McLelland is seeking to build. Though creative, this theological move is, however, one which Martyr did not make. McLelland has so selectively emphasized the extent of incarnational communion in Martyr’s theology as to reconstruct the true nature of it. McLelland’s conclusions are best understood as reflecting the mid-twentieth-century context in which they appear.

89 For example, the whole warp and woof of Martyr’s treatment of incarnational union is based on a comparison of the spiritual lives of Christians, Turks and Jews – a fact hardly compatible with Barth’s aversion to natural theology.
Book Reviews


This Dictionary of Theological Terms represents a large amount of labour on the part of the author, who is obviously a scholar of no mean ability. Rev. Cairns has pastored for over forty years in Northern Ireland and South Carolina and has lectured in systematic theology in the Theological Hall of the Free Presbyterian Church. The articles are largely, but not entirely, theological and are of unequal lengths. Cairns is thoroughly Calvinistic and gives some very fine entries on the various aspects of Reformed theology. In some ways the volume is as much a handbook on theology as a dictionary of theological terms –
there is an evident intention to instruct and persuade the reader. As such it is a well conceived concept, for many who would never have the opportunity to look into volumes on church history or systematic theology might very well peruse a dictionary, yet it does not have the full scope that one might expect in a dictionary. In addition, the style is lucid and suited to the ordinary reader. Frequently in the course of a discussion one is helpfully referred to other topics for additional information.

The entries generally reveal a decisive point of view, even in cases where Reformed people differ. For example, the creationist view on the origin of the soul is thoroughly rejected and the Traducionist espoused as the only tolerable one. In this, however, the Dictionary differs from Hodge and Berkof, who adopt the former position. The subject of textual criticism is evidently one about which the author is deeply concerned, for the space given to this topic covers approximately 30 pages (including both Old and New Testaments). By contrast, the entries on Calvinism and justification cover about two and a half pages each, while the entry on the Reformation occupies about one page!

On the textual criticism of the New Testament he supports the Majority Text. (i.e. the Byzantine, referred to in the Dictionary as the “Traditional Text” or “TT”). He regards this as practically the orthodox position. Such an attitude, shared by many who adopt this view, polarizes the whole discussion and leads to much confusion on the subject. It should be understood that the question involved in this research is how to get closest to the text as written by the original authors of the New Testament. Cairns shows that he is acquainted with the best literature on the subject, but he does not give a fair representation of the research method that he opposes. Contrary to the impression given in the Dictionary, the greatest defenders of the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures have adopted the position which Cairns eschews. For example, the collection of articles by B. B. Warfield in the volume The Inspiration and Authority of the Scripture is perhaps the definitive statement of the orthodox position on doctrine of the inspiration of the Bible. And yet Warfield also authored a volume supporting the methodology of most scholars regarding the transmission of the Greek text. Those who honestly support the view taken in the Dictionary are to be respected, but it is unjust for them to represent the eclectic method as an attack upon the true text of the Greek New Testament. I suspect that early liberals are in part responsible for introducing confusion and obscuring the distinction
between verbal inspiration and questions about resolving the accuracy of the text.

In a separate entry on the “Peshitta” (p. 330), a Syriac translation which once was considered a strong support of the Byzantine Text, without offering any proof, he says that it was translated about 100 A.D. However, D. A. Carson in *The King James Version Debate, a Plan for Realism* says that “of the 350 or so manuscripts of the Peshitta version, a few go back to the fifth or sixth centuries: none earlier.” ¹ The claim that the vast number of MSS of the Byzantine type are all orphan witnesses and that therefore the true text is found by simple count of manuscripts dismisses the concept of text types, which has been central to most of the modern study of the transmission of the Greek text of the New Testament. Cairns thinks that the counting of MSS is objective, whereas the eclectic method is basically subjective. To present two different positions in such a way is not scholarship at its best. In addition, I think many would question an entry article on the “Peshitta” in such a *Dictionary* when there may be many far more important entries worthy for consideration. Again, the comment made in the first paragraph of this review has bearing – is this a handbook or a dictionary?

There are very few biographical entries in the *Dictionary*, one on Dean Burgon (pp. 71-72) being a rare exception – another hint of the importance that the author attaches to the textual question. Yet there is no biographical entry on Charles Hodge or John Calvin.

There is a fine discussion in the entry on the “Eternal Generation” (pp. 148-155) of the Son of God. Under this topic note is made of the contribution of Calvin to this subject in that he delivered the doctrine from all notion of derivation, an issue which the early Church never adequately resolved. In the words of Cairns, “He (i.e. Calvin) shifted the discussion of the personal properties of the trinitarian persons on to solidly biblical ground.” In Calvin’s own words, “The whole divine essence, including the Son, is unbegotten but when we have personal subsistences in view the Son is said to be begotten and the Father unbegotten.” (Quoted by Cairns from *Institutes*, 1:13.25.)

There is a separate entry on “Eternal Sonship” (pp. 155-157) in which the *Dictionary* sets forth the historic orthodox teaching, providing at the same time Biblical proof. There have been and still are those who subscribe to the full deity of Christ but who deny that the term Son refers to an eternal relationship. John Murray saw this subject

as one of great concern, and he has a valuable discussion of it which is published by Banner of Truth in the fourth volume of his *Works*.

It is good to note that the *Dictionary* is quite definite on the sanctity of the Sabbath. Interestingly, support is derived from Owen’s exposition of the fourth chapter of Hebrews. However, it is also pointed out that the Sabbath is part of the moral law and that Christ taught that the Sabbath was made for man. The sanctity of the Lord’s Day presents practical challenges for many people. There are difficult questions. We shall never be able to deal with these problems if we do not hold to the principle.

There is a very good entry on the “Free Offer of the Gospel” (pp. 183-185). The *Dictionary* distinguishes the Calvinistic teaching on this from both the hyper-Calvinistic view and that of the Arminian. The doctrine of a limited atonement or total depravity are not to be regarded as in any way a hindrance to the free offer of the gospel. The following quotation from John Murray is given with warm approval, “It is on the crest of the wave of the divine sovereignty that the full and free overtures of God’s grace in Christ break upon the shores of lost humanity.” (p.185) Hyper-Calvinists are cited for their opposition to the free offer of Christ in the gospel. It is noted that they find an obstacle to the free offer in the doctrine of total depravity. A sinner cannot be asked to do what he cannot do. Perhaps more could have been said on this serious error – that ability limits obligation. But it is pointed out that this mistake is integrated into the Arminian theology and applied as a basis for their version of the gospel offer, which implies ability in the sinner to respond and obey.

With regard to the “Decrees of God” (p. 128), the *Dictionary* is no doubt correct in saying that most Calvinists are Infralapsarians, but in discussing this subject there is not a clear distinction between the “passing over” and the judicial sentence in regard to the reprobate. Also, the statement that Supralapsarianism inevitably leads to hyper-Calvinism is, we think, unwarranted.

The author sometimes quotes from Shedd or Berkof, obviously holding them in high regard. Sometimes there is a lengthy quotation. There are extensive quotations from Shedd, for example, on the subjects of “Hades” and “Sheol” to the general effect that they are regarded as places of punishment either of soul or body. We have looked in several translations and note that these words are either translated as “grave” or simply transliterated. Shedd and Cairns would not be satisfied with this. And we think that their view is justified. Sheol and Hades are not really meaningful words in the English language. And “grave” does not always convey their import.
There is an instructive entry on “Self-Esteem” (pp. 412-413). This is a subject of much concern in secular psychology. Cairns allows a certain sense of “self-acceptance” as appropriate to any person. He defines this as a “recognition of one’s value as a person; the ability to feel at home with one’s self as he is. It is based on the recognition of personal identity, independent of opinions of others or of one’s own merits and characteristics. It is the esteem a person has for himself for what he is.” This is in contrast with secular psychology’s concept. He says that Carl Jung called the self “God” and that “New Age with its inherent Pantheism emphasizes the deity of every man.” These observations are born out by the title (not mentioned in the Dictionary) of a volume by Paul Vitz, Psychology As Religion, The Cult of Self Worship, which was a critique of modern humanist psychology.

In the entry under the topic of “Baptism” (pp. 51-57) both the Paedobaptist and the Baptist views are presented quite well. Then there is a plea for toleration and an appeal to the example of the Free Presbyterian Church of Ulster. It is said that in this denomination both Paedobaptists and Baptists are welcomed not only into membership but also ministry. Each member has the liberty to decide for himself. One can agree that there is much room for fellowship and a good measure of co-operation. No Presbyterian should have a problem admitting Baptists as members, but how well in the long run the divergent views can be held by office bearers in the same denomination will be a matter of interest. The mode of baptism is not a basic theological problem, but how can the issue of rebaptism be avoided?

