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Editorial

Idolatry as Government

by Stephen C. Perks

The American internet web site LewRockwell.com recently ran an essay by a British libertarian thinker on how the United Kingdom is governed. The thesis put forward in the essay was that the resignation of Charles Kennedy as leader of the Liberal Democratic Party and the subsequent revelation of the immoral behaviour of a candidate for the leadership of the party, along with the election of David Cameron as leader of the Conservative Party, the general rehabilitation of the Conservatives in the media, and the destruction of the UK Independence Party, is all part of a grand conspiracy orchestrated by the "ruling class" and put into effect by the secret police. The essay seeks to fit the deleterious liberal trends of recent British history into an overall conspiracy theory. In doing so it identifies some obvious and baneful developments in our society. But in seeking to explain these harmful trends in terms of a grand conspiracy theory the essay has missed the real point about how Britain is governed today.

One should always be sceptical about conspiracy theories, not because conspiracies do not exist—they do, as the Bible clearly teaches. But such conspiracies are underpinned and shaped by a more basic, indeed one could even say *fundamentalist*, conspiracy that is religious in nature, namely a conspiracy against God and his righteousness, against his anointed, Jesus Christ, and against the social order created by the Christian world-view (Christendom): "Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his anointed, saying, Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us" (Ps. 2:1–3).

It is this rebellion against God, originating in the sinful orientation of man's fallen nature, that determines and shapes the conspiracies of men and nations. But it would be a completely false inference from Scripture to attribute to these conspiracies the kind of power, authority and influence that conspiracy theorists accord them because, as the Bible also teaches, the Christian God is a predestinating God who controls history according to his own will, and he holds such conspiracies in derision: "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision. Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure. Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion. I will declare the decree: the Lord hath said unto me, Thou are my Son; this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for they possession. Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel. Be wise now therefore, O ye kings: be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him" (Ps. 2:4–12).

Believers should likewise hold these conspiracies in derision. God controls history and uses the evil plans and deeds of men and nations to accomplish his own will no less than the works of his Church. The Gospels themselves make this unequivocally clear in their account of the accomplishment of man's salvation in the life, death and resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ. But even given that rulers do conspire against God and his will for the nations, and that in his providence God uses such conspiracies to bring his own purposes to pass, we must seriously doubt the reality of the grand conspiracy theory suggested by the essay in question above, even though it may be theoretically possible.

The real problem we face in Britain is not government by conspiracy, but rather government according to idolatry. After 1500 years of being pulled out of the slime by Christianity the West has rejected the faith and returned to the grand idolatry of all history—the State as god. Our modern Western world is a new Babylon, and we should expect it to engage in the politics of Babylon. The only difference is that this is a secular Babylon.

Idolatry of the State as the supreme authority (god) was the religion of the ancient world. All things were subordinated to the State, which claimed sovereignty over everything, including the cults of the national divinities. This was especially true of Rome. The function of Roman religion was political, to provide social cement and support the State, which is why the official religion of Rome continued long after people had ceased to believe a word of it. In the ancient world Pharaohs and kings were called divine and divine attributes are no longer imputed to our rulers. Because of this people today fail to understand the real nature of the modern State, i.e. that it is a religious institution that claims the rights and authority that legitimately belong to God alone. The only difference between the modern idolatrous State and the idolatrous State in the ancient world is that our modern State does not establish and promote the cults of official deities or insist on the divinity of those who have ultimate rule. It is secular; in other respects idolatry of the State is largely the same today. The only real difference in the modern world is that our gods are secular gods. But the chief god of the modern Babel/Babylon is the State. Of course there are a few secular humanists who are libertarian or anarchist in their beliefs. But libertarianism is very much a minority sport, and always has been. The dominating religion of the modern Western world is the secular humanist religion of politics, the State as god. This is the new Rome.

The contest between the early Church and Rome was a political one, not a religious one in the narrow sense. To say Jesus is Lord was primarily a political statement, and the Holy Spirit, in choosing the word *ekklesia* for the proper designation of God's people, chose a highly political term that had no cultic associations whatsoever. The *ekklesia* was a meeting of the *demos*—the people constituted as a body politic—for political purpose. The term is purely political. To claim that one belonged to a new *ekklesia* with a divine king whose law is absolute and whose rule is universal, as the early Christians did, in opposition to the Roman State, which claimed its emperor was divine and that the State was sovereign of all things, was treasonous to the Romans. The early Church was a political threat to the political order of

Rome, which was of course a religious order, as all political orders are.

British society, having rejected Christianity, is of course returning to the old religion of politics that governed the world before Christ. Modern politics is secular religion. The irony is that Christians on the whole have failed to see this because they have bought into the lie that "Christianity is not political." They have also bought into the lie that "Christianity is not a religion." These two common errors have been devastating for Christian civilisation. In fact modern atheists have no more problems with religion than they have with politics, though they do not like the *term* "religion" (because they perceive it as referring to Christianity, Judaism or Islam); but with the concept of religion (i.e. an overarching belief system that structures the life of both the individual and the society to which he belongs) the modern secular world has no problems and is just as religious as every society ever has been. But the religion that is dominant today is the religion of secular humanism, the chief idol of which is the secular State. This is the new secular religion of politics. It is the logic of this idolatry that is now working itself out in our society and in our politics, and it is this idolatry that the above conspiracy theory of government fails to recognise.

It is not really conspiracy that is driving modern political religion but idolatry that is driving men politically, who will of course conspire to achieve their politico-religious utopias, whatever their nature. The real point is the religious apostasy of the age, not the conspiracies. Conspiracy theory misses the point because it does not recognise the real issue. Our politics is being driven by idolatry of the secular State, which has usurped the role of God in our lives and society. For the modern atheist God is dead; but men cannot live without their gods and so someone or something has to replace the true God that modern men believe they can live without. The institution that has in our society, as a result of the decline of belief in God, inherited the attributes of deity, though in a secularised form, is the State. The insights of the essay on government by conspiracy mentioned above are virtually non-existent, and those who are taken in by it will miss the real point about how modern Britain is governed and what is happening in the modern world of politics in the UK and Europe. We are returning to the religion of the ancient world, but in a modern secularised form. Our modern politics is highly religious. The Church has not only failed to see this idolatry for what it is, but has become severely compromised with it. We face the return of ancient idolatry today in a secularised form. The Church faces a threat she has not seen for a long time, and has no idea how to deal with it, indeed does not even realise the nature of the threat.

The issue at point here is the fact that the logic of this idolatry will work itself out in all spheres in society, including the political. But Christians no longer believe their faith is a religion that must work itself out in all spheres of life. The faith is seen largely as a form of escapism, not as a religion that structures life, including political life. In the vacuum created by the Church's abandonment of Christianity as the true religion the modern religion of secular humanism has become dominant. This religion is atheistic, not theistic, but it is a religion nonetheless, and in modern Western society the kind of atheism that is dominant can only be described as *fundamentalist* in nature. Religion is inescapable. Men are religious by nature. The question is, which religion will dominate: the true religion, or a false religion? What dominates modern Britain is the false religion of secular humanism, which is a form of political idolatry. This political idolatry is the form of religion that has overwhelmingly dominated human civilisation outside of the influence of the Christian faith. The difference today is merely in the secularised—i.e. atheist—form in which this idolatry is manifesting itself.

Because the Church does not recognise the issues she does not call her members to abandon this idolatry. Therefore the Church is engaged in a severe form of syncretism. Babylon the Great is back with a vengeance, only in a secularised form, and we must do battle with it. The problem is that most of the Church's soldiers are in the wrong army. They worship in the cult of Jesus on Sundays, but Monday to Saturday they serve in the Emperor's army, send their children to his schools, engage in his politics and thoroughly abominate anyone who tries to point out the problem with this kind of compromise. If the emperors of ancient Rome had only had such an understanding and compliant Church in the first century they would have had no need to persecute the Church and would have retained control over their pagan empire with gratitude to the Church for her subservient attitude to Caesar's claim to be Lord. Fortunately, the early Church did not see it that way and Caesar had in the end to bow the knee to the true Lord, Jesus Christ.

We need to see what is happening in our society from a different perspective to the conspiracy theories of the world and analyse modern politics in terms of the idolatry of the age, to which Christianity as the true religion is the only answer. The choice before us is whether we shall engage in the politics of God or the politics of man. There is no third way. If we fail or refuse to engage in the politics of God we shall, wittingly or unwittingly, engage in the politics of man and deny our true Lord, Jesus Christ, in whom is concentrated all authority in heaven and on earth and therefore whose sovereignty encompasses all things, including how societies should function, politically and economically no less than at the level of the public religious cultus. It is the task of the Church to proclaim this lordship of Christ to the world, a task that, at least in Britain, she has abandoned because of her infatuation with the chief idol of the modern world, the secular State. In a sense the Church in Britain is engaged in a modern secular form of the hybrid Yahweh/Baal cult that vitiated the religious life of ancient Israel before the Babylonian captivity, and just as Israel was sent into exile for her unfaithfulness in playing the harlot with the Baals, so it seems the Church in Britain shall have to suffer the same consequences at the hands of our own Babylonian captivity: the European Union.

Please observe that my point here is not that the British nation will be taken into captivity. Britain is already in that condition effectively, and the modern British State is thoroughly part of the new Babylon. My point is that the Church will be taken captive and effectively internally exiled by the idolatrous State in a spiritual and cultural ghetto that will leave her without influence, relevance or the freedom to preach the gospel or even practice the Christian way of life fully. The writing is already on the wall, but few seem to understand this and many more in the Church are ideologically committed, though perhaps unwittingly, to the religion of the new secular Babylon. They are engaged, therefore, in an extreme form of syncretism. If we are to overcome the

modern idolatry that confronts us by means of our faith (1 Jn. 5:4), as we are commanded (Mt. 18:18–20), and as the early Church overcame the idolatry that confronted her, we must deal with this syncretism and reject the idolatry that is at the heart of it. Jesus is Lord, *not* the State—in every sphere of life, including politics. *C&S*

Christian Worldview and Changing Cultures

by Patrick Poole

Part iii (concluded)

What General Weygand has called the Battle of France is over. The Battle of Britain is about to begin. Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilisation. Upon it depends our own British life, and the long continuity of our institutions and our Empire. The whole fury and might of the enemy must very soon be turned on us. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this Island or lose the war. If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be free and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted science. Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, "This was their finest hour."—Winston Churchill, June 18, 1940

5. The Warfare of Worldviews

In these words, taken from the famous "Battle of Britain" address delivered to the House of Commons not more than a month after assuming the post of Prime Minister, Churchill defined the threat and the stakes involved for England in the most difficult trial that country had faced for more than a thousand years. As Nazi Germany set its sights on vanquishing the last holdout of discernible Christian civilisation in Europe, thereby eliminating the strongest and most established ideological competitor to Nazism, Churchill identified for his embattled nation the nature of the struggle that lay ahead.

Even at the beginning of the Second World War it was clear that the war would be a conflict of cultural vision and ideas. As never before in the history of mankind, the world was engulfed in a titanic clash of worldviews. In Europe, German Nazi ideology reigned supreme; in Africa, Italian fascism; in Asia, Japanese nationalism. As the armies of the Axis Powers moved across the globe, they each brought with them a system of reality that they sought to impose on their vanquished enemies. Well before the Second World War many Christians had already recognised that the world had entered an age in which various ideologies would be competing for cultural dominance. Speaking a year before Europe would be plunged into the bloody stalemate of the First World War, J. Gresham Machen told his seminary students (in a quote we looked at earlier): "What is today a matter of academic speculation begins tomorrow to move armies and pull down empires."[12]

In the twentieth century the armies of ideology were on the move. Millions of young men died in the trenches and the fields of France and Belgium during the great conflict of nations in the First World War, which had been brought about by the forces of nationalism trying to pull down the empires of old Europe. As war reached the shores of England in the first year of the Second World War, Churchill observed that a new sinister empire had conquered the nations of Europe, with Britain the only national power remaining. This regime, which had already spread darkness, despair and death across the map of Europe, now threatened to bring the force of its ideas to bear on the English nation. Only a pitched battle in defence of the ideas of Christian civilisation could save the British people.

For our study of worldview and culture it is interesting to note that Churchill represented the minority view amongst the political leaders of England. For almost twenty years

12. J. Gresham Machen, "Christianity and Civilization," p. 52.

Churchill was exiled to the political wilderness for advocating a recommitment to the Christian cultural moorings that had sustained England since the time of King Alfred the Great more than twelve centuries previously. Churchill's biggest detractor during his time in the wilderness was the then-Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, who represented the majority of the British cultural elite that wanted to abandon the Christian ideas and institutions of England's past and follow the secular cultural tide of Europe.

As the German Nazi Party grew in power during the 1930s it fed on the anti-Christian ideology that had flowered in Europe during the nineteenth century. The political dominance of the Nazis in Germany and the personal rule of Adolf Hitler were the direct result of the ideas that had steadily grown in the soil of modern German thinking. The philosophies of Immanuel Kant, George Hegel, Ludwig Feuerbach, Karl Marx and Frederic Nietzsche had paved the way for the Nazi regime by eroding the Christian worldview that had supported German culture for centuries. But this revolution did not stop with philosophy; it was reflected in the music, cinema and arts; it was expressed in the educational system that now produced legions of young Germans committed to the principles of Nazism; it suppressed the Christian Church, forcing her underground, or corrupting her and making her a servant to the Third Reich; and it oppressed all ethnic and social groups that did not meet the criteria for Hitler's Aryan master race. This cultural hegemony was enforced by the ideological shock troops of Nazism, the Brownshirt SA, who brought violence upon anyone not willing to accept the yoke of Nazi ideology.

As this brutal cultural transformation was occurring in Germany Winston Churchill saw where the Nazi worldview led and raised his voice in opposition. Neville Chamberlain didn't. But since Chamberlain and his allies were in firm control of the political machinery of England Churchill was nothing more than the lone voice crying out in the wilderness. Instead of confronting the fascist powers imposing themselves on all parts of the British Empire and on Europe as a whole Chamberlain sought to appease them by agreeing to the expansion of Nazi Germany into Czechoslovakia and doing nothing when the Nazis moved into Austria. As Adolf Hitler made his intentions for further expansion clear Chamberlain negotiated a diplomatic solution in the form of a non-aggression pact between England and Germany. But when Germany and the Soviet Union invaded Poland in September 1939 the futility of Chamberlain's appeasement policy was made evident and necessitated the political rehabilitation of Churchill.

The contrast between Churchill and Chamberlain leading up to the Second World War provides a lesson in the importance of understanding your own worldview and the worldview of those around you. The difference between Chamberlain's ideals and those of the fascists was not one of principle, but only one of degree; he philosophically held to many of the same ideas, but refused to follow them to their logical conclusion. But Churchill's opposition to Nazism was systemic; he understood that there was no middle ground between the English culture borne of Christian principles and the modern ideology in Europe that was seeking to overthrow those very same ideas. Chamberlain's policy literally brought Nazism to the shores of England. It was only Churchill's vision and subsequent leadership that enabled England to prevent the Nazi conquest of the British Isles and the collapse of Christian culture in Europe through the heroic deeds of the Royal Air Force during the Battle of Britain. Churchill understood that to defeat an enemy driven by ideas, you can only win by having counter-ideas that can withstand the strain of the assault.

I have dwelt on this lengthy example because the clash of culture seen in the Second World War is easy for most people to understand. The disturbing imagery of the Holocaust clearly illuminates the horrendous consequences of the Nazi worldview. The ferocity with which the Japanese forces defended their positions at staggering loss of life reflected their religious devotion to their divine Emperor and a culture fixated on ideological and racial supremacy. And the total warfare that killed tens of millions of civilians in Europe during that conflict demonstrated that there is no way left to insulate oneself from the clash of cultures.

Another reason why an examination of the causes of the Second World War is helpful for our study of worldview and cultures is that we can clearly see in the assault on Christian Civilisation by the Axis armies that power is always predicated on ideological presuppositions. We find here that political order is always built upon a foundational worldview, and culture is always the reflection of the religious values of the people. From beginning to end, the Second World War was a clash of cultures and a battle over worldviews, and those who followed Neville Chamberlain and the diplomats of the League of Nations in believing that the disagreements were nothing more than national boundary disputes were proven wrong on a scale that still shocks the imagination.

But it is also helpful to understand the Second World War in its context. Not only was it a conflict of worldviews; the war itself was a component of a larger cultural crisis that had been growing in the West for centuries, and has now spread to virtually every part of the world. It cannot be emphasised enough that this conflict did not appear suddenly out of nowhere, which is why Churchill was able to see the struggle that lay ahead. The Second World War was preceded by the First World War—the supposed "War to end all wars"—which was the result of cultural movements taking place in Europe for more than a century. From the time of the French Revolution the philosophies that emerged in Europe during the nineteenth century (Romanticism, Socialism, Existentialism, Nationalism, etc.) and produced the wars of both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were all part of a cultural and ideological trend that extends back to the Age of the Renaissance. And following the Second World War this trend has continued through the era of the Cold War, which aligned the entire world on two opposing ideological lines, and into the present confrontation between the West and Islam exhibited in the terror attacks of September 11th 2001. The ideological trend line that began in the West has now run throughout the entire world and is presently the dividing line for conflicts on virtually every continent.

Since this ideological conflict began in the West and is now inflaming the entire globe it is important for us as Christians to acknowledge what has caused the crisis. The crisis of Western culture is tied to the breakdown of the Christian worldview that was the dominant cultural influence in the West from the early days of the Middle Ages. As the last vestiges of the Roman Empire crumbled under the weight of a culture that could not bear the stress created by its

religious commitment to pagan gods and divine men the underground Christian faith that had survived three centuries of persecution was the only worldview that provided the social and ideological support to keep the Western world from plunging into utter chaos. As the political structure of the West came apart, Christian missionaries carried the gospel message to the old Roman world and beyond. The message that was preached was not just an individual faith, but also carried with it an alternative culture ordered along the lines of Christian truth that would serve as a model for transforming the pagan cultures they encountered.

This resilient Christian culture flourished in the West over the centuries, albeit imperfect, inconsistent and unstable at times. But it was sufficient to respond to the Islamic threat that swept the world in the seventh and eighth centuries—a threat that continued to pressure the West until the 1500s and has reappeared in the past decade. During this time the Christian West was no Garden of Eden, but it was a culture built on the honest attempt to live out the Christian faith in all areas of life and withstood attempts at syncretism with pagan ideology in the form of Scholasticism and the Renaissance. Both the Reformation and Counter-Reformation corrected the course of Western culture, trying to redirect it to its Christian roots. But during those periods a growing scepticism emerged that developed a worldview that acknowledged Christian truth, but confined it more and more to the realm of "religion." In accordance with this new worldview the Christian faith informed areas of culture less and less, detaching whole areas of thought from the influence of the Christian principles that had supported the social institutions of the West for more than a thousand years.

Eventually a decisive break of culture from Christianity occurred with the French Revolution in 1789. This was the result of several centuries of limiting the truth of the Christian faith in its ideological and cultural application and attempting to order parts of society along other ideological lines. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic absolutism that followed launched an ideological revolution throughout the Western world in the nineteenth century that developed philosophical, political, economic and educational systems, the arts, music and literature, and entire cultures in a way that completely divorced them from Christianity.

The crisis that arose was because the West had built its institutions, traditions and ideas directly in terms of a Christian culture for more than a millennium. Large segments of most Western countries still had populations that were firmly committed to the Christian faith and applying it to all of life, which made the task of transforming the West into a secular new world order extremely difficult. The unbelieving philosophers of the nineteenth century grappled with this problem, but many recognised that their philosophies were dependent upon Christian truth, and the universities and institutions that provided a haven for secular thought had been the fruit of Christian culture. As the twentieth century dawned many of these unbelieving philosophers and adherents understood that in order to bring forth their secular utopias all Western institutions predicated on Christian truth, whether governments, schools, trade, and even Churches and families, had either to be completely restructured according to the new ideologies or eliminated altogether. This required radical cultural transformation by means of a determined attack on Western culture at its most fundamental Christian roots. They then began to act on that cultural vision, and the battle for the Western world commenced.

Herman Bavinck's Prophecy for the twentieth century

The dramatic shift after the French Revolution from acknowledgement of Christian culture to active hostility to it did not go unnoticed by Christian observers throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many discerned the cultural trend and identified the ongoing breakdown of the Christian worldview and culture and the resultant crisis that was expressed in most countries in the West. Some saw the intense clash of worldviews that was to come.

In the early days of the last century, a colleague of Abraham Kuyper at the Free University in Amsterdam, Herman Bavinck, perceived the spiritual and intellectual crisis of his time and uttered a prophetic assessment of the coming conflict of worldviews in the West during the twentieth century:

> Unless we are mistaken in our interpretation of the signs of the times, the twentieth century, upon which we have just entered, is to witness a gigantic conflict of spirits. "Faith and unbelief," says Goethe, "is the deepest theme of the history of the world." This it has been in the centuries that lie behind us. This it was in the past one which we have just closed and abandoned to the past. And this it will be above all things else and in an entirely special sense in the twentieth century, which has just disclosed itself to us. For the conflict of convictions and intentions has spread itself across an ever-widening domain, and has assumed an even more radical character. It is well known that at present this conflict is no longer confined to one or another article of our Christian confession, to the authority of Scripture or tradition, to justification or election; and not even any longer to the Deity of Christ or the personality of the Holy Spirit. But in the spiritual conflict which is now waging in every part of the civilised world, the points at issue more and more are the principles of Christianity itself, and the very fundamentals of all religion and of all morality. This conflict extends the whole length of the line. More serious and fiercer than ever before the conflict is between the old and the new world-view. For man has undertaken the gigantic effort of interpreting the whole world, and all things that are therein, in their origin, essence, and end, what is called purely and strictly scientifically, that is, without God, without any invisible, supernatural, spiritual element, and simply and alone from the pure data of matter and force.[13]

One of the most important lessons from our study of worldview and culture can be learned right here. It is easy from our twenty-first century observation point to look back in hindsight over the last century and dismiss how powerful and insightful Bavinck's assessment really was. But how was he able to predict what was to come? What tools did he use to create his analysis? The answer to these questions is quite simple: he was a student of worldview and the cultures various worldviews produce.

Herman Bavinck understood that the lines of cultural conflict in the West were drawn along the boundaries of radically different worldviews. It was in the realm of ideas and the cultures to which those ideas gave birth that the forthcoming battles would be fought. The only long-term response to the cultural movements undermining Christian

13. "Creation or Development," *Methodist Review* LXXXIII (Nov.–Dec. 1901), pp. 849.

civilisation was to attack these competing worldviews at the level of their ideas. But in order for the Christian worldview to have any impact in this struggle the Christian worldview had to be developed to the point that it sufficiently addressed all the problems that the unbelieving worldviews raised, and it also had to be communicated to all levels of society and the Church, while at the same time serving as the foundation of the institutions and culture that would be set in opposition to the institutions and cultures that were then being built on the basis of the many alternative worldviews that were already expressing their hostility to the Christian faith. He saw that the forthcoming "conflict of spirits" was inevitable because he followed the line of ideas and worldview.

There are several important points that should be identified in Bavinck's quote above. The first, seen in his quotation of Goethe ("Faith and unbelief is the deepest theme of the history of the world"), is that *the clash of worldviews in the twentieth century was fundamentally predicated on believing the Christian message or rejecting it.*

We see that the conflict between Christian faith and unbelief is exactly the conflict seen in the Garden of Eden and repeated through the whole of Scripture and human history. Unbelief is nothing more than man's rejection of what God has to say about himself, man, and the world while substituting man's own ideal, thereby exalting the place of man to the place of God in the universe. Rejecting God's truth, man replaces it with his own and begins to order his world around his ideal, thereby building an unbelieving culture suffused with the hope of man's becoming god. In the book of Genesis Cain does this by building the first city, with his descendants extending this unbelieving culture even further.

The second point to be made is that *the unbelieving worldview Bavinck identified necessarily began extending itself through all areas of life and assuming a more hostile posture to the Christian culture and worldview from which it emerged.* The ideology that began growing within the Christian West grew in opposition to it. Because this worldview is rooted in an outright rejection of Christian truth it must grow more opposed to Christian culture as it grows more consistent in its application within culture. Bavinck recognised that this new worldview had begun reinterpreting everything within Western culture contrary to the Christian principles that had shaped the West for centuries, making the conflict within Western civilisation inevitable.

The final point related to Bavinck's prognosis for the twentieth century that we should take note of is that *because the battle is rooted in the realm of ideas and worldview, which is the reference point through which man views the whole world, the battle would be played out within Western culture and between the West and the world.*

The conflict that Bavinck predicted would not be limited to philosophy departments in universities or in fashionable debating societies, but on military battlefields. As the ideological hostility between the ideals of Christianity and humanism increased, so too would this hostility be worked out in culture. The battles and wars of the twentieth century would be the manifestation of the crisis of the Western mind, but it's most fundamental root would be in the confrontation between these competing worldviews, which had been building for several centuries.

The Worldview Wars

The history of the twentieth century is a testament to the foresight of Herman Bavinck, Abraham Kuyper, J. Gresham Machen and other Christian thinkers who identified the threat to the West and began cultivating the ideological resources to help fight the battles ahead. In decline and under tremendous pressure, the West would need help. The First World War inflamed Europe in an unprecedented conflict that killed millions in the trenches and on the battlefields and set the stage for the bloodshed that would continue.

In the wake of this tragedy, the diplomats of the world banded together in the League of Nations and pledged to eradicate conflict from the heart of man by moderating the ideas that had sparked the conflict. They went so far as to officially ban war altogether. But the worldview that had caused the "War to end all wars" was far from dead and was in fact shared and promoted by the same diplomats who formed the League of Nations. Solitary voices, such as Winston Churchill, predicted that a new war would come because the divide between the Christian and humanist worldviews, which was causing the crisis of the West, had not been eliminated but broadened.

The cultural prophets were proved right again. The Second World War proved even bloodier than the First, with the West fighting its enemies in Europe itself, as well as in North Africa, the Far East and the Pacific Islands. This time the fighting would claim more lives than just those of soldiers. Tens of millions of civilians would fall victim to the total warfare that ensued and twenty million more would be murdered by the brutal fascist regimes that defended and promoted the humanist worldview.

With those governments defeated the world thought that peace would reign. Diplomats gathered again and formed the United Nations in the hope of finding peaceful solutions to all of the world's conflicts in the spirit of the humanist brotherhood of man.

But again, it was Winston Churchill who told the world that the threat was far from over. Speaking at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, he delivered his famous "Iron Curtain" speech just months after the defeat of the Axis Powers, cautioning the West that Socialist ideology and the humanist worldview still threatened the world:

> From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia; all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject, in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and in some cases increasing measure of control from Moscow . . . In a great number of countries, far from the Russian frontiers and throughout the world, Communist fifth columns are established and work in complete unity and absolute obedience to the directions they receive from the Communist center. Except in the British Commonwealth and in the United States where Communism is in its infancy, the Communist parties or fifth columns constitute a growing challenge and peril to Christian civilisation . . . I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines . . . Last time I saw it all coming and I cried aloud to my own fellow countrymen and to the world, but no one paid any attention. Up till the year 1933 or even 1935, Germany might have been saved from the awful fate which has overtaken her and we

might all have been spared the miseries Hitler let loose upon mankind.

There never was a war in history easier to prevent by timely action than the one which has just desolated such great areas of the globe. It could have been prevented, in my belief, without the firing of a single shot, and Germany might be powerful, prosperous and honored today; but no one would listen and one by one we were all sucked into the awful whirlpool. We must not let it happen again.[14]

With the Soviet Union occupying the whole of Eastern Europe and the new Chinese Communist government advancing the humanist cause in Asia after 1949 the worldview that had caused both world wars breathed new deadly life. Churchill recognised once again that the cause of the confrontation with the Soviet Union was not the latter's intention of demonstrating sheer power and the exercise of violence, but the determination to put power and military might behind Soviet communist ideals and the subverting of the Christian culture that stood opposed to that effort. Having just defeated the powers of fascist ideology the Western world once more faced the challenge of recommitment to the Christian worldview or accommodating to its ideological enemy.

Just as the diplomats of Europe had made accommodations to Nazi Germany in the years leading up to the Second World War, the choice made by the West was for accommodation with the Soviet Union. The bloody results were the same. By 1951 the United Nations, the very organisation that had offered the promise of perpetual peace to the world, was sending troops into the conflict on the Korean Peninsula to fight back the Chinese-backed communist army in the first heated installment of the Cold War. In the four decades that followed, this ideological conflict would be played out over the entire world, with wars and revolutions fought in Korea, Vietnam, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. The Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 would demonstrate to the world how lethal the war of worldviews could be as mankind was brought to the brink of nuclear holocaust.

It was the vision expressed by President Ronald Reagan that embodied the hope of the West. Understanding the ideological nature of the Cold War conflict he perceived that communist ideology could not sustain the weight of the culture it created. With the help of ideological allies, like Margaret Thatcher in Britain and Helmut Kohl in Germany, Reagan engaged in the battle of ideas against the communist world. In a speech to the British House of Commons in 1982 he denounced the "Evil Empire" of the Soviet Union, invoking the words and spirit of Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech. In Berlin he stood in front of the Berlin Wall, which served as a monument to the divide of worldviews, and demanded that Soviet Premier Gorbachev tear down the wall; and in Moscow, Reagan defended the Christian faith in a debate with Russian atheist students.

Less than two years after leaving office Reagan's vision was vindicated as freedom swept through the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, freeing more than three hundred million souls from the shackles of the Communist culture and worldview. But with the battle won against the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe free, the toll of those killed by Communist governments during the Cold War conflict could be assessed. The figures are still staggering to contemplate. According to *The Black Book of Communism*, an 800-page book by French, Polish and Czech researchers detailing the horrors of Communist rule, more than 100 million people were murdered by communist regimes during the twentieth century—all victims of the ideological warfare that Herman Bavinck had predicted in 1901.

The warfare of worldviews in the twentieth century starkly manifested the principles we have identified. Not only did the nationalist, fascist, and communist ideologies pose a threat to the Christian worldview; by their nature they were directly opposed to it, seeking the destruction of Christian culture.

Every worldview is predicated on the foundational question of whether it acknowledges what God has said or rejects the divine revelation. The answer to this question gets worked out in culture, and as the actions resulting from an unbelieving worldview grow more consistent and more hostile to the Christian faith, the culture built upon the rejection of the Christian worldview is turned in opposition to it. The warfare we see in history with the decline of Western civilisation is the outworking of the conflict of worldviews. The battle in the realm of ideas continues to rage today. As was seen throughout the twentieth century, to ignore the warfare of worldviews is to invite destruction.

6. The Crisis of Western Civilisation

As the world emerged from the blood-dripped twentieth century and entered not only a new century but also a new millennium the talk of peace had never been higher. All of that changed on September 11, 2001. The terrorist attacks that rocked America that day also announced that the battle of worldviews was far from over. An ancient enemy of the Christian West—Islam—has identified the present to resume the fight for ideological dominance after more than a century of dormancy. But with the West having successfully defended itself against Nationalism in the First World War, against Fascism in the Second World War, and against Communism in the Cold War, why have Muslims decided to recommence their assault on the West?

The answer is that while the West fought off cultural challengers from without during the twentieth century, it had failed to recover the Christian worldview that Western culture had been built upon. In America today we can watch the dismantling of our country's historic Christian culture before our eyes. Moment by moment in America the remnants of the Christian worldview are being sandblasted off the edifice of the American cultural conscience. Not since the time preceding the Reformation of the sixteenth century has the Christian worldview seemed weaker. Islam, seeing this, has chosen now for the time of its attack.