The extended entry on “Ethics” (pp. 157-169) is a very well-considered essay. Cairns distinguishes between ethics and morality. He defines Christian ethics as the “government of moral decision and action by the revelation of God’s person, attributes and will in Scripture” (p.158). From the basic principle of Christian ethics comes our duty to God and man. Personal and family morality are discussed as related to law and gospel. In relation to the family he says that the Bible does not teach “family values” but “family virtues.” The modern notion of “family values” is, he points out, a form of situation ethics. There is a general discussion of secular humanism and its baneful effects in the area of moral standards. He says: “…humanist ethics espouses the individual’s right to almost unlimited freedom from the restraints of law, whether human or divine, in the exercise of private ethical decisions. But in ‘freeing’ the individual from the rule of God’s moral law, humanist ethics subjects him to the tyranny of current social policy as the growing imposition of political correctness shows” (p. 168).
There are many excellent contributions in this *Dictionary*. It is truly gratifying to note a warm appreciation of the Westminster Confession of Faith. One feels that the section on the transmission of the text of Scripture could have been much abbreviated and would have been improved had greater care been taken to describe with more accuracy the differing views. The transmission of the text of the New Testament is a very difficult subject, and it is all too easy to erect a “straw man.” Also, although the title describes it as a “dictionary of theological terms,” an increase of biographical material would add to its usefulness.

Reviewed by William R. Underhay, the minister of the Birchwood Free Church of Scotland, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. Rev. Underhay is a graduate of Victoria University College, University of Toronto and the Free Church College, Edinburgh.

Volume One, 2003, 443 pp., hc. ISBN 1 85792 862 8
Volume Two, 2004, 540 pp., hc. ISBN 1 85792 878 4

The work of the Reformed Theological Seminary sponsored “Westminster Assembly Project,” this collection of essays, according to the back cover of volume one, “seeks to place the work of the Assembly in its historical, theological, political and social setting, challenge historical assertions commonly made about Westminster in its relation to both earlier and later Reformed theology, provide fresh evaluation of its place in and contribution to the Calvinian tradition, and commend it as a faithful expression of clear-headed Christian thinking.”

There is not space in this review to list all the authors or the subjects which appear in these volumes. (There are twenty-eight separate articles/essays in these two volumes, plus forewards, introductions, and full indexes.) Some of the essays have been specially commissioned for this project. Others bear the mark of being extracts from or abridgements of earlier monographs or post-graduate dissertations.
Whatever their origin, these essays have moved the study of Calvin and Calvinism on from where it was when this project began in the early 1990s; and no one engaged in the study of the Reformed theology of the seventeenth century can afford to ignore *The Westminster Confession into the 21st Century*.

Many of the essays in these volumes continue the work of dispelling the myth of discontinuity between Calvin and Calvinists such as the Westminster divines. Thirty years ago, R. T. Kendall, J. B. Torrance, and others had driven a wedge between Calvin and the Calvinists. They had weighed federal theology in the balance and found it wanting. In the intervening years, there has been a reappraisal of their work. Kendall’s thesis was debunked early on by Paul Helm and Roger Nicole. Donald Macleod and Andrew McGowan responded to the Torrances’ Scoto-Barthianism. More recently, Richard Muller has exposed the flaws in the methodology used by Kendall and neo-orthodox writers in their approach to Calvin and later Reformed theologians. Here, the accusations of Kendall, et al, against the Calvinists relating to the lapsarian controversy, predestination, assurance, Protestant scholasticism, and federalism are discussed as part of this reappraisal; although, to be honest, there is not always sufficient reference to the Westminster Standards to warrant inclusion in volumes bearing the title *The Westminster Confession into the 21st Century*.

In his introduction to volume two, Ligon Duncan says that Paul Helm’s essay is “a nice entry into the corrective view of the relation of the theology of Calvin and Westminster.” It is much more than that. It is a model for how it should be done. Its inclusion in this collection – together with J. V. Fesko’s essay – shows up the lack of Westminster content in some other contributions.

Other essays discuss issues which might be called confessional: matters on which opinions vary among those committed to the Westminster Standards, such as church-state relations or the application of the regulative principle of worship. Some more are historical studies either of the Westminster Assembly era or of the role of the Standards in various Presbyterian denominations throughout the world. There are also some outlines of and introductions to subjects as they were dealt with by Westminster divines.

The reviewer was expecting something rather different from what he found in these volumes. He had been looking forward to introductions to the Westminster Assembly and Standards. There is only one such essay in the first two volumes of this series: David Mackay’s excellent introductory history of Scottish involvement in the
Westminster Assembly. This essay plus a selection of original texts would make the beginnings of a very profitable tutorial class.

In his contribution, Mackay gives the most plausible reason for Scotland becoming involved in the English Civil War. At the beginning, the English Parliament was not doing well militarily; and needing assistance, it asked the Scots for support. The Scots entered the War because should Charles I be victorious over the English Parliament, he would turn on Scotland to re-impose his will upon them. As the Scots dispute with Charles was mainly religious, it was religious matters that the Scots wanted secured in return for sending an army into England. Hence, as Baillie puts it, the English were for a civil league while the Scots were for a religious covenant. The Scots entered England on the side of Parliament in an act of self-defence and not selflessness, as other historians have implied.

Mackay also draws attention to the important work of Wayne Spear on Scottish involvement in the Westminster Form of Presbyterial Government, particularly how little the Scots were able to get settled on the basis of *jus divinum*. This reviewer would be pleased to see Spear’s unpublished Ph.D. thesis made more available. Hopefully, Mackay’s essay will stir up some interest.

The reviewer was expecting essays bearing a title something like “The Westminster doctrine of ….” Here, he was not so disappointed. The essays by Hugh Cartwright on the Establishment Principle, Ligon Duncan on the Lord’s Supper, Derek Thomas on Eschatology, and O. P. Robertson on the Holy Spirit are thorough and relevant. Yet, if David Wright’s “nuanced and provocative” (to use Duncan’s words) contribution is to be the only one on the subject of baptism, then the editors have not lived up to their mission statement.

Hugh Cartwright’s essay on the Westminster doctrine of church and state is worthy of note. It sets forth the Establishment Principle as it was expounded and defended by Scottish Presbyterians. The particular value of this essay is its interaction with Presbyterians in America who speak against a church/state connection, while at the same time expecting the benefits or results of such a relation.

So also is the contribution by Ligon Duncan on the Lord’s Supper which demonstrates the absurdity of attributing a “real presence” view of the sacrament to Calvin. Duncan goes on to point out that the Westminster doctrine of the Lord’s Supper is less speculative, specific, and sibylline (his words) than Calvin’s personal view, but that the Confession of Faith follows closely Calvin’s ecclesiastical view as it is expressed in the Consensus Tigurinus. This essay is an important corrective to much of the nonsense which is thought to be the true
Reformed doctrine of the sacrament, but is in actual fact the repetition of a biased Barthian reinterpretation of Calvin. (How long must the regurgitation of secondary sources pass for scholarship?)

There is a serious issue which comes to the fore in these essays. Richard Muller has placed Calvin studies on a firmer foundation with his critique of methods for gathering evidence to support a thesis. Having read the two volumes of *The Westminster Confession into the 21st Century*, it is clear that similar work must be done for the Westminster Assembly. Ironically, given what has been said above, David Wright’s contribution is another model for Westminster studies. His use of the Standards, the minutes of the Assembly, and the information given by Lightfoot and Baillie in their accounts of the proceedings goes a great way towards explaining the wording finally adopted by the divines. The secondary use of the writings of individual members of the Assembly give breadth to the reader’s understanding of the milieu out of which the Westminster Doctrine comes; these writings are not used to interpret the Standards, but to ask how did the Assembly address this issue and is it included or excluded by the form of words adopted.

In this way, David Wright is able to show that Thomas Goodwin’s understanding of “holy” in 1 Corinthians 7:14 was deliberately excluded by his fellows in the Standards. Using the same method, for example, it becomes clear that the presence of Calamy at the Assembly is not sufficient reason to assume that Amyraldianism is not excluded by the *Confession of Faith*; and is it clear that *Jus Divinum* does not reflect the original intent of the Assembly when the text of the *Form of Presbyterian Government* and the accounts of the debate given by eyewitnesses show that the position taken by the “London ministers” on the ruling elder was not adopted by the Divines in their formulations.

In every collection of essays such as this, there is bound to be unevenness. There are contributions here which make the whole effort worthwhile. There are others which leave the reviewer wondering why they were included. There is a considerable amount of unevenness with which the editors should have dealt. There is a substantial – in more ways than one – contribution by Nick Needham which runs for eighty-four pages without a subheading. Surprisingly, there are more typographical errors than there should be in these otherwise well produced and well presented volumes.

Reviewed by David Douglas Gebbie. Rev. Gebbie is a native of Scotland and was educated at Glasgow College of Technology and the
Free Church of Scotland College, Edinburgh. Before his induction to the Presbyterian Reformed Church in Chesley, Ontario, he served Free Church of Scotland charges in Raasay and Achiltibuie and pastored the PRC’s congregation in Portland, Oregon. He is married with two children. The two volumes under review are catalogued in the Haddington House Reading Library.

Puritan Papers: Volume Four, 1965-1967, just released by Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing (© 2004) is a collection of papers originally given at the Puritan and Reformed Studies conferences held at Westminster Chapel in London in 1965, 1966, and 1967. The title of the conferences should be borne in mind when reading volume four and the others also, as many of the papers are not specifically on “the Puritans” but would relate to the Reformation, Reformed themes, or individuals. Thus, although the majority of papers certainly reflect the new title, it is “wider” than one might suspect at first glance.

For many of us who have enjoyed reading the older, individual, annual volumes, it is a real treasure trove to have these as bound volumes. In part, this is because it can be difficult to secure the older ones now. In addition, it certainly is far more economical in this new paperback, combined volume format. I commend the publishers for this edition.

J. I. Packer is certainly the name worthy to appear as editor on the cover, as he was intimately involved each year and was well acquainted
with each presenter, several of whom are now dead. This is where I think many today would have benefited had the publisher requested an “Editor’s Preface” to this volume. Though it was very good to see the contributors list was updated, I think this volume demands an Editor’s Preface for two reasons. First, the topics given at the conferences in the mid-1960’s were often on defining themes for British evangelicalism in that period. Thus, while in one sense the book is on Puritan Papers, it is also a fascinating study of British evangelicalism of a generation ago. Anyone who has read Iain Murray’s biography on Lloyd-Jones will know immediately one area I am thinking about – church unity. And, sure enough, this theme figures in three papers, one by the “Doctor” (Lloyd-Jones) himself – “Ecclesiola in Ecclesia,” delivered at the 1965 conference. I rest my case. This volume is also a study in British evangelicalism of the 1960’s, requiring action at that time, as indeed the “Doctor” wrote in the 1966 paper he gave, saying that some “will be called upon to take various decisions…in the immediate future…” (p. 197). A few comments on the context of the papers would have really benefited the modern reader. Secondly, an Editor’s Preface could have added some personal flavour to the overall work. Prefaces are meant to aid the reader in understanding some of the personal events and influences that led to the publishing of the book they are undertaking to read.

With that being said, I turn to the papers. As with any anthology, the reader will pick and choose. I did, starting with some of my favourite themes and with presenters I knew. David Marshall’s (brother to John Marshall) paper on Ulrich Zwingli is a very helpful sketch and thoughtful assessment of Zwingli’s life and contribution to the Reformation. Marshall did what should be done – he drew out applications for the Christian Church today. Please remember these are not Society papers but were from a study conference. As such they are full of rich application, being more edifying than the usual Society papers, with their elaborate footnotes and tendency to ignore application. This collection of papers really strives to edify the soul, not just instruct with information. Thus they are good for piety and deserve the attention of a wide Christian audience.

David Kingdon’s paper on “The Anabaptists” takes a very complex field and breaks it down into a digestible and understandable overview. Frankly, it is the best I have seen anywhere, much better than some survey church history texts. Kingdon’s brief third section, “Evangelicals and the Church Today,” offers his applications, strikingly noting the context of England in the 1960’s (p. 27).
One of the lesser known Puritans was Oliver Heywood (1629-1702), and W. H. Davies’ paper on him is just so rich in illustration. I mention but one example. Heywood, who pastored for 52 years, wrote about his call as follows: “[I] entered by the door of an internal call, inclining, disposing, and in some measure qualifying me thereunto.” What richness in those three points when speaking to any young man contemplating the ministry! Next, “and also of an eternal call from the church, moving, selecting, and designing me for that function…as having a commission from Jesus Christ my Lord and my Master” (pp. 156-157). And Heywood wrote that at age 26! Reading Davies’ treatment of Heywood is pure gold. The selections on “Internal Means to Fellowship with God” and “External Means to Fellowship with God” (pp. 167-171) are worth the book’s price alone.

Needless to say, many will turn to the papers of the “Doctor” – “Ecclesiola in Ecclesia,” “Henry Jacob and the First Congregational Church,” and “Sandemanianism.” These are not easy reading. In one sense, they allow us to see how deeply Lloyd-Jones had drunk of the Puritans. His three papers challenge us to properly define terms – “Puritan” (p. 175), “Separatist” (p. 177), and “Independent” (p. 177) – and to see the difference between the Separatists and early Independents, in an attempt to be accurate historians (p. 196). Then we come to the last word of the book – a charge to great watchfulness against Sandemanianism. And, yes, I did write that accurately as a summary! Forty years later it is still alive and well. Yet we must ask, “Do many see it for what it really is?” (See p. 292.)

Packer’s paper on Martin Luther is a classic study in verbal economy, as one would expect from this gifted writer. His six concluding applications are spiritually brilliant (pp. 40-41). His Luther paper hearkens back to Packer’s little known work on *The Bondage of the Will.* His other two papers are specifically on Puritan themes: “John Owen on Communication from God” and “The Puritans and Spiritual Gifts” (pp. 119-136, 215-230), both of which are Owen studies, adding to other recent studies on Owen.³ Packer’s two papers help walk us through much of Owen’s writings on the Holy Spirit.

Other papers include G. S. K. Cox’s “Thomas Cranmer” and S. M. Houghton’s “John Knox.” P. E. G. Cook’s paper “Charles Finney on Revival” is well laid out and of value. Puritan studies include

---


“Catechisms and the Puritans” and “Richard Baxter’s Reformed Pastor.” Rex Ambler’s paper “The Christian Mind of Abraham Kuyper” perhaps fits the least in the current volume. It is a readable introduction to Kuyper but unfortunately still leaves one wondering about “sphere sovereignty.”

There are a few regrettable typographical errors (p. 188, a wrong date) and a few printing standards lacking uniformity throughout, such as spacing for long quotations. However, overall, this is a very commendable publishing venture.

Reviewed by Jack C. Whytock
W. Stanford Reid’s (1913-1996) career bisected Canadian university and church life immediately following World War II. His work as a professor of history at McGill and at Guelph was significant in that he became Canada’s foremost conservative Christian writer and part of an international network of evangelicals. His career covered a large canvas and the biography here by Donald MacLeod attempts to paint this in seventeen extensive chapters. Reid was influential not only here in Canada, but reached deeply into Australia and the continuing Presbyterian Church as well as in the United States.

---

1 The “Bibliography of the Writings of W. Stanford Reid” in the Appendix in the book under review runs for a staggering twenty-three pages! A. Donald MacLeod, *W. Stanford Reid, An Evangelical Calvinist in the Academy* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004), 303-323. Perhaps for many, the most significant has been Reid’s *Trumpeter of God: A biography of John Knox*, original 1974 (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1982).
particularly through his thirty-seven years as a trustee at Westminster Seminary and through Christianity Today.

What follows is an expansive, reflective review by Rev. William Campbell, who has the vantage of personally living through much of this chronicle of life in the Canadian church and having known the subject of this major biography. It is more than a review – it is very much a call to personal reflection. I would dare say that no one can really understand the history of Canadian Presbyterianism without doing some reading here.