The crisis of Western civilisation is the crisis of worldview

The West is waning because the Christian worldview is declining, and the rise of the humanist worldview in its place is evident everywhere: contrary to our country's founding on personal freedom and responsibility, citizens are growing in their dependency on the government to control their daily lives and provide for their daily needs; in commerce the evolutionary survival of the fittest has become the reigning corporate ethic; in society the bedrock institution of the

14. Iron Curtain Speech, March 5, 1946.

family is under tremendous pressure from without, as alternative forms of family are recognised by our court system, and from within, as astounding levels of divorce rip families apart; in our justice system, where prison populations are at the highest levels seen in human history; in our media, as we grow desensitised to the violence and depravity on TV and movie screens and in our music; in literature, as the narratives of our culture have been deconstructed and replaced with humanist propaganda; in our educational system, where standards have been intentionally lowered so that many high school and college graduates enter the workforce with virtually no working knowledge or intellectual skills sufficient to operate in today's high-tech market; and in morality, as relativism empowers individuals to justify shocking acts of selfishness against others.

These signs are universal because they represent a breakdown in worldview. A worldview is the comprehensive interpretive grid for all of reality, and when a worldview is waning its effects will be felt and seen everywhere. Western culture is suffering the consequences of its shifting worldview. The crisis has been caused because the cultural institutions and social structures of the West that were the outgrowth of the Christian worldview have been redirected along the lines of the humanist worldview, which has infiltrated and extended Western culture in a direction that the social structure cannot bear. Headed in this direction, cultural collapse is inevitable. Western tradition is rooted in the Christian tradition, and as the West has moved away from its moorings the social tension has increased to breaking point.

Even fifty years ago this internal collapse of the West was understood by Christian observers and the cause properly identified: "The knowledge and skill of Modern Civilization have outrun the moral and spiritual resources for their direction and control."[15]

So in answer to the obvious question of why our culture is in crisis, we must admit that Western civilisation has been hijacked. As Bavinck, Kuyper, Machen and others identified long ago, this take-over occurred on the level of life and worldview and necessarily spread into the whole of Western culture. The crisis of the West can be directly tied to the successful assault of the humanist worldview in the attempt to control the social structures produced by the Christian culture of the West and to redirect them towards man's own ends rather than the glory of God. The Christian views on God, man and the world have been replaced by humanist ideals that promote the divinity of humanity by proclaiming the non-existence or absence of God in history and Creation, thereby giving them the authority to impose their ideals on the rest of humanity and the world itself. The whole of Creation and culture is then placed at the service of this humanistic ideal.

But the cultural supports of the West are unable to support this worldview shift. Western civilisation is on the brink of collapse not because of any failure inherent in the Christian worldview, but because the humanist worldview that has replaced the Christian worldview in the West cannot sustain the weight of the culture it has produced. The result of the divorce between the Christian worldview and Christian culture has been despair and disintegration, and humanism can only respond with more intense devotion to its man-centred religion despite the fact that it lacks the spiritual resources to combat the problem.

But those still living according to the Christian worldview have the ability to see through the ideological smokescreen to see the weakness of the humanist system:

> Today the confident faith of Humanism can be seen to be a transparent delusion. Humanism's control of the cultural agenda is proving the death of culture and civilization. Western Man is morally rudderless on a vast ocean that is being swept by fierce gales, and the leaky vessel that constitutes his civilization shows alarming signs of breaking apart.[16]

The humanist worldview has never been successful in the long-term at transforming a culture. One only need to look at the violent rise and sudden collapse of both the Nazi Third Reich, which lasted less than twenty years, and the Soviet Union, which endured for seven decades, to see that even the most determined efforts to support a culture predicated on the humanist worldview have been futile. Furthermore, it took several hundred years for Christianity to transform Western culture to the point at which it was able to express itself as the culturally dominant worldview and to capture the social institutions of the West—a significant investment of time, resources and commitment towards the enterprise. Yet the damage humanism inflicts upon humanity even in the short time it survives necessitates confrontation by the Christian worldview.

One Christian historian, Basil Willey, has traced the gradual worldview transformation over the centuries, but notes that the deliberate and systematic construction of the humanist enterprise could not prevent the internal inconsistencies of the ideology from eventually undermining the effort:

> Berdyaev has suggested that humanism, considered as "the elevation and setting up of man in the centre of the universe," contains within it a "self-destructive dialectic"; it first glories in human lordship over Nature, then merges man in Nature, and finally discovers that it has made him Nature's slave, subject to Nature's indifference and determinism . . . Only by remembering his orientation towards God can man ever play his assigned part in the natural order without disaster.
>
> During the last three or four centuries humanism may be said to have passed through three well-marked stages, of which the last two are stages of progressive de-Christianisation. First you have the God-centered humanism of men like Erasmus, Hooker, Donne, Milton, or Locke. Next, the man-centered humanism of the eighteenth century, of the Encyclopaedists, of Hume, and of the idealistic romantic poets and philosophers. At this stage morality ceases to be dependent upon supernatural sanctions, and becomes either utilitarian—that is, a matter of the consequences of actions in terms of well-being or happiness, or a matter of the Kantian imperative—that is, of obedience to the law of man's own nature. Man is still felt, however, in virtue of his reason and imagination, to retain contact with a transcendental order, and thus to preserve his traditional dignity and his superiority to the purely natural order. Finally, you have the positivist stage represented by Comte, Mill, Marx and their followers, in which all possibility of contact with metaphysical reality is denied, man becomes God, and Humanity a religion.
>
> The outcome of all this is what we see around us in the world today—the moral and spiritual nihilism of the modern world . . . You cannot continue for ever to stand upon a branch which you

15. H. P. Van Dusen, *God in Education* (NY: Scribners, 1951), p. 17.

16. Michael W. Kelley, *The Impulse of Power: Formative Ideals of Western Civilization* (Minneapolis: Contra Mundum Books, 1999), p. 16.

are sawing away from the parent tree. Without a religious basis, humanism can find no grounds for the very values it proclaims.[17]

This lengthy quotation is instructive for our purposes for several reasons. First, it identifies the fundamental premise of humanism: the divinity of man and his central role as interpreter of the universe. By proclaiming his own role as interpreter of the universe man makes himself god. Seen on this level the clash between the Christian and humanist worldviews is a clash between the realism of God's revelation about the world and man's idealism, which is contrary to that revelation. It is precisely because it relies on this idealism rather than the revealed reality communicated by God that humanism's entire enterprise is doomed to failure. Unbelieving man wages war against reality.

The second observation is that man, interpreting the world entirely on the basis of his own ideal, then begins to impose that ideal on the world around him. In order to express his sovereignty over the universe man begins to structure the world around him, i.e. he begins building culture according to his ideal. The difficulty is that the ideal doesn't match the created world around him, prompting crisis, and ultimately destruction. Because his worldview doesn't match the created structure of the world, rather than acknowledging God's order and living according to it, man must begin destroying nature so that he can express his divinity in recreating the world in his image. In the humanist worldview this is the process identified as "creative destruction."

A third observation relates to the sequence of the ideological breakdown in the West. In the first stage that Willey identifies as the initiating break with Christian tradition it was well-intentioned Christians that began the ideological trend, not by severing all ties with Christianity, but acknowledging that certain areas of thought and reason could operate autonomously from revealed truth. Once that breach was formed in their worldview it allowed them in the succeeding stages of thought to distance themselves from revealed truth in all other areas of thought. Eventually, the break was entire, making the clash of Christian culture and humanist culture certain.

At this juncture we should recognise a fundamental axiom that is seen repeatedly working in history: *cultures decay from within*. Whether you are discussing the pharaonic dynasties of ancient Egypt, the fall of the Roman Empire, or the transition of German culture in the nineteenth century, this rule is continuously proved to be true. This is the case with Western culture in general

Finally, the quotation above emphasises that even the humanist worldview must depend on Christian truths in order to make the system work. God's created order is inescapable even for the humanist, and it must be accounted for in order for any worldview to work in culture. Humanists would be more successful at trying to defy the law of gravity than ignoring God's created order. The accommodations that any unbelieving worldview makes create contradictions within the system that doom it to paradox and failure. One reason for the current Western crisis is that as humanism captured greater segments of culture and expressed greater hostility to Christianity its reliance on elements taken from the Christian worldview effectively prevented it from ever being fully consistent. In order for it to be fully consistent it must abandon many of its foundational assumptions, which it has not done because to do so would be to make the humanist worldview meaningless and irrelevant. Therefore, the inability to resolve the internal contradictions within the humanist worldview causes despair because humanism's only retreat is to irrationality. This despair is what launches a campaign of creative destruction in an attempt to destroy Creation and anyone not sharing the humanist faith, thereby initiating the cycle of violence seen in the First and Second World Wars, the conflicts of the Cold War, and the new age of terrorism. This violence from within and without Western culture is a manifestation of the present ideological crisis of the twenty-first century and the corresponding breakdown of the humanist worldview.

The Roots of Western Cultural Decay

Thus far we have identified the sequence of how the Christian worldview of the West fractured in history and how this created a crisis in Western culture, but we have only briefly investigated the root causes of why it happened. What factors were at work when the break was first made from the Christian worldview; what attitudes played a role in the redirection of Western civilisation; and what was the ultimate impact of this movement on the Christian religion? One Christian commentator offers this analysis:

> Since the latter part of the eighteenth century there has developed within the frontiers of what is still called Christendom a situation new in the history of mankind, there being now millions of men and women in all our communities who profess no religious faith, take part in no religious observance, and have connexion with no religious institution . . . The causes of this situation are usually sought in the radical change which overtook so many of the acutest minds in Europe during the eighteenth century and which has prompted those most affected by it to speak of that period as the century of Enlightenment (*Illuminisme*, *Aufklärung*). Of course the new outlook has origins much farther back in the Renaissance and later Middle Ages, and it is to be found in a comparatively advanced form of development in not a few thinkers of the seventeenth century; but it was in the latter half of the eighteenth that it attained both its maturity and the beginning of its present widespread dissemination. The change amounts to the substitution of an entirely new mental frame of reference for that which Christianity had provided for the European mind during the previous fifteen hundred years. The essential ideas constituting this new frame are that the present world is an eminently satisfactory world—even perhaps, as Leibniz thought, "the best of all possible worlds"; that human nature, too, is fundamentally good and capable of progressive improvement—even perhaps, as Condorcet and Godwin thought, to the extent of "perfectibility"; that human society can be similarly improved or perfected; that a principal, if not the principal, means of such progress is the control, by means of the new empirical science, of the forces of nature; and that this control is possible because nature, instead of being subject to the special dispositions of Providence, is a uniform system conforming to invariable laws such as can be discovered by patient observation and experiment.
>
> This system of co-ordinate ideas was not at first conceived in its entirety, hence it was not at first realized how radically it differed from the traditional Christian system or what an entirely changed mental and emotional setting it would, when completed, provide for all our thinking and living; and most of those who took an early part in the creation of it did not dissociate themselves from the Christian Church . . . Nevertheless, when the new direction of thought was given its head, it found its way very easily into an

17. Basil Willey, *Christianity, Past and Present* (Cambridge University Press, 1952), pp. 79–83.

intellectual climate very inhospitable to the fundamental Christian ideas and attitudes; and as this climate gradually extended itself throughout further areas of the community, an increasing detachment from Christian belief was bound to be the result.[18]

From this insightful assessment of the transition from the historic Christian worldview of the West to the unbelieving worldview, we discover that this transition is directly tied to a gradual detachment from the Christian religion. As we have already seen, worldview is an aspect of our worship; the two are intimately intertwined. As Christians began to distance themselves from the consequences of the Christian worldview this was reflected in their worship. Seeing aspects of their lives apart from God and his revelation, they developed new ideas about God, man and the world and commenced to live them out in their culture. This slowly drove the wedge between the Christian worldview and the Christian culture deeper, creating an even deeper divide in the West. We see the unfortunate process develop: *as man detaches areas of his life and thought from the Christian religion, this results in a detachment of his religion from his culture and the creation of a competing culture that claims dominion for interpreting and ordering the universe, instigating an even greater breach between man and his religion that will produce complete cultural collapse.* The only reversal of the process involves a whole-hearted recommitment to the worship of the Triune God and conforming our thoughts (and thereby our culture) to the Christian worldview.

The detachment of Christian culture from Christian worship is the root of the decay seen in Western civilisation. This highlights the fact that worldview, worship and culture are directly interrelated: as Christian worship and worldview wane, so does culture. The outworking of religion in culture is one of the forgotten truths lost during the decline of the West. At its most basic foundation religion is the motive for culture, as it is fuelled by the ideas that rise from the religious worldview. The great Roman Catholic philosopher, Christopher Dawson, explains it this way:

> In all ages the first creative works of a culture are due to a religious inspiration and dedicated to a religious end. The temples of the gods are the most enduring works of man. Religion stands at the threshold of all the great literatures of the world. Philosophy is its offspring and is a child which constantly returns to its parent. And the same is true of social institutions. Kingship and law are religious institutions and even today they have not entirely divested themselves of their numinous character, as we see in the English coronation rite and in the formulas of our law courts. All the institutions of family and marriage and kinship have a religious background and have been maintained and are still maintained by formidable social sanctions.[19]

Culture is religion and worldview externalised. The state of religion will determine the nature of the culture. This is a fundamental axiom seen working in history. To reverse the transformation of the West into a secular humanist nightmare the Christian Church must recommit herself to Christian worship and to the Christian worldview, realising that the two are indivisible. Proper worship and a consistent worldview that flows from it is the transforming force needed to establish Christian culture. Nothing less will suffice.

18. John Baillie, *What Is Christian Civilization?* (London: Oxford University Press, 1945), pp. 25–27.

19. Christopher Dawson, *Religion and Culture* (New York: Meridian, 1960), p. 50.

Why Should Christians Care About the West?

This brings us to the final discussion of this section. Why should Christians be concerned about Western culture at all? Shouldn't Christians just be focused on the gospel? This is an honest question, and there are many Christians that are content to write Western civilisation off entirely. From a narrow point of view this position is understandable. We all can probably agree that the West is not Christianity, and Christianity is not the exclusive property of the West. In many ways, the West has forfeited any claim it may have had to represent Christian culture. At the beginning of the twenty-first century the West is virtually no different from any other part of the world. As we have seen, the crisis in the West has brought the most violent warfare mankind has ever seen to most parts of the world, and the ideologies that have arisen from this crisis in the West have inflicted terrors beyond imagining on a global scale. There doesn't seem much to fight for when those factors are the only ones under consideration. But there is another perspective.

In response to the Christians who feel that our focus should be purely on "preaching the gospel" to the exclusion of cultural renewal and living out a consistent Christian worldview in the world, J. Gresham Machen had this to say:

> The vast majority of those who reject the Gospel do so simply because they know nothing about it. But whence comes this indifference? It is due to the intellectual atmosphere in which men are living. The modern world is dominated by ideas which ignore the Gospel. It is out of all connection with it: It not only prevents the acceptance of Christianity, it prevents Christianity even from getting a hearing.[20]

We see here that the issue of "preaching the gospel" is directly related to transforming culture. Presently, there are many obstacles to the gospel created by the declining culture that inhibit non-Christians from hearing the life-transforming truths of God's word. This is not accidental. As we have discussed, humanism as an ideology is opposed to the truths of the Christian faith and it has successfully prevented the communication of the gospel by the Church and the reception of it in Western culture. As the gospel becomes a challenge to that worldview it will erect additional obstacles in culture that the Church must overcome in order for the gospel to get a hearing by unbelievers. To ignore the role of culture in the preaching of the gospel is to allow the primary obstacles to its reception to go unchallenged and to subvert the Great Commission.

Another consideration to be made is that Christians are immersed in this declining culture, with the result that the Church has followed the trends of the world rather than the world responding to the proclamation of the gospel. The direct consequence of this movement is that the gospel itself has been revised by Christians in an effort to create a peaceful coexistence with the world. This corrupting attitude is repeatedly condemned in both the Old and New Testaments, as we see in this stinging rebuke by the apostle James: "You adulterous people! Do you not know that friendship with the world is enmity with God? Therefore whoever wishes to be a friend of the world makes himself an enemy of God" (James 4:4).

20. Machen, *Christianity and Civilization*, p. 55.

We can never ignore the fundamental conflict between the Christian faith and all other worldviews. If we are not fighting for the renewal of Western culture through worship and worldview we still cannot avoid the opposing pressures that the world places on us. The hostility expressed by unbelieving worldviews and cultures is not just theoretical but real. It gets played out in our communities and in our relationships. The struggle to direct the structure of Creation and the whole of our lives towards their proper end—the glory of God—will always come with fierce opposition.

We must also admit that we cannot ignore culture because we are in the midst of it. When Jesus said that the Kingdom of God is not *of* this world (Jn 18:36) he was talking of the origins of the Kingdom, not the location of it; and he was necessarily implying that the Kingdom of God is *in* this world. Furthermore, on this occasion when Jesus spoke about the world (*cosmos*), he was not drawing a contrast between the material and spiritual realms but was commenting on the moral character of the world—its badness.

We live in a culture of crisis and despair, and we are affected by it. Because it wars against us we are often presented with the temptation to live less self-consciously as Christians, or at least more quietly. But we must understand that accommodating to the pressures of our present culture never satisfies the enmity directed against the Christian worldview. In order for our Christian witness to have any meaning the implications of our worldview must be displayed in culture, as Jesus himself states in the Sermon on the Mount:

> You are the salt of the earth, but if salt has lost its taste, how shall its saltiness be restored? It is no longer good for anything except to be thrown out and trampled under people's feet. You are the light of the world. A city set on a hill cannot be hidden. Nor do people light a lamp and put it under a basket, but on a stand, and it gives light to all in the house. In the same way, let your light shine before others, so that they may see your good works and give glory to your Father who is in heaven. (Mt. 5:13–16)

Here Jesus points quite clearly to the demonstration of our faith in the world and before men and the immediate connection with our worship of God.

Worldview is worship

A city on a hill cannot be hidden, and the people of God are manifest by the cultures they build and maintain. Throughout the history of Western civilisation, when Christians retreated from the world they ceased being salt and light, and the whole of Christian religion suffered as a result. But when considering the state of culture the stakes are just as high: the fate of Western civilisation is tied directly to the health of the Christian religion. Only the truths of the gospel of Christ and the cultural preservation and progress that it brings can keep Western culture from imploding into darkness and historical oblivion.

As Christians we must consider our role in the unmaking of the West. Because the health of our religion correlates to the health of the culture we must take full responsibility for the cultural decay and moral erosion that increasingly encircles the remnants of Christian culture in the West. It is because we have indulged in the trappings of the competing cultures of humanism and paganism that our worship and devotion has been culturally ineffective. The cultural forces of darkness can never prevail over the truths of the gospel—Christians must first concede defeat through their moral compromise and indifference to their spiritual sickness. It is only then that humanism and paganism can attain any cultural and devotional gains.

We must admit our cultural failures. For us Christians the unmaking of the West is our own doing; it has been the work of Christians, not unbelievers. Rather than being salt and light, we have willingly allowed the religion of man to obstruct and obscure the worship of the Triune God. This compromise first began in our hearts; it then spread to our Christian Churches and communities; now the religious accommodations we have made are played out in the world around us.

Why then are we constantly surprised at the cultural gains made by humanism and paganism in the West? Because we have lost sight of the connection between our worldview and our worship. Even today we still ignore the admonition of the apostle James that we cannot be friendly with the world without expressing hostility to the cause of Christ. We must either be about transforming culture beginning with the renewal of our minds and being conformed to Christ, or else we must be transformed by the world.

The only solution to our cultural dilemma in the West is actively to reclaim and recommit our lives to Christ. Spiritual passivity and cultural indifference are born from our unbelief. Our lives and our worldview must be changed. While continuing to wallow in our growing unbelief, our corresponding cultural failures give rise to forces that aim to control and deform us. As unbelieving culture increases its reach into our lives, inflicting its dehumanising effects on our souls, we all face the choice of submitting to the world

or to Christ. There is no way to avoid the coming conflict of cultures. As the Christian Church has seen repeatedly over the past two centuries, when she refuses to be salt and light to the world the counter-culture that surrounds the community of believers increases its hostility. The assaults will no longer be directed against just our spiritual beliefs, but against the institution of the Church and the gospel altogether, with our entire lives at stake. To do nothing against the cultural chaos that looms larger in the world today is certainly and inevitably to make ourselves victims of it. Our spiritual lethargy is endangering our very lives.

But the present situation is far from hopeless. On the positive side we should consider that the process of the recovery of Western culture and the redirection of it to its original Christian roots involves the invigoration and promotion of the Christian religion and worldview. When the gospel is proclaimed it changes lives and it changes cultures. But in that proclamation, for the gospel to have its full effect we must promote the comprehensive change in worldview that necessarily accompanies the lifelong process of discipleship. To preach anything less than the extensive authority of Christ over our lives and his comprehensive claim over the whole of Creation is to truncate the transforming power of the gospel. When we assert the comprehensive claims of Christ in the world, only then are we being faithful to the Great Commission. To engage the culture with the Christian worldview is to take seriously the Christian's chief end—to glorify God and to enjoy him forever.

We should also be heartened that humanism is a self-defeating ideology.[21] But this can only be fully discerned by the Christian worldview. Because everyone has been created in the image of God there is a point at which humanity will rejecting humanism's dehumanisation. The sheer brutality and cultural bankruptcy that is inextricably tied to humanism's ideological and cultural agenda cannot be sustained for long. Much like the Greek god Cronus, humanism must eat its own children. When that happens the children revolt, as was seen a decade ago in Eastern Europe.

Those who understood the Christian worldview and its connection with Western culture were able to foresee the eventual doom of Communist humanism. More than half a century ago, the cultural prophets of the West could envision humanism's eventual demise and the challenge the Christian faith faced as a result:

> It is unlikely, then, that the Christian conscience of the West can long survive its present disseverance from its original setting of belief and its original nourishment of worship. There must either be some return to the integrity of the Christian outlook or a still further disintegration. The German Romanist philosopher, Dr. Peter Wust, has written eloquently of the "metaphysical terror" which he discerns behind the apparent complacency of recent Western civilization; but more recently still there have been many symptoms of what I might call a metaphysical hunger. A generation long accustomed to be fed on the ideal begins again its quest for the real. And here, if anywhere, I hold our hope to lie.[22]

It is important to note here that the response to the "metaphysical terror" of humanism, expressed in those days as Fascism and Soviet Communism, did not lead to a victory by default for Christianity. In fact, because Christians continued to isolate their faith from their culture alternative ideologies still captive to the religion of man gained dominance. In the West postmodernism and moral relativism, the wicked step-children of humanism, continued to feed the cultural decline. But these worldview successors have as little chance of succeeding in the long-term as humanism itself. What is the Christian Church to make of this?

Our response should be one of action and commitment to a full-orbed Christian faith. The despair of postmodernism has provided a door for the Church to walk through to communicate the ancient truths of the gospel in defiance of the religion of man. And unlike all competing ideologies Christianity can deliver on its cultural promises as long as Christians are willing to the do hard work of living out their lives in the light of the comprehensive claims of Christ over all Creation.

But the state of Western civilisation should not be our only concern when considering the spread of the gospel. We ought to recognise the rapid spread of Christianity throughout the non-Western world and the burgeoning Church movements that are capturing the minds and souls of millions around the world.[23] The rise of global Christianity will prove to be a formidable challenge to the religion of man during the twenty-first century.

We live in one of the most culturally transformative periods in the history of mankind, which presents special opportunities and poses unique challenges in advancing Christian culture. Perhaps the biggest opponent for the Church will continue to be Islam. But we should remember that the faults of humanism and postmodernism are part and parcel of the Islamic worldview as well. The stifling monism of the Muslim religion is not only similar to the failed secular worldviews, it is one in substance. The worldview is the same, which we see in the co-operation between the Islamic and humanist revolutionary movements throughout the southern hemisphere over the past century. As long as Christianity can mount a strong religious and cultural challenge to Islam the long-term progress of the gospel seems certain.

We should be grateful that we live in a day when we have seen before our very eyes the utter collapse of the revolutionary worldview that advanced humanist culture in the twentieth century. The past should give us courage. We should also remember that the Christian Church has faced and overcome a number of cultural crises during the past two millennia. Our history should give us grounds for hope. With such an extraordinary opportunity we must ask ourselves whether we are ready to meet the worldview challenge that will confront the Church during the twenty-first century. Our choice is clear: will Christians be able to capitalise on the worldwide retreat of previously prevailing worldviews, or will we continue to wallow in worldly compromise, leaving the global culture to its rapid descent. We have the option to engage ourselves in the world on the basis of a comprehensive Christian worldview, or be forced to fight for our very lives within the next generation. The stakes could not be higher for Christians worldwide. The stakes are even higher for Christians living in the afternoon shadow of the Christendom of Western civilisation.

Now the choice lies before us. *C&S*

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21. Anyone interested in a more detailed examination of this topic should read Alister McGrath, *The Twilight of Atheism: The Rise and Fall of Disbelief in the Modern World* (New York: Doubleday, 2004).

22. John Baillie, *What Is Christian Civilization?*, pp. 49–50.

23. See Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

THE EVANGELISTIC VISION AND LABOURS OF THE BROTHERS HALDANE

ROBERT HALDANE, (*b.* London, 1764; *d.* Edinburgh, 1842). JAMES ALEXANDER HALDANE (*b.* Dundee, 1768; *d.* Edinburgh, 1851).

by David Estrada

"Christianity is everything or nothing. If it be true, it warrants and commands every sacrifice to promote its influence. If it be not, then let us lay aside the hypocrisy of professing to believe it."—Robert Haldane[1]

IN Scotland, writes John Macleod,[2] when the great truths of the faith were not the staple of public preaching—as it was the case under eighteenth century Moderatism[3]—there went along with an unevangelical pulpit a neglect of the oversight of home instruction and so of congregational catechism. The ignorance of the gospel was so great in Scotland that it placed the country among the nations that called for urgent missionary endeavours. Was India or the African countries in greater need of missionaries than Scotland? When the General Assembly of 1796 declined to take concrete measures for the evangelisation of the world, the main argument adduced for such missionary inaction was the fact that there was quite enough for the Kirk to do about its own doors. It was indeed quite true that at that time Scotland was experiencing a great problem of "home heathenism." Those, however, that pleaded this as a reason for doing nothing to spread the gospel to the regions beyond hardly thought that they would be soon taken at their word and that inroads were to be made on the outfield of lapsed Christianity in Scotland. To meet the needs of a pagan situation the Kirk was remiss in making adequate provisions. Among those who were zealous for foreign mission work, but whose zeal was repressed, there were two brothers who became chosen vessels in the work of evangelism in the land of Knox: the brothers Haldane, Robert and James Alexander. The life and evangelistic labours of the Haldane brothers constitute another brilliant trophy of the gospel of grace in the history of Christianity in Scotland. Providence employed them as wonderful instruments in stirring up the Kirk at the period of its most profound stagnation.

BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

Of the brothers Haldane we have a lengthy biography written by lawyer James Alexander Haldane, Esq.—son of James Alexander, and nephew of Robert. The combination of two lives in one biography is somewhat unusual, but contrary to the apparent difficulty of having to keep apart the particular personal traits of the two brothers, the work successfully exhibits a distinct, individual profile of each, and at the same time portrays the remarkable similitude of character, experiences and goals of life that the two brothers shared. The work appeared in 1852 under the title: *Memoirs of the Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and of His Brother, James Alexander Haldane* by Alexander Haldane, Esq., (London: Hamilton, Adams and Co., 1852).[4] Throughout their lives there reigned a remarkable oneness of mind and of purpose. According to their biographer, between the brothers there was much similarity in point of talent and disposition, but there were also strong shades of difference. Both were bold, ardent, and energetic; but in the elder there was a greater infusion of habitual caution. One characteristic of Robert Haldane was that he seldom did anything in haste, and never attempted to effect two objects at the same time. His plans were seldom formed without much deliberation, but when once resolved, nothing stopped him. In both there was a deep, natural spring of genuine benevolence; but in the younger brother it was more apparent, and his affectionate friendship was in its generosity and disregard of self. While both were daring, James was most ready to carry his object

1. Alexander Haldane, *Memoirs of the Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and of His Brother, James Alexander Haldane* (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1852), p. 95.

2. John Macleod, *Scottish Theology in relation to Church History* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1974 [1943]), p. 222ff.

3. The Moderates, whose principal representatives were William Robertson and Hugh Blair, formed a group within the Established Church of Scotland during the eighteenth century known for their laxity in doctrine. In general they preached morals rather than Christian doctrine. Opposition to them resulted in the formation of the Secession and Relief Synods, and finally in the Free Church.

4. Our references and quotations, which will appear under *Memoirs*, are from the American edition published by Robert Carter & Brothers, New York, 1853 (1857). The work has been reprinted several times by the Banner of Truth Trust of Edinburgh. (The third edition appeared in 1990).

by a sudden dash, while Robert was more wary and thoughtful. Robert was not a man to take things for granted, or to adopt superficial views of any subject that interested him.

The Haldane family is one of the oldest in Scotland, and is thought to be of Danish or Norwegian origin. It covers a historical span of six centuries and comprises more than twenty generations of renowned aristocracy. The brothers Haldane were the nephews of Admiral Lord Duncan, on the one side, and of the famous Sir Ralph Abercromby on the other. Robert Haldane was the hereditary proprietor of one of the most beautiful estates in Scotland: the Airthrey Castle, north-east of Stirling. Robert Haldane improved the estate and under the design of Robert Adam—the leading Scottish architect of the 18th century—the castle became an architectonic jewel. Today the castle serves as administrative centre for the University of Stirling. In order to do and finance mission work in India, Robert sold his estate. But, as we shall see, the unsympathetic policy of the East India Company laid an embargo on his scheme.[5] Mrs. Haldane, the mother of the brothers, was a remarkable example of Christian piety. When left a widow it became her chief concern to bring up her children in "the nurture and admonition of the Lord." But when she died in 1774, the three children were scarcely old enough to fully appreciate the extent of their loss; Robert was ten years old, his younger brother scarcely six, while their only sister was eight. The two boys' education was well attended to. At home they had a resident tutor, the Rev. Dr. Fleming, who afterwards became one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and they also attended the grammar school at Dundee. In September 1777 the two boys enrolled at Edinburgh High School, where they boarded with the Rector of the School, the celebrated Dr. Adam, the author of the *Latin Grammar and Roman Antiquities* and other valuable works.

In 1785, in his seventeenth year, James Haldane joined the royal Navy and went to sea. Shortly after Robert also joined the navy, serving with his uncle Admiral Adam Duncan in the "Monarch." Both brothers took part in important naval enterprises and acquired considerable reputation by their bravery and personal merit. At that time the seaport of Gosport had become the headquarters of the Admiral Duncan, and while at land the Haldanes attended the ministry of Dr. David Bogue, a Scottish Presbyterian minister, who later became an independent pastor at that city. The spiritual and intellectual influence of Dr. Bogue on both brothers was decisive in the course of their future lives. Dr. Bogue directed their course of reading and their choice of books, both on shore and at sea. On leaving the navy Robert spent some time under Bogue's tuition, and then returned to Edinburgh University, where he remained for two sessions, following up his studies by making "the European grand tour" in the spring of 1785. In 1786 he settled down in his ancestral home of Airthrey. The following year he married Katherine Cochrane Oswald. The union was destined to prove long and happy, lasting nearly fifty seven years. Mrs. Haldane was singularly adapted to be a true helpmeet in all his future plans. In 1787, their daughter and only child was born. At Airthrey, he turned with characteristic intensity to country pursuits and determined to master agriculture, acquiring the reputation of being a better farmer than many with whom it had been the occupation of their lives. Like many young people of his generation Robert Haldane showed great interest for the French Revolution, but soon realised that the genuine revolt that could effectively change the lives of people was of a spiritual nature, and inseparably connected with the preaching of the gospel. Consequently, his heart and mind became more and more engrossed with religion.