Editor

Dr. A. Donald MacLeod has provided for posterity a comprehensive and well-written biography of an able, widely known historian in the Reformed world. Dr. W. Stanford Reid’s involvement in and contribution to the latter half of the twentieth century is couched in an informative, detailed, historical resource of the Presbyterian Church in Canada as well as his somewhat ubiquitous participation in the many facets of wider Church life and work in the Reformed Church and academic community. Although this memoir will particularly recall a flood of memories for those familiar with its history, issues, and personnel, it is not so esoteric to Canadian Presbyterians as to elude the appreciation of those beyond Stanford Reid’s own denomination, for the issues and controversies included in this one volume are quite wide ranging and have reverberations and benefits to the present day for the whole evangelical Church. They cover such diverse scenarios as the embryonic stages of the Student Christian Movement and Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship; provide illuminating insights of Quebec during the Duplessis years; and the ecumenical entanglements and ministry of Professor Stanford Reid in the continuing Australian Presbyterian Church. Chapter fifteen probably contains the most detailed account available in one printing of the Norman Shepherd controversy, which would be a valuable facility in grappling with the continuing justification controversy today.²

I believe it is important to single out Reid’s contributions to the Presbyterian Theological Hall in Melbourne, Australia, when they needed a replacement in its church history department in 1982. Necessity was laid upon Dr. Reid, in the autumn of his life, to respond to a Macedonian call from this Presbyterian College, following his retirement from the University of Guelph, Ontario. A continuing

Presbyterian minority, reeling from its fragmentation in 1977 with the formation of the Uniting Church, needed the reassurance and theological direction of a skilled and experienced churchman. Professor Reid’s ecclesiological counsel was received with great acceptance and appreciation, giving a supportive, virile ballast to this Presbyterian minority, assisting them toward more homogeneous, theological identity. This was indeed a final rewarding experience in the career of Stanford Reid.

As a narrative of facts, the biography appears to be on the whole a well-balanced genuinely honest account. The central figure’s profile and characteristics are realistic and present Dr. Reid and his wife as they really were. All those who knew Stanford Reid and who read Dr. MacLeod’s account of him will be grateful to this biographer for recording attractively many facts about his subject’s life and personality; and those who never met him are made privy to this rather formidable, self-assured but passionate character, which they might not otherwise have known. This biography, then, is in part a candid and unadorned chronicling of the strains and struggles of one denomination’s vicissitudes. The Presbyterian Church in Canada, along with almost all the historic denominations in the English-speaking world, is currently in some degree of confusion, brought about largely by unbelief. How this will end no one can predict.

The accomplishments of this particular “Evangelical Calvinist in the Academy,” to the great benefit of the Church and the cause of Christ, are indeed impressive. It is therefore to the credit of the author’s candor and honesty that some of Dr. Reid’s enigmatic complexities and even his contradictions relative to his service in the Church are not brushed aside but are faithfully and fairly recorded. It is a reminder to us all that even the best of men are but men at best. For instance, it would be tempting for a colleague to shelter an evangelical reputation of the calibre of Stanford Reid’s by by-passing Dr. Reid’s plea for a coalition between confessional subscriptionists and those of Barthian persuasion, he being enamored initially with the person and appointment of a former Knox College principal, Dr. Walter W. Bryden, a very influential exponent of neo-orthodoxy. Behind Dr. Reid’s captivation was a strong desire for true ecumenicity. Calvin likewise harboured a deep passion for the unity of the Church, but Calvin had equal passion for the purity of the Church. One could not always be flexible. He observed the proceedings at Regensburg and saw, with grave misgivings, the accommodating methodology of Melanchthon and Bucer as they worked for unity with the Roman Catholics. Listen to his description of their approach: “Philip and Bucer have drawn up
ambiguous and insincere formulas concerning transubstantiation to try whether they could satisfy the opposite party by yielding nothing. I could not agree with this device, although they have, as they conceive, reasonable grounds for doing so, for they hope that in a short time it would so happen that they would begin to see more clearly if the matter of doctrine shall be left an open question for the present; therefore they rather wish to skip over it….” In other words, Calvin saw the Protestant leaders trying to devise an ambiguous formula that would not deny anything basic to Protestant belief, but would be so vague as to allow apparent agreement in the present with the hope that in the future the other side would be won over. Calvin saw this method as being flawed and dangerous: “they…..do not dread that equivocation in the matter of conscience, than which nothing can possibly be more hurtful.” Calvin saw such deliberate efforts at ambiguity were disastrous for the cause of Christ. For Calvin unity could not be purchased at the expense of cardinal truths of the faith. John Calvin linked the unity and purity of the Church in being governed according to the Word of God.

The Achilles heel, however, which overtly cracked the back of confessional fidelity to Scripture as “the only infallible rule of faith and life” came with the ordination of women to ministry. With no *ad hominem* intentions or devising, but out of love for and desire for the glory of God and for the purity of His visible Church, please consider the following observations. It is an anomaly that many, including Dr. Reid, who were capable of comprehending the subtleties, methodologies, and philosophical nuances of apologetic theory, should change this position on women in ministry after making an unequivocal assertion in writing to this reviewer that he “whole-heartedly disagreed with what they have done concerning the ordination of women.” One of the major known reasons for the denominational slide has been the whole question of and subscription to women in ministry. Why? Because this issue compromised perspicuous scriptural teaching and authority, and therefore it moved from being a peripheral issue to a very vital and pivotal issue because of its blatant, willful rejection of scriptural authority.

Deviation from heart-felt devotion to the authority and divine inspiration of God’s Holy Word from the Church has produced grave, practical consequences for our nation with its descent into ethical and moral incoherence, confusion, and rebellion. Reformation to be practiced in the Church in the name of Jesus Christ and by His enabling grace, therefore, necessarily includes and involves a clear cleavage from feminism, egalitarianism, relativism, and pluralism, to name but a few more obvious pernicious, politically correct hot buttons. Nothing less and nothing else than a clarion call for radical repentance and obedience toward biblical correctness is required. This involves a call to return to a commitment of godly, male leadership as role models and exemplary guides for others to follow in the Church and home. A woeful lack of strong, male leadership has brought down God’s curse of homosexuality and feminism upon Church and nation, which has and will continue to result in the deconstruction of the family and the disruption of the civil order. This is primarily the Church’s problem. God gave the Christian Church responsibility to lead the culture. Jesus said of the Church that it is the salt of the earth and the light of the world. Peaceful co-existence with apostasy in the Church within, with no strident voice, or satisfaction with merely partial obedience and nominal, respectable reform that quiets the conscience of those at ease in Zion is tantamount to total disobedience to the King and Head of the Church.

Many examples of deterrents to the vitality of evangelical witness are included in this biography, such as the following: the controversy of Tom Maxwell, Dan Firth and Ted McPhee from British Guyana and their resignation from the Presbyterian Board of Missions over the nature of their role as to whether they should function as educators or evangelists; also, the discriminatory educational policy for ministerial training was traced back to Dr. Reid’s own abrupt termination of his studies at Montreal College because of liberalism, to give but two more examples. Resistance to truth has indeed been unrelenting on a variety of fronts.

This biography by A. Donald MacLeod contains several levels of valuable information by providing in one volume numerous mini-histories, Christian events, and interpretations, which provide a context for the diversified issues and labours that Canadians face in church and nation today. The weight and engagement of this valuable biography will be abused if it is used merely to furnish its readers with ammunition to justify why people stay or secede from denominations, or even to help to sort out the current justification controversy, the legacy of Professor Norman Shepherd’s heretical influence in seeking
to combat “easy believism.” The real value of this biography will be demonstrated when it is used as a platform from which to call upon the only King and Head of the Church with unambiguous sorrow and lamentation of heart to revive His work in the midst of the years and in His wrath remember mercy. “How soon,” Paul said to the Galatians congregations, “I am amazed that you are so quickly deserting Him who called you by the grace of Christ for a different gospel....” The Lord Jesus Christ does not separate Himself from the testimony of Him in the Scriptures and every problem of the Church may be traced to separating that which God has joined together. What then is our Lord Jesus Christ’s call to us arising out of this rather transparent biography?

It is first of all a call to earnest prayer that God would flood our pathways with light; that He would grant grace to help every professing member of the Church to walk pleasing to Him. It is a plea to the Lord of the Church not to leave us alone in our fears for His cause. In this regard, the most encouraging statements about Christ in this biography concern His rule over the Church and the reiterated encouragement “to study Church history to strengthen faith and build us up in our knowledge of the Scriptures and the knowledge of the doctrines of the Gospel of God. All as a result of the moving power of God’s Holy Spirit.” (cf. p. 290). Our call is to sound an alarm to the unconverted. It is time to weep and to repent. Paul said we are declared to be the epistles of Christ read and known of all men. Is this what I am known as? Is this what you are known as? O God, turn us your people! First Chronicles 5:22 shows a war that was of God. First it brought His people to pray in a way that brought glory to His name, and the evil of the Hagrites was slain.

If the church is the cause of the curse of the current Canadian nation’s problem, then we need to confess and repent for whatever brought it on. As we repent, one of two things will happen: repentance in the Church will bring about a lifting of the curse from our national life, or it will bring about a final rupture between a self-conscious secularist Canada and a self-conscious allegiance to the unchanging Triune Jehovah and His unchanging truth. Along with Carl F. Henry, I have a notion that this is but the beginning of the twilight of western might and civilization and the start of a new dark age, all for God’s purpose of purifying and winnowing the Body of Christ. O merciful God, send the Spirit of a broken and contrite heart to the Church’s ministering servants and officers of Christ, tremor and humiliation to her people. Isaiah 62:6 – Would to God that many would be raised up with the spirit of a watchman of Zion, ones who are constant day and night (like Paul) in calling God’s mind to His work as Jehovah’s
remembrancers. How small a battalion that really is! Set us all, Lord, as adjutants to give You no rest and take no rest ourselves until You have glorified Your Holy Name by making Zion a praise in the earth.

This biography is commended especially to many in the Presbyterian Church in Canada who have little or no knowledge or context of the struggles which have taken place over several decades. They will profit from this volume’s valuable explanations and elucidation; so also will all those who have an interest in the history and developments of evangelical Presbyterianism in Canada in the twentieth century. The notes and text of this biography will serve as a virtual textbook of this period of church history in Canada, but will demand sober reflection as well.

Reviewed by William Campbell. Rev. Campbell was ordained in 1965 as a Presbyterian Church in Canada minister and served congregations in Ontario and New Brunswick. In 1992, he transferred into Northeast Presbytery, Associate Reformed Presbyterian, as a retired minister. He also served for a time with World Vision and as a volunteer with Interserve (formerly BMMF). He presently lives in Woodstock, Ontario.
This book was originally a dissertation presented to the American University of Biblical Studies. It presents a comprehensive survey of the presence of Presbyterian and Reformed missions in more than thirty countries in the Caribbean and Latin America (CALA), from 1528 to the Protestant Panama Congress in 1916. The subject is well researched. The writer was able to visit and conduct research in fifteen of these countries. His country by country bibliography gives evidence to the fact that he is aware of most of the important studies of the Reformed and Presbyterian churches and missions in that area.

In his introduction, the purpose of the study is clearly stated as follows: “to document the historical origins and development of both the Presbyterian and Reformed churches and missions in CALA.” The writer also intended to conduct a missiological analysis of the “context, agency and motivation” of church and mission. (p. 1).
Chapter 1 of the book presents “Reform Movements in the Roman Catholic Church” at the end of the fifteenth century and during the first half of the sixteenth in CALA. This Reformation was more social than theological or ecclesiastical. Chapter 2 studies “Continental European Reformed Churches and Missions”, country by country in CALA from 1555-1916. Several types of churches were established. The French Huguenots established “refugee churches” while the Dutch established “colonial churches” through the help of the mercantile West Indische Companie (WIC). The role of the WIC on the Reformed Church was significant. It had a “high degree of control over the hiring and firing of the ministers as well as in the administration of the churches’ finances” (p. 118). Missions and evangelistic activities towards the non-Europeans were not supported. Those efforts were undertaken by a few ministers but were not supported by the church. “Mercantile interests, and especially slave trading, were antithetical to evangelism and the building of the indigenous church” (p. 121). The conclusion was: “By 1916, not one indigenous Indian, African and non-white church had been established by the Reformed churches and missions” (p. 119). This was obvious because the Reformed churches were not “known as agents of the gospel of Jesus Christ to the Indians, Africans and people outside of their own ecclesiastical walls” (p. 120).

The “Presbyterian Churches and Missions” were different (chapter 3). Nevertheless, their first activities in the Caribbean were closely associated with mercantile activities (p. 146). However, Presbyterians supported the emancipation of slaves; for example, in Jamaica (p. 147). They were also able to move away from the “colonial mentality and towards a national identification. The use of ethnic languages, music and leadership” increased their acceptability among the East Indians and Afro-Americans (p. 170). The Presbyterians worked among the “Africans, East Indians, American Indians, as well as European and other Latin groups” (p. 239). They facilitated the planting of national churches and the developing of national leaders (pp. 268-269).

Chapter 4 presents a “Missiological Analysis” of the whole region by focusing on the following three areas: context, agency and motivation. The conclusion is that the two churches went different ways. The problem with the Reformed Church was its association with the African slave trade. Ministries were sometimes involved as plantation owners. The Presbyterians were able to move “beyond the colonial church and work cross-culturally.” These differences are studied in chapter 5, “Church Maintenance and Mission to the Peoples” (280 ff). What should be the goal in missions? Should the goal be to maintain churches transplanted from the West, or to conduct missions
to the peoples and plant cross-culturally relevant churches, or should both be taken into consideration? On pp. 296-299, Hegeman gives a list of twelve points that were exhibited by responsible Presbyterian and Reformed churches and missions.

The appendices present charts which give an overview of ministers, missionaries, and congregations in the CALA country by country (pp. 307-337). This is followed by a comprehensive bibliography (pp. 338-385).

Reformed and Presbyterian missions are well served with a book like this. To this reviewer’s knowledge it is the first book to bring the history of so many countries together in one volume. Those who are considering missions into CALA will have a good introduction into the history of Presbyterian and Reformed missions in these countries. However, the relationship between the Presbyterians and Reformed missions and other churches, except for the Roman Catholic Church, is not discussed in the book. This is a major omission. In Guyana, for example, members of the Reformed Churches joined the Anglican Church. The Baptist Church in Suriname was started by a member of the Reformed Church. One is left asking what was the reason for this?

The book helps to avoid mistakes of the past. One sin that Hegeman pointed to as “sinful theology and practice” (p. 294) was the unwillingness to evangelize others. The work did not present a list of crimes committed, but the lack of the godly behaviour on the part of some of the ministers should be included in the list of sinful practices. Is there a need for the Church to confess sins committed in the past, especially towards people of coloured races that were discriminated against? This might be an important step towards reconciliation with the past.

The book gives a good starting point for research into the church and missions history of CALA. Among issues that will have to be studied further is the role of missionaries from the West in CALA, which needs to be different. The role might be characterized as “mentoring.” The missionary must realize that he will not be the only one “in the game.” There are church members who have had some theological training, some from interdenominational Bible and theological schools. How will these persons fit into the church structures?

The lessons learned from the past continue to be valid for today and for the future. However, the work of Dr Hegeman needs an update. The countries in CALA have had major changes in the twentieth century. Lessons learned from the period prior to 1916 may be helpful but do not present the actual challenges in missions in CALA in the twenty-
first century. National leaders/pastors will have to receive a solid theological training that focuses on the needs in the working context. Challenges like HIV/AIDS, marriage, and the fight against poverty, witchcraft, and voodooism should not be foreign to the trained pastors. In addition, the presence of Pentecostals in CALA has to be taken into consideration by every agency considering missions there. This is different than the Roman Catholic challenge in previous centuries. In Suriname there is a growing acceptance of one another among Christians from different denominations. Very often missionaries from the West tend to induce separation among God’s people based on denominational boundaries. This will cause more harm than good to the Church.

The issue of money is not dealt with in Hegeman’s book, but in missions both before and after 1916, money is an important issue. Because of its control of the money, the West Indische Companie was able to direct the affairs of the church and mission. Are mission agencies in the West doing the same today with missions in CALA?

In addition, there are three important features missing in this book. In a book of this size, an index is crucial, especially if the book is to serve as a reference book. The detailed table of contents can be used as a country index, but this is not enough. The lack of a list of abbreviations is also felt in the book, since Dr Hegeman makes use of several abbreviations. Finally, when dealing with so many countries, there should have been several maps included.

There are also some errors. On p. vi, 155-1916, should have been 1555-1916 and on p. 51, reference is made to section 10.2, which is not in the book. On p. 61, Dr. Hegeman gives the reason for the ceasing of the Reformed Church in Guyana. In one paragraph he attributed it to the withdrawal of the tax for the church by the government, and in another paragraph it is because the membership was steadily absorbed into the Presbyterian or Anglican churches. Perhaps had an editor gone through the book more carefully, these errors and inconsistencies could have been avoided. An editor may also have questioned the validity of the numbering system used throughout the work, which may be acceptable in certain dissertations from some institutions but is unusual in a modern book.