James A. Haldane was a skilful navigator, a good seaman and an officer of superior talents. In 1794 he returned with his wife to Scotland and shortly after went to Edinburgh where he was influenced by John Campbell and other lay preachers who worked in the Grassmarket among the poorest classes. Unlike his elder brother, who preached little and never became a minister, James became an ordained pastor and an active evangelist, organising a series of preaching tours which took him throughout Scotland up to the remotest districts of the Highlands. There was hardly a village or city in Scotland that had not heard the gospel from his lips in his numerous missionary tours. James, like his brother, also found in his wife a wonderful helpmeet. They were the parents of eight children, and their home was an example of joyous piety and loving hospitality.

Another salient point in the biography of the brothers Haldane was their conversion, nearly at the same time when they had less intercourse and mutual influence than at any other period of their lives, and by means and agencies entirely different. This coincident and almost simultaneous conversion of the two brothers, under circumstances and by means entirely unalike, when taken in connection with their subsequent co-operation in the "labour of love" for more than half a century, has certainly the aspect of a special divine guidance, giving shape and character to lives which, a little while before, had every probability of being spent in purely secular pursuits and pleasures. Their conversion was neither sudden nor violent. It was the act of God, and, as such mysterious in its origin, decisive in its character, and effectual in its results. The good seed had been deeply implanted in their hearts by the loving piety of an affectionate and God-fearing mother. After their conversion they were in close touch with the Evangelical circle that moved about John Erskine in Edinburgh, and the similar group that were the friends of John Newton in London.[6]

The banner of evangelism

While residing in Edinburgh, James Haldane became acquainted with some Christian laymen that exercised a powerful influence in his life and ministry. Among these, a foremost place must be given to Mr. John Campbell and to Mr. John Aikman, two men who were afterwards his own coadjutors in the gospel, and whose holy zeal and indefatigable labours continued, though in different spheres, to the end. John Campbell was a well educated businessman who had a large ironmonger's shop overlooking the Grassmarket of Edinburgh. Earnest, single hearted, prayerful, and devoted to his heavenly Master, this indefatigable and dedicated man was enabled to achieve more for the kingdom of Christ than many other Christians of far loftier station and more commanding abilities. He was a living model of a "city

5. The whole of the estate was not disposed of. The lands retained, amounting to nearly a third of the value of the whole property sold, were let on leases, like other estates in Forfarshire.

6. *Memoirs*, 90 91.

missionary," a district visitor, a Scripture reader, a Sabbath school founder and teacher, long before Christians had learned to unite themselves together in societies to promote these goals. His warehouse was then the only repository in Edinburgh for religious tracts and evangelical periodicals, and became a point of reunion for all who took an interest in the kingdom of Christ. Mr. Campbell was afterwards to become a missionary in remote regions of Africa. He maintained a close personal friendship with the venerable John Newton, the friend of William Cowper, for nearly twenty years and kept regular correspondence with many eminent laymen in London, such as Macaulay, Hardcastle, Grant, and Wilberforce. John Aikman was also a man of good talents and education, and well acquainted with modern languages. Besides these, other gifted men who joined James Haldane in the evangelistic tours all over Scotland were the Rev. Charles Simeon and Mr. Innes.

In those days there was much dispute as to the lawfulness of lay preaching on the part of men who had not been officially sent by the Church. James Haldane and his companions took their commission from the obligation imposed on every believer to proclaim to others the gospel of salvation. In some sense, the office of an evangelist is imposed on every Christian in whatever sphere he moves. Every believer is bound, in his family and among his friends, to make known to others the glad tidings of salvation. In Acts 8:1–4, we find that "all were scattered abroad, except the apostles; and they that were scattered went everywhere preaching the word." In their Gospel testimony, the evangelists do not usurp nor intrude into the pastor's office. In Ephesians 4:11, the apostle Paul clearly says that "there were some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers."

The ministers in Edinburgh soon became afraid of the consequences of lay preaching, and prevailed on the National Assembly of 1799 to pass an Act prohibiting anyone from preaching who had not been educated and licensed by the Kirk. Itinerants and Sunday school teachers were delivered over to the hands of the civil power, and it was not through any forbearance on the part of the Assembly that this power was not exercised in the form of open persecution. This Act was rescinded by the unanimous decision of the last General Assembly held before the Disruption in 1843. According to the Rev. Mr. Guthrie, the Act of 1799 was one of the blackest acts the Church of Scotland ever passed, and it was passed, not to exclude heresy from the pulpits, but to exclude truth. In the words of Dr. Robert Candlish, "the Act was framed for the very purpose of excluding from the pulpits of the Church men whom it would have been an honour to any Church to employ in preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ."[7]

At that time the spiritual condition of the Kirk was at a low ebb. Some historians refer to those days as "the midnight of the Church of Scotland." Great numbers of the population had lost contact with the Church and lived immersed in total ignorance of Christianity. The congregations rarely amounted to a tenth of the parishioners, and the one half of this small number were generally, during the soporific "sermons," fast asleep. Compelled by an urgent sense of need, James Haldane and his friends determined to visit every village, town, and city of Scotland in order to preach the gospel. They travelled at their own expense in a light open carriage purchased for the occasion. They were largely provided with religious tracts and pamphlets, which they also themselves wrote and printed for the purpose. They preached in chapels, in churchyards, in town halls, in the open air, at market crosses, by the seashore, or by the river's side. The multitudes that gathered to hear them sometimes surpassed the number of six thousand people. On a certain occasion practically the whole city of Aberdeen turned out to hear the "East India Captain Haldane." Sometimes the local religious and civil authorities refused to grant permission to celebrate the meetings. At Fort George, for instance, the Governor declined permission to preach to the soldiers, on the ground that "he never heard a sermon in any fort on a weekday."[8] In their first tour to the North they preached in fifteen of the Orkney Islands, where there was scarcely an instance of the gospel being faithfully preached, nor the people catechised for forty years. The details of this memorable tour, writes our biographer, "may be forgotten; but the extent of the blessing will never be known till the number of the elect shall be accomplished, and the Lord shall hasten his coming." The tour marked a turning point in the religious panorama: the slumbers of a careless and worldly clergy had been broken, and the attention of the people had been aroused to the preaching of the Gospel. In spite of the negative reaction of the Moderates in the Kirk—"filled with indignation"—the itinerating system had become decidedly popular with the multitude. It was evident that a great awakening had begun in Scotland and the fruits of conversion were quite apparent in the land.[9] In 1797 James joined his brother Robert and some other laymen in the founding of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home." The purpose of this society was to build chapels or "tabernacles" for the newly formed congregations, to support missionaries and to provide theological training for young evangelists. The labours of the Society were greatly blessed. One of its principles was that its itinerants and catechists should make no public collections, or take money privately from those among whom they preached. Public subscriptions for its support were received, but to a very limited extent, for by far the greater part of the funds were supplied by Mr. Robert Haldane.

In the summer of 1798 Mr. James Haldane and Mr. Aikman set off on their second extensive tour. This time they went to the west and south of Scotland. Multitudes flocked to hear the gospel, and to the hearts of many it was brought home with converting power. Shortly after James Haldane and his companion undertook another evangelistic tour to the north. At this time James had already been appointed pastor of the Circus Church, in Edinburgh. In accepting the call he expressly stipulated that this should not prevent his labouring as an evangelist in "the high land." In four weeks, he had preached more than sixty times, often in the open air, to great multitudes. When Dr. M'Crie, the celebrated historian of John Knox, and of the Reformation in Spain and Italy, went to Kirkwall to ordain a minister, he had the opportunity to ascertain the great blessings of the itinerant preaching and was deeply moved by the simplicity and directness of personal appeal which characterised the preach-

7. Dr. Cunningham, who moved the overture, spoke of it as "eminently discreditable to the Church of Scotland, amounting to nothing less than a hatred to the cause of evangelical truth." *Memoirs,* 235, 236.

8. *Memoirs,* 124, 125, 143, 151.

9. *Memoirs,* 177, 181, 185.

ing of Mr. J. Haldane and Mr. Aikman. The evangelistic tours were continued in the following years and were attended with great spiritual results. The evangelistic endeavours of the itinerant preachers were always accompanied with the distribution of tracts. James and his companions were well aware of the important role that during the sixteenth century the distribution of tracts played in the progress of the Reformation in Germany and in other countries of the Continent. The same can be said of the Reformation in England—and at a later period of the Puritans, who also made use of tracts to make known their doctrinal views. The Edinburgh Tract Society, which preceded the great Society in London by several years, had been formed, chiefly, through the active zeal of the indefatigable Mr. John Campbell.[10] James Haldane and John Aikman wrote several tracts and short evangelistic sermons that reached wide circulation in Scotland.

In order to meet the need to instruct children, and even adults, in the knowledge of the Scriptures, under the leadership of James Haldane "The Sabbath School Society" was founded in Edinburgh in 1797. As already stated, the forerunner of this project had been Mr Campbell, who began to institute this type of school in Edinburgh and its neighbourhood already in the middle of that decade. Also under the leadership of James Haldane, in January of 1799, the Circus Church was founded at Edinburgh as a preaching centre. It was a place to seat over a thousand people. One month later James was ordained pastor of the recently formed congregation. Mr. James Haldane, writes his biographer "never aspired to be the leader of a denomination. His ambition was of a higher and holier order. But he was the first minister of the first church formed amongst the new Congregationalist Churches of Scotland." No sooner had James accepted the pastorate of the Circus, his brother Robert, foreseeing that the building would soon become too small for the evangelistic activities programmed, proceeded to erect for him a more spacious place of worship on a site purchased at the head of Leith Walk, Edinburgh, which, after the fashion of Mr. Whitfield's chapels, was called the Tabernacle. Built by Adam Black, a member of the Circus Church, it was larger than any of the city churches. Under the supervision and leadership of James Haldane other tabernacles were also built at Glasgow and Dundee.[11]

In order to meet the fast growing need of ministers and evangelists, three seminaries were founded: at Glasgow, Dundee and Edinburgh. For this the Haldane brothers counted with the valuable help of Mr. Aikman, Mr. Campbell, and, later, with other theological scholars. The grand objective proposed by the zealous originators of the scheme was to qualify consecrated young men for going out "to the highways and hedges to preach the Gospel." The only qualifications for admission in these Bible schools were "genuine piety, talents susceptible of cultivation, and a desire to be useful to our fellow sinners by preaching and teaching to them the words of eternal life." All the expense of this project, as well as the support of theological students in Ireland, under the teaching ministry of Dr. Alexander Carson, were met by Mr. Robert Haldane. In these theological schools more than 300 young men were trained for the gospel ministry. Robert Haldane also undertook the founding and support of a theological school in Paris.[12]

Missionary zeal

Shortly after his conversion, Robert Haldane decided to become a missionary and found a mission in Bengal, India. The plan was grand and comprehensive, and by the sale of Airthrey, ample funds were to be provided for the project. No expense was to have been spared in furnishing all that was needed to achieve the contemplated goals: salaries for the missionaries and native teachers, for the instruction of native children, and for the translation and printing of the Bible and sound evangelical literature. In order to secure the necessary authorisation from the East India Company, always opposed to any Christian activity in that country, Haldane appealed to influential members of the British Government, but all the efforts were of no avail. The Directors of the East India Company, on the grounds of having "weighty and substantial reasons," rejected Haldane's proposal. Previously the Company had already rejected Wilberforce's proposal to appoint chaplains and schoolmasters for the British citizens working in India for the British Government.[13] Robert Haldane's character is remarkably exemplified by his conduct after meeting with this great disappointment. Instead of abandoning his schemes of usefulness, he simply changed their form and their direction, and pursued them with unabated zeal. Shortly after the failure of the mission plan for India, he became interested in John Campbell's idea of bringing over young Africans to Britain, with the view of educating them in the principles of Christianity, and sending them back to their native land imbued with the treasures of the Christian faith. Mr. Haldane volunteered to be responsible for the whole expense. Through the offices of the Governor of Sierra Leone, "twenty boys and four girls, all jet black, cheerful and happy" came to England. At that time, however, other people became involved in the project and interfered with the original plan of John Campbell. In the education of the children more attention was paid to their secular than religious education. The original plan came to nothing.

Experimental preaching and teaching

Of the preaching of James Haldane it was said that it was eminently *biblical, doctrinal, and experimental.* But the same expression could have been applied to the writing ministry of his brother Robert: it was eminently *biblical, doctrinal, and experimental.* The *experiential* apprehension of the gospel of salvation always held a relevant place in their preaching and in their understanding of the life of faith. They gave to the

10. The first public distribution of tracts in Scotland seems to have been made by the Rev. Charles Simeon, who, during his itinerant preaching made use of tracts in all the places where he spoke. One of his famous tracts, widely distributed all over Scotland, was entitled "Friendly Advice to all whom it may concern."

11. *Memoirs,* 217, 224, 274, 297.

12. *Memoirs,* 229, 300, 302. It is said that in twelve years (1798–1810) Robert Haldane spent over £70,000 in financial support for the founding of seminaries and the graduated students in their ministerial labours.

13. *Memoirs,* 96, 97, 98, 111, 105. Our biographer makes the following comment: "Happily, we have lived to see the day when these restrictions on the propagation of the Gospel have been swept away; and great as the glory which belongs to the name of Wilberforce for his labours in the cause of Africa, it may be said to have been eclipsed by the results of his zeal for Asia." (113)

heart a decisive role in the *rational* apprehension of all the contents of the biblical message. In the Foreword of Jay Green's 1970 edition of Haldane's *Commentary on Romans*,[14] Dr. D. M. Lloyd-Jones, wrote: "I always find it very difficult to decide as to which is the better commentary of this Epistle, whether that of Charles Hodge or this by Haldane. While Hodge excels in accurate scholarship, *there is greater warmth of spirit* and more practical application in Haldane. In any case, both stand supreme as commentaries on this mighty Epistle . . . Haldane was an orthodox of the first water, but his orthodoxy was blended with love and life." After the complete commentary on Romans appeared in 1839, the Rev. Mr. Halley, a distinguished scholar of the Kirk, wrote in the *Presbyterian Review*: "Mr. Haldane has never fallen into the too common mistake that in order to be rational, we must be cold—that in order rightly to investigate *we must cease to feel*—that in order [to grasp] what the mystery of Christ imports we must set aside, for a time, its warm and living influence on the active principles of inner man. On the contrary, amid much of clear and sound statement, of acute analysis, and of strong and energetic controversial writing, we meet, not infrequently, with profound practical remarks, with glowing and ardent descriptions of Gospel blessings, with those gentle breathings of sweetness, which show how fragrant to the mind of the writer is the message of mercy which is engaging his meditations . . ."[15]

The Church historian Merle d'Aubigné described Haldane's influence on himself in this way: "I met Robert Haldane and heard him read from an English Bible a chapter from Romans about the natural corruption of man, a doctrine of which I had never before heard. In fact I was quite astonished to hear of man being corrupt by nature. I remember saying to Mr Haldane, 'Now I see that doctrine in the Bible.' 'Yes,' he replied, 'but *do you see it in your heart*?' That was but a simple question, yet it came home to my conscience. It was the sword of the Spirit: and from that time I saw that my heart was corrupted, and knew from the Word of God that I can be saved by grace alone in Christ Jesus. So that, if Geneva gave something to Scotland at the time of the Reformation, if she communicated light to John Knox, Geneva has received something from Scotland in return in the blessed exertions of Robert Haldane." On his part Dr. Malan—another of the converts under Haldane's ministry in Geneva—made the following comment on Haldane's teaching: "You cannot form too high (*belle*) an idea of the *wonderful sweetness*, the staid prudence, which accompanied all the words and actions of this venerated man. His countenance was peaceful and serene. There was, in his expression, a charity so profound, that it was impossible, in his presence, to condemn or judge harshly of any one." In this connection, "Those who regarded Mr. Haldane merely as a controversialist little knew the depth of his benevolence, his comprehensive charity, and, above all, the settled peace and joy which he derived from the personal and unclouded appropriation of those doctrines of which he was so earnest and powerful a champion."[16]

The canon controversy

In the words of his biographer, "There was nothing more important in the history of Mr. Robert Haldane's labours, than what he did to establish the doctrine of plenary inspiration. To the authority of Scripture Mr. Haldane ever bowed with an unhesitating and supreme reverence. To the authority of man, when placed in competition with the Bible, he paid no respect at all." When the British and Foreign Bible Society was first instituted, its rules totally excluded the Apocrypha in all their Bibles. But in 1819 the Society began to print Bibles with the Apocrypha, either appended or intermingled, in order to gratify the views of Catholics, Greeks and even Protestants of some countries in Europe. At first Robert Haldane, through the instrumentality of the Edinburgh Society,—of which he was Vice-President—tried every effort to solve the question. The controversy lasted twelve years and led him to publish one of his best works: the *Evidences of Christianity* (1816), which at once reached a large circulation and passed through many editions. The work, centred around the validity of the canon and authority of the Bible, became a classic in Reformed dogmatics. He believed that the proofs of Christianity could only be properly set forth by those of whom it may be said that "the eyes of their understanding have been enlightened to know the exceeding riches of the grace of God in Jesus Christ"; and, further, that the evidences of the truth of Revelation ought to be studied by disciples, not because they doubt, but because they desire to know more of the certainty of those things which they most surely believe.[17] It was this controversy that brought him into close association and co-operation with Dr. Andrew Thomson, for many years an acknowledged leader of the evangelical party in the Kirk and editor of *The Christian Instructor*.

The refutation of Irvingism

While Robert Haldane was engaged in the defence of the biblical canon and in the doctrine of verbal and plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, his brother James was taking an active part in refuting the erroneous views of Edward Irving on the Lord's humanity. According to Irving, the flesh of Christ was, like ours, disposed to sin, although he was preserved from sin by the power of the Holy Spirit. He rested on the words: "being tempted in all things as a man." This, like many other declarations, argued Haldane, "is true in one sense, and not in another; for every man is tempted when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed. This was not the case with Christ, for the 'prince of this world' found in him no lust on which his temptation could operate. Objects of temptation were presented, but like a thing perfectly incombustible, on which the fire makes no impression, so was the holy mind of Jesus." In this heresy, as in his erroneous prophetical views and Pentecostal interpretations, "Irving succumbed to the falsehoods of some of his superficial followers." He was a talented man, but, at the same time, "a monument of the folly of a proud reliance upon self, and of the popular applause."[18]

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14. *Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans* (with remarks on the commentaries of Dr. Macknight, Professor Moses Stuart, and Professor Tholuck) (Evansville, IN: Sovereign Grace Book Club, Jay Green, ed., 3 vols, 1956–1957; Marshallton, DE: The National Foundation for Christian Education, Jay Green, ed., 1970).

15. *Memoirs,* 525, 539.

16. *Memoirs,* 409, 379.

17. *Memoirs,* 452, 478, 450, 519, 350.

18. *Memoirs,* 488, 489, 490. Haldane's doctrinal argumentation appeared in a treatise entitled: "Refutation of the heretical doctrine promulgated by the Rev. Edward Irving."

Tour on the Continent

One of the most important and fruitful events in Haldane's life was his tour on the Continent in 1816. The results of that trip, writes his biographer, "stretch into eternity, and will forever connect the name of Robert Haldane with the revival of the Gospel in France and Switzerland." The tour, without any settled plan or definite design, conducted him to Paris, Geneva and Montauban, and according to Merle D'Aubigne—himself a trophy of Haldane's preaching—"was one of the most beautiful episodes in the history of the Church." Haldane always showed great interest for France as a mission field. By personal visits and correspondence he kept a useful ministry among young pastors and theological students in that country. Being unacquainted with a single individual in Switzerland and France and, therefore, unable to arrange any particular plan of action, Robert Haldane thought that his trip would not last more than six weeks; but the providential designs were different. In Haldane's own words: "The Lord was pleased to open a wide and effectual door, leading me in a way that I knew not, and my residence abroad continued about three years." At that time Geneva was in deplorable spiritual darkness. Calvin, "once its chiefest boast," had been set aside and forgotten, while the pastors and professors were in general Unitarians or Socinians. On the point of leaving, accidentally Haldane started a conversation with a young student. "With this student, he writes, I immediately entered into conversation respecting the Gospel, of which I found him profoundly ignorant, although in a state of mind that showed he was willing to receive information. He returned with me to the inn, and remained till late at night. Next morning he came with another student, equally in darkness with himself. They had, in fact, learned much more of the opinions of the heathen philosophers, than of the doctrines of the Saviour and his Apostles. To the Bible and its contents their studies had never been directed. After some conversation, they became convinced of their ignorance of the Scriptures and of the way of salvation, and exceedingly desirous of information. I therefore postponed my intended departure from Geneva."[19]

Around Haldane there gathered habitually twenty students. Haldane undertook to read and explain to them the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. During the whole of the winter of 1816–17, and until the termination of their studies in the following summer, almost all the students in theology regularly attended the Bible studies, and the majority of them were soundly converted through that Bible study and became effective leaders in the revival that followed, and which appears to have lasted from 1813 to 1830. At the end of June, 1817, Mr. and Mrs. Haldane left Geneva for Montauban. Montauban was the centre of education for the Protestants of the Reformed Church in France, as Strasburg in the north was for the Lutherans. The Theological Faculty had been founded by Napoleon, in compliment to the Protestants, who had always been steady friends to his Government—remembering, no doubt, the bitter persecutions they had endured from the time of Louis XIV, down to that of Louis XVI. Besides his labours among the students connected with the Protestant Seminary, and the publication of his *Commentary on Romans* in French, and the translation of his "Evidences," Haldane was also much occupied in correspondence with his old pupils and friends at Geneva, and with preparations for the establishment of the "Continental Society" for the evangelisation of European countries. The French *Commentary on Romans* was of itself a great undertaking, and more especially as the author had but little access to books. Here he also undertook the printing of two editions of the Bible in French, amounting to sixteen thousand copies. Among the students brought under the power of the Word of God in Haldane's ministry in Geneva were Merle D'Aubigne, Louis Gaussen, Frédéric Monod, and César Henri Malan.

Jean Henri Merle d'Aubigné was born in 1794 into a distinguished Huguenot family in Geneva. In his youth he received a thorough classical education, and after completing a course in the Humanities, he commenced, at the age of 19, the study of theology at the Académie de Genève. After his ordination as a minister of the established Church in Geneva he decided to enlarge his theological education in Germany. While in the land of Luther he became aware that, not only in his native Switzerland, but also in Germany the great message of the Reformation appeared to have been forgotten. It was for this reason that, at the age of 23, Merle resolved to write a thorough study on the history of the Reformation. For a time he was the pastor of the French Huguenot Church of Hamburg. In 1823 he received an invitation from King Willem I of the Netherlands to become the pastor of the French and German speaking Church of Brussels. Among those that attended regularly the services were the King himself, his wife Wilhelmina Frederika, and also Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer, the royal historian and author of the famous book *Unbelief and Revolution*. After the political unrest of 1830, which led to the separation of Belgium from Holland, Merle left Brussels in order to become Professor of Church History in the recently formed theological seminary in Geneva —where he remained until his death in 1872. It was in 1835 that the first volume of *The History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century* was published in French. This five volume work was completed in 1853, and was followed by *The History of the Reformation in Europe in the Time of Calvin,* in eight volumes, published between 1863 and 1878.

Louis Gaussen (1790–1863), born in Geneva, laboured actively in the restoration of the Reformed Faith in Switzerland. In Geneva he founded a missionary society, which held meetings, first in private houses and later in churches. With Merle d'Aubigné and other ministers that had been influenced by Haldane, he founded the "Evangelical Society" for the distribution of Bibles, Reformed literature and evangelical tracts. The activities of the Society encountered strong opposition from the State Church. Gaussen was finally deposed from all pastoral duties. In 1834 he accepted the chair of Dogmatics at the newly established theological school. Against the doctrinal modernism of the times he upheld a firm defence of the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures. In his famous book *Théopneustie* (1840), he maintained that all passages of the Old and New Testaments were verbally inspired, and possessed, therefore, full divine authority.[20] He was also the author of numerous other works, which enjoyed a wide circulation both in France and in England; among these special mention must be made of *Leçons sur Daniel* (in English: *The Prophet Daniel Explained),* and

19. *Memoirs,* 372, 375.

20. The book was published a year later in London under the title: *Theopneustia: the plenary inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.*

his exposition of the *First Chapters of Exodus* and of the *Book of Jonah.*

Frédéric Monod (1794–1863) was born in Lausanne, Switzerland, and received his education in Geneva. He was active as preacher and lecturer in Paris and other French localities. Being convinced that the majority of the Reformed Churches in France had renounced the basics of Christianity, in 1849 he opened in Paris a small chapel, where he gathered the first members of the future Église Libre. A synod to form a constitution of the union of free evangelical Churches was held in 1849 and welded together the scattered Reformed communities which had broken off from the modernistic State Church. For forty three years he was the editor of the *Archive du christianisme au dixneuvième siécle,* an uncompromising advocate of Calvinistic orthodoxy.

César Henri Malan (1787–1864) was born in Geneva and became one of the most enthusiastic students of Robert Haldane. His fearless proclamation of the great doctrines of Christianity gave great offence to the clergy of Geneva, and he was forbidden to preach in the whole area of that city. He was finally deposed. Following Haldane's example, he began Bible studies at his residence, and as the number of his hearers increased he built, at his own expense, a chapel on his premises. The ecclesiastical authorities promulgated severe restrictions on his pastoral activities and Malan was forced to leave the State Church. Without leaving Geneva permanently he became an itinerant preacher in several regions of Switzerland, France, Belgium, Holland, and in the Waldensian valleys of Piedmont. Later he became a member of the Church of Scotland. He wrote several treatises on different theological issues, and many gospel tracts that were translated into English and other languages. Malan is justly recognised as one of the greatest of the French hymn writers. He is reputed to have written over one thousand hymns, some of which have become very popular in all Christian Churches. He set his hymns to his own melodies. An ample collection of his hymns ("Chants de Sion") appeared in 1841.[21]

In the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, Frederic Monod, Merle D'Aubigne and other leading foreign ministers, testified from personal experience to the blessing that resulted from the labours of Robert Haldane in the Continent. In 1822 Robert Haldane visited Ireland and, once again, expounded the Epistle to the Romans in different localities. As in Switzerland and France, his Bible studies were also a blessing to many.

The Brothers Haldane as Bible commentators

For his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* Robert Haldane can be justly ranked as one of the most important commentators of the Pauline epistle. In words of the theologian John Macleod, "For those who wish to know what the Apostle taught in his great doctrinal Epistle Haldane's exposition ranks with those of Calvin or of Hodge. In book form it is Robert Haldane's *stone of memorial.*"[22] In Dr. D. M. Lloyd-Jones' estimation the commentaries of both Hodge and Haldane "stand supreme as commentaries on this mighty Epistle."[23] Dr. Chalmers highly praised this "well-built commentary," and strongly recommended it to students of theology.[24] The commentary was the fruit of the author's continental mission, and was originally published in French. It was afterwards re-written in English, and in that form passed through several editions, besides being translated into German. The theme of the epistle to the Romans had always been the subject of Haldane's evening lectures on the Lord's Day and of the Bible studies at his brother's congregation at the Tabernacle of Edinburgh. For more than thirty years the contents of Romans had engaged much of his time and studies. Alexander Carson, the great Irish scholar and New Testament philologist, assisted him with the original Greek and with the intricate exegetical passages. It is indeed remarkable that one of the best commentaries on Romans was written by a layman. The *Exposition of the Romans* was published in three volumes: the first, containing five chapters, appeared in 1835, the second volume in 1837, and the third in 1839.[25] Volume One was reprinted five times before Haldane's death in 1842.

The commentary exhibits a broad, profound scholarship and a masterful handling of the great doctrines of the Epistle. In our estimation, no other commentator of the Epistle has succeeded in elucidating with greater clarity, precision and coherence the meaning of the central theme of Paul's letter: the "righteousness of God" in the scheme of salvation. There is a fruitful *dialogue* with other great commentators—agreeing or disagreeing with them. Haldane disagrees with Calvin, for instance, on the meaning of the "body" in 6:13 and on the expression of "speaking after the manner of men" in 6:19. On occasions he resorts to the sound teaching of renowned theologians to elucidate the meaning of certain Pauline passages: to Jonathan Edwards "on original sin" (3:10; 5:12); to John Owen "on justification" (3:24); to Hermann Vitsius "on the *Economy of the Covenants"* (5:11), etc. On the doctrine of imputation (5:20) he follows the Westminster Confession of Faith. Soon after the publication of the first volume, Haldane sent a copy to Dr. Thomas Chalmers, who in his letter of acknowledgement, wrote: "I return you my best thanks for the much valued present of your work, which I very highly esteem, *and for nothing more than the noble stand you have made at all times for the purity and fullness of Divine truth."* In his "Sabbath Readings" for June 12, 1836, Chalmers commented: "I am reading Haldane's *Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans,* and find it solid and congenial food." He also specially acknowledged the light he had himself obtained from the exposition of the fifth chapter, with reference to "the two Adams."[26]

21. Here is an English translation of one of his beautiful hymns, translated by G. W. Bethune:

Thou, Lamb of God, didst shed Thy blood,
Thou didst our load of misery bear,
And hast exalted us to share
The rank of kings and priests to God.
To Thee we render evermore
The honour, glory, praise that's due:
Might, power and glad obedience too
And in our hearts we Thee adore.
Amen! Amen! O Lord, Amen!

22. *Scottish Theology*, 228.

23. "Foreword" *Commentary on Romans,* Jay Green, 1970.

24. C. H. Spurgeon, *Commenting and Commentaries* (Passmore & Alabaster, London, 1876), p. 171.

25. Recent reprints: *An Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans* (Mac Dill AFB, FL: MacDonald Publishing, 1958); *Romans,* (Carlisle, PA: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1963); *Commentary on Romans* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 1988).

26. *Memoirs,* 526. In the course of the *Exposition,* Mr. Haldane called

Although less known than his brother, James Alexander Haldane was also an able commentator of the Scriptures. Special mention must be made of his *Exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians*. In this volume, "there are many delightful and edifying views of Divine truth, and many valuable illustrations of the connection between the Old and New Testament. But the third chapter unavoidably led him to discuss the question of baptism, and this necessarily rendered the book less acceptable to those who hold the importance of infant baptism."[27] According to Spurgeon: "This work has never been popular, because the author in the third chapter discusses the question of baptism. This is a fault of which we may say, as the Papists said of venial sin, that 'it deserves to be forgiven'."[28]

Another epistle on which James Haldane worked for many years, but did not live to complete, was his *Exposition of the Hebrews*. His correspondence indicates "how much his mind was interested in the work, and how clear and acute were his perceptions of difficulties. There was a subject on which he had occasion to touch, in expounding Heb. 12:26, and on which some division of opinion subsisted among Christians. The hope of the second appearing of our Lord was one which ever occupied his thoughts, but he rejected the idea of a personal reign in this sinful world before the destruction of all that is wicked and unholy and the regeneration of the heavens and the earth."[29] On this work Spurgeon wrote: "This is a posthumous work, and issued, not as a finished exposition, but as *Notes of an intended Exposition*. Very valuable for all that."[30]

Besides the treatises that we have already referred to, Robert Haldane wrote more than forty articles and treatises on an ample scope of doctrinal issues. During the five years he directed the *Scripture Magazine*, he wrote valuable essays on the grand truths of the gospel. His "Notes on Scripture" were intended to illustrate the gradual unfolding of the great scheme of redemption, from the Garden of Eden to the garden of Gethsemane. His original idea was to publish the essays in a volume entitled *The Revelation of Mercy*. His brother James Alexander was also a voluminous writer of short and concise articles on the great themes of the Bible, pursuing, as supreme goal of all his writings, the "presentation of the simple truth of Scripture, and at the same time to expose the futility of every attempt to explain or remove difficulties by philosophical speculations."[31] One of his famous treatises, which underwent several printings, was entitled "Man's responsibility: the Nature and Extent of the Atonement, and the Work of the Holy Spirit."