Yet, in spite of noted shortcomings, this book deserves to be studied by Christians from all denominations. It is not an easy read, but the time will be well spent. Have we learned from the past five centuries? What do we still have to repent of? Are we as churches now faithful to the Great Commission towards all nations without discrimination? And, which part of our church/missions budget is reserved for training
people for the future? This book will be a great help in forcing us to ponder these questions.

Reviewed by Dr. Frank Jabini, the Principal of the Evangelical School of Theology, Parimaribo, Suriname. Dr. Jabini holds the Ph.D. degree from the University of Zululand in South Africa in the combined fields of Bible Translation and Missiology. His thesis topic dealt with the subject of Bible translation and transmission amongst the various people groups in Suriname. He has been a leader in theological education for several years in the Caribbean and in Latin America. Dr. Jabini is the founder of the Evangelical School of Theology and is currently completing a full history of the churches in Suriname.
Amy Carmichael is one of those believers who has inspired a wide range of Christians around the world. I recall hearing stories about her and quotations in sermons by Eric Alexander in the 1980's, and I believe that was when I first started to reflect upon her life. However, I have to confess that it was not until early 2004 that I first read a biography about her, namely Bingham’s *The Wild-Bird Child: A Life of Amy Carmichael*. This opened the door to a new world of discovery.

Bingham describes in his fine “Preface” how this biography began. He and Os Guiness were walking past College Gardens in Belfast discussing Os’s Aunt Joy, who had hoped to write a biography of Amy but was unable to do so due to certain commitments. Then Os challenged Derek to take up writing such a biography to show that Amy was “not just a great missionary, but that she was also a great social reformer.” Hence this book.

As a biographer, Bingham takes a most interesting approach to organizing the book. Each chapter begins with a date in Amy’s life; for example, 1867, chapter one, the year of her birth. He then proceeds to set out concurrent major figures or events on the world stage. I think
the vignettes usually helped me, although at times I must confess I did say, “Oh, get on with it!” After all, there are twenty chapters. In saying that, the vignette which begins chapter seven, “Of Churchill, And The Mad Riders of Kotagiri,” could, I think, hold most teenage boys’ attention – something in a “woman’s book”! Since we are discussing audience, yes, women should read this book, and, yes, teenage girls, but men, don’t turn away from it – do re-read my opening paragraphs.

Carmichael came from Irish evangelical Presbyterianism, the type which knew well the great revival of 1859. In 1886, when Amy was living in Belfast and attending Rosemary Street Presbyterian Church, the contours of her life’s work in India were emerging. She taught boys at night school and ministered to the “Shawlies” of Shankill with such fruit that the work outgrew the church hall, offering Bible classes on Sunday afternoons, Sewing Clubs on Thursdays, Girls’ Meetings on Wednesdays, and Mothers’ Meetings on Thursdays. I believe we see a familiar theme here – those who become big “M” Missionaries are missionaries long before they are called Missionaries. One can see that the roots of Dohnavur in India took shape on the streets of Belfast.

Bingham has sprinkled portions of Amy’s poems throughout the book, which creates a good sense that Amy is speaking to the reader. Since he had access to her letters placed in the Northern Ireland Public Records Office, there is a sympathy and a modest depth to the book. He also allows you to experience India, to such an extent that it drove me to the local public library to review Kipling and Forster. I next started reading the two famous biographies on Amy, the seminal work by Frank Houghton, Amy Carmichael of Dohnavur (1953) and Elizabeth Elliot’s, A Chance to Die, The Life and Legacy of Amy Carmichael (2002 reprint), which were briefly compared during my reading of Bingham. My conclusion is that Bingham’s work will certainly not displace either of these biographies, but he does have a certain quality which many will find attractive. In some regards I am drawn to Houghton, but this is not to cast any dispersion on Bingham. Bingham does inform us of the influences which helped shape her life, including her reading – “the heroes” as she called them: Gilmour, Burns, Martyn, Brainard, McCheyne, Samuel Rutherford (pp. 98-99), and that most touching scene of the death of Indraneela (p. 86).

Bingham, true to Guiness’ challenge, thoroughly reveals Amy’s work with rescuing temple children. Though Amy died in 1951 without seeing the final victory of the year 1954, when the dedication of girl-babies to Hindu temples was made illegal for all of India, she certainly deserves much of the praise and recognition for that. One is reminded here of another great missionary to the Indian people, William Carey,
and his intense battles for social reform in the north of India. Amy is worthy of study when considering that great missiological tenant of the relationship of the missionary’s culture and the indigenous people, and how Christ must be Lord of all.

This is an attractive and easy-to-read work. The ink sketches are lovely, and the chronology at the back is very helpful, as is the list of Amy’s writing (pp. 217-219). I do hope it will be read by many women and men as a popular and inspiring biographical study. Frank Houghton’s biography is more that of the inspiring churchman, Elizabeth Elliot’s a fuller inspirational biography, and now Bingham’s somewhat in the middle ground. The cover is most inviting to any reader, as is the title. Since Bingham noted that he used quotations from the new British video on Amy Carmichael, I made a point of watching “Amma: The Story of Amy Carmichael and the Dohnavur Fellowship.” Together they form a helpful resource for the study of modern medical missions on the subcontinent.

Reviewed by Jack C. Whytock.
Book Notices

In Book Notices we inform readers about works which have been recently added to the Haddington House Library. Most entrants here are currently in print but on occasion we will include rare and valuable books we have acquired which students and patrons may want to come and consult. Book Notices are made in keeping with our editorial policy to help our readers in the stewardship of their resources and time. Our Journal uses the standard abbreviation ‘hc’ to denote hard cover. The International Standard Book Number (ISBN) has been included with all books when available.

Biblical Theology

Acorns to Oaks: The Primacy and Practice of Biblical Theology – A Festschrift for Dr. Geoff Adams.

Festschrift’s, by their very nature, range widely because of the number of writers involved and because they are an effort to honour one individual’s life while presenting articles related to the advancement of academic life. Dr. Haykin has done a fine editing job in working with thirteen writers in assembling this worthwhile collection of essays on the occasion of Dr. Geoff Adams’ fiftieth year of ministry at Toronto Baptist Seminary. I think it is quite remarkable to consider that Dr. Adams served as a professor at this
Seminary from 1954 to 2003! It was delightful to see a beautiful picture and statement of appreciation to both Geoffrey and Betty Adams, as everyone knows there are key supporters in all ministry efforts.

I was interested in reviewing Dr. Adams’ life in England and discovering certain facts about his family tree; such as, one grandfather was baptized by C. H. Spurgeon. I appreciated the inclusion of the photograph from his pastorate in Harriston, Ontario, where he met Betty Newman. The biographical sketch is actually very brief, much briefer than I would have expected. Then there is a short “Tribute” followed by a “Tabula Gratulatoria,” which I must say I took time to read carefully, and which I suspect will be passed over by many readers.

Then follows the eleven essays, which constitute the heart of this book. Several have a strong biblical theme as one would expect because Geoff Adams chiefly taught in the Department of Biblical Studies. Writers and topics include:

- Don Garlington, “The Biblical–Theological Method”
- Glendon G. Thompson, “Beholding The Glory”
- Peter Gentry, “The Son of Man in Daniel 7: Individual or Corporate?”
- Andrew M. Fountain, “The Holy Spirit and Hermeneutics”
- Larry Perkins, “Translating and Interpreting Mark 1:45”

I am sure many pastors would find each of these biblically based essays very stimulating and set within a Word-honouring framework.

The remainder of the essays tend to be more historical; Margaret Baxter, Puritanism, and Spurgeon. I am not sure Tom Wells’ essay, “Geoff Adams and the Theology of P. G. Wodehouse (1881-1975),” falls into this category, but it certainly makes for interesting reading and is not quite what one might expect in a Festschrift. I found John Campbell’s article, “With Mind and Heart: The Contribution of Cornelius Van Til to Christian Thought,” a very helpful essay and one caste in a readable form.

I give the last word to Dr. Geoff Adams, quoting one of his noted sayings: “God’s special revelation is progressive and organic: His plan of salvation is all part of a united whole, revealed to us one piece at a time, first the acorn then the oak. The truths we see as seeds in the Old Testament grow to their fullness in the New Testament.” Amen.

J. C. Whytock
The Church: One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic.

The doctrine of the church is returning to the forefront of discussions once again. In part, this book, The Church: One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic, is evidence of such. It is also a return to early creedal formulations – the title makes this clear.