Differences and divisions

The Haldanes regarded the preaching of Christ crucified as the great goal and supreme activity of God's servants, and wished all differences about Church order and Church ordinances to be matters of forbearance. Although they substantially agreed with the doctrinal standards of the Westminster Confession and did not contemplate a separation from the Church of Scotland, neither brother cared much for denominational allegiance and found the established Church too formal in the worship and too cold in the preaching. In their opinion the Church of their time was in the wilderness, and until the Lord chose in his own good time to bring her out all matters related to ordinances were deemed secondary. The grand question for them "was not whether men or women had been baptized in infancy or maturity, but whether they had been baptized with the Holy Spirit." Consequently in their early gatherings the Lord's Supper was not administered, nor baptismal services celebrated.

In the light of these principles the brothers Haldane found no obstacle in being fellow labourers with Dr. Gordon, Dr. Thomson, Dr. Chalmers, and other religious leaders of the Kirk. But as time went by, and the newly formed congregations reached a solid bond of communion, the need for a clear doctrinal definition on matters of worship and in the administration of the sacraments became peremptory. The Congregational tendencies among the evangelical groups that sprung up as a result of the ministry of James Haldane accentuated the discrepancies with the Kirk, and James, writes his biographer, "became gradually, more and more favourable to the principles of Congregationalism, which secured an entire emancipation from the control of domineering Synods and General Assemblies."[32] In attempting

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special attention to "the grievous errors of three other commentators, namely: Macknight, Stuart, and Tholuck." The first was a Scottish Presbyterian, the second an American Independent, and the third a German Lutheran. With reference to Macknight, Haldane admits that he was an able critic, "but evidently neither intellectually knew, nor *experimentally* felt the truths about which he was occupied. It is not, then, wonderful that 'audacious heterodoxy,' as has been justly said, should pervade his works." Professor Moses Stuart, in his *Commentary on the Romans*, disclaimed "a sermonizing commentary." Haldane observed: "There is no complaint with respect to the propriety of confining himself to the work of a critic and translator. The complaint is that, by false criticism, "he has misrepresented the Divine testimony in some of the most momentous points in the scheme of Christianity." In an appendix to his third volume, Haldane points out consecutively the great and fundamental errors of this Professor, and yet there was a time when even evangelical divines attracted by the appearance of critical research, had been induced to recommend his writings. Next to Moses Stuart comes Professor Tholuck, of Halle, who at one time obtained considerable credit by his exposure of the pantheistic ideas of Strauss and other German authors. "But his own views, as too the supreme authority of the Scriptures, were lamentably deficient; and the want of reverence for the written Word totally unfitted him for the office of its interpreter" (*Memoirs,* 527).

27. *Memoirs,* 570.

28. C.H. Spurgeon, *Commenting and Commentaries* (London: Passmore & Alabaster, 1876), p. 176.

29. His views were expressed in a letter of earlier date addressed to his second surviving son Robert: "The great promise of the Old Testament was the coming of Christ and the promise of the New Testament is his second coming. This will be to judge the world and to bruise Satan under the feet of his saints, who shall be raised spiritual and incorruptible. When God separated Israel from the nations at Sinai the earth was shaken, and there was to be another and greater shaking. (Heb. 12:26.) This was to consist in the removing of the things which were shaken, that the things which cannot be shaken might remain. (ver. 27). This took place upon the kingdom being taken from Israel and given to the righteous nation (the children of the new covenant). This took place at Pentecost, and there is to be no other change. The Gospel dispensation remains unchanged. (2 Cor. 3:2.) Those who maintain that Christ shall come to reign on the earth (as it now is), represent a much greater change as taking place than the transition from the Law to the Gospel dispensation, and this is contrary to the word once more. At all events, your uncle did not hold the personal reign of Christ in this world in its present state. Christ will reign in the new heaven and new earth, and the earth that now is will flee away when he appears. It once did not afford him a place to lay his head, and in shame and confusion it will vanish from the presence of his glory." *Memoirs,* 589–90.

30. *Notes on Exposition of Hebrews* (London: Nisbet, 1860).

31. *Memoirs,* 436, 559.

32. *Memoirs,* 325, 324, 541, 322.

to restore the life and conditions of the apostolic Church, but without the Pentecostal endowment, James Haldane became, in some sense, a forerunner of the type of Church fellowship which in the next generation took the shape of Brethrenism. Under the principle that believers are bound to conform their ecclesiastical usages to the practice of the apostolic Church, the evangelicals introduced the celebration of Lord's Supper every Lord's Day. (The practice in the Kirk was of celebrating it only twice a year.) According to a treatise by James Haldane, published in 1802, it was also proposed to have weekly Church meetings "for the purposes of social worship, discipline, and mutual edification." In the social worship the pastor was entitled to ask any private member, who appeared to have a gift in prayer, to lead the devotions of the Church.

In his old age James Haldane declared that since he began preaching he had experienced no change of conviction as to any of the Calvinistic doctrines, except that related to Church order and the sacraments. Soon after his conversion he had already begun to entertain doubts as to the scriptural authority for infant baptism. According to his son, "After mature deliberation and reading deeply on the subject, his doubts so much increased that, on an occasion when he was requested to administer infant baptism, he was obliged to inform the Church, that, although his mind was not made up to become himself a Baptist, yet that, at present, he could not conscientiously baptize children." In a letter to John Campbell, of April 1808, he informed him "that the crisis was past, and that he had been baptized." At about the same time his brother Robert abandoned pedobaptist views and was also immersed. The same change took place among several other leading men. Dr. Alexander Carson, who had been ordained as a Presbyterian minister in 1798, six years later left the General Synod of Ulster and published a treatise untitled *Reasons for Separating from the General Synod of Ulster*. The work had wide resonance among the Scottish followers of Haldane, and, considering valid Carson's reasons for separation, they also broke off their connections with the Kirk. Alexander Carson, in the early part of his independent career, while studying the New Testament in order to refute the Baptists, became a Baptist himself and wrote one of the most famous books on the subject: *Baptism in its Mode and Subjects Considered*. The work appeared in Edinburgh, in 1831, and also caused a profound impact among the evangelical groups of Scotland.

In James Haldane's conviction the matter of baptism was to be a matter of forbearance in the Church. In a letter of August 1, 1810, he defends the principle of forbearance in these terms: "It appears to me that the following may be laid down as a principle: that there is nothing in the New Testament which authorizes us either to do anything that God has forbidden, or to neglect anything that he has commanded, for the sake of maintaining fellowship with others. But the maintenance of this principle does not prevent our acting with others whom we believe to be Christians on the things on which we are agreed. It appears to me, that the whole of the New Testament proceeds upon this principle, and enforces it. Our fellowship is with the Father and the Son, and must be maintained by constant obedience on our part, and application to the blood of sprinkling when we come short. Our fellowship with each other arises out of this fellowship, and can only be maintained so far as fellowship with God is maintained. We are never to attempt to maintain Christian fellowship with each other at the expense of fellowship with God." His views of mutual forbearance, however strongly urged, were not reciprocated, and the adoption of Baptist views created widespread discussion in the Edinburgh Tabernacle Church; some of the members went back to the Established Church. The division spread, not only in the Edinburgh Churches, but also throughout the whole of Scotland. These divisions were fatal to the progress of Congregationalism in Scotland, and deeply hurt the cause of the brothers Haldane.[33]

Their last days

Robert Haldane died in 1842, in his seventy-ninth year, and James in 1851, in his eighty-third. Robert died in Edinburgh and was buried in one of the aisles of the Old Cathedral of Glasgow. He never allowed his picture to be taken, and consequently no likeness of him remains. For nearly fifty-two years James Haldane conducted three services every Lord's Day and was to have supplied another's pulpit on the day after that of his decease. His funeral drew together more than 600 ministers, elders, and private members of the different religious communities in Edinburgh, "that paid tribute of respect to the services of a man, who, with his brother, was honoured to do so much for the revival of religion in Scotland."[34] Alexander Haldane puts an end to his lengthy biography of 700 pages with these words: "Their character will be found stamped on their acts. Their example and success, both at home and abroad, is an encouragement to all who are willing and able, with equal boldness, zeal, and perseverance, in reliance upon the Divine blessing, to maintain the great truths of salvation, and make known the free Gospel of the grace of God. Both were content for a time to be sneered at by the world, and accounted madmen for the sake of Christ. Each dedicated intellectual talents of no common order to the same cause: the one by his preaching, the other, by his writings. It may be said of both that in all their undertakings for the promotion of religion they proceeded hand in hand. Although each was distinguished for a determined will, and strong adherence to his own views of duty, there subsisted between them a remarkable harmony of design and oneness of spirit; and never, during their long and honourable course of mutual co-operation, was there one jarring feeling to disturb their efforts for the common object they so consistently pursued. That object was the glory of Christ and the salvation of their fellowmen . . . From the moment they undertook to devote their lives to labour in the Gospel, there was no looking back to scenes of past enjoyment. Wealth, honour, worldly renown and reputation were all counted but loss; nor did the seducing hope of earning a name and a place in the Christian world ever tempt their ambition. Their single desire was wholly to follow the Lord."[35]

By way of conclusion

In our time, when the countries in which the Gospel testimony once reigned with overwhelming power and influence, but are now elapsed in gross apostasy, the example of the Haldane brothers in lifting the torch of Christian testi-

33. *Memoirs,* 325, 343, 328, 278, 329, 333, 336.
34. *Memoirs,* 565, 586.
35. *Memoirs,* 603 604.

mony in Scotland constitutes an inspiring referent for bringing back the gospel to the needy European nations of our time. When the Haldanes and their early coadjutors entered the field they were almost the only preachers of the gospel in Scotland. The "missionaries," as they were called, were found preaching in every village and Highland glen, and in every locality they had their schools and lay agency. They embarked in plans for propagating the gospel at home, in widely circulating Bibles and tracts, in establishing Sabbath schools, in building chapels, in sending out home missionaries, in superintending the education of young men as preachers and catechists. All this was done under their own superintendence and at their own expenses. Fired with evangelistic fervour, they planted far and wide the good seed of the gospel to the conversion of thousands. Their contemporaries, Thomas M'Crie, Andrew Thomson and Thomas Chalmers, would bear ready witness to the soundness of their Reformed teaching, and to the blessing that rested on their labours. Inspired by their testimony, in the course of time, there appeared an increasing number of Evangelical ministers in the Establishment, and a beneficial influence was formed to operate upon other denominations. At first, the Haldanes had all the prestige which belonged to Reformers in the Church in which they were educated, but their undefined and vacillating views on ecclesiastical organisation and the shaky principles of "forbearance" on baptismal differences brought regrettable divisions in their own camp.

The founding of Congregational Churches separate from the Scottish Establishment was the result of unforeseen circumstances, and not of a preconcerted plan. They did not regard their tabernacles and chapels as an expression of separation from the Kirk, but as places for preaching the gospel to those that had lost all connections with the Church. At first the "missionary pastors" and many of the members of their congregations partook of the sacraments in the established Church. It might have been well, had it been possible, that these views and objects had always remained the same. But in the very nature of things this was not to be expected, although years elapsed before attention to the apostolic order of primitive Churches seriously distracted attention, and necessarily produced difference of opinion accompanied by divisions.

The manner in which the Haldanes consecrated their lives, talents and financial means to the furtherance of God's kingdom on earth constitute a glorious example of Christian surrender and discipleship. *C&S.*

Notes on Reading Cervantes

by Frances Luttikhuizen

Part ii (concluded)

I should like to begin with a quote from Roland M. Frye's article "Shakespeare and Christianity" which is equally as applicable to Cervantes: "Shakespeare [Cervantes] has left us no account of his own innermost convictions . . . We cannot tell precisely what his own most intimate religious beliefs were . . . The poet's [novelist's] vocation primarily concerned the secular sphere—this world, the here and now—and his contributions are to be judged in these terms . . . So fully did Shakespeare [Cervantes] discharge this poetic vocation in the secular order that succeeding centuries have regarded him as not of one age, but for all time."[1]

The essence of how carefully Cervantes discharged this poetic vocation can be summed up in my second quote, from the Dutch hispanist C. F. A. van Dam: "As for religion . . .Cervantes is a typical representative of the time of the Counter-Reformation, an *habil hipocrita* whose opinions can only be accepted with the necessary reservation, when there is some talk of the official religion and moral (ethics). Well then, the Christianity of Cervantes, who attached much more value to loving one's fellow-man than outward ceremonies, reminds us more of Erasmus than of the Council of Trent. In Spain, erasminian ideas could not be proclaimed freely in the popular language, for religion belonged to state-affairs. That's why the author of *el Quixote* has to resort to *hipocresia*, consisting of hiding cleverly in his criticisms what could be harmful for the established institutions." [2]

As I already showed in Part I, fleeting references to real historic characters and events often contain restrained appeals for religious freedom. My first example is found in the captive Captain's story (*D.Q.* I, 39–41) where the captive [Cervantes] relates a brief encounter with some French pirates. Ruy Pérez de Viedma, who had been captured by the Turks at the battle of Lepanto and ends up in an Algerian *baño*, falls in love with a beautiful Moslem woman named Zoraida. She expresses her desire to become Christian and together they make their escape, but only to be captured by

1. Roland Mushat Frye, "Shakespeare and Christianity", *Christianity Today*, Vol. VIII, Number 21, July 1964, pp. 4–5.

2. C. F. A. van Dam & J. W. F. Werumeus Buning, "Introduction", *Don Quixote*, 1941. In Alwin van Ee, "Vloeiende nieuwe vertaling maakt Don Quichot leesbaarder. In de geest van Cervantes" (Utrechts Nieuwsblad, 15/3/1997). I should like to express my gratitude to Lydie Schuurman-Heizinga for her generous help in translating this text.

French corsairs, who rob them and set them adrift off the coasts of Spain. They finally reach the coast and tell their story; the captive is particularly emphatic describing the French corsairs as greedy, materialistic and "our greatest adversaries."[3] Yet, analysing the corsairs' treatment of the escapees, they were in fact surprisingly courteous and generous. This double contradiction, a contradiction between words and deeds, that is, a stereotyped opinion over against an actual encounter, and the fact that the Spaniards' true 'great adversaries' were the Turks not the French, is a literary device to sensitise the reader for what is coming next. In a very passing remark, Ruy Pérez tells that the corsairs were on their way home to La Rochelle. Here again, only the "discerning" reader would be aware that La Rochelle was an important Huguenot stronghold on the Atlantic coast. La Rochelle was not only the Venice of France, it was also the Geneva of France, the city of refuge to which Protestants from all parts of the country fled. As Carroll B. Johnson points out,[4] had Cervantes wanted just any French corsairs for his story he could have, with greater verisimilitude, based them in Marseille. The presence of corsairs from La Rochelle in the Mediterranean is historically possible, but highly improbable for they had their hands full capturing Spanish and Portuguese ships in the Atlantic. What interest could Cervantes have had in introducing Protestant corsairs into the story and in such a disguised way? How many of his readers caught the irony?

Another example of Cervantes' camouflaged plea for religious tolerance is found in two references to Transylvania. One appears in "Las dos doncellas," one of the *Novelas Ejemplares* (Madrid: Cuesta, 1613), and the other in *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (Madrid: Cuesta, 1616). As in the case of the French corsairs, neither reference has any real bearing on the rest of the plot. The contexts in which they appear, however, are of interest both in terms of style and in terms of content. Although the references seem to be haphazardly thrown in, an in-depth analysis of the two passages reveals that they are carefully placed alongside other authentic historical events that provide clues to help us understand and interpret the Cervantes "subversive" message.

The reference to Transylvania in "Las dos doncellas" appears in the following context. A stranger arrives at an inn in a small town near Seville. He asks for a room and for dinner. In the middle of the meal, the constable of the town drops in and strikes up a conversation with him. After drinking down half the gentleman's wine and eating half his partridge, the constable rewards him for the food by "asking him for news of the Court, of the war in Flanders, and the descent of the Turk, not forgetting the business of the Prince of Transylvania, may God protect him." There follows an awkward silence saved by the arrival of the innkeeper and the constable's inquiries are left unanswered. The reader, however, cannot but wonder at this curious interpolation. The constable's interest in the ruler of Transylvania is disconcerting. Inquiries regarding the Court, Flanders, and the Turk can be dismissed as matters of protocol or matters that affected Spain directly; but what interest could he have in Transylvania?

The episode takes place in Castilblanco de los Arroyos, some 30 kilometres from Seville. Hence, the inquiries follow a logical progression in terms of proximity: first comes the court, national territory; then comes Flanders, occupied territory; then the Turks, enemy territory; and finally Transylvania, a remote place beyond the forest, something like Timbuktu to sixteenth century Spaniards. The sequence also follows a logical progression in terms of political importance. From the point of view of someone living in Seville first come domestic affairs, the court; then 'extended' domestic affairs, Flanders; then foreign affairs, the Turks; and finally Transylvania, or the hinterland of Europe. We could even take the sequence one step farther. From the point of view of orthodoxy, Spain could be considered "cleansed," thanks to the Inquisition; Flanders in the process of "being cleansed,"[5] also thanks to the Inquisition; and the Turk, "unclean," the great enemy of Christianity. Transylvania, on the other hand, a land with no less than four officially accepted Christian creeds, living together in harmony under a royal decree of religious freedom, was a reality beyond classification for the sixteenth century Spanish Counter-Reformation mentality.

The narrator makes it look as if the questions were casually thrown in as a way of keeping up the conversation. Inquiries regarding the court, the wars in Flanders and the advances of the Turk must certainly have been common conversation pieces, but "the affairs of the Transylvanian," with the added wish that God protect him, places the events in Transylvania at a different level. Three questions baffle us: which *transilvano* did Cervantes have in mind? How could he have known about him? And what special interest did Cervantes have in bringing to the foreground such a minor character in the theatre of sixteenth-century European events?

The reference to Transylvania in *Persiles y Sigismunda* (Book II, Ch. 21) appears in the following context. Periandro and Auristela, who have spent several months in the northern islands out of touch with the rest of the world, ask Sinibaldo, who has just arrived from France, for news regarding the political situation in Europe. Sinibaldo eagerly begins to give them a lengthy, detailed description of the situation at the court of Denmark, which is all part of the fictional plot. When he has finished, the narrator adds offhandedly that he also told them about the wars in Transylvania, the movements of the Turk and the news of the death of Charles V. Periandro and Auristela show great interest in the affairs of Denmark, but news of Transylvania, the Turk and the death of Charles V—the three most crucial international affairs of the day—seems to leave them rather indifferent.

In this episode, Cervantes resorts to the *crescendo* effect, from the least to the greatest: Transylvania, an insignificant Protestant country at the edge of Europe; the Turk, the great threat to Christendom; and Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor, "*terror de los enemigos de la Iglesia y asombro de los secuaces de Mahoma*." The fact that Cervantes lists them in this order not only reflects a scale of values expressed poetically; but also a set of values expressed in a way that a "discerning" reader might discover the hidden message behind them. Cervantes places the border-wars of a small country at the

3. Excerpts from *Don Quixote* are taken from John Ozell's 1719 revision of Peter Motteux's 1700 French translation (Intro. by H. G. Doyle, Random House, 1950).

4. Carroll B. Johnson, "Organic Unity in Unlikely Places: *Don Quixote* I, 39–41," *Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 2.2 (1982), p. 140.

5. The Dutch revolt came in answer to religious repression and resulted in the 80-year war (1568–1668) with Spain.

edge of Europe in defence of a newly established regime open to religious plurality *a la par* with the insatiable conquests of Islam and with the implacable efforts of Charles V to impose Catholicism throughout his domains. Stylistically, the three—the king of Transylvania, the Turk, and Charles V—form a well-contrived triangle: three defenders of their faith, three world-views. It is highly unlikely that Cervantes was being deliberately ironic by placing János Sigismund's efforts to establish religious plurality in Transylvania on equal footing with the military campaigns of the Turks and the efforts of Charles V to cleanse the Christian world of heresy. The reference to the death of Charles V—which occurred in 1558—is a clear marker to help us identify the Transylvanian ruler as János Sigismund (King János II, 1541–1571).[6] The "wars of Transylvania" allude to the many attempts made by the Hapsburg king of Hungary, Ferdinand I, between 1552 and 1562, to occupy Transylvania and remove young János for his liberal policies regarding religious practices. Our identification in favour of János Sigismund (King János II) takes into account, however, a much broader view of both the historical events of the times and Cervantes' possible involvement in them.

Our starting point will be Cervantes' possible European connections. As in the case of Shakespeare, and despite the scholarly efforts of biographers, little is known for certain about his personal life. He was born in Alcalá de Henares[7] in 1547, but as a young man he lived in several places. At the end of 1569 he was in Rome and in 1570 he appears to have officially enlisted in the Spanish army. In the summer of 1571, he was serving as a private in the company commanded by Diego de Urbina, and was seriously wounded in the Battle of Lepanto. After convalescing in Messina and Naples, he rejoined the army and took part in several other battles. In June 1575, he was granted leave to return to Spain, but on the way home, he was captured by corsairs and spent the next five years imprisoned in Algiers.

How and where the young Cervantes spent his time up until 1571 remain a mystery. A passage in "El licenciado Vidriera" (*Novelas Ejemplares*) seems highly autobiographical and may shed some light on his activities. In the story, Tomás Rodaja, a poor student from Salamanca, meets up with an infantry captain who is about to leave for Italy. The captain invites Tomás to join him, praising the cities, the food and above all the freedom of Italy. Tomás accepts the captain's invitation, arguing to himself that "it would be good to see Italy and Flanders, and other different countries and regions, because long pilgrimages make men wise." He agrees, however, to go only "on the condition that his name is not put on the official list," insisting that he would rather go "as a free man than under obligation." On their arrival at Genoa, the company marches up to Piedmont but Tomás, who is "not under obligation," decides to see a bit of Italy first. His "grand tour" takes him to Lucca, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo, Messina, Ancona, Venice, Ferrara, Parma, Placenza, Milan and Asti. Back in Piedmont, he rejoins the company and together they go up to Flanders, where he visits Antwerp, Ghent and Brussels. Having seen these three cities, and "having satisfied the desire he had had to see what he had seen," and noticing that the "whole country was arming itself to go to war the following summer," he decides to return to Salamanca to finish his degree. He returns to Spain by way of France, but he is careful to avoid Paris "because [the city] was in a state of war."[8]

Whether this passage is truly autobiographical is beyond the scope of this paper; nonetheless, it contains references to authentic historical events. The phrase "the war the following summer" could certainly refer to the first open hostilities (the Battle at Heiligerlee, May 1568, the Battle on the Eems, June 1568) between the Dutch and Spanish troops. The brief statement that Tomás wanted to avoid Paris because the city was in a state of war also helps date the episode. The armed conflict referred to is very likely the Battle of Saint-Denis between Huguenots and Catholics (November 1567).[9] Moreover, this supposed sojourn through Flanders in 1567 does not contradict any of the known facts concerning Cervantes' whereabouts at that time.

The political scenario in Flanders had a marked religious undertone which could hardly have been ignored by even one of his less informed readers. We will return to the enigmatic phrase, "having satisfied the desire Tomás had had to see what he had seen" shortly, but allow me to briefly describe the political scenario in Flanders. In January 1565, Count Egmont had begged Philip II to mitigate the severe persecution, for even Philip himself acknowledged that the Inquisition implanted in the Netherlands was "more merciless than the one [in Spain]."[10] Egmont's request accomplished nothing. The following year, William of Orange petitioned again for some degree of toleration, but again to no avail. In August 1566, iconoclastic riots broke out in southern Flanders. The movement spread rapidly to Courtray, Valenciennes and Tournay. Destruction reached its climax when the cathedral of Antwerp was sacked. Tournay and Valenciennes came under Calvinist control, but the leaders were executed and Margaret of Parma demanded the nobles swear a newly formulated oath of allegiance; some did, others refused, demanding a declara-

6. Transylvania had become independent in 1541. Between that date and the publication of the *Novelas* in 1613, the country had nine ruling princes. Our hypothesis is in favour of János Sigismund (King János II), a political ruler who became a bulwark for freedom and tolerance at a time when religious intolerance was at its height.

7. The home of the first polyglot Bible, "The Complutensian Polyglot Bible." In 1502, the top religious scholars of the day met in the city of Alcalá de Henares (in Latin, Complutum), at the University of Alcalá. The New Testament was completed and printed in 1514, but its publication was delayed while work on the Old Testament continued. In the meantime, word of the Complutensian project reached Desiderius Erasmus in Rotterdam, who rushed to produce his own printed edition of the Greek New Testament. Erasmus obtained an exclusive four-year publishing privilege from Emperor Maximilian and Pope Leo X in 1516. (Erasmus' text became known as the Textus Receptus.) The Complutensian Old Testament was completed in 1517. Because of Erasmus' exclusive privilege, publication was delayed until 1520.

8. According to a 1632 map of postal routes kept at the Musée de La Poste de Paris, an alternative route to avoid Paris would have taken him from Brussels to Calais, Amiens, Rouen, Blois, Tours, Poitiers and La Rochelle, and from there a ship to one of the ports along the northern coast of Spain. Taking for granted this was the route Tomás [Cervantes] took, his knowledge of, or acquaintance with, Huguenot corsairs from La Rochelle may have come from that return journey.

9. Eight religious wars between the French Roman Catholics and the Huguenots, intensified by political rivalry between the Houses of Valois and Guise, were fought between 1562 and 1598. The Battle of Saint-Denis was the second of these bloody battles. (See the Huguenot surgeon Ambroise Paré's description of the battle in his "Journeys in Diverse Places," *The Harvard Classics* (New York: Collier & Son, 1909–14). Vol. 38, p.50)

10. H. Kamen, *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the 16th and 17th centuries* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press,.1985), p. 253.

tion of religious toleration instead. When the Governess refused, the Calvinists assembled an army but were defeated near Antwerp, on March 13th, 1567. The iconoclastic riots, which occurred in the wake of Philip II's accession to the throne, prompted the young king to send the Duke of Alva to restore order. On his arrival a year later, Alva set up a special court, the infamous Council of Trouble, or so-called "Council of Blood," to try all cases of rebellion and heresy. Roughly 12,000 persons were cited before the Council. The only escape was exile. Dutch Calvinists, Lutherans and Anabaptists, together with exiled Jews, Huguenots and Waldenses from Portugal, Spain, France and Italy, sought refuge where refuge could be found. Many fled to England, where there were already several established Stranger Churches.[11] There were also refugee churches throughout the continent: several French and Dutch-speaking congregations in Germany, Italian-speaking congregations in Switzerland, and Italian and Dutch-speaking congregations in Poland. This, in short, was the setting in which Tomás Rodaja [Cervantes' fictitious *persona*] found himself.

One reason Tomás says he wants to visit foreign lands is "because long pilgrimages make men wise." Furthermore, the fact that Tomás/Cervantes insists on travelling on his own makes us suspect he had ulterior motives.[12] Did he doubt the captain's words? In a lengthy, four page description of his travels through Italy, Tomás praises the beauty of the cities and the abundance of the food but there is not one reference to the "freedom" the captain so much extolled. An oversight, or a deliberate omission? The Reformation—and the Counter-Reformation!— had also come to Italy.[13] The spirit of free inquiry, which began with Italian Humanism, had had great influence on both scholars and preachers, and was especially strong in Venice, Ferrara, Modena, Naples and Lucca.[14]

From Lucca, he goes to Rome,[15] and on down to Sicily, then back up to Naples. We associate Naples with the circle of intellectuals that gathered around Juan de Valdés (1490–1541), a Spanish erasmian who had fled Spain in 1531 and whose house in Naples had become the centre of a very influential literary and religious circle. From Naples he returns to Rome, and from there—very likely over the old Salarian Way—he crosses over to Loreto and then up to Ancona. At Ancona[16] he takes a ship to Venice, where he stays a month, before returning to Piedmont—Waldensian territory—via Ferrara and Milan. At this point in the narrative we are again faced with the dilemma of a curious omission. Tomás praises all the cities he passes through except Ancona. In contrast, the narrator goes to exaggerated lengths to describe the churches at Loreto, as well as Tomás' devotion. A literary device to defend his orthodoxy, or a device to distract the censorship?

Of all the cities, however, Venice fascinated Tomás the most: "The delights and activities our curious traveller found in Venice . . . almost made him forget his original intention [of seeing Flanders]." Venice had changed from the import-export centre it had been in the Middle Ages to a prominent centre of manufacturing. The main industries were ship-building, textiles, glassmaking and printing. The technology of printing had spread from Mainz up and down the Rhine Valley to Basel and Antwerp, then into the Danube Basin to Augsburg and Nuremberg, and then to Venice, where most of the early type fonts were developed. Could Tomás have visited the Brucioli printing shop, where the first Italian version of the Bible was printed?[17]

Suppositions regarding "what" he saw could be endless; even more so when trying to guess "who" he saw. At the Arsenal, Tomás must have met all sorts of people. In Rome "[Tomás] observed the presence and variety of all the

11. The first Stranger Churches in London were founded by Italian, French, Dutch, and Spanish refugees escaping the Inquisition in 1550 during the reign of Edward VI. When Mary Tudor came to power (1553), they were closed and their ministers exiled. For a complete study of these congregations see A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

12. Spaniards were not allowed to travel freely throughout Europe. Philip II had issued a *pragmática* in 1559 by which all Spanish youth studying abroad were ordered home within four months; Spanish subjects were forbidden to seek foreign lands for study under penalty of confiscation of lands and perpetual exile. Hence, the only way to see the world was by either joining the Church or the military.

13. See Thomas M'Crie, *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy in the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons [1827], 1856).

14. All of these cities had had large Protestant and Jewish communities and had recently suffered severely under the Inquisition, yet there is no mention of this in the narrative. Until the forced exile of princess Renée in 1560, Ferrara had afforded protection to many free thinkers who fled from various parts of Italy as well as France. Even John Calvin (under the pseudonym of Charles d'Esperville) visited Ferrara in 1536 prior to going to Geneva. (For further details on Ferrara, see Part I.) In no part of Italy were harsher methods employed to extirpate the Reformed doctrines than in Milan once it came under the dominion of Philip II and the Duke of Alva was made governor. As late as 1569—the year Cervantes was known to have been in Italy—citizens were still being incarcerated (M'Crie 1856:154). Lucca had had the largest number of converts to the Reformed faith in Italy. Numerous exiles from Florence and Pisa had also taken refuge in Lucca until they and their leader, Peter Martyr (Pietro Martire Vermigli), were forced to leave. Peter Martyr had studied at the University of Padua. He was appointed by cardinal Gaspero Contarini to the first delegation to seek reconciliation with the Protestants at the Diet of Worms in 1540. Vermigli's theological transformation was initiated during his stay in Naples (1537–1540) and his association with the Spanish reformist Juan de Valdes. It was in the Valdesian circle that Vermigli encountered the Italian crypro-reform movement and first read Protestant Reformers such as Bucer and Zwingli. Once exiled, his sphere of influence extended to some of the major centers of the Reformation: Strasbourgh, Oxford (where he was Regius Professor of Divinity from 1547–1553), and Zurich.

15. Could Cervantes have witnessed the burning at the stake in Rome of Aonio Paleario, (Della Paglia, or Degli Pagliaricci), Italian humanist, poet and reformer? In 1542, Paleario wrote a tract which alerted the Inquisition. In 1546 he accepted a professorial chair at Lucca, and in 1555 was teaching in Milan where about 1566 his enemies renewed their activity. In 1567 he was formally accused by Fra Angelo the inquisitor of Milan, tried at Rome, condemned to death in October 1569, and executed in July 1570.

16. Ancona, a small seaport on the Adriatic coast that had been the city of refuge for Jews fleeing the Iberian Peninsula after 1492. With a view to increasing the commerce of the city and of the state, Pope Martin V had granted them many privileges including permission to establish banks and to lend money at interest. They experienced a dramatic change with the election of Pope Paul IV. The *autos-da-fe* during 1556 caused great alarm. They were enclosed within the ghetto, subjected to heavy taxation, limited in their commerce to old clothing, prohibited from practising any art other than medicine, and forbidden the use of their calendar. Many Jews fled and found refuge in Turkey under Sultan Suleiman II (Chazen, 2000).

17. The Florentine scholar Antonio J. Brucioli, expelled from Florence in 1530 for having made reference to Luther and Bucer in his writings, set up a printing-press in Venice with his brothers where, in 1532 (two years before Luther's German translation was completed), he printed his Italian translation of the Bible, based upon Santus Pagnani's Latin version. In the Index of 1559, all the works printed by the Brucioli brothers were prohibited. Antonio died in prison in 1566.

peoples and nations; he looked at everything and pondered everything carefully." The same must have applied to Venice, a cosmopolitan city overflowing with people of all walks of life and nationalities.[18] Many of the immigrants came from areas in Europe where the Reformation had already made considerable headway. Lutheran literature had been introduced by German merchants as early as 1519; by mid century, the Anabaptist movement[19] had also found many followers, especially among the artisans. John Martin relates the documented case of Francesco Cazuolo, a silk weaver, and sometime foot soldier, who was tried for heresy on August 20, 1568.[20] Tomás/Cervantes must certainly have encountered members of these underground groups in the Arsenal.

Tomás sums up his impression of the city thus: "the riches of Venice were infinite, its government prudent, its site incomparable, its prosperity immense." Cervantes is being intentionally ambiguous when he qualifies the government as "prudent." Firstly, by inserting the phrase within a series of other references dealing with wealth and prosperity, the reader is naturally inclined to interpret "prudent" in economic terms as being thrifty, not extravagant or wasteful. A city that for centuries had remained the unrivalled mistress of trade between Europe and the Orient must necessarily have exercised that sort of prudence. The term, however, has several other interpretations. According to the Catholic Church, prudence[21] is one of the four cardinal virtues, the other three being justice, temperance and fortitude. In other words, prudence is a gift of discernment to distinguish good from evil and to proceed cautiously bearing in mind one's own interests. This sense was applicable to the Most Serene Republic, and by extension to the Venetian Inquisition. Cautious procedure is what prompted the Venetian authorities to rid themselves of dissidents by a method that would bring less reproach upon the city than conducting public *autos-da-fé*, namely, drowning dissenters in the Adriatic in the middle of the night.[22] Is this what Cervantes meant by 'prudent'? From the artisans at the Arsenal, Tomás may well have learned of the plight of these persecuted Christians[23] as well as their "safe places" throughout Europe. In the northern provinces, the Anabaptist communities that had survived the severe persecution of the 1540s adopted strict pacifism.[24]

The next major cities in Tomás's European tour were Antwerp, Ghent and Brussels. And "having satisfied the desire he had had to see what he had seen [in Flanders]" he returned to Spain. And what was it that he wanted to see? The phrase certainly insinuates that he was looking for something in particular. Was it simply curiosity or had he heard reports of things he wanted to verify? Cervantes leaves it to the reader to guess. These three cities were closely associated with Charles V[25] and, by analogy, the days of Spanish glory. On the other hand, if instead of associating them with Charles V the reader associates them with Philip II, the associations are not those of splendour but of oppression. Did Tomás/Cervantes want to see for himself the devastated cathedral at Antwerp following the iconoclastic riots, or the open-field preaching around Ghent[26] or the burning of Claudine le Vettre[27] outside Ypres (southern Flanders)? Perhaps he had wanted to visit the famous printing shop of Christophe Plantin in Antwerp where the eight volume Polyglot Bible[28] in Hebrew, Latin, Greek, Syriac and Aramaic was in the process of being printed, or perhaps he had got word that one of the exiled Spanish Reformers, Antonio del Corro, was in the area and had wanted to hear him preach.[29]

Let us return to the constable's inquiry in the story of "Las dos doncellas." He asks the traveller for news about Transylvania. Religious persecution dominated much of the

18. Certain trades attracted particular groups of immigrants: the glassworks were in the hands of the Jews; most of the bakers, cobblers and tailors were Germans; the butchers were from the Grisons; and the printers mainly from France and the Savoy. (John Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemies*: *Italian Heretics in a Reniassance City* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, p. 163.])

19. In 1550, the year of great Anabaptist Church Council, Pope Julius III claimed that 1,000 Venetians professed to be Anabaptists. The Council lasted 40 days and was attended by some 60 delegates from cities in northern Italy, as well as from congregations in the Grisons and Basel. After 1550, the Italian Anabaptist congregations became closely affiliated with the moderate Anabaptists in Moravia, the Hutterites. (*Cambridge Modern History*, A.W. Ward, ed., vol II, Ch. 12; "The Catholic South," New York, 1903, p. 382.)

20. John Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemies*. p. 164.

21. Thomas Aquinas classified it among the practical intellectual virtues.

22. According to surviving records, there were over 500 trials of heretics between 1547 and 1592. (John Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemies*, p. 188.)

23. See T. J. Van Braght (ed.), *Martyrs Mirror*, Dordtrecht, 1660. *Martyrs Mirror* covers the lives and deaths of European Anabaptist martyrs between 1524 and 1660.

24. Following the debacle at Munster, the Anabaptist movement came under fierce persecution. It was at this time that the Dutch Anabaptists, under the leadership of Menno Simons, became staunch pacifists.

25. Charles V was born in Ghent.

26. Calvinism was introduced into the Netherlands around 1566. Having no place to worship, the preachers resorted to open-air services. The first field-preaching took place on the 14th of June that year in the vicinity of Ghent. The first outdoor sermon near Antwerp was preached on the 24th of June. When tidings reached the ear of the Duchess of Parma that field-preachings had commenced at Antwerp, she wrote to the magistrates of that city, commanding them to forbid all such assemblies and to hang all the preachers. (Geeraert Brandt, *History of the Reformation in the Low Countries* [London, 1720], vol. I., p. 174). Also see Alastair Duke, *Select documents for the Reformation and the Revolt of the Low Countries, 1555–1609* (http://dutchrevolt.leidenuniv.nl/English/default.htm).

27. In 1567, a few months before the Duke of Alva's arrival, in Meenen, Flanders, Piersom des Muliers—a Mennonist [Anabaptist] preacher—and his wife Claudine le Vettre, were apprehended by Peter Titelmannus, Inquisitor General of Flanders. Piersom managed to escape, but Claudine was taken to the Ypres prison. During the time Claudine was at Ypres, many dissidents broke out of prison and escaped; but she refused to leave without her infant child, whom the guards kept in a separate cell. The Duke of Alva, having in the meantime entered the country, commanded to clear all prisons from heretics. As a result, Claudine was burnt at the stake outside Ypres in 1568 (*Martyrs Mirror*, p. 738).

28. The Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1569–1572), also known as the "Biblia Regia," was commissioned by Philip II of Spain, who, despite the royal commission, repeatedly failed to provide the promised funds and left Plantin with the bill. Up to four presses were employed full time, operated by about forty workers, to print the 1200 copies. Philip ordered 13 copies to be printed on vellum for his own use; these vellum copies required well over 20,000 skins, which Plantin also paid for himself.

29. Antonio del Corro (1527–1591), who had fled with ten other friars from the Monastery of San Isidoro in Seville in 1557, spent the winter of 1566–67 with the French congregation at Antwerp before making his final escape to England where he eventually became a professor of classics at Oxford. Corro had spent time with Calvin in Geneva, with Bèze in Lausanne and with Renée, the exiled Duchess of Ferrara, in Montarguis before being called to Antwerp as pastor of the

political scenario in both western and eastern Europe. The presence within territory of Transylvania of a substantial community of German speaking people had provided a thoroughfare by which Lutheran ideas entered the region.[30] The young king, Louis II, lost no time in issuing an edict stating that "All Lutherans, as well as all adherents to their sect, shall have their property confiscated, and themselves be punished with death, as heretics, and foes of the most holy Virgin Mary." It was Suleiman the Magnificent who saved Protestantism in Hungary and Transylvania, though he was totally unaware of the service he performed. Suleiman set out from Constantinople on April 23, 1526, at the head of a mighty army. Before setting out to meet him, King Louis II sent a message to Count Pemflinger commanding him to put in execution without delay his edicts against the heretics. The death of the young king at the battle of Mohács the following day resolved the matter for the moment.

Now two candidates contested the sceptre: János Zápolya, the governor of Transylvania, and Archduke Ferdinand of Austria. Both were devout Catholics, but both were too occupied trying to hold on to the crown to leave much leisure to carry out the persecuting edicts. In 1538, Zápolya married Isabella, daughter of the King of Poland. The following year, as he lay on his death-bed, word was brought him that the queen had borne him a son. He solemnly charged her not to deliver up Transylvania to Archduke Ferdinand. The widow, who had her son proclaimed King János II of Hungary, was unable to contend in arms with Ferdinand I and placed the young prince under the protection of Suleiman. This led to the reappearance of the Turkish army on Hungarian soil, to the fall of Buda, and to the division of the country into three parts: Royal Hungary, Turkish Hungary, and the Principality of Transylvania, ceded by the Sultan to János Sigismund (King János II) and his mother under Turkish suzerainty.

The Turks were wholly indifferent to the doctrinal controversies between Protestants and Catholics. On the other hand, being under the protection of the Turkish sultan, the country had the added advantage of being protected from the repressions of the Counter-Reformation. The inquisitorial rage that affected most of Europe at that time was absent from Transylvania. Three individuals are especially crucial at this period of Transylvanian history: Queen Isabella, her son János Sigismund, and Giorgio Biandrata, an Italian physician.

In 1548, the Diet of Torda decreed Lutheranism as the state religion; but a few years later, while János Sigismund and his mother were in Poland, the Diet met to discuss the possibility of returning to Catholicism. Lutherans and Calvinists rejected the idea and sent a supplication to Isabella asking for freedom of worship for all three groups. On her return, Isabella's first public act (June 1557) was to issue a decree which provided that "every one might hold the faith of his choice, together with the new rites and the former ones, and that the adherents of the new religion [Protestantism] should do nothing to injure those of the old [Catholicism]."[31]

Meanwhile, Giorgio Biandrata, a Piedmontese doctor, court physician to the Italian-born Queen Bona Sforza of Poland, had returned to Italy and was practising his profession at Pavia. In 1556, he had an unpleasant encounter with the Inquisition and two years later he was back in Poland helping to establishing the Minor Church, a branch of the Bohemian Brethren doctrinally related to the Moravian Anabaptists. Five years later, he was called to Transylvania to be the personal physician of Queen Bona's daughter, the widowed Queen Isabella of Transylvania, and also to act as political adviser to her son, now ruling as King János II. Following the policy of his mother, the king had made freedom of conscience the hallmark of his reign. And while contemporary Europe had accepted the principle that each country should adhere to a single religion, in 1564 the Transylvanian Diet proclaimed that each and every town and province within its territory should be given the free choice of its own religion. This was the first legislative body in Europe to enact religious freedom. Although the fact of *religious dissent* was present throughout Europe in the sixteenth century, the notion of *toleration* was totally innovative, especially at a time when there was no separation between church and state and absolute conformity to the ruler's religion was the norm.

Francis Dávid, one of Biandrata's early converts, became court preacher. Alarmed at his anti-Trinitarian views, the Calvinists and Lutherans called for public debates on doctrinal matters. In 1566, the king called a Synod for the purpose of discussing the doctrine of the Trinity. A similar debate two years later concluded with the issuing of the famous Act of Religious Tolerance and Freedom of Conscience, granting the Unitarians the same level of freedom as was already enjoyed by Lutherans and Calvinists. The fame of the Transylvanian freedoms spread rapidly.[32] Protestants, especially left-wing minority groups fleeing persecution in Holland, England, Switzerland, Poland and Italy, flocked to Transylvania. The Act of Tolerance proclaimed at the Diet of Torda was issued in 1568, the same year that the Duke of Alva's bloody Council of Troubles was in full operation, and the same year that Cervantes supposedly witnessed Egmont and Horns' execution.[33] The atrocities witnessed in the Low Countries in the name of Christianity must certainly have made a lasting impression on him; the news of a monarch capable of decreeing religious tolerance must have made an equally lasting impression on him.

We have already seen how Cervantes juxtaposes the

French Calvinist congregation in 1567. (See Emilio Monjo (ed.), *Tu Reino: Obras de los reformadores españoles del siglo XVI* (Vol. 1); *Antonio del Corro* (Sevilla: Iglesia Presbitereana Reformada, 2005).

30. "In 1521, the year Belgrade fell to the Turks, Maria von Habsburg, sister of Charles V, became the consort of king Louis II of Hungary. The queen and her large retinue of German knights were enthusiasts of the new doctrine and her court soon became a haven for the followers of Luther. The Hungarian gentry was scandalised by their fascination with Protestantism—which had in fact already been introduced into Hungary by Geroge Margrave of Brandenburg, the king's uncle. They loathed Protestantism not so much for reasons of faith as for reasons of politics. A Hungary infested by the new 'heresy' would be denied papal assistance in her struggle with the Turks." (B. K. Király, "The sublime Porte, Vienna, Transylvania and the dissemination of Protestant Reformation in Royal Hungary." In B. K. Király (ed.), *Tolerance and Movements of Religious Dissent in Eastern Europe* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), p. 201).

31. Her brother, King Sigismund August II of Poland, had enacted a similar decree one year earlier guaranteeing everyone the right to worship in one's house as one wished.

32. The situation did not last long for only three years later, in 1571, the young king was killed when his carriage overturned. The leaders that succeeded him were of another sort.

33. See *Don Quixote* I, 39. Alva arrived in Flanders in August 1567 and the execution of Egmont and Horns, and 16 other Dutch nobles, took place the following June in Brussels.

Court, Flanders, the Turk and the *transilvano* in terms of proximity, political importance, and orthodoxy. As well as a logical, coherent spatial progression, the four also contain a logical, coherent temporal element. Indeed, besides the activities of the Duke of Alva's bloody Council of Troubles in Flanders and the proclamation of the Act of Tolerance in Transylvania, 1568 was also a significant year for the Turk and the Spanish court. It marked the death of Philip II's third wife, Isabel de Valois daughter of Henri II of France, a date Cervantes could not easily forget for one of his earliest literary compositions was an elegy on the young queen's death. It also marked the death of Don Carlos, Philip II's firstborn and heir to the Spanish throne.[34] It also marked the beginning of the rebellion of the Moriscos in Granada. As for the Turk, military advances in the Mediterranean continued after the death of Suleiman the Magnificent and in 1568 the island of Chios, one of the important trade centres of the Aegean Sea, was seized. Chios was the prelude to the capturing of Cyprus two years later, which led to the creation of the Holy League, the alliance between the Papacy, Spain and Venice in 1571 and the defeat of the Turkish forces at the Battle of Lepanto that same year.

I have attempted to analyse Cervantes reference to Transylvania in line with current New Historical thought, thus contributing to Joseph Ricapito's appeal to "readjust" our reading of Cervantes.[35] Because, as Ricapito argues, Cervantes' literary production is largely from life and experience, an historical reading of his texts sheds greater light on his literary genius. The constable's fleeting inquiries were not simply a series of topics tossed in just to keep up the conversation; they were camouflaged current events that the "discerning" reader would necessarily understand. Cervantes was prudent. He was not about to be exposed for an unguarded remark. Moreover, what may appear to be nothing more than a rhetorical question on the lips of the curious constable was also a literary device, a way of denouncing a stratagem used to trick innocent prey in sixteenth century Inquisitorial Spain. The slightest slip of the tongue could easily become compromising information.[36] The gentleman, we are told, "was not in any position to be able to satisfy the constable's curiosity" so he ignored the questions. The three official censors of the novels ignored the reference as well. Even Francisco de Lyra, the printer from Seville who thrived on political correctness,[37] left the reference and the salutation in tact.[38] In short, what seems to have passed as a fleeting remark, thrown in to show politeness, was actually a summary of the most crucial international affairs of the day in their most subtle, poetical form. Another example of Cervantes' ingenious *savoir-faire*: turning slices of life into works of art. *C&S*

34. The secrecy that enveloped Don Carlos' death engendered numerous rumours; hence reference to "news from the court" was nearly as compromising as asking about the affairs of Transylvania.

35. Joseph V. Ricapito, *Cervantes's Novelas ejemplares: Between History and Creativity* (West Lafayette, 1996), p. 6.

36. Miguel Mezquita, a gentleman of Formiche (Teruel) appeared January 19, 1536, before the Valencia tribunal. A priest had denounced him for certain statements regarding Luther. Mezquita explained that he had been several times to Italy and had been sent to Flanders; the priest had asked him what was said about Luther, and he had merely gratified his curiosity by repeating what he had heard abroad in common talk. Fortunately for Mezquita, the inquisitors were not unreasonable and he was allowed to return to his family, but the case remained on the records to be brought up against him should any neighbour see fit to distort some careless utterance (Archivo Histórico Nacional, Inquisición de Valencia, Leg. 31, in H.C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* [1906], Volume 3, Book 7: Ch 4, p. 420).

37. See Part I.

38. This may have been due to the deliberate ambiguity surrounding the identity of the *transilvano*, and which we hope to have successfully resolved in this article. Lyra may have interpreted the reference as referring to Steven Bathori who became the next ruler of Transylania and of Poland and, though he himself did not actually persecute non-Catholics, he did welcome the Jesuits, who did their best to stamp out all heresies.

TOO MUCH GLOBALISATION OR TOO LITTLE? CHRISTIANITY, POVERTY AND THE WORLD ECONOMY

by Esmond Birnie

INTRODCTION

THERE can be little doubt that mass and extreme poverty in many parts of the world is one of the great social and economic challenges of our time; perhaps the greatest.[1] This article attempts an ethical, moral and theological evaluation of globalisation; does globalisation help or hinder the reduction of poverty? I conclude, contrary to many other Church and Christian commentators, that the problem of the so-called "Third World"[2] is too little globalisation rather than too much.

There are three main sections to this article. First, a consideration of what the Bible says regarding poverty. Second, an introduction to the debate about globalisation. Third, a more detailed consideration of the empirical and statistical evidence as to whether global poverty and inequality are increasing.

1. *The Bible and global poverty*

Before moving into the detail of the debate about globalisation and, indeed, the extent of widening or narrowing of gaps between levels of income in different parts of the world I want to review some of the main points which the Bible makes about poverty. I acknowledge the Bible as supremely authoritative and reliable in what it says about *all* the issues of life. As the Westminster Confession of Faith says, "The whole counsel of God concerning all things necessary for His own glory, man's salvation faith *and life*, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture . . ." (emphasis added).[3] Also, as Douglas Meeks argued, ". . . there can be no sound teaching about the church that does not include the relation of the church to our society's economy and the world's economy."[4]

Before considering the scriptural data I should outline my broad approach as a Christian "doing economics." The reader will soon discern that I do put a strong emphasis on empiricism (what we can measure about performance of the real world economy) alongside the reading of either direct instruction or principles from the Bible. Whilst some readers may object to what they perceive as my over-reliance on measurement and observation I would defend this at a number of levels. First, I do think that God has created us with the ability to discern a certain amount about the way things are by observation.[5] The Fall corrupts our cognitive capabilities but it does not totally erase them.[6] Second, whilst I accept Kuyper's observation[7] that there is a sense in which Christians and non-Christians do "different sciences" yet I would argue there is *some* empirical common ground. We may not be able to agree on interpretation but for both camps 2+2 = 4. Third, at least for a while in the eighteenth through to nineteenth centuries American-British evangelicalism was able to prosper alongside a form of the Enlight-

1. This was the view of the Brandt Commission report (1980), *North-South: A Programme for Survival*. See J. Stott, "North-South economic inequality," in J. Stott (1990), *Issues Facing Christians Today*, (London: Collins), p. 131.

2. I do not like the term "Third World" since it implies some common condition in Asia, Africa and Latin America which is probably not there. Economic conditions in fact vary enormously as between, say, a shipyard worker in South Korea or a peasant in Chad. This question-begging term was probably an attempt to draw an analogy with the Third Estate of pre-Revolutionary France. In 1952 the demographer Alfred Sauvy wrote the article "Three Worlds, One Planet" in which he quoted Sieyes' remarks in 1789, "What is the Third Estate? Everything. What has it been hitherto in the political order? Nothing." "Gradually the term 'Third World' became one of the great cant phrases of the post-war period. It was never defined, for the good and simple reason that, the moment anyone attempted to do so, the concept was seen to become meaningless and collapsed," P. Johnson, *Modern Times: A History of the World from the 1920s to the 1990s* (London: Phoenix, 1992), p. 692.

3. Chapter I, vi.

4. Quoted in M. Atherton, *Christianity and the Market* (London: SPCK, 1992), p. 79.

5. Perhaps I have been a bit of a "Scottish common sense philosopher" without, hitherto, much realising it! For a survey of Scottish common sense philosophy see D. Estrada, "The Scottish school of common sense philosophy," *Christianity and Society*, Vol. xv (Summer, 2005), no. 1, pp. 34–41.

6. There is, probably, something of a gradation whereby sin is "most damaging" in those sciences with, relatively speaking, the greatest dependency on theorising and value judgements (e.g. psychology, sociology?) through to those (physics? At least prior to sub-atomic work) where there is relatively more scope for empirical testing. Economics lies somewhere in the middle.

7. A. Kuyper, *Lectures on Calvinism* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1983), pp. 131–3.

enment (especially one which stressed empiricism).[8] Fourth, I repudiate a post-modern view that *all* attempts to read something from the data about the real world are hopelessly compromised by the biases of the observer.[9] Fifth, I would wish to defend the *relative* autonomy of the various academic disciplines or branches of human thought (e.g. economics, biology, astrophysics). They are certainly subordinate to the sovereign God but it is not for the institutional Church to determine how economics or genetics is thought about or applied (though, of course, it would be healthy and desirable for as many individual Christians as possible to be working within such disciplines trying to bring a Christian mind to bear).[10] It is worth remembering that the roughly one thousand year period when the institutional Church had the strongest influence over the conduct of economic policy in western Europe (c. 500 to c. 1500) was also an era when there was almost no long run economic growth.[11]

So, after that gallop through the background to my broad approach as a Christian who happens to have been a professional economist, what does the Bible say about poverty?[12] It has, in fact, become commonplace amongst evangelical writers to stress the frequency of the biblical references to poverty; see, for example, the writing of Jim Wallis who notes that only idolatry is mentioned more often in the Old Testament than "poverty" (and that one in sixteen of all the verses in the New Testament refer to wealth or poverty).[13] There remains the interpretative challenge that sometimes biblical references to the "poor" imply the socio-economic category (Ps. 35:10) and sometimes they refer primarily to those who trust more in God than any possessions (Ps. 86:1) and often the two groups overlap (Is. 61).

Right from the start the Bible establishes the goodness and bountifulness of Creation (Gen. 1, Ps. 24:1 and 112:9). Poverty is clearly not part of God's original intention for this world.

In heaven there will be plenty (Rev. 21:4). Indeed, the classic economic problem, that of scarcity, whereby more resources for individual X always mean fewer for individual Y, presumably does not exist in heaven. It is striking that so much of secular and, indeed, Christian/Church commentary on political and economic issues seems to take it as read that we have already dealt with this problem of scarcity; that more can be spent on this or that desirable objective without facing any necessity to ask on what we will spend less!

Yet, as often, we are also told to hold on to a balancing truth. In this case the biblical emphasis is that in this age, before the New Heaven and New Earth, poverty will persist (Dt. 15:11, Mt. 26:11).

And yet an important rider to the biblical prediction of the persistence of poverty is the statement that *if* humanity followed God's way there would be a great deal less poverty; if there was total obedience there would be no poverty whatsoever (this is said very directly in Dt. 15:4–6 and is implied in the blessings for obedience outlined in Dt. 28:3–5). So, once again, the emphasis is on the consequences of human sinfulness and the ill effects reaped through the Fall (to take just one example, Dt. 24:15 names the failure by employers to pay wages on time as a grievous personal sin).

The Bible is certainly not fatalistic about mass poverty. Even as it declares such poverty is there, and likely to continue as a result of human depravity, it does not recommend we sit on our hands. We should try to help all who are poor.

The latter point is in turn qualified by a particular emphasis on assisting fellow believers. So, contrary to what some modern Christians believe we do not have an either/or situation. The Church should be facilitating Christian action to address poverty wherever it is found but also particularly amongst fellow Christians (Mt. 25:40).

Our charitable giving or other personal action to alleviate poverty, like all giving, has the ultimate benefit that it gives greater glory to the Almighty. God himself, and the giving of due obedience and reverence to him, is the foundation of a truly just society (Job 5:16; Ps. 14:6, 82:3, 113:7 and 140:12; Pr. 14:31 and 31:9).

There is *some* reference in Scripture to the reduction in inequality as one motivation for giving to the poor. Since this point is obviously very relevant to our consideration of globalisation etc. it warrants careful consideration. The clearest instance of such biblical promotion is Paul's appeal to the Corinthian Church to give to help their Christian brothers and sisters in Jerusalem (2 Cor. 8–9). So, this case is in the context of giving *within* the Church (i.e. from Christian to Christian) and organised by the institutional Church. Certainly, some Christians have used these verses to justify redistributive economic policies (including those conducted by the State).[14] I think it is very doubtful whether

8. A. McGrath, *A Passion for the Truth* (Leicester: IVP 1996), pp. 166–171, thinks that this period of collaboration was really something of a sell-out on the part of evangelicalism. I do not accept that and fear that his own approach to the nature of "the Truth" probably opens too much of a door to post-modernism and relativism. B. Follis, *Truth with Love: The Apologetics of Francis Schaeffer* (Belfast: Titus Press, 2005), p. 154f.

9. Yes, some people will do their economic theorising from a pro-capitalist perspective and some from a pro-socialist (or, formerly, Marxist) perspective but in the long run the performance of individuals and companies and, ultimately, different countries in the real world economy will tell us *something* about the validity of different viewpoints. "Every modern communist and socialist experiment, West and East, without exception has brought economic disaster, hardship and loss of freedom," F. Schaeffer (jnr.), *Is Capitalism Christian?* (Downers Grove IL: Crossway Books, 1985), p. xvi.

10. According to Atherton (1992), *op. cit.*, p. 102, the early nineteenth century Christian political economists such as Thomas Chalmers and Archbishop Whately certainly recognised this relative autonomy as did Kuyper (1983), *op. cit.*, p. 119.

11. As far as it is possible to "gues-timate," as economic historians such as Angus Maddison have attempted, income per head of the population (in modern parlance, GDP per capita) in pre-modern times, it seems there was almost no growth between 500 and 1500; S. C. Perks, *The Political Economy of a Christian Society* (Taunton: Kuyper Foundation, 2001), p. 97.

12. As a disclaimer, I realistically declare that I have been formally trained as an economist but not in hermeneutics, systematic theology etc.

13. See his "Changing the wind: The role of prophetic witness and faith based initiatives in tackling inequality" in P. Heslam, *Globalisation and the Good* (SPCK, 2004), pp. 116–126, and his *The Call to Conversion* (Tring: Lion Publishing, 1981). Wallis seems to have become a bright light for those politically engaged evangelicals in the USA or Britain who wish to distinguish themselves from what is perceived as the fairly right wing orientation of the mainstream of American evangelicals. Some of his earlier judgments seem quite questionable. See, for example, his comments on the 1970s Vietnamese Boat People refugees to the USA, "Many of today's refugees were innoculated with a taste for a Western lifestyle during the war and are fleeing to support their consumer habit in other lands" (*Sojourners* [September 1979], quoted in Schaeffer [1985], *op. cit.*, p. xxiii).

14. D. J. Atkinson and D. H. Field, "Third World Aid" in *New Dictionary of Christian Ethics and Pastoral Theology* (Leicester: IVP, 1995), pp. 847–8.

this wider application is warranted since the giving being described by Paul is clearly voluntary and therefore fundamentally different from the compulsory levy of taxation by the State. It should also be asked whether taking the Bible as a whole there is a clear emphasis that inequalities of income and wealth are wrong in themselves? The Bible seems to judge inequality less by the size of income gaps between various groups and more by the morality or otherwise of the process which created them (Job 24 shows there can be unjust processes of wealth concentration but there can also be cases where the righteous righteously accumulate great wealth; cf. Ps. 112:3). Looking again at the particular context of the giving being encouraged in Corinthians, this seems to have been an attempt to "level up" the condition of a group of Christians who had fallen, partly through natural disaster,[15] into a position of extreme poverty. Some might attempt to draw a parallel to the modern welfare State's attempt to provide a sort of collective insurance system.[16] Once again such a view has the problem that Paul was clearly writing about Christians giving donations to other Christians. This does not look like the modern attempt to use taxation and public spending to attain a continuous reduction in the difference between the incomes and wealth of the rich and poor.

Nevertheless, some prominent Church leaders have, for example, made suggestions like this, ". . . a new structure of government which makes a more obvious provision for the removal of poverty . . . as a constant, accepted and integral part of fiscal national planning . . . [we, i.e. the Churches] . . . call on the governments of Britain and Ireland to devote a definite and realistic percentage of national wealth to world development as a constant and normal element of national expenditure. Controversial it may be—but is it not a logical consequence of individual responsibility in this 'new order' that direct taxation should reflect a permanent contribution to national aid for the poor of the world."[17] My response is not so much to question the controversial nature of what this Church leader said but to ponder whether the levying of taxation will necessarily increase personal moral responsibility.