The chapters emerged from addresses delivered at the thirtieth anniversary meeting of the Philadelphia Conference on Reformation Theology in 2003. All three contributors are “pastor-theologians” and write in an engaging style. There are six chapters, two by each author. The work certainly will not replace the older and larger works on the subject by the Bannermans or Clowney’s The Church. However, this new volume stands at a more popular juncture and serves as an introductory text to the subject. As such, one should not look to it to address all one’s questions – that is not its purpose.

Each chapter is Bible-based and full of application. Perhaps study questions would have been helpful if they had been included at the end of the chapters. Overall, I commend the work as sound and insightful. As things continue to warm up on the doctrine of ecclesiology, it will be interesting to see if in the future we find this topic moving increasingly into the battle-lines of the late nineteenth century between “low church” groups and “high church” parties. This book avoids those controversies.

The chapters are as follows:

2. One Church, Ephesians 4:1-6
3. A Holy Church, 1 Corinthians 6:9-11
4. A Catholic Church, Galatians 3:26-29
5. An Apostolic Church, Ephesians 2:19-22
6. Epilogue: Christ and His Church, Ephesians 1:20-23
The Church: One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic would make for a good Bible study textbook, a valuable resource in Christian Colleges, and a beneficial personal read.

J. C. Whytock

From the back cover of the book:

Here is a book by three pastor-theologians, all honest-to-God evangelicals, about the four Nicene attributes of the church – its unity, purity, catholicity, and apostolic identity. I hope this book will signal a new turn away from the kind of low, functionalist ‘how-to’ ecclesiology that so damages the church’s witness and dishonors her Lord.

Timothy George

The ESV English-Greek Reverse Interlinear New Testament.

This interlinear New Testament is unique amongst interlinears, as traditionally the English is below the Greek; however, here the English is above the Greek. At the present time, only the book of Romans is available to the public. The full published hardback interlinear New Testament is to be released on October 18, 2005. Readers may recall that a full review of the English Standard Version was published in the Haddington House Journal, Volume 5 (2003). Since then the continuing publication of ESV resources and editions continues, with this new interlinear being the latest. The Crossway Comprehensive Concordance, edited by William D. Mounce, is now also available. It certainly appears that in the almost four years since its publication in October, 2001, the ESV has gained a growing portion of the Bible
market. From my "unscientific" observations and discussions while traveling, it seems to be increasingly replacing both the New American Standard and the New King James versions.

Interlinears, by their very nature, have been deplored by some, hailed by others, and secretly used by some! I am sure all three responses will be evoked by this new interlinear, except that the last group may even be larger, since it is that much more user-friendly.

J. C. Whytock

Even those who don’t know the original languages can use this tool by reading the English text in its normal order and consulting the corresponding Greek words as desired. Also included are Strong’s numbers for effective cross-referencing to other study tools, morphology of each word, and transliterations of all Greek words for easy pronunciation. The book also contains a gloss dictionary based on the transliterated inflected Greek, so a reader can look at the raw word meanings for every Greek word. As a valuable bonus, each book contains a free electronic version of the content on CD-ROM, plus additional ESV text and study tools.

This state of the art reverse interlinear Bible and the accompanying software were created in partnership with Logos Research Systems, the premier Bible research software developer. For those who have made the ESV their translation of choice, this reference tool further allows readers to see for themselves the accuracy with which the ESV translators rendered the original Greek text.

Crossway Promotional
Systematic Theology

To Know and Love God: Method for Theology.

Each year the Haddington House Journal endeavours to include a contribution concerning the place of theological education and training. This year we highlight a recent addition to the Haddington House Library, namely David Clark’s To Know and Love God: Method for Theology. I am not aware of any contemporary, major evangelical work which is devoted to tackling how evangelical systematic theology is structured. With Clark’s ten years of mining, we now have a worthy reference work on the subject of method and structure. I believe it is very much a “reference” work and thus I found myself jumping about rather than reading straight through it.

The work asks many questions; ranging from “What is evangelical systematic theology?” to “What is the purpose and the final goal of systematic theology?” I did sense that the author, a philosopher-theologian, crosses much into the field of philosophy, perhaps more than I wanted to see, because I felt at times it obscured the goal.

The work is structured around twelve chapters, and each is beautifully sub-divided for clarity and quick reference. I list the twelve chapter headings only:

1. Concepts of Theology
2. Scripture and the Principle of Authority
3. Theology in Cultural Context
Clark’s book will be a stimulating read for all interested in theological education and the study of theology. One reviewer stated that he believed this book would serve as an “underpinning” for the new Crossway series, “Foundations of Evangelical Theology.” It is the third volume in this series. The other two volumes are on soteriology and the doctrine of God.

J. C. Whytock

From the back cover:

Evangelical theology is a matter of thinking about and speaking to and for the God of the Bible, in his relation to all reality and all that we ourselves are and do. It is needed for doxology, for devotion, for discipling, and for directing our lives, and we cannot get on without it. Assuming this, philosopher-theologian David Clark sets forth a wide-ranging, constantly centrist, moderately technical, analytically alert demonstration of the what, why, and how of the evangelical theological task, interacting at each stage with rival positions. No comparable across-the-board vindication of evangelical mental method exists; this is a landmark book.

J. I. Packer
Praying Together For True Revival.

“Our hope is that the books in this series will introduce Jonathan Edwards to a new generation of readers and draw them more deeply and passionately into the knowledge of God. We offer them with the hope that God, who sent the Spirit of revival to his church in Edward’s day, might be pleased to use this series as he moves to revive, renew, and restore his Bride once again.”

T. M. Moore,
The Jonathan Edwards Institute

T. M. Moore has taken Edward’s treatise on corporate prayer, An Humble Attempt (1747), divided the work into thirteen chapters, added introductory comments and subheadings, and concluded each chapter with study questions. No doubt this will enhance the volume for a wider readership than the current Banner of Truth Works edition. Even the new title is more engaging and helpful for the modern reader. Attention needs to be drawn to the original context of this treatise by Edwards as stated by John Armstrong in the Introduction:

The Humble Attempt arose from a very practical source. It was Jonathan Edwards’s response to “Memorial” published by a group of Scottish ministers who had been involved in prayer societies, especially among young people, that began in Scotland around 1740. A group of godly ministers felt it was time to take this movement of prayer to a deeper level of resolve and practice. They created an “Experiment” that would unite the prayer groups in Scotland into a unified, visible strategy. They specifically appealed to Christians to gather for revival, praying every Saturday evening and Sunday morning for the next two years! In addition, they urged special meetings on the first Tuesday of each quarter.
They set the time of two years to see what God would do and then to proceed based upon the direction they believed the Lord gave them. In 1746, when they considered what had been accomplished in this two-year period, they believed they should issue an appeal to the church worldwide, especially in the American colonies. This led to the publication of the Memorial. Five hundred copies were sent to Boston. One of these came into Edwards’s possession, and the result was An Humble Attempt. (pp. 6-7)

This new series of paperbacks is a welcome resource for courses on Edwards, but also could be useful in adult Sunday School classes or mid-week meetings.

J. C. Whytock
Historical Theology

The Great Turning Point: The Church’s Catastrophic Mistake on Geology – Before Darwin.

I first read this work in its Ph.D. thesis stage from Coventry University. At the time I was researching the catastrophic theory of Abraham Werner of Freiberg and the rise of the Wernerian Society – not exactly household names! I am somewhat perplexed as to whether the subtitle to the book actually confuses the word “catastrophic” or is an effort to be a “play on words.” The title as a Ph.D. thesis was simply “British Scriptural Geologists in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century.” Now a published book, readers on the subject of creation will find it a challenge. Mortenson’s opening comment describes well the book’s theme:

Geologist H. H. Read prefaced his book on the granite controversy a few decades ago with these words, “Geology, as the science of earth history, is prone to controversy. The study of history of any kind depends upon documents and records. For the history of the earth’s crust, these documents are the rocks and their reading and interpretation are often difficult operations.”

This book analyzes one such controversy, and an extremely important one at that, during the first half of the 19th century.
in Britain, which has sometimes been called the “Genesis-geology debate.” At that time a tenacious and denominationally eclectic band of scientists and clergymen (and some were both) opposed the new geological theories being developed at the time, which said that the earth was millions of years old. These men became known as the “scriptural geologists,” “Mosaic geologists” or “biblical literalists.” (p. 11.)

This is a subject which continues to interest evangelical Christians and Mortenson’s book is another valuable contribution to the debate. As someone not trained in geology, I was able to follow most of his discussion. Mortenson’s conclusions are in support of young-earth creationism, and the reader will have to weigh his case.