Christians who strongly favour redistribution in a more egalitarian direction have also sometimes leant on the Jubilee Laws whereby land holdings were to revert to the original owners at the end of each 50 year period.[18] However, as Perks[19] pointed out the Jubilee system (if it had ever been carried out) represented a redistribution back to original structure of land holdings (which would not necessarily have been an equal one) rather than a move towards equality *per se*. The original (Josh. 14 and 18) allocation of land within the Promised Land after Joshua's invasion was determined by lot which hardly indicates a desire to achieve precise equality. Similarly, the gleaning laws (Lev. 19:10) do not establish anything more than that poverty should be combated through action at the inter-personal level and, indeed, within (extended) families. "The Bible offers no formula establishing an abstract ideal of distributive justice."[20]

So, what then of the role of the State in all of this? As Romans 13 points out, the State is God's servant to do good but it is probably stretching a point to say that the modern welfare State and redistributive activity is necessarily about doing that.[21] Perks points out how Romans 13 (v. 4) outlines the criminal justice responsibility of the State and then (13:6) says that taxes are to be paid for ". . . this very thing," implying *this* thing rather than the very wide range of responsibilities which the modern State has assumed.[22] What of raising money through taxation (especially "progressive" income tax which is meant to bear proportionally more on the rich than the poor) and then redistributing that to the poor (either at home or abroad)? For some Christians the answer is in the negative because there is no direct scriptural affirmation of this policy (just as there is not for locking people up in prison or, possibly, ending slavery!). I suspect this will be the view of many of the readers of this journal.[23] That said, most modern evangelicals[24] seem very comfortable with both the domestic welfare State and its international manifestation in the form of development aid. Townsend, however, concedes that there is in fact no clear biblical case for progressive income tax (though he goes on to argue that there might be some basis for a wealth tax based on the Jubilee principle and the Old Testament model).[25]

Interestingly, recent conservative Catholic thinking has reflected the superiority of personal charitable action and giving relative to State welfare activity: "There is no ordering of the State so just that it can eliminate the need for a service of love . . . The state which would provide everything, absorbing everything into itself, would ultimately become a mere bureaucracy . . ."[26]

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15. Although the background to Paul's appeal on behalf of the Jerusalem Christians cannot be established entirely from the text it is likely that 2 Corinthians was written in about A.D. 55, that is, roughly ten years after the severe famine noted in Acts 11:28.

16. That is, if I fall ill or become unemployed there is the welfare safety net to fall back on.

17. Archbishop of Armagh, Dr Robin Eames, Presidential Address to the Church of Ireland General Synod (2003).

18. See A. Storkey, *A Christian Social Perspective* (Leicester: IVP, 1979), p. 309.

19. Perks (2001), *op. cit.*, 284.

20. C. Townsend, "Render unto Caesar?" *Cambridge Papers*, vol. 10, no. 3 (2001), p. 4.

21. Calvin (J. McNeill, ed., *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 2, [vol. XXI, Library of Christian Classics, Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1960], p. 1488) summarises the role of the State as twofold: one, providing for "public manifestation of religion" among Christians and, two, ensuring that "humanity be maintained among men." Some might claim that the second aspect would allow for some welfare/redistributive activity though note that Calvin also warned that the State must take care regarding the level and use of tax revenues (*ibid.*, pp. 1501–2).

22. Perks (2001), *op. cit.*, p. 200.

23. For Perks (2001), *op. cit.*, p. 201, since the Old Testament Law explicitly allocated God a 10 per cent share of any "increase" (i.e. annual income) the State therefore has no right to collect more than that. If the activities of modern States were to be limited to no more than 10 per cent of GDP there would obviously be much less scope for redistributive spending and a welfare State in general. Calvin (*op. cit.*, p. 1501) cautioned that the State must not spend with "waste and expensive luxury."

24. According to C. Pinnock, writing in his earlier evangelical period, "Our radicalism was a fusion of an anabaptist hermeneutics and new left political orientation" ("A pilgrimage in political theology: A personal witness," in Schaeffer (1985), *op. cit.*, p. 317). This interesting observation implies a contradiction in some of the social thinking of the more radical evangelicals in Britain and America over the last few decades. On the one hand, such evangelicals, unlike the magisterial Reformation, deny the State the right to use law to uphold "Christian standards" across society and yet, on the other hand, such evangelicals do try to justify extensive State intervention in socio-economic terms.

25. Townsend (2001), *op. cit.*, p. 4.

26. Papal Encyclical (26 January 2006), *Deus Caritas Est.*

As my focus is on issues of poverty and equality I am not going to review the wider biblical perspective on issues such as the distinction between self-interested behaviour and selfishness,[27] or as to whether competitive behaviour is inherently wrong.[28] I would simply say that I profoundly disagree with the assessment of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) who recently argued that the international capitalist economy is necessarily about unrestrained growth, profit and greed.[29] WARC and other critics might be on stronger ground if they focused on the questions of whether the market economy, as it is, provides sufficient incentives to virtue rather than vice, and whether a market economy can long endure without the underlying social capital provided by strong adherence to Judeo-Christian moral values and laws?

I should also say that when we are considering economic policies we have to start from where we are; not from the world which we might ideally wish for. The world economy in the 2000s is characterised by welfare States, fractional reserve banking and limited liability companies.[30] This raises the question as to how to best frame a strategy of Christian reform. How far can we engage in piecemeal improvement or does everything have to be changed at once? And how far is all of this dependent on mass conversion and national spiritual renewal? I suspect that we will substantially have to work within the confines of the "economy which we have got" for some time to come. Hence, as noted above, my "pragmatic" acceptance that some inter-governmental development aid (especially if targeted, e.g. onto primary and preventative health care) might do some good. To use a bit of jargon from one branch of economics, welfare economics, our practical Christian response to the real world may have to involve considerations of the second best. There is, arguably, precedent for this within Scripture (see Mt. 19:8 and the provision for divorce).[31] The Bible gives us more direct instruction on some aspects of economics than others. Given this, right or wrong, there has always been a strand of Reformed thinking (going back all the way to Calvin himself in his *Institutes*[32]) which thought there was some room in shaping public policy for considerations of "general equity" or even of natural law.[33]

2. *The great debate on globalisation*

Globalisation, according to Wolf, is the ". . . great event of our times."[34] What, however, does it mean? A definition could involve the following:

- Companies and workers, entrepreneurs and innovators, consumers and taxpayers in any part of the world are much more affected by events elsewhere than was the case in the past.[35]
- Increased economic integration such that there is freer movement of final products and of the capital, labour and services used in their production.[36]
- The dramatic reduction in certain costs, notably transport and information handling (e.g. cheap air fares and telephone calls and computers).

The reduction in world poverty has (rightly) been portrayed as one of the great moral crusades of our time. Sadly, this wholly good desire to reduce such poverty has become mixed up with an often unreasoning rejection of the market economy. A banner at a recent anti-globalisation rally in London said, ". . . replace capitalism with something nicer." According to Wolf[37] globalisation's many critics have accused the international market economy of doing some or all of the following:

- Reducing the ability of national governments to make their own economic and social policies.
- Increasing the power of business corporations (especially multinational ones).
- Increasing inequality both within and between countries.
- Destroying peasant farming.
- Preventing the supply of cheap medicines to poor countries.

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27. It is fairly obvious that modern economic theory from Adam Smith onwards relies strongly on the assumption that most people most of the time act in a self-interested manner. Some Christians confuse the concept of self-interest with selfishness but there is a distinction (Mk 12:31 suggests to me that not all forms of self-love are wrong!). See also D. O'Keefe, ed., "Economy and virtue," *Readings*, no. 59 (London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 2004), p. 16.

28. The great nineteenth century Christian socialist F. D. Maurice wrote of the "evils of competition" contrasting to the "Christian principle of co-operation" (Atherton [1992], *op. cit.*, p. 141). In fact, people and companies can compete within the rule of law and ethical bounds (such boundaries may well be necessary for the long run sustainability of a market economy). There may be an ethical imperative to compete in being excellent (see 2 Cor. 9:1–5 for an example; J. Stott, *The Grace of Giving*, [London: Langham Partnership, 2004], p 11). Certainly, the reverse of competition, monopoly, raises a number of moral hazards.

29. One significant thing about the participants in a market economy is that they can have a range of motivations. Some, indeed, may be vicious but others may well be virtuous (O'Keefe (2004), *op. cit.*, pp. 21–22). Perhaps the "virtue" of the market economy is precisely that, however imperfectly, it gives people certain freedom as to how they act and hence the responsibility to act morally (they may well then fail this test but then there is now abundant evidence from the record during 1917–89 that the populations within State command economies such as the former Soviet Union often acted lazily, corruptly or selfishly and some of this vice may have been encouraged by the economic system). For the WARC see *Covenanting for Justice in the Economy and the Earth*, Statement from the 24th General Council, Accra, 30 July to 13 August 2004 (available on the web).

30. Some Christian commentators have claimed that each of these features of modern economies contradicts certain scriptural emphases (see Perks, *op. cit)*.

31. D. Hay, *Economics Today* (Leicester: Apollos, Postcript, 1989).

32. Calvin, *op. cit.*, pp. 145–1521 and particularly pp. 1493–4 and 1502–5.

33. The reference to "general equity" comes from the Westminster Confession (Chapter XIX, iv) and see also J. E. Birnie, "Testing the foundation of Theonomy," *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology*, vol. 15, no. 1 (1997), p. 21. Rushdoony, for example, accused Calvin of adopting too much classical humanism and hence of "heretical nonsense" (R. J. Rushdoony, *Institutes of Biblical Law* [Nutley NJ, 1973], p. 9. Similarly, G. North, *Westminster's Confession: The Abandonment of Van Til's Legacy* [Tyler TX, 1991], p. 240) identified too much of the "leaven" of natural law in Calvin's thought.

34. M. Wolf, *Globalisation Works* (New Haven and London: Yale Nota Bene, 2005), p. ix.

35. That said, there is some debate in the literature as to whether all the facets of globalisation indicate that the international economy today is more globalised than the international economy of, say, 1906. What is for sure is that we are more globalised now than was the position in the inter-War period or the early post-1945 period.

36. Whereas many global capital markets are moving towards high degrees of freedom of movement almost no countries now operate fairly free policies regarding the movement of labour (notably in terms of immigration). The US and EU countries in the 1990s and 2000s had more restrictive policies against immigration than was the case in the late nineteenth century.

37. Wolf (2005), *op. cit.*, p. 8.

- Reductions in wages (in both rich and poor economies).
- Destroying the environment.
- Starting a "race to the bottom" dragging down various regulations (for example labour and environmental).
- Increasing greed, materialism and consumerism.
- Undermining many traditional cultures.

This is a lengthy charge sheet and it does indicate that the opponents of globalisation are themselves a varied bunch united more by what they are against than what they are for. There are, for example, the old sectional interests, e.g. farmers in the developed world, peasant farmers in the poor countries, industrial workers in developed countries (represented by their trade unions). Then, in the last few decades we have seen an explosion in the number of new interest groups, notably the NGOs (non government organisations) of which there may have been more than 30,000 by 2003. In this sector we have a miscellany of charities and campaign groups, e.g. Greenpeace, Amnesty International and Oxfam. Of course, there continue to be many who object to globalisation on ideological grounds. For example, Marxists, nationalists, mercantilists or, indeed, religious groups. Such ideologues cover an incredible spectrum. In terms of American politicians it includes characters such as Ross Perot and Patrick Buchanan (it would also include most leading French politicians, for example, and not just obvious right wing nationalists such as Jean-Marie le Pen). Interestingly, some very successful business people like the late James Goldsmith and now George Soros have joined the ranks of globalisation's critics. The religious attack on the world market economy ranges from Christian Aid through to Catholic Liberation theologians, all the way to the Islamic terrorists such as Al-Quaeda.

It is possible to make a few preliminary comments about these opponents of globalisation. First, there are very few professional economists amongst the outright opponents of globalisation. The Americans Joseph Stiglitz,[38] Nobel Laureate, and Dani Rodrik of Harvard provide honourable exceptions, but they are not so much opponents of globalisation *per se* as the way it has been (mis-)managed, particularly on the part of the global financial institutions such as the IMF and World Bank.

Wolf[39] and a few others have noticed the irony that the opponents of globalisation are dependent on the very phenomenon they claim to condemn. The instruments of globalisation have been used by the opposition (from the use of the internet to organise protest rallies through to Al-Quaeda *et al.* using satellite TV channels—notably Al-Jazeera). There is something going on even deeper than simple opportunism on the part of well organised ideological campaigners. The very wealth which global market capitalism has been so effective at producing since 1800 or 1900 itself creates a class of people who have sufficient resources and leisure to care about world poverty, the environment etc. This is a bit like Marx's argument that capitalism would create its own grave diggers, though for Marx the driver was "immiseration" rather than affluence.[40] Similarly, Joseph Schumpeter, one of the twentieth century's greatest economists, took the view that capitalist economic growth would favour a bureaucratic and intellectual class unable to understand or sympathise with the profit motive.[41]

As far as this mixed bag of anti-globalisation protestors go there are many good intentions but, as the saying goes, the road to hell is paved with good intentions. Here are some of the key fallacies underlying some of the Make Poverty History, Live8, anti-globalisation campaigns (these points will be discussed further below):

- That the world's wealth is like a cake which drops out of the sky so we can give Africa a "bigger slice" by cutting back on the size of the Western slice.[42] In fact, the cake has to be baked first. At one level this is a depressing conclusion. We need to engage in the hard work[43] of creating wealth and yet, ultimately, this is grounds for optimism. We can have "win-win" situations. To deal with global poverty there is no necessity to make today's rich poorer.[44]
- That mass poverty is a new development. In truth, extreme poverty has been the state of the vast majority of the human race for most of history. It is only in the last two centuries that the capitalist market economy has achieved the impressive feat of lifting an ever bigger proportion of the population out of that misery.
- That all the blame for the current extent of world poverty rests with the rich, Western economies; we in the West are to blame. In reality responsibility should be more widely shared.
- That the governments of the poor countries should be exempt from blame and responsibility. In fact, there is every indication poor governance is a major explanation of the continued economic underperformance of a number of poorer countries.
- Because it is assumed that wealth can be redistributed in the absence of it having been created the cry is "reduce globalisation" whereas it should be "more globalisation not less"!

In fact during the course of 2005 with its Making Poverty History campaign, the likes of Sir Bob Geldof, Bono and even the Archbishop of Canterbury (because he made a sermon which was perceived to oppose free trade)[45] became heroes of the moment. Some would even give credit to the

38. J. Stiglitz, *Globalization and its Discontents* (London: Allen Lane, 2002).

39. Wolf (2005), *op. cit.*, p.4.

40. Marx's argument was cogently set out in his *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 and then at greater length in the three volumes of *Das Kapital (Capital)*.

41. In his book *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. Later American conservative thinkers such as Irving Kristol and Daniel Bell came to the same conclusion as did, more recently, Michael Novak (*The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism* [London: Institute of Economic Affairs Health and Welfare Unit, 1991]).

42. It is regarded, in the philosopher Robert Nozick's phrase, as "manna from heaven," A. Flew, "Selfishness, exploitation and the profit motive," in O'Keefe (2004), *op. cit.*, p. 75.

43. This is, of course, entirely compatible with the biblical witness that we can only produce food and other goods for our consumption through the sweat of our brow (Gen. 3, Pr. 10:4, 20:13 and 21:17).

44. Although it would require another article to consider some of the issues, I think we can also discount the "environmental scare" that the potential exhaustion of some non-renewable resources or possible global warming implies that we must put a cap on total global economic output and therefore that the Western economies should be moved into reverse gear. WARC (2004), *op. cit.*, are amongst the critics of globalisation who predict ecological meltdown but for a more careful and reasoned view see Bjorn Lomborg in The Economist, *Globalisation* (London: Economist Books, 2001), pp. 232–38. On alleged climate change in particular see R. L. Bradley, "Climate alarmism reconsidered," *Hobart Paper*, no. 146 (London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 2003).

45. Available at the Archbishop of Canterbury's website, Rowan

efforts of Prime Minister Blair and Chancellor Gordon Brown.[46] Yet very few praise the work of industrialists, entrepreneurs and bankers.

In 2005 Christian Aid went so far as to use adverts showing pin striped suits crushing Africans.[47] I wonder if such a slanted view is fair because the greatest reduction in poverty in human history has come about through the market economy. The World Bank defines extreme poverty as attempting to live on an income of less than a single dollar a day (measured at prices of 1985). Using this measure one study suggested that about 80 per cent of humanity were poor back in 1820 but in the 1990s that proportion had dropped to one-quarter.[48] Lal (2002) makes the valid point that mass structural poverty, as he terms it, was the norm for almost all of the human history until modern economic growth became possible.[49] In contrast, Mr Geldof complains of "[the] . . . nightly pornography of poverty trailed pruriently across teatime TV screens . . ." and then adds, ". . . ultimately poverty is political . . ." It is his second point that I question. Mr Geldof and his fellow campaigners seem to be assuming that governments (especially the rich country administrations and above all those of the G8 group of the largest economies) can simply throw a switch and this will produce the wealth which will abolish mass poverty.[50] In reality wealth has to be produced by workers and farmers and companies (governments can and should facilitate and they have, sadly, often been the supremely effective destroyers of wealth); "The only real help to thousands of millions in the world near the starvation line is a vast improvement in the productivity of the earth's natural resources."[51] It is not globalisation which is the real problem but inadequate globalisation. I would wholeheartedly endorse the social conscience behind Make Poverty History but good intentions are no guarantee of wisdom in every department.

True, Make Poverty History may be right in some areas. More development aid would possibly help (notwithstanding the fact that over the last fifty years Africa has been given $450 billion or perhaps more without much if any impact on economic growth).[52] So, I am not going as far as P. T Bauer[53] who tended to the view that any governmental aid given to poor countries produced an equal and opposite decline in private sector investment, although I accept that government based aid is neither a necessary[54] nor sufficient condition for genuine economic development and, sadly, much of the official aid given by the West since 1945 has been wasted. I am accepting a certain "moral pragmatism" whereby if it is possible to apply taxpayers money collected here in the rich countries to save lives in poorer countries then it is worth trying to do this (even though the previous success of such efforts has been mixed and there is, as shown above, biblical warrant (for example, 2 Cor. 8:8, 9:5 and 9:7) for saying that voluntary giving is morally superior to involuntary donation.[55] A big "if" in the current situation is how far some of the least developed countries would be able to absorb any extra monies granted from the richer country governments. In passing, it can be pointing out that the available statistics may be somewhat misleading and have therefore become part of some, partly unwarranted, anti-American rhetoric. Lobbyists for greater aid often note how few Western governments have attained the United Nations (UN) target of donating 0.7 per cent of their GDP to such transfers. They frequently go on to argue that whilst western Europe's contributions average about 0.3 per cent of GDP, the US shows a disreputable miserliness by registering only 0.15 per cent.[56] What the official American data do not include is any US contribution to disaster relief which comes under the heading of military spending (e.g. helicopters) or the much higher level of *private* charitable giving coming from Americans (compared to Europeans).[57]

As for debt cancellation, it may be intuitively appealing but this is actually a complex policy question.[58] On balance, the debt of the highly indebted economies should certainly be wiped out though there may well be an unfairness to those poor countries which have already made sacrifices to repay the money they borrowed. Care will have to be taken to ensure that where debt repayments are cancelled the resources thus released really do go to deserving causes rather than more jet fighters or palaces or Swiss bank accounts for despotic presidents.[59]

Williams, "Sermons and speeches," "Sermon at the 60th anniversary of Christian Aid, St. Paul's Cathedral 26 April 2005."

46. The ongoing debate within the global poverty movement is whether PM Blair's G8 Gleneagles Conference (6–8 July 2005) delivered as much as could be reasonably expected or was just clever window dressing.

47. I discuss some of the economics of Christian Aid in more detail below.

48. F.Bourguignon and C. Morrison (2002), "Inequality among world citizens," *American Economic Review*, vol. 92, no. 4, pp. 727–44.

49. D. Lal, "The poverty of development economics," *Hobart Paper*, no. 144 (London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 2002).

50. *The Guardian* (28 December 2005), "Geldof's year," C2, pp. 2–5.

51. F. Catherwood (1975), *A Better Way: The Case for a Christian Social Order* (Leicester: IVP, p. 107.

52. Chikese, Chukwa-Emeka (1 July 2005), "Does aid work? Yes-for Britain," *The Times*.

53. The late Lord Bauer who, amongst other things, wrote, *Equality, The Third World and Economic Delusion* (London: Methuen, 1982). See also, *The Economist* (4 May 2002), "Economics Focus A voice for the poor," p. 93, and Perks (2001), *op. cit.*, pp. 14–15. Bauer's critique of aid rested partly on the assumption of 100 per cent crowding out (i.e. if £10 million is received domestic investment drops by the same amount). That there would be some crowding out seems likely, and it does seem to have been evidenced, but would it usually be complete? (If government aid really produced 100 per cent crowding out why would not private sector international investment also produce strong crowding out or even the monies provided through international charities or Churches unless, of course, the private monies were more efficiently or honestly handled?)

54. Because, of course, the UK was able to become the world's first industrial State without outside aid! (Incidentally, the revenues from the slave trade were probably not large enough to explain the creation of a sufficiently large investible "surplus" to fuel economic take-off.)

55. See the earlier discussion of some biblical principles regarding poverty and anti-poverty measures. I accept that in some cases intergovernmental aid transfers represent the taking of money from poor and average income taxpayers in the developed world to give largesse to persons of *above* average income in the developing countries but I doubt if this is always the case.

56. See Stott (1990), *op. cit.*, p. 141, and The Economist, *Globalisation* (London: Economist Books, 2001), pp. 226–31.

57. *The Times* (8 June 2005), "US in dock as scientists unite."

58. Where debt was incurred under a previous tyrannical regime, now thankfully toppled (e.g. Saddam Hussein) there seems a particularly strong moral case for not holding the general population to their original indebtedness (*The Daily Telegraph* (8 November 1999), "A once-in-a-millennium opportunity"). Incidently, I am taking the view that the so-called Old Testament ban on interest was not in fact a prohibition on *all* forms of interest bearing loan (S. C. Perks, "A Christian view of interest," *Christianity and Society*, Vol. 14, no. 3 (July, 1994), pp. 8–19).

59. Economists refer to the general problem of moral hazard in

Perhaps above all, Make Poverty History has done us all a service by highlighting Western world hypocrisy with respect to trade protection. Why, for example, should cows in the European Union enjoy a level of agricultural subsidy greater than the average annual income of most Africans? Moreover, to take just one African country, Malawi faces an average tariff on its exports to the EU six times that which Japan encounters.[60] Over and above the tax placed on many imports coming in from developing countries, the EU effectively protects itself through a range of regulations which (allegedly) have a rationale on health and/or environmental grounds. One example is the prohibition against traces of aflatoxin in nuts which may cost Africa up to $670m. in lost export revenues (according to one estimate the health risk from aflatoxin is so small that perhaps one European life is saved every three years through such a trade barrier).

European, American and Japanese systems of trying to support farm incomes at home have often had a devastating effect on the ability of poor countries to grow much needed food or, indeed, to export crops and commodities. One irony is that the policies such as the European Union's Common Agricultural Policy which are designed to address rural poverty in the West have been failures even in their own terms. It is now well established that rich country agricultural protectionism brings substantial benefits only to the richest farmers in Europe, the US or Japan (up to 80 per cent of the payments out of the CAP are received by the richest 20 per cent of farmers in the EU).[61] Notwithstanding the continuing (slow) process of reform of the CAP, the EU still maintains a considerable tariff against imports of food coming in from the rest of the world. Ahead of the December 2005 World Trade Organisation (WTO) talks in Hong Kong (which, predictably enough, failed to crack the problem of rich economy farming protectionism) the EU's Trade Commissioner Peter Mandelson seemed to be offering the prospect of substantial reductions in the level of EU food tariffs. On closer inspection the actual reduction being offered amounted to, at best, only a few percentage points.[62] Commissioner Mandelson's negotiating position was heavily criticised by, for example, the trade ministers of India, Argentina and Brazil.

Not only does the CAP damage farming in Africa, whilst failing to help really poor farmers here in Europe, but it saddles consumers in the EU with excessive bills for their groceries. Since food invariably represents a larger proportion of the budget of poorer families than richer ones the CAP is in effect a tax which hurts the poor much more than the rich (economists would say it is "regressive" rather than "progressive"). In 2005 food prices within the EU, including the UK, were about 30 per cent above world levels. One estimate[63] is that *if* free trade could be restored in agriculture the incomes of the poorest tenth of households in the UK would be boosted by 3.5 per cent. It has also been estimated that removal of trade barriers would increase EU GDP by 2 per cent but the proportional increase in Africa (6 per cent) would be even greater. It is sometimes argued that notwithstanding the CAP the EU is in fact making a major contribution to promoting developing world trade and growth through the series of preferential trading arrangements which exist between the EU and some African, Carribean and Pacific countries.[64] Sadly, this is not the case. The ACP conventions allow a measure of free trade access to the EU market to only a tiny proportion of the total developing country population[65] and these countries are not necessarily the poorest ones in any case. A danger of such preferential arrangements is that the countries become very dependent on them. What, for example, will happen to the Guyana economy now that the EU is planning to end the preferential arrangements relating to sugar?

Alas, Western hypocrisy about free trade and protectionism is not restricted to farming. Current attempts to negotiate bigger licence payments from poor countries to rich pharmaceutical companies is another instance of the Western economies trying to counter competition coming from the poorer countries. Wolf estimates that the poor country licence payments could be increased four-fold (from $15bn. annually to $60bn.).[66] However, it is mainly the scandal of rich country agricultural protectionism which is a hindrance to development through trade. As Chancellor Gordon Brown said at the 2005 Labour Party Conference, "If we are to make poverty history we must make the scandal and waste of agricultural protectionism history." Or, in the candour which the UK Ambassador to Poland Charles Crawford allowed himself in an e-mail which then leaked, "[The EU agricultural policy represents the] . . . most stupid, immoral, state subsidised policy in human history, give or take communism . . ."[67]

Alas, however, there are flaws in the Make Poverty History campaign. Much of the problem relates to the campaign's underlying hostility to free trade in particular and the market mechanism in general. As long ago as 1824 Macaulay wrote, "free trade, one of the greatest blessings which a government can confer on a people, is in almost every country unpopular."[68] Not much has changed after 180 years! Instead of free trade, the Make Poverty History slogan tends to be "fair trade not free trade." Such an aim appears superficially attractive but it is as hard to define as the notion of a "fair wage" for all (almost everyone will tend to support the notion but who decides what is fair?). It could be argued that just as each of the Western economies protected themselves from foreign competition during their period of industrialisation, so today's developing countries should be able to do likewise. This seems fair, but there is the problem that at the start of the twenty-first century many of the poor countries have already had the experience of three, four or five decades of trade protection and this has not been a good one; protected "infant industries" do not seem to

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such cases; seemingly compassionate treatment now promotes more misbehaviour and harm in the future (*The Daily Telegraph* (15 December 1999), "Don't forgive them their debts"). I suspect the debt crisis in some countries is now so severe we have no choice but to take the risk of moral hazard.

60. See, also, Wolf (2005), p. 215.

61. *The Economist* (5 November 2005), "The farmers' friend," p. 52. *The Times* (14 December 2005), "How French farmers make themselves rich through EU."

62. On the web site of Open Europe e.g., http://mailshot.moodia.com/send/Report.aspx?mid=326&rid=99813&sid=689712

63. By Oxford Economic Forecasting reported in Open Europe (November 2005), *Why the EU must reform to survive*, London.

64. These agreements are called the ACP arrangements.

65. Since the countries concerned were previously mostly French colonies one wonders if in this (as in other things) the EU represents the continuation of French imperialism by other means!

66. Wolf (2005) *op. cit.*, p. 217.

67. *The Times* (13 December 2005), "Finally Britain gets tough over necessary reforms."

68. Wolf, *op. cit.*, p. x.

grow up. One striking illustration of contrasts is the relative growth of the Japanese and Indian car industries (the Indian motor market was almost entirely closed until the late 1980s). Toyota (1937) and Hindustan Motors (1942) made their first cars at almost the same time but today the Japanese company produces 6m. annually compared to only 100,000 in the Indian company.[69] (One particularly striking case of poor country protectionism as an own goal is where some of the African countries have imposed tariffs on life saving anti-malaria mosquito nets.) If, for example, each of the African countries continues to protect its market against other African exporters then Africa will remain a mass of 50 or so mostly very small markets and the Africans will be the poorer for it.

Oxford Economic Forecasting in their model of the world economy suggest that Africa has more to gain from global free trade than the EU.[70] The World Bank believes that movement to substantial world free trade offers a $500bn. prize to the developing countries in the shape of export growth and income gains. Another estimate is that 134m. would move out above the poverty line defined as subsisting on an income of less than $2 per day equivalent.

True, Christian Aid have purported to show that African countries "lost" income of $272 billion from the degree of freer trade introduced during the 1980s and 1990s but this seems, in every sense, to have been a fairly partial analysis which made no allowance for the likely longer term benefit of freer trade in boosting rates of economic growth.[71] The Christian Aid study did not really consider any of the possible wider economic benefits of freer trade (it increases competition which in turn lowers costs, promotes more efficient use of capital and incentivises innovation) which have been evidenced in other studies. The Christian Aid report was based on an academic paper by E. Kraev (2005), "Estimating GDP effects of trade liberalisation on developing countries,"[72] but Kraev was at least up-front in admitting that his study was *not* comprehensive (he claimed that the lack of robust data made it impossible to measure any of the wider efficiency or innovation benefits of trade). However, another study, of 25 developing countries, found a positive association between economic growth rates and the extent of openness to international trade; those countries which traded more tended to have faster growth than those which had less trade (an empirical result which is hard to reconcile with the Christian Aid conjecture that freer trade was imposing massive and on-going costs on developing country economies).[73] It is perhaps significant that a recent Christian Aid publication[74] adopted a rather dismissive approach to criticisms which might be made by economists of the technical validity or otherwise of Christian Aid arguments. Christian Aid has indeed been one of the most vocal critics of the global market economy. Given this it is perhaps ironic that a former director of Christian Aid, Alan Booth in 1990, argued that Christians needed to come to terms with the market economy.[75] Similarly, and more recently, another previous director of Christian Aid, Professor Michael Taylor argued that all of the Christians involved in the debate around globalisation needed to avoid the demonisation of their opponents.[76]

Other commentators have been a bit more nuanced. Even the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose sermon (26 April 2005) to mark the 60th Anniversary of Christian Aid was interpreted as a blast against free trade, seemed to recognise that free trade could bring general and long term benefits.[77] His moral concern was that in the short to medium term there was no mechanism to ensure that that those who gained from the freer trade compensated those who lost out. Oxfam has recognised that, "Increased trade and investment between developing countries by decreasing trade barriers could bring real benefits in terms of employment and income."[78]

Another worrying aspect to the Make Poverty History approach is the extent of self-accusation; "we," i.e. the "West," are held to be largely responsible for poverty in Africa and elsewhere. It is a fascinating question why so many people in the West actually seem to *want* to feel guilty about world poverty.[79] The WARC in 2004 declared, "We acknowledge the complicity and guilt of those who consciously or unconsciously benefit from the current neoliberal economic global system."[80] I suspect this is yet another proof of G. K Chesterton's rule that when people stop believing in God they believe in anything; when people stop believing in the Christian doctrine of the cross and atonement they begin to focus on some soft option of collective economic guilt which (they hope) can be atoned for through the action of governments. But, is the accusation of Western guilt fair? This point matters because those who want to focus on the extent of Western responsibility for Third World poverty then tend to under-estimate how far poor country governments are part of the problem.

In reality there is a big problem of poor governance within the developing countries. Where governments are insufficiently accountable, stable or non-corrupt there may be insufficient confidence to encourage farmers to expand crops, entrepreneurs to start businesses or savers to invest in the home economy. The Latin American economist Hernando de Soto has, for example, highlighted the importance of property rights and the rule of law. If these can be established then economic growth should follow.[81] Another economist, Lal, points out that one of the dangers of exten-

69. A. Singleton (13 December 2005), "Protectionism gone awry" at the Globalisation Institute Website.

70. At the Open Europe web site: http://www.open europe.org.uk/research/tradejustice.pdf

71. Christian Aid (2005), "The economics of failure: The real cost of 'free' trade for poorer countries," *A Christian Aid briefing paper*. It is doubtful if the Christian Aid analysis is really capable of allowing for the *comprehensive* effects of freer trade on developing economies. What they did was to extrapolate a short run effect from trade liberalisation observed in *some* poor countries boosting import growth more than export growth to a range of economies over a 20 year period.

72. Available from Christian Aid on request.

73. D. Lal and Myint, *The Political Economy of Poverty, Equality and Growth: A Comparative Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996),.

74. Christian Aid, *Trade Justice: A Campaign Handbook* (London: 2002), p. 12.

75. Atherton (1992), *op. cit.*, p. 16.

76. M. Taylor, "Campaigning against injustice and the appeal to self-interest," in P. Heslam, *Globalization and the Good* (London: SPCK, 2004), pp. 105–115.

77. R. Williams (2005), *op. cit.*

78. A. Singleton (2005, Dec. 13), "Developing countries need to liberalise to make best advantage of global economy" at the Globalisation Institute Website.

79. "Come fix upon me that accusing eye, I thirst for accusation," W. B. Yeats. Quoted in P. T. Bauer, "Western guilt and Third World poverty," in Schaeffer (1985), *op. cit.*, pp. 115–17.

80. WARC (2004), *op. cit.*

81. *The Times* (23 May 2005), "Click, click, click. If only saving half the world from poverty were so simple."

sive government intervention and planning in the poor country economies is that such *dirigisme* has created the context in which corruption can flourish.[82] War and the rumour of war is the most spectacular case of inadequate governance. Since about 1990, with greater political stability, Uganda and Mozambique have, for example, sustained economic growth and reductions in poverty. In Congo, however, where a so-called civil war (a conflict involving most neighbouring States) has claimed more than 3 million lives, living standards have roughly halved in the same period. Yes, the West, Russia and China have a responsibility not to sell as much weaponry to poor countries, especially in Africa, but at the end of the day it is the governments in those countries which decide to use these weapons and generate the demand for them. There is, ultimately, a cultural and theological aspect to this question of poor governance. I agree with Lord Griffiths (contrary to the arguments of, for example, the Brandt Report of 1980) that *not* all cultures equally promote genuine economic and wider development.[83] Christian cultures are especially favourable to economic progress (and there is even some evidence, especially in terms of the phenomenal growth of pentecostal and other evangelical/fundamentalist Churches in Latin America and parts of east Asia that globalisation is far from being a barrier to mass conversion and evangelism).

There is a view that rich country observers should not criticise the governments of the poor countries as if to do so is in itself racist or colonialist.[84] I would counter that to accept lower standards for Africa and Asia is the racist approach. To say, as some do, that we should withhold criticism of President Mugabe because *some* of his policies are helping the indigenous population of Zimbabwe and because he has to be seen in the context of his country's history is rather like arguing that Hitler can be excused because of the Versailles Treaty and should be commended for building the *Autobahn* and *Volkswagen*!

The underlying weakness in the Make Poverty History campaign is that it tends to treat the global market economy as the enemy rather than the friend. In fact, the poor African economies suffer from having too little trade, too few landline phone connections and minimal investment by multinationals. Africa's tragedy is not too much globalisation but too little. Live 8, Bono and Geldof are entirely right that poverty is not inevitable. However, they and others do need to ask themselves what is the best way of lifting more people out of the poverty. After all, most of the Asian and African economies had similarly low living standards back in the 1950s, but subsequently, countries such as South Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia and, more recently, India and China used trade to get out of that position. This is the lesson which needs to be learnt now otherwise African misery will be prolonged and millions more will die.

3. *Increased convergence or inequality at the global level?*

This section will be more statistical and technical than the previous one. The reader may wish to by-pass it but it is here to provide the evidence to back my assertion that globalisation has *reduced* poverty and, indeed, global inequality too (notwithstanding the often made claims that the reverse is the case; many of such claims have been repeated uncritically by Church and Christian commentators). It is worth stressing that these questions *are* complex. Hence the irony, as Pinnock (1985) noted, ". . . it is quite typical for theologians to dogmatize political matters in which they have no expertise."[85] It is almost as if the willingness of many theologically liberal Church leaders to pronounce on disputable and complex issues of economic cause and effect has grown in proportion to their unwillingness to say anything about what the Bible *clearly* says on a range of other moral/theological issues! It would, for example, be an interesting exercise to compare the nature and extent of recent commentary from the hierarchies of the Anglican Churches in, say, Britain and Ireland, on global economic issues with what they have said (or not said!) on, for example, the homosexuality issue. It is notable that some of the "Reformed Churches" within the WARC have now, after the statement in Accra in 2004, made root and branch repudiation of "neoliberal globalisation" a confessional standard.[86] The WARC position is reflected in some earlier statements from a Christian Aid publication: "We denounce all forms of right-wing Christianity as heretical" and "Right-wing Christianity is fanatically anti-communist. It one-sidedly identifies Christianity with capitalist values of individualism and competition."[87] An earlier Reformed Confession recognised that some parts of Scripture (those bearing directly on salvation) yielded more clear and direct instruction than others: "All things in Scripture are not alike clear in themselves, nor alike clear onto all: yet those things which are necessary to be known, believed, and observed for salvation, are so clearly propounded…"[88]

Has globalisation promoted economic growth?

Has globalisation promoted growth and hence at least the potential for reductions in extreme poverty?[89] A very wide range of data implies that it has. During 1975–2001 east Asian (including China) GDP per head grew by 5.9 per cent annually, south Asian (including India) GDP per head grew by 3.2 per cent annually, but the GDP per head of the developed countries grew by only 2.1 per cent annually. The significance in such figures is that this was a period when China, India and many of the other south and east Asian economies were dramatically increasing their trading activities.[90] A World Bank survey took 73 developing countries and divided them into the 24 with the greatest increase in

82. As economists would put it, the potential for rent seeking behaviour is increased; Lal (2002), *op. cit.*

83. B. Griffiths, *Morality and the Market Place* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1982), p. 143.

84. This viewpoint probably owes much to the argument that previous colonialism can still explain economic underperformance in the 2000s; "We see poverty in the Third World as a result of colonial looting in the past and neo-colonial exploitation in the present" (this was the War on Want view in 1978 but such opinions would still be expressed in 2006). J. Moltmann, *God for a Secular Society* (London: SCM, 1999), p. 164, argues, "The very genesis of the Third World is causally linked with the development of the modern world."

85. In Schaeffer (1985), *op. cit.*, p. 323.

86. WARC (2004), *op. cit.*

87. Christian Aid (1989), *The Road to Damascus*, Christian Aid Centre for Concern and Catholic Institute for International Relations, p. 18 and p. 20.

88. Westminster Confession, Chapter I, vii.

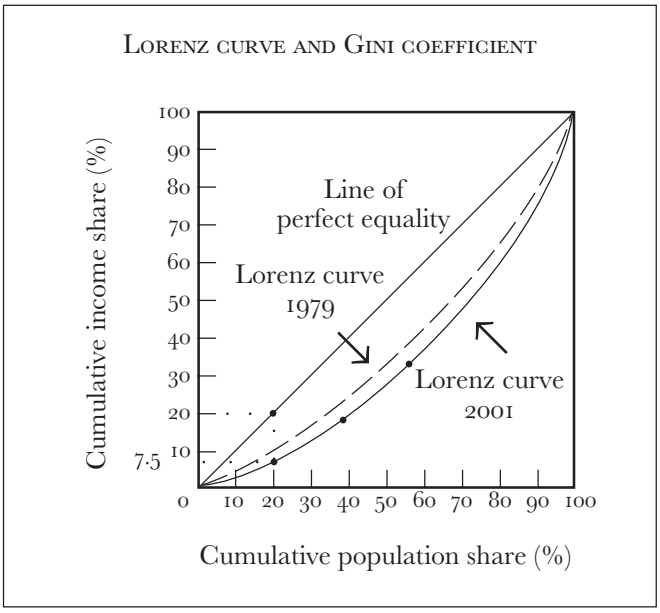
89. This matters because there is now clear evidence that higher GDP growth *is* passed on in the form of reductions in poverty (*The Economist* (27 May 2000), "Growth in good," p. 122).

90. Wolf (2005), *op. cit.*, p. 141.

their trade ratios (i.e. exports divided by GDP) and the remaining 49. The 24 with the greatest growth in trade integration had GDP per head growth on average of 3.1 per cent annually during 1980–97 compared to only 0.5 per cent in the slow-trade-growth countries. Once again, contrary to the critics (including those who favour an analysis like that of Christian Aid) greater openness to globalisation seems to have translated into greater growth.[91] Wolf cites the possibly surprising case of Bangladesh.[92] Many commentators might be tempted to dismiss the recent economic performance of that very poor country as an utter failure. In fact, Wolf points out that during the 1990s exports grew by 15 per cent per annum (the export/GDP ratio increased from 18 to 32 per cent) and during 1975–2001 GDP per head grew by at 2.3 per cent annually.

Has globalisation increased inequality?

There are some technical tools which can be used to measure the extent of inequality: the Lorenz curve and Gini coefficient.[93]



Source: A. Griffiths and S. Wall, *Applied Economics* (Prentice Hall, 2004), p. 261.

The Lorenz curve is a graph. On the bottom access one plots the cumulative percentage of the total population (the curve could, conceivably, be constructed for any one country or for the whole world) starting from 0, moving through the lowest income 10 per cent of the population, the bottom 20 per cent, bottom 30 per cent and so on until 100 per cent is reached. Then, on the vertical access of the graph, one plots the cumulative percentage of total income (national, or world as appropriate) received by each cumulative percentage of the population. Zero per cent of the population will, necessarily, earn zero percent of total income and, similarly, 100 per cent of the population will earn 100 per cent of cumulative income. However, in between these two fixed points on the graph one is likely to have a curve the shape of which will reflect the extent to which, say, the bottom 10 or 20 per cent of income earners take a substantial share of cumulative income compared to the highest 10 per cent etc.

The Lorenz curve is, as the name suggests, a curve which lies below a 45 degree line linking the two fixed points on the diagram; zero per cent of the population earning zero per cent of total income and 100 per cent of the population earning 100 per cent of cumulative income. The 45 degree line would denote absolute equality whereby the bottom 10 per cent earn 10 per cent of cumulative income, the bottom 20 per cent 20 per cent and so on. If A is the area below the 45 degree line but above the curve and B is the area under the curve the Gini coefficient is worked out as A / (A+B) so a Gini coefficient of 0 = absolute equality and a Gini of 1 = complete inequality. Examples for recent years include highly equal developed countries such as Denmark or Japan which have Ginis of about 0.25–0.3, more unequal rich countries such as the UK, USA and Republic of Ireland with Ginis of about 0.37–0.45 and then very unequal economies such as Brazil and Russia which have Ginis of about 0.6.

A wide range of empirical studies such as Boltho and Toniolo, Bourguignon and Morrison, and Sala-I-Martin, all show declining Gini coefficients for the world population as a whole. So, world income is becoming more equally distributed. True, some studies have claimed to identify a rising Gini coefficient at the world level but this seems to have arisen from the use of unweighted country data (that is, where an increase in inequality in a small African country with a population of, say, 10 million would be given the same value as a decrease in inequality in, say, India and China with their populations of about one billion each).[94]

We should note that one major study, Milanovic's, suggests a widening of inequality but there are at least three reasons to cast doubt on his conclusion:

- Only a very short time period was considered; 1988–1993.
- That period coincided with something of a slowdown in Indian and Chinese growth.
- The Milanovic study was based on a narrow data base, surveys of consumption, as opposed to wider GDP data.[95]

Has globalisation reduced extreme poverty?

What of absolute poverty levels? Emphasis is often placed on the number of people (or the percentage) trying to live on incomes of less than one dollar per day (usually in some constant price and purchasing power parity standard).[96]

Wolf gives some more recent World Bank figures which indicate some growth in the absolute number of persons in absolute poverty, less than $1.08 per day (in 1993 prices): 880m. in 1987, 917m. in 1990, and 945m. in 1998. Even these figures are entirely compatible with a decline in the proportion given the increase in population.[97] Wolf also notes that the World Bank, and growth economists such as Sala-I-

91. *Ibid.*, p. 143. 92. *Ibid.*, p. 145. 93. *Ibid.*, p. 345.

94. *Ibid.*, pp. 150–3. See also, *The Economist* (28 April 2001), "Of rich and poor," p. 106, and "Global inequality winners and losers," pp. 93–97. Also, *The Economist* (13 March 2004), "Special report Global economic inequality," pp. 83–85.

95. Wolf (2005), *op. cit.*, pp. 154–5.

96. The constant price adjustment is to allow for inflation in any one country and the purchasing power parity adjustment is to allow for differences in the cost of living between countries.

97. Wolf (2005), *op. cit.*, p. 159.

Martin and Bhalla all show some decline in the proportion in extreme absolute poverty.[98]

So, the absolute number of individuals in this miserable position has roughly stabilised during the second half of the twentieth century. In a longer run perspective the percentage in such a predicament has slumped dramatically.

Has globalisation increased human welfare?

Some commentators rightly argue that there can be too much focus on a single cash income related measure of the global poverty line. The one dollar a day standard, with some adjustment for inflation over the years, is a bit arbitrary and may not always be very meaningful.

At the same time, almost all the other social and economic indicators point in the same direction. Not only has the proportion of persons in extreme poverty (as measured by monetary incomes) dropped, but human welfare is getting better across most of the world in recent decades:

- Life expectancy in the less developed countries up (from 55 in 1970 to 64 in 2000).
- Lower infant mortality.
- Much higher literacy.
- Food intake (since 1950 China and India have moved from inadequate calories intakes to greater than sufficient).
- Decline in child labour (the percentage rate halved in poor countries during 1980–2000).
- Growth in the number of democracies.
- Improved status of women.

Conclusion: Lessons for Christian/Church commentators

In this article I have focused largely on the question of whether globalisation has exacerbated or reduced poverty in the developing countries. I have not considered the debate over the impact of globalisation on the richer countries. Some commentators have feared that globalisation is the primary cause for the increase in inequality observed in the UK and USA over the last 10–20 years (i.e. the widening wage and salary gap between the less skilled and those who are more qualified) or the rising unemployment rates amongst the less skilled in Continental Europe.[99] This is why the late James Goldsmith viewed globalisation as a "trap" which was leading the European countries into a situation of immiseration.[100] The striking thing is that this panic against globalisation because of its alleged ill effects on the West is the mirror image of the criticism made of its impact on "Third World" poverty. In both cases there is a common fallacy that global income is some fixed lump or cake; more for one group of countries must mean less for everyone else.[101] It is probably true that the entrance into the global economy over the last 20–30 years of hundreds of millions of low paid workers from India and China has had some negative impact on the wage levels plus employment prospects of manual workers in the West (though most economists reckon that technological change is a more important explanation of any declining demand for the low skilled in Europe and north America). At the same time, the living standards of most people in the West have also been boosted by the growing supply of cheap manufactured goods from east Asia.[102] This article has also not considered the environmental critique of globalisation. Suffice it to say, that a careful reading of the evidence suggests that the rumours of the ecological demise of globalisation are greatly exaggerated![103]

What then, to summarise, of the role for the Churches and Christians in commentating on some of these issues? And I do defend their right, in principle, to speak on such matters provided they do so with discernment. Archbishop William Temple's point (made in his Second World War book *Christianity and the Social Order*) is still relevant, "[Religion] . . . cannot claim to know what will be the purely economic effect of particular proposals. It is, however, entitled to say that some economic gains ought not to be sought because of injuries involved to interests higher than economics."[104]

The late President L. B. Johnson's comment, "If you can't stand the heat get out of the kitchen!" applies in this case. If the Churches and their leaders wish to comment on the technical aspects of trade, economic development and growth they need to ensure they are carefully prepared. They will (and should) be subjected to withering criticism if they are not. I have already noted how Christian Aid[105] made some some misleading claims as to the possible total costs of free trade. Similarly, I am disappointed that WARC made a very important assertion about globalisation which is very questionable and probably just plain wrong.[106] Pro-

98. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

99. In the more highly regulated (stronger trade unions, hiring and firing laws and higher minimum wages) Continental EU economies a drop in the demand for semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers has led to higher joblessness. In contrast, in the freer labour markets of the USA and UK the same reduction in demand leads to a wider spread of wage rates.

100. J. Goldsmith, *The Response GATT and Global Free Trade* (London: Macmillan, 1995).

101. It is also hard to see how both sets of critics of globalisation could be right at once. Globalisation *could* be enabling the citizens of Birmingham (England or Alabama) to prosper at the expense of those in Beijing, or the reverse *could* be true, but not both at once (such a lack of logical compatibility will not stop the critics of globalisation in the various parts of the world making common cause). Of course, the conspiracy theorists will persist in believing that globalisation is immiserating everyone save for Bill Gates and a few elite groups in both developed and developing worlds. In any case, there is abundant evidence, based on the phenomenal growth of the global economy since 1800 that the cake of world wealth is far from fixed.

102. G. E. Wood (2002), "Free trade causes unemployment," in "Fifty economic fallacies exposed," *Occasional Paper*, no. 129, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, pp. 38–41.

103. Moltmann (1999), *op. cit.*, for example, asserts that the Western standard of living cannot be universalised (p. 93). He concedes that we could use technology to defeat the environmental crisis but then argues that would reduce nature to a global laboratory. For him the root cause of our environmental malaise is a theological one; we failed to recognise the Creator's immanence in His creation (p. 102). Moltmann's political economy has all the strengths *and flaws* of his general theology of a suffering, and *limited*, God *in* nature.

104. Quoted in R. McCloughry, *The Eye of the Needle* (Leicester: IVP, 1990), Chapter 4.

105. Christian Aid (2005), *op. cit.*

106. WARC (2004), *op. cit.*, "The annual income of the richest one per cent [of the world's population] is equal to that of the poorest 57 per cent . . ." Since no source is given it is difficult to check this assertion but it is *extremely* implausible. The global population is now about 6 billion. WARC are trying to argue that one-fifth of the USA population (of roughly 300 million) would have the same GDP as the entire populations of China, India, Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America (which would, together, sum to over 3 billion or the 57 per cent WARC refer to). In

fessor H. Cox, of the Harvard Divinity School, has recently argued that the quality of life today in central America and Africa is less than that in 1500.[107] I would have thought that the Professor could have found plenty of economists in the Harvard area who could have told him that as measured by life expectancy and population size things are better in those parts of the world in 2005 compared to 1500. One criticism of a lack of economic awareness amongst the hierarchies of the English Catholic and Anglican Churches was couched in the following terms: "I find that very few bishops have read Adam Smith."[108]

When it comes to the issues of global poverty and hunger I am counselling a combination of careful analysis alongside moral passion. Certainly, there is no room for complacency, and I agree with those politically and economically engaged evangelicals who have argued that mass, global poverty *is* a great problem which simply cannot be ignored.[109] However, the lesson of recent economic history is that extensive State intervention is not the answer.[110]

Church commentators have too readily leapt to the conclusion that the answer to the problems of the developing world is more spending on inter-governmental aid. Such Christian commentators have often failed to reflect that the biblical witness actually talks about voluntary transfers of money between individuals, organised by and within the Church community. Perhaps Church leaders and other Christian leaders should be imploring their congregrations to give at least 1 per cent of their personal gross income to the relief of global poverty. Quite apart from the good which might be achieved through such resources imagine the witness provided by such generosity.[111]

What the Churches certainly should not be doing is making rejection of globalisation a confessional issue. The rich irony is that those who might wish to do so might well be the very ones who would refuse to make, say, the nature of the atonement or homosexuality such an issue! *C&S*

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reality, *the entire* USA population probably has a GDP roughly equivalent to that bloc of developing countries (compared at purchasing power parities in 2003 the USA has been estimated to account for 30 per cent of global GDP but south and east Asia (excluding Japan, Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore and Taiwan) plus Africa plus Latin America represented 34 per cent (*The Economist Pocket World in Figures* (London: Economist Books, 2006). Yes, an enormous gap in levels of prosperity but not the one WARC is claiming. In the absence of source information, I guess that WARC have compared USA and developing world levels of GDP using exchange rates rather than purchasing power parities. It is well known that this fairly basic error (noted by, for example, Bauer (1982), *op. cit.*) would greatly underestimate the real level of income in the developing countries (because the cost of living is so much lower there).

107. H. Cox, "Mammon and the culture of the market: A socio-theological critique," in R. S. Gottlieb, *Religious Voices for Justice, Peace and Ecological Wisdom* (Lanham, Boulder NY: Roman and Littlechild, 2003), pp. 274–283.

108. W.R. Mogg (24 June 2002), "Will this be the man to bring us to our knees?" *The Times*. 109. J. Stott (1990), *op. cit.*, pp. 130–48.

110. Given the popularity of the 2005 film *Chronicles of Narnia* (and Hollywood plus the movie industry is a classic illustration of globalisation) it is perhaps worth repeating the question whether C. S. Lewis' portrayal of Narnia as a land of ". . . always winter never Christmas," was partly a swipe on his part against mid twentieth century centrally controlled economies (with their austerity and rationing), whether of the communist, fascist or social democrat variety? (Schaeffer (1985), p. xxvi.)

111. Very much as a back of the envelope calculation, let us say that there are 150 million evangelical Christians in the developed world and let us say that their average gross income is £20,000 (both these figures are perhaps on the high side but not totally out of order). That yields a total gross income of 3,000,000 million or £3000 billion. One per cent of that would be £30 billion. Total annual government development aid spending by the Western governments is currently about £50 billion, so evangelical Christians certainly have it in their own hands to dramatically increase the scale of "aid" to the developing world.

What We Are Up Against:
The Current Situation in the Light of an Historical Example

by Ruben Alvarado

> *"What a spectacle was presented to us from the crown of the hill! The great space was covered by the most magnificent tents. The frightful thunder from out of the mouths of the enemies' guns and the answering fire from the walls of the town filled the air. Smoke and flames enveloped the city so much that only the tops of the towers were visible. All around the city, 200,000 Ottomans were spread in battle formation from the Danube to the hills, and further to the left of the Turks immense hordes of Tartars approached the heights and forests."*[1]

Such was the prospect from the Kahlenberg overlooking Vienna on the morning of September 12th 1683. The city was now into its 62nd day of siege and cannonade by the Turks. The defense was in imminent danger of collapsing. But relief was on the way, in the form of an army of Poles, Bavarians, Swabians, Franconians and Saxons, along with troops from other parts of the Empire, albeit fewer than 70,000 in all. What was such a number against 200,000?

But the Christians had one thing working in their favor: the hubris of Kara Mustapha, the Grand Vizier in charge of the siege. Mustapha refused to lend credence to reports of an approaching relieving army, thus neglecting to occupy the surrounding hills and so halt the relief effort in its tracks. When the Christians stormed down the hill on that fateful morning, the Turks, suddenly fighting on two fronts, proved unable to withstand the assault. The Polish calvary overwhelmed the centre of the Turkish resistance, where stood the symbolic red tent and the flag of the Prophet "brought every year with great piety from Mecca,"[2] where the command to the Turkish soldiers was to stand and either triumph or die. They met with the latter fate, the tent and flag falling to the Polish onslaught, while elsewhere the soldiers of the Cross drove all before them, partly from "the cowardice of our enemies, whom we drove like herds before us from post to post, and from morning well into the night."[3]

There were also members of the French chivalry among the combatants, princely knights, volunteers in the Imperial army, come to defend Christendom from the Saracen scourge—one of whom will loom large further on in this story. For the siege of Vienna had captured the imagination, and the sympathy, of all of Europe. All, that is, except the King of France, the *Rex Christianissimus*, "Most Christian" Louis XIV, who in fact had discovered the uses of such a Turkish invasion against his arch-enemy, the head of the Holy Roman Empire, Leopold I, whose throne was located in Vienna, although relocated to Passau during the siege. For while Leopold's attentions were occupied in the east, he could do nothing to avert the ongoing aggrandisement of territory being conducted by Louis on the Empire's western border, the Rhine.

Ever since he assumed the reins of power in France, that is, after the death of the great Cardinal Mazarin, who hitherto had guided the affairs of state, Louis had pursued a plan of land-grabbing beginning with the Belgian province of Brabant, then Lorraine, and then, in 1672, the all-out invasion of the Netherlands, precipitating the accession of a young William III of Orange to the stadhoudership (captain-generalcy) of that country. The obstinate and valiant defence led by William put a temporary halt to Louis' gains; but despite the conclusion of the Peace of Rijswijk (1678), Louis continued his rapacious ways, this time going straight for members of the Holy Roman Empire such as the Palatinate, which he subjected to the most outrageous and destructive treatment, and Strasbourg, about which Charles V had once said that if both Vienna and Strasbourg were threatened, he would rush to the aid of the latter. Leopold's preoccupation with the Turkish threat in the east forced his hand into acceding to this treatment.

Louis' game was simple: he hoped that Austria would fall; for then his would be the only power standing in the way

1. Quoted from a French engineer in the service of King John Sobieski: Alfons von Czibulska, *Prinz Eugen: Retter des Abendlandes* (im Bertelsmann Lesering, n.d.), pp. 35–36.

2. Paul Frischauer, *Prince Eugene: A Man and a Hundred Years of History* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1934, *trans.* Amethe Smeaton), p. 124.

3. Count Taafe, quoted in Frischauer, p. 125.

of an Ottoman primacy over the Western Christian Empire, the only power able to stave off a fate similar to that of the Eastern Christian Empire, Byzantium, where the Ottomans conquered Constantinople in the fifteenth century. Then Louis' dreams would be realised, in which he himself would rescue the West and become Holy Roman Emperor, the universal monarch in the likeness of Charlemagne. Who could stand up to him then? And his duplicitous game would have paid off, for he himself had encouraged the Turks into pursuing their plan of invasion in the first place.

Indeed, Louis' France posed as great a threat to Christendom, if not greater, than the Ottomans. The threat was most obvious militarily, in the attempt to subjugate neighbouring States. But there was more, much more. The great polymath Gottfried Wilhelm Freiherr von Leibniz summed them up in a polemic written in the context of a later Louis-inspired crisis, the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1713). The conflict here was between two aspirants to the vacant throne of Spain: Philip, grandson of Louis XIV, and Charles, son of Leopold I.

Leibniz argued that the prospect of France uniting with Spain in the form of Philip's accession to the throne would spell doom not only for Spain but for Christendom as well. French manners would corrupt the Spaniards. "The manners of the French are absolutely alien to the manners or customs of Spain. There is in France a great freedom, particularly in respect to sex, and it is to be feared that they will bring this with them to the prejudice of good morals." Spanish mores were quite the opposite: "everyone is grave, serious and steady; everyone is for the exact observation of laws and customs; everyone is content to conform himself to them, and wants others to conform themselves; for those matters which the law has not regulated, the wisdom of the nation has provided, and has introduced customs which take the place of laws. In conversation and in social intercourse, just as no one wants to inconvenience others, no one wants to be inconvenienced by them, and even the youth partake of the gravity of the nation."

What effect would French mores have on this austerity? "On the French side, it is quite the contrary. Everyone allows himself no repose, and leaves none to others; the grave and the serious pass for ridiculous, and measure or reason for pedantic; caprice, for something gallant, and inconstancy in one's interactions with other people, for cleverness: everyone meddles [with others' affairs] in [private] houses, and pursues people to their very homes, and picks shameful fights. Youth above all glories in its folly and in its disorders, which go quite far today, as if this were a sign of wit; it respects neither sex, nor age, nor merit."[4]

The effect of such manners is to corrupt domestic relations, which is even worse than corruption in public office; for "it is incomparably harder to be troubled, laughed at, affronted and mistreated in one's domestic life, in one's person, in what is one's own, and to drag through a life full of sorrow caused by the contempt and the insolence of those with whom one must live, and whom one is obliged to put up with despite himself and despite even fear, than to be put under the yoke of a conqueror, or to be oppressed by a tyrant who affects one only in general or in the purse."[5] Such is the effect of the total revolution French manners would bring about in the Spanish, and by extension European, social fabric.

The effect of the French way on religion would be as deleterious. The upstanding members of the Catholic Church there are mistreated and abused. The Pope is only obeyed to be flattered, the better to gain his subjection. The French were responsible for "a thousand affronts" to Pope Innocent XI, "a saintly pontiff, because he was devoted to justice and did not approve the ambitious schemes of France." French policy was to undermine the authority of the Holy See in order to bolster the primacy of the throne in ecclesiastical affairs; the defenders of the church are "persecuted as heretics." The liberties of the Church were being subjugated by dubious regal rights; "exemplary bishops, who were not the slaves of the court, to the prejudice of their conscience, were treated with the last degree of inhumanity."[6]

France's perfidy was especially visible in their support of the Ottoman offensive against Austria and thus Christendom. "The ambition of France has also kept the Mohammedans in Europe, of whom the Emperor was on the verge of chasing out." The French argued that this was to restrict the growth of the Emperor, but in fact if France would participate in the war against the Ottomans it would also gain territories for itself: "Greece together with Thrace (to say nothing of Asia) awaited her and were assured to her." But Louis XIV instead saved his forces for the invasion of Spain. "It is this crown which, by its greediness, has caused a horrible letting of Christian blood for nearly thirty years, by constantly attacking others; and almost all the evils that Europe has suffered during that time ought to be imputed to her."[7]

These things were bad—"But the worst thing of all is that atheism walks today in France with its head up, that pretended great wits are in fashion there, and that piety is turned to ridicule." France's ultimate gift to Christendom was an acidic scepticism that undermined the very foundations of Western civilisation. "To submit to French domination is to open the door to dissoluteness and to libertinage; one can be sure as well that piety cannot reign where justice is trampled underfoot, as France has done to it so many times, and with so much haughtiness; and if the insolent spirit of the French, as soon as they are the masters, must oblige honourable people not to allow them to get the upper hand in their country, their feelings and their impious actions must frighten men of good will and good prelates, as much as all those [members] of the clergy who are zealous for the house of God." Even if the king were pious and just, these manners are enough to ruin a people and make them unfit for liberty: "bad habit, once minds have got the taste of it, is stronger than ordinances, and we see it now in France itself."[8]

The upshot is a system of government which everyone knew to be despotism, and which France in pre-eminent degree exhibited to the world. "Everyone knows that this form of government is established in France, that it is exalted there by flatterers, and that a grandson of a king of France cannot fail to be imbued with these maxims. There the liberties of the great and of the people have been reduced; the good pleasure of the king takes the place of everything else; even the princes of royal blood are without the slightest

4. "Manifesto for the Defence of the Rights of Charles III," in *Leibniz: Political Writings*, translated and edited by Patrick Riley (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 157. 5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, p. 158. 7. *Ibid.* 8. *Ibid.*, p. 158–159.

authority; the great are only title-holders and are ruining themselves more and more, while persons of little importance are elevated to serve as instruments for oppressing the others." The estates have been suppressed, the nobility made subservient and fawning. "In the *pays d'États* the Estates are assembled only for form's sake, and these assemblies serve only to execute the orders of the Court, without any regard for their grievances. The nobility is impoverished to the last degree, vexed by quarreling and investigations, obliged to use itself up in service to the king and to sacrifice its welfare and its blood to the ambition of a conqueror, while it nourishes only hopes for chimerical riches and for advancements which are given only in very small numbers." The administration itself is based on self-aggrandisement and mutual extortion. "Those who occupy civil positions, particularly lucrative ones, having once enriched themselves at the expense of the community because they were given free rein, are now squeezed like sponges by re-examinations of their accounts and their affairs, by the venality of offices, by the creation of new burdens, and by great sums which are demanded of them without any reason, and which they are obliged to pay to save themselves from harassment." And the burden of taxation and regulation has taken on oppressive proportions. "The people are trampled upon without mercy and reduced to bread and water by tithes, taxes, imposts, head-taxes, [by being required to supply] winter-quarters and passage for war-makers, by monopolies, by changes in [the value of] money which take suddenly from everyone a good part of his goods, and by a thousand other inventions; and all of that is only to serve the insatiability of a court which cares not at all about the subjects which it already has, and which seeks only to augment the number of miserable people by extending its estates."[9]

Leibniz's view of France was not an isolated one. It was shared by many who had come to see in France not merely a military threat but a total cultural one. And not only Louis' agenda generated opposition; his methods as well created enemies he would have been better off not having, who shared Leibniz's opinions not by observation but from cruel experience.