The large 8 ½ x 11 inch book features:

- large double-column paperback
- illustrations
- bibliography
- indexes

J. C. Whytock

Galileo, Bacon, Newton, Cuvier, and Lyell are all familiar to students of the history of science and geology. However, Penn, Bugg, Ure, Fairholme, Murray, Young, and Rhind (all from the 19th century) have remained virtually unknown until Mortenson’s revealing historical analysis. The Great Turning Point provides a new look at the Genesis-geology debate that cannot be ignored.

Dr. William Barrick,  
Professor of Old Testament and Director of Doctoral Studies,  
The Master’s Seminary
Here at last is the first full-length treatment of the history of this “toddler” discipline called “worldview” studies. Naugle, one of North America’s leading academicians of worldview thinking cannot be overlooked in placing some essential perspective on worldview conceptualizations. He correctly commences with James Orr and moves forward from here in the Protestant “sphere,” then through Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy, before turning to the philological history of “worldview” or *weltanschauung*. Following these three introductory chapters, three chapters are devoted to the philosophical history of “worldview,” then two chapters (numbers seven and eight) on worldview in the disciplines of the natural and social sciences. This takes us to chapters nine and ten on “Theological Reflections” and “Philosophical Reflections.” The final chapter (eleven) is simply entitled “Concluding Reflections,” which deals with the “Dangers of Worldview” and the “Benefits of Worldview.” These pages are absolutely sobering and refreshing to read.

J. C. Whytock

From the back cover of the book:

In this wonderfully clear and concise book David Naugle takes a notion that has been flitting around the basement of modern theology and philosophy and exposes it to the light of day. This account of the concept of worldview is splendid in
every way – sensitive in tone, beautifully organized, laced
with fine scholarship, full of good sense, and deeply
grounded in the appropriate historical sources. Indispensable
reading for anyone interested in the idea of worldview, this
book fills a glaring gap in the literature and should become
the standard work on the subject in English.

William J. Abraham,
Perkins School of Theology,
Southern Methodist University

In the past thirty years worldview analysis has become an
important way for Christians to understand the world. But
perhaps because of the massive research required, we have
never had a history of the concept or an analysis of its
philosophic roots. Naugle has put us all in his debt. This
excellent study will become a standard reference.

James W. Sire,
author of The Universe Next Door

The Well Educated Mind: A Guide to the Classical
Education You Never Had.
Susan Wise Bauer. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.,

This book was recommended by one of
our senior students as a work for all
Haddington House students to read. It is
about reading, studying, and the exercise of
learning. We believe it is definitely worthy
of a serious read and also offers some very
practical help for the student’s academic life.
Graduation does not end the student’s
pursuits, so if you are out of a teaching
institution, do not just pass over this text.

No doubt Bauer is a familiar author to
many of our readers through her book, The
Well-Trained Mind. This present book, The
Well Educated Mind, concentrates upon
adult readers who desire to enjoy and improve the time they give to reading. Though the book does not talk specifically about reading theology, there are many principles which are applicable. Bauer teaches at William and Mary College in Virginia.

J. C. Whytock

From the book:

“‘To tackle a course in reading successfully, we have to retrain our minds to grasp new ideas by first understanding them, then evaluating them, and finally forming our own opinions.’” (p. 19).

Some guidelines for summarizing:

“…Read through the entire chapter once without stopping. If any particular ideas, phrases, or sentences strike you, go ahead and jot them down…. Try to summarize each section in your own words. Ask yourself: What is the most important point that the writer makes in this section? [etc] … Make the summary for each section a separate paragraph…glance back over your summary paragraphs. Now write down your reactions to the information in each summary…” (p. 40).

**At Break of Day: A classic daily Devotional.**


Here is a fine daily devotional work which is worthy of our commendation. It is evangelical, biblical, generally easily understood, and represents some of the best in devotional literature. The author, Fred Mitchell, served as the Home Director in Britain for what was then the China Inland Mission, now Overseas
Missionary Fellowship. He was killed in the famous “Comet” crash in 1953, the first commercial jet airliner crash. Now, fifty years later, this work continues to bless many.

Mitchell’s book had its origins in the author’s morning devotional exercises, where he used the texts printed for each day in Samuel Bagster’s *Daily Light on the Daily Path*. Many of our readers are likely to be aware of Samuel Bagster (1772-1851), the noted bookseller who opened his own shop at age twenty-one! Bagster was the father of twelve children, and each day at daily devotions he had the whole family give further biblical references to illustrate the Scripture text for that morning or evening. What an amazing exercise! And how it has borne fruit for the generations who have used this for their daily meditations. (His son Jonathan had a major hand in the book also.) I have no idea how many printings and editions there have been of *Daily Light*, not to mention the electronic English and German editions. As one reads Mitchell, one finds only one printed Scripture text per day, followed by Mitchell’s comments and reflections. Thus, one could use *At Break of Day* along with your Bible or else have Bagster’s *Daily Light* (morning only) beside you, as the days match perfectly.

We are appreciative to Christian Focus Publications for making this new paperback available in a larger print edition. Also, thanks goes to Freda Ferguson for being moved to make this a reality. If you are looking for a fine devotional, do consider obtaining a copy of Mitchell’s *At Break of Day*. Oswald Sanders wrote in the Foreward, “Knowing the quality of Christian character and devotion to the Lord which lie behind these messages, I commend them to the Christian public with the utmost confidence.” We agree.

Readers may also be interested to know that Crossway Books has just issued a new ESV edition of Bagster’s *Daily Light on the Daily Path*, ISBN 158134435X.

J. C. Whytock
Haddington House is a unique center in North America for the advancement of evangelical Presbyterian theological training in Canada and abroad. We pursue the fulfillment of this objective in several ways, including: 1.) providing a study house with a growing library; 2.) offering seminary level courses with several programme options, both in residence and via distance learning, combined with Summer and Winter Schools and in-house lectures; and 3.) publishing an annual Journal, the purpose of which is to provide students, laity, and ministers with an annual publication to develop their minds and souls through in-depth articles and reviews reflective of the theological basis and ethos of Haddington House Trust.

Haddington House Trust is a registered charity, and as such, issues tax receipts for donations received.

Patron/Subscription Form for 2005

The Haddington House Journal is published annually each spring, and will be posted to all Subscribers. Annual subscription fee is $20.00 (Can.) or $20.00 (U.S.) outside Canada, and includes the annual journal together with spring and fall newsletters.

We welcome, as well, the support by prayer and contributions of all who desire to see a renewed zeal in Canada for evangelical Presbyterianism.

Subscription for Haddington House Journal ($20.00)..... $_______

Patron of the Trust (minimum $120.00/year)................. $_______

Donation to Haddington House Trust (any amount) ...... $_______

Total Enclosed.................................................. $_______

Name: ____________________________________________

Address: __________________________________________

Telephone: __________________   E-mail: __________________

Please make cheques payable to: Haddington House Trust and mail to:
Haddington House
99 North River Road
Charlottetown, PEI C1A 3K6

Thank you for partnering with us in this service to Jesus Christ for Kingdom extension.
The Haddington House Trust is for the advancement of evangelical Presbyterian theological training. It exists to strengthen the work of conservative evangelical Presbyterian theological education and training in Canada and from Canada.

The theological basis of the Trust is the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms together with the Presbyterian form of government. The Trust stands in the great reformational tradition of the evangelical and experimental Reformed Faith and holds to a conservative Presbyterian polity rooted in a complementarian theology of the ministry and eldership. The ethos of the Trust is the marriage of theology and piety. The ethos and theological basis will be kept in view in all Trust work.

The Trust has five purposes:

1. To provide in harmony with its theological basis and ethos theological courses both in a residential setting and through distance by means of tutors and visiting professors;

2. To advance the publication of materials in harmony with its theological basis and ethos. This will first be through its annual Journal and second through the undertaking of additional publication endeavours;

3. To advance its own library and study centre for evangelical Presbyterianism in Canada;

4. To advance the work of evangelical Presbyterian theological education and training by special lectures, courses, papers, or meetings both inside and outside of Canada. This may be achieved through partnerships with foreign colleges and/or churches; and

5. To draw together a body of Trustees. The Trustees will be governed by an annual vow to uphold the ethos and theological foundations of the Trust and will provide guidance and direction in the execution of the above four items.

We welcome as Patrons all who share this common agenda. We encourage all in Canada and outside of Canada who desire to see a renewed zeal in Canada for evangelical Presbyterianism to become Patrons of the Trust.