* * *

There was a volunteer in the Imperial army on that fateful day at the Kahlenberg, a scion of the ruling house of Savoy; his father had been a general in Louis' army, distinguished for bravery, rewarded with command of the crack Swiss Guard. His mother was a niece of Cardinal Mazarin, and Louis' favourite playmate in his youth. Olympia Mancini was one of the most influential ladies at court, and an intriguer of the first order. Even though she conducted numerous affairs, her faithful husband stood by her, that is, until he was killed in battle.

Eugene, the youngest of five sons (he also had two sisters), was also the runt of the family. Because of his physical shortcomings, he was intended for an ecclesiastical career. From the age of five his hair was cut in a tonsure and he was forced to wear the habit of a monk. Louis himself, it is said, was the one who dubbed him "the little Abbé," the little abbot. But Eugene had other ideas. Fascinated and enthralled by the military—France's army was by far the best-equipped and best-trained, and Eugene daily witnessed the pageantry thereof—Eugene set himself, in spite of opposition at home, to lead men in battle. His choice of occupation was hindered by his father's early death; it was not made any easier by his mother's being exiled to Brussels by Louis after having been accused of a plot to poison the King himself. It was rubbish, of course, and was only the upshot of court intrigues which this time got the better of Olympia. When the time came for Eugene to request a commission in the King's army, Louis simply refused him. The road here was closed. And because Eugene likewise refused his family's career choice for him, he was left virtually penniless.

But then came news from the east: Eugene's brother, Louis, had been killed in a rearguard action against the Turks, fighting for the Emperor and Christendom. Eugene immediately knew what he was to do: he himself would go and offer his services to the Emperor and pick up where his brother had left off. Having no means to do so, he convinced his cousin, Prince Conti, who had married into the King's immediate family, of the need to ride to the defence of Christendom. The two literally rode off in the night. When Louis heard of it, he immediately sent after Conti to retrieve him; he would have no prince of the blood fighting in the cause of his avowed enemy. Louis' messenger caught up with the two across the border, in Frankfurt. Conti must return; Eugene was left to make his own decision. With a small gift of a ring and money from his cousin, Eugene could now make his way unhindered.

It is said that when he heard of young Eugene's departure, Louis remarked sarcastically, "Do you think that I shall suffer a great loss if the Little Abbé does not return?" As if he had overheard them, Eugene meant to make him regret those words. Louis' treatment of his mother, his treatment of himself, the debauched lifestyle at court to which they all had been subjected and from which Eugene only with great difficulty managed to extricate himself, the subjection of the common good to the good of Louis and to France, all of these drove the Little Abbé into the arms of the major power standing in the way of the Sun King's universal dominion. As Frischauer observed, "Eugene's life, up to a certain stage at least, is one great reaction to the life and deeds of Louis XIV. It can be observed already in his earliest youth . . . The habit, which was forced upon him in his parent's house of noting Louis's every movement, and of listening—at least indirectly—to his every word and taking account of it to himself, predestined him to become either a devoted adherent or an enemy."[10]

When Eugene charged down the Kahlenberg he knew that here was where he was meant to be, fighting for the existence of Christendom and not for the greater glory of Louis XIV. In this and subsequent actions against the Turks, driving them out of Hungary, where they had ruled for upwards of two centuries, Eugene rose meteorically through the ranks, by the age of 29 attaining the rank of imperial field marshal. Partly through his efforts, Austria was able to secure its eastern front against the Ottoman threat—thus

9. *Ibid.*, p. 159–160.

10. Frischauer, pp. 49–50. My main sources for the life of Eugene are this work (which, although accurate in terms of historically verifiable material, also includes much unsubstantiated gossip), along with Derek McKay, *Prince Eugene of Savoy* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 1977), and Max Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Eine Biographie*, 5 volumes (Munich: R. Oldenbourgh Verlag, 1962–1965).

freeing up the Emperor to meet the threat in the West. Louis' dismissal of Eugene would bear him bitter fruit.

* * *

While Belgrade was falling to the Imperial army in 1688, Louis was sending his troops across the border into the Palatinate, precipitating the Nine Years' War (1688–1697). This latest outrage led to the cementing of the so-called Grand Alliance led by William III, who, by invading England—on invitation—and acceding to the throne in the "Glorious Revolution," brought that country into the alliance as well. The Emperor, still smarting from Louis' previous annexations, was bound and determined to put a halt to encroachments on German land, and this time he had most of the German princes on his side, chiefly Max Emmanuel, Duke of Bavaria.

Eugene was sent to Savoy to battle at the side of his cousin Victor Amadeus, ruler of that country. After his first incursion on French soil, he is said to have remarked: "Didn't I say I would only return to France sword in hand? Louis exiled my mother . . . and I have just exiled thousands of his subjects by making them flee from their houses and country."[11] But the war here proved inconclusive; Victor Amadeus switched sides, leaving cousin Eugene in the lurch, while elsewhere the war ground down into a stalemate. With the Peace of Rijswijk (1697), Louis yielded the Palatinate but retained Strasbourg and his gains in Alsace.

Two years of peace were followed by the aforementioned War of the Spanish Succession. Leopold, noted for his indecisiveness, this time proved unmovable: he would not allow the House of Bourbon to accede to the throne which by right, he felt, belonged to the House of Habsburg. When the Bourbon prince Philip did ascend the throne by virtue of Charles II's will, Leopold decided upon war, even if he had to go it alone.

Eugene was given command of the Austrian forces, and the seemingly insurmountable task of facing France's superior forces in the field. The first stage of the war was concentrated in Italy. Here the French forces had sealed the border and all the mountain passes into the country. Undaunted, Eugene had the army cross over the easternmost part of the border, hitherto considered impassable—a "remarkable feat," compared by contemporaries "with that of Hannibal; engravings of it were published almost at once."[12] Having caught the French by surprise, Eugene by virtue of superior generalship was able to inflict telling blows. But the general inferiority of his forces precluded his gaining a decisive victory; the most he could hope for was to pin the French down.

One of the major shortcomings of the Austrian forces was poor logistical and financial backing. This alone would keep them from giving the French more than a scare. But it was made up for by the entry of the English and the Dutch into the war. As one of his last acts, William III entered into the Grand Alliance with Leopold. The Maritime Powers brought not only ground forces and naval superiority but also indispensable funding, which enabled the German forces to continue.

The entry of the Maritime Powers came not a moment too soon. Max Emmanuel, who had also fought at the Kahlenberg, by this time had been brought around to Louis' view of things, and threw Bavaria's lot in with France. This opened the door down the Danube directly into Austria and the gates of Vienna. Rebellion in Hungary, inevitable in the wake of the devastations of the Turkish wars and subsequent Austrian misrule, tied down Austrian forces. Eugene by now had been made President of the War Council and was thus put in charge of the creaking Austrian war machine; furthermore he was hamstrung by the quietism of the overly pious Leopold, whose habit was to leave pressing matters "to God;" Eugene for his part "reminded Joseph [Leopold's son and heir] that 'The proverb says that God helps him who helps himself.'"[13] In January 1704 the Bavarians took Passau—where the Habsburg court had taken refuge during the siege of Vienna. Vienna was being pressed by the Bavarians from the one side and the Hungarian rebels on the other, and was close to panic.

In the summer of 1704 a combined Franco-Bavarian force occupied the Danube valley and it was only a matter of time before it would move on Vienna. Another substantial force stood on the Rhine at Strasbourg, waiting to join forces. Opposing it, Eugene had at his command a force smaller than either of those armies. But help was on the way, in the form of the Duke of Marlborough's allied force of English, Dutch, Danish, and German troops. In a remarkable feat of deception, not only with regard to the French but also the Dutch, who by no means would have agreed to the manoeuvre, Marlborough marched down the Rhine and through the Black Forest to join forces with Eugene. The French and Bavarian armies also combined, leading to the battle of Blenheim in August, a crushing allied victory, the first Louis had ever suffered. From this point on the tables were turned; it was France and Louis who were fighting for their lives.

A series of splendid victories followed: Ramillies, Turin, Oudenaarde, even Malplaquet (although this latter was tarnished by the horrendous losses suffered especially by the Allied forces). France was brought to its knees, and a peace securing Christendom against domination by that country was in the offing.

* * *

But defeat, or at least an unsatisfactory conclusion, was snatched from the jaws of victory. What France failed to secure on the battlefield, it could gain through intrigue, by taking advantage of English party politics.

The English contribution to the war effort had been decisive, and it was made possible by what historians have termed "the Financial Revolution," involving the establishment of a central bank, the Bank of England, which issued bonds against the credit of the government. What made this so effective was that the government's credit was no longer based simply on royal promises, as was the case hitherto in most European polities, including France and Austria. It was rather based on the Parliament's power of the purse, thus the ability of popular representatives to allocate funds and earmark tax revenues. Such a system of taxation proved

11. Quoted in McKay, *Prince Eugene of Savoy*, p. 36.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

more effective: by involving the taxed more closely in decisions regarding taxation, it inspired greater co-operation and tended toward a more equitable tax base, hence less evasion.

With Parliament voting the tax revenues to cover the government's loans, the Bank of England found it much easier to find lenders. This led to the growth of a money market, the foundation of the modern investment regime; but that is another story. The important point here is that England by this method was able to raise revenues that the Emperor Leopold, for instance, could only dream of. England became the chief financier of the Allied war effort.

There was a fly in the ointment, however, and that was faction, which had already played such a mighty role in English politics. The financiers and the whole method of a "perpetual" national debt, which is how the new system came to be typified, had been institutionalised during the reign of William, whose support lay mainly with the Whig party. Whig politicians benefited from the new system, as did Whig financiers. This did not go down well with the Tories, the economic centre of gravity of whom lay in landed rather than fiduciary property. The country squires viewed the newfangled system with complete distrust, while also harbouring political jealousy because that system perpetuated a Whig pre-eminence in politics.

When William died in 1702, he was succeeded to the throne by Anne, the sister of William's wife Mary and the daughter of James II, the abdicator. Anne, while intent on preserving the Protestant succession, abhorred the Whigs and did everything she could to free herself from their influence in government. But William had already gotten England into the war, and John Churchill, the Duke of Marlborough, continued his policies. Anne put her full confidence in Marlborough, and his wife, Sarah, was also her best friend. Marlborough, together with Lord Treasurer Godolphin, conducted an administration which is considered to have been one of the most efficient and effective in English history.

Not only was Marlborough an able administrator; he was also perhaps England's greatest general ever. The victories he achieved were monuments to tactical genius and personal bravery. In this, however, Marlborough found his equal in Eugene, Prince of Savoy. The two together—they co-operated astoundingly well considering the potential for rivalry—became the scourge of Louis, and in their campaigns in France against the previously impregnable line of barrier fortresses brought France and Louis to their knees.

But the country squires of England cared little for victory over France and certainly not for the means by which it was achieved: standing armies and perpetual debts, with the threat of subjugation to a devouring war machine. Certainly all of England glowed with patriotic fervour upon hearing of the monumental victories; but that feeling quickly evaporated when the party aficionados and pamphleteers once again began working the base. Marlborough and Eugene were warmongers, it was said; they prolonged the war needlessly, just to fill their own pockets; they cared nothing about the poor soldiers being mowed down in droves. And the Allies were a worthless bunch, living off the English dime, neglecting their own responsibilities, never making good on their own promises, letting the redcoats bear the brunt of every battle. And Godolphin was running the most corrupt administration ever, running the country into the ground, incurring a massive debt that could never be repaid. And the Whigs, why they were turning the country into a moral cesspool, with their occasional conformity making a mockery of the Established Church, tolerating all manner of perfidious sects.

This sentiment simmered under the surface, and Marlborough, who was more Tory than Whig himself, at least in terms of background, would have to have known of it. What he did not realise—until it was too late—was that a conspiracy was brewing right in the very heart of government, a conspiracy which not only would bring the Tories back to power, but would bring down the Marlborough-Godolphin administration—an administration which did its best to rise above the party fray but was incrementally forced to give in to Whig demands, which would wreck the war effort just when it was bringing final success, and would destroy the bonds joining the Allies in terms of a common Christian order, finally replacing it with the new order of autonomous nation states pursuing naked national interests.

This conspiracy was the brainchild of Robert Harley, the future Earl of Oxford, a master politician who recognised that Tory sentiment could be ridden to establish political supremacy. Since the Whigs commanded a majority in both houses of Parliament, they demanded an increasing share of the government's offices, this despite Anne, who absolutely loathed them. Both Marlborough and Godolphin counselled Anne to give in to their demands so as to maintain Parliamentary support for the war effort. Harley saw the pain this gave Anne, and began to work on her through the offices of a cousin of Sarah Churchill's, the infamous Abigail Masham née Hill. It was Sarah's good offices that had brought Abigail into the Queen's service, and as lady-in-waiting Abigail was well-positioned to whisper into Anne's ear whatever Harley wanted Anne to hear. By this means Abigail was able to supplant Sarah in the Queen's affections—Sarah, herself a Whig sympathizer, only made things worse by railing against the inevitable. By subtle process Harley, working through the Queen, was able one by one to manoeuvre the Whigs out of office. And by working on the country's war weariness, Harley and his co-workers were able to return a Tory Parliament in 1710.

Back in France, Louis observed these events with scarcely believing eyes. Indeed, the dissolution of the Whig Parliament by Anne inspired scenes in Versailles as might have given her second thoughts, had she known of them. "It is impossible for me to describe the transport of joy the King was in upon reading that part, [viz.] the dissolving of Parliament; 'Well,' says the King, 'if Monsieur Harley does that, I shall say he is un habile homme, and that he knows how to go through what he has undertaken; Mesnager,' adds the King, turning to me, 'it is time you were in England;' I could not interpose for some time, the King was so full of this news, and talked so fast; sometimes to himself and sometimes to me . . ."[14]

English politics thus opened a door that Louis would surely not allow again to be shut. "Since the changes in London had first been perceived by the French Court . . . the whole policy of Louis XIV had been to gain time for the downfall of Marlborough and an English defection to break

14. *Minutes of the Negotiations of Monsieur Mesnager at the Court of England towards the Close of the Last Reign* (1717), p. 61, quoted in Churchill, *Marlborough*, p. 764.

up the confederacy. Thus, and thus alone, could France be saved."[15]

And Louis found willing accomplices in Harley and his protégé cum Secretary of State, Henry St. John. St. John had been favoured in his career by Marlborough, who even had gone to such lengths as personally to ensure that he received raises in his salary, as well as personally to repay his debts. For his genuine concern, and for his unparalleled service both to his country and the common cause of Christendom, Marlborough was repaid with the most horrendous form of vindictiveness and sustained lying, the likes of which it is difficult to find the equal of in all the annals of party politics. Both through his own acknowledged gift with the pen and that of his "partner in crime" Jonathan Swift (himself until recently a Whig—"Swift . . . was assailing all his old friends with merciless satire and invective, and proving that there was no malice like the rancour of the renegade"[16]), St. John blasted the Allies as horribly derelict, Marlborough as an ineffective pocket-liner, and the war effort itself as misguided and dangerous.

Behind the backs of the other Allies, Harley began negotiating with France about peace. But no sooner did Louis catch on to what was taking place than he immediately ratcheted up his peace demands. "Instead of dictating to a baffled and beaten despot, they were more like supplicants to this enemy, who had but a few months ago been ready to agree almost to any terms."[17] Marlborough had predicted that the peace party, far from ushering in peace, would find their goal increasingly difficult of attaining the more they pursued it: "Our extravagant behaviour has so encouraged the French, that they take measures as if the war was just beginning, so that our new ministers will be extremely deceived, for the greater desire they shall express for peace, the less they will have it in their power to obtain it."[18]

The accession of the Tories to power put one nail in the coffin of the final defeat of France; another came through the death of the young Emperor, Joseph, of smallpox in April 1711. Eugene had to rush from the Hague back to Germany to oversee the election of Joseph's brother, the Archduke Charles, as Holy Roman Emperor. "The death of the Emperor, so far from bringing peace nearer, drove it farther away. It completely ruptured . . . all plans for a decisive campaign in Flanders. It stimulated Louis XIV, and furnished him with a verbal argument against the logic of the Allies. It convinced him that he would be able to defend his northern fortress-line through the whole of 1711, and therefore that his remaining strength would outlast Marlborough's dying favour."[19]

This left Marlborough alone at the head of the Allied forces in Flanders, with his enemies in charge back in London. Though they, realising their need of his good offices in order to keep the pressure on Louis, switched their rhetoric to that of sweetness and light, Marlborough knew the clock was ticking and that he did not have much time left for action. In the face of a revitalised French army and the incessant undermining of his command and his authority by his enemies in government, Marlborough nevertheless succeeded in pulling off what many consider to be his greatest military achievement, the penetration of the French "ne plus ultra" line and the capture of Bouchain.

It was a last hurrah. When he returned to England upon the conclusion of the campaign, he was forced to listen to a Queen's Speech opening Parliament including as its first sentence: "I am glad that I can now tell you that *notwithstanding the arts of those who delight in war*, both place and time are appointed for opening the Treaty of a general Peace."[20] The statement was directed, of course, at Marlborough, in lieu of the gratitude he truly deserved.

On December 30 Marlborough appeared at court for what proved to be the last time. "He was still Captain-General and a member of the Cabinet. No Whigs attended, and he stood alone among his enemies. He was shunned by all. 'Nobody hardly took notice of him,' wrote Swift, who received an exulting account from his Ministerial friends. Such a spectacle, though entirely in accordance with the character of such tribes, is none the less unpleasant. There he stood, stared at and scorned, with no protection but his composure and his fame."[21] The next day the Queen dismissed him from all his duties and offices, using as an excuse trumped-up charges of corruption brought against him in the House of Commons. In fact, she had been prevailed upon by Harley and St. John to the effect that Marlborough wanted nothing less than to dispense with her in the manner of the Roundheads and Charles I, in order to assume the role of Lord Protector! So did his enemies have cause for rejoicing, for taunting, for laughter. "But the most pregnant comment was made by Louis XIV: 'The affair of displacing the Duke of Marlborough will do all for us we desire.'"[22]

It was now Eugene's turn to press the government on its newfound course of action. He arrived too late in London to have any influence on Anne's decision to relieve Marlborough, but still was determined to let the government know of Vienna's viewpoint regarding peace. He was sanguine about his prospects. "Already in writing his first memorandum he had in his report to the Emperor stated his conviction that 'no effect was to be hoped for,' that it was much rather certain 'that these fellows have already settled with France and perhaps may have gone farther than one might well believe.'"[23] And he would not leave his great friend and comrade-in-arms Marlborough in the lurch. As he put it to an emissary from the English court, "since it was known all over the world what a firm and intimate friendship I had fostered with the Duke of Marlborough, now finding him in misfortune, I could not do otherwise than uphold my friendship with him, lest the world should say, and I leave it as an evil echo after me, that I deserted and abandoned a friend in his hour of sorrow and stress when fortune had forsaken him."[24] This was the best he could do, for his official mission proved a failure. He returned to Holland after two months, with only a magnificent diamond-encrusted sword—a present from the Queen—to show for it.

For their part, government ministers in conversation with their French counterparts by now had taken to referring

15. Winston S. Churchill, *Marlborough: His Life and Times,* Book II [Vol. IV] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 837.
16. Thomas Macknight, *The Life of Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1863), p. 211.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
18. Marlborough to Godolphin, Aug. 16, 1710, quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 179–180.
19. Churchill, *Marlborough,* II, p. 803.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 904–905. 21. *Ibid.*, p. 912. 22. *Ibid.*, p. 913.
23. Braubach, vol. 3, pp. 91–92.
24. Quoted in Churchill, *Marlborough,* II, p. 921.

to the Allies as "the common enemies." St. John took the lead in this. "St. John accepted this expression of 'the common enemies' as applied to all the allies of England who were unwilling to follow his lead. 'It is the desire of the ill-mentioned,' he wrote to Torcy [the French foreign minister—RCA], 'to arouse this mistrust both among us and everywhere else, but I am not worrying on that account, because it merely depends upon the All-Christian King to render all their efforts vain.'" How the tables had turned. "In fact, Oxford and St. John, dominated by their party struggle, now looked upon the French as friends, and upon their allies, by whose side they were standing in the field, as foes."[25]

Indeed, Eugene, who now assumed the Captain-Generalcy of the Dutch and the Imperial forces left vacant by Marlborough, would soon come to experience the reality of these declamations.

But the peace negotiations, which began in Utrecht while Eugene was in England, did not proceed as favourably as the conspirators had hoped. What did they expect, the Dutch Republic and the Empire simply to sign off on a peace tailor-made in the interests of England and France alone? "The anger of the Allies knew no bounds, and in England outside the Court circle widespread wrath was mingled with wider shame."[26] Beyond that, negotiations between England and France became hindered with the deaths in rapid succession of the heirs to the throne standing between Louis XIV and Philip V, thus paving the way to the union of the crowns of Spain and France upon Louis' death. This was too much even for the peace party in England, and so the 1712 campaign proceeded.

The English contingent was still represented in the Allied armies even though Marlborough no longer led it; command over the English and the Allied forces in English pay was transferred to the Duke of Ormonde. Eugene thus led a force of divided allegiance into the field, for the English were waiting for a peace they felt was in the offing. In the meantime, the Allied forces moved deep into Belgium, placing themselves between the French army under Marshal Villars and the road to Paris. With his superior forces, Eugene hoped either to provoke a pitched battle or to undertake a siege of one of the few barrier fortresses left between his armies and Paris.

But it was at this point that the perfidy of the Tory government manifested itself most clearly. For Ormonde had received orders from St. John, in the name of the Queen, to avoid all conflict with the French; and not only that, but to keep this order concealed from the Allied command. Even more: in a postscript that he "almost forgot" to mention, St. John informed Ormonde that the French were informed of this decision; and that it could not be changed without their knowing of it. This is the substance of the infamous "Restraining Orders" which one day would form a major article in St. John's impeachment.

Eugene, backed by the Dutch, proposed offensive actions; Ormonde refused to go along. Eugene then "in strong terms" reproached Ormonde, telling him "that this was no manner to allow us to march in enemy country in the midst of his fortresses, in order then to remain inert, which would encourage the enemy to action." If England had concluded a separate peace, it must make that knowledge public, "since, should it not be certain, it by such conduct puts both itself and all of Europe in danger of being lost."[27] But if Eugene knew to what lengths St. John had gone with the French, he would have put the matter in even stronger terms. When asked by the French go-between what Villars should do if Eugene went ahead with an attack, St. John responded that "there would be nothing to be done but to fall upon him *and cut him to pieces, him and his army*."[28]

The significance of this cannot be expressed better than Churchill has already done:

> It would have been a grievous, though a permissible, measure to tell Eugene, the States-General, and other members of the Alliance that the British forces would not fight until the peace treaty was settled one way or the other. But for an English Minister, acting in the name of the Queen, to conceal from the Allies his intention, while disclosing it secretly to the enemy, was in fact to encompass the defeat of Eugene and the slaughter of the allies and comrades with whom the British troops had so long stood shoulder to shoulder. Nothing in the history of civilized peoples has surpassed this black treachery. The punishment meted out in after-years by their countrymen to the criminals concerned may lighten, but cannot efface, its indelible stain.[29]

So arose the image of "perfidious Albion" which has echoed through the ages. This event even served to gin up war fever against the English in the twentieth century, as witness the book *Prince Eugene, His Life, His Work, and England's Betrayal*, published in Germany in 1942.[30]

But Eugene had received inside information from the English camp and had been apprised of these goings-on. The question now was, what to do with the English troops, which for all anyone knew might switch sides at any moment. The idea was even floated of disarming and arresting them: "the famous redcoats whose martial honour stood so high in those professional camps were to be seized as hostages against the faithlessness of their Government." St. John was indignant: "Some are even saucy enough to insinuate so far as to attempt seizing the British troops in Flanders." To which Churchill retorts, "to such a point had the Queen and her new friends brought the Common Cause."[31]

In the event, Eugene went ahead and captured Le Quesnoy, but soon thereafter Ormonde withdrew his troops from the Allied camp. The English ministry expected him to take the troops in English pay with him, but the Prussians, the Hanoverians, the Saxons, and the Danes all stood by Eugene, even though it would probably mean a cut in, if not a loss of, pay. "[Eugene's] long-time comrade-in-arms Leopold von Anhalt-Dessau, the commander of the Prussian corps in the pay of the Maritime Powers, came to him at Haspres and informed him that the English general had ordered him as well as Duke Karl Rudolph von Württemberg, the commander of the Danish contingent, the Hanoverian von Bülow und the Saxon General Wilckens to accompany him in the upcoming march in the direction of Dunkirk. As he had already informed the Imperial Field Marshal, the Prince of Anhalt declared that he would operate in terms of the instructions given him by his king and allow himself to be

25. *Ibid.*, p. 920.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 939.
27. Braubach, vol. 3, p. 107.
28. *Edinburgh Review*, October 1835, p. 9; quoted in Churchill, *Marlborough*, II, p. 945.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Walter Elze, *Der Prinz Eugen, sein Weg, sein Werk und Englands Verrat* (Stuttgart/Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1942).
31. Churchill, *Marlborough*, II, pp. 947–948.

used for the best interest of the common cause." The other generals answered in like manner.[32]

But it was here that the absence of Marlborough made itself felt. The Dutch had been unwilling to pay the added expense for forward supply centres; this led to extended lines of communications. Marlborough was too meticulous ever to have allowed his lines thus to be exposed; Eugene took the risk. "The explanation is no doubt the passion to achieve success, in spite of the manner in which he had been treated, which laid hold of Eugene and led him into risks which ought not to have been run. His was the strategy of exasperation."[33] A surprise attack by the French at the strategic location of Denain cut off the besiegers. The French victory was abetted by the removal by Ormonde of the pontoon bridges which would have enabled the Allied garrison to escape—yet another token, it was averred, of the English betrayal. It was the Dutch troops who suffered this defeat, which fed into the doom-and-gloom mentality of that country, which had come to bear the chief financial burden for the war after the departure of the English. Napoleon would blame Dedain, but Eugene blamed this defeatist mentality for the series of losses which followed, undoing three years' previous campaigning and freeing France from any threat of defeat.

What followed was the Peace of Utrecht, which when all is said and done is considered to have provided a net gain for both the Maritime Powers: the Netherlands, which gained its coveted line of barrier fortresses in Belgium; and England, which gained the *asiento*, or the right to conduct the slave trade in the Spanish Empire for 30 years, along with Gibraltar and Minorca, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, the Hudson Bay territory, and France's commitment to destroy the fortifications at Dunkirk. In the subsequent Peace of Rastatt-Baden, Austria retained its gains in Italy while also gaining the Spanish Netherlands.

Historians have looked at these results and concluded that the War of the Spanish Succession established solid foundations for a European balance of power. France had been trimmed back, albeit by no means humbled. The Habsburgs were able to establish the Austro-Hungarian empire as a great power in its own right. England became the leading power in Europe, with its unrivaled navy, its colonial empire, and mastery over the Mediterranean. The Dutch Republic, having gained its barrier against France, ceased punching above its weight and succumbed to apathy.

But that is to view matters in accordance with the outmoded viewpoint of autonomous, absolute sovereignty, in which States are the more perfect the more they absorb power, both inward and outward, the more, in effect, they become laws unto themselves. This viewpoint triumphed in the nineteenth century and history has been written on its terms. Thus, the War of the Spanish Succession laid the foundations for a balanced order in which the "Big Five" of France, England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria called the tune. It is only in our day that German and hence European history is being rewritten, not in terms of these autonomous power entities, but in terms of the federal, post-feudal structure of integrated authority, of sovereignty under law, exemplified first and foremost in the Holy Roman Empire.[34]

In terms of this viewpoint, the Allied army composed of the various contemporary elements of the Holy Roman Empire, one-time members such as the Dutch Republic and Denmark, plus England and Portugal, Catalonia and Aragon, were fighting not merely to maintain a balance of power between autonomous power entities but to maintain the reality of a supranational order of nations united in terms of a common religion and law, to wit, Christendom. Marlborough and Eugene, like Leibniz, saw in France not merely a country out to establish primacy for itself in Europe, but to establish a different order altogether, the order of "reason of state" (*raison d'état*) in which narrowly construed interests triumph over considerations of the good of the whole, the "Common Cause"—a phrase which they used repeatedly and habitually. Marlborough in particular could never have held together the coalition of disparate forces over so long a period if he had not believed in more than just English national interests; it was this penchant for subordinating the interest of England to the interest of Christendom which proved his undoing back home. The Tories, ostensibly so zealous for the interests of Christianity—in the form of the established Church of England—by their policy so assiduously undermined the interests of universal Christendom.

The big loser of this war was the Holy Roman Empire itself, which if it had remained intact—and its collapse was by no means a foregone conclusion, despite the prejudices of subsequent historiography—and had been able to build on those institutions, such as the Imperial Circles,[35] which had contributed so greatly, in proportion, to the war effort, would have served as the central locus of Western Christendom, would have dampened the centrifugal energy of Prussia and Austria, and would have helped to avert the "German Catastrophe"[36] of the twentieth century. As I have argued in my book *A Common Law*, Germany was the key to Western Christendom; the fate of the former determined the fate of the latter. Leibniz shared this viewpoint, which is perhaps why he was held at arms' length by the interest-oriented princes of his day.[37] The War of the Spanish Succession settled the billiard-ball approach to international relations which culminated in the "Century of Warfare."

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And today we have dinned into our ears the solution to this situation: we need to supersede the "nation-State." In fact, as I have seen it stated in a weblist exchange, it is sovereignty itself which is the problem, and sovereignty which must be

32. Braubach, vol. 3, p. 108.

33. Churchill, *Marlborough*, II, pp. 957–958.

34. The German historian Georg Schmidt has lately coined the phrase "complementary imperial system" to describe the multifaceted reality of the Holy Roman Empire—see his *Geschichte des Alten Reiches: Staat und Nation in der Frühen Neuzeit 1495–1806* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1999). Indeed, the various levels of collective responsibility from local to regional to national, along with the range of power centers from infinitesimally small to overweening large (Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, etc.) made of the Empire a system of complementary (and, of course, contradictory) loci of public power.

35. Roger Wines, "The Imperial Circles, Princely Diplomacy and Imperial Reform 1681–1714," *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 39, no. 1 (March 1967), pp. 1–29.

36. Friedrich Meinecke, *The German Catastrophe*, trans. Sidney Fay (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950).

37. P. Fransen, *Leibniz und die Friedensschlüsse von Utrecht und Rastatt-Baden* (Purmerend, the Netherlands: J. Muusses, 1933).

eliminated—an entirely predictable, and entirely disingenuous, response. The problem is not sovereignty per se, the problem is *which* sovereignty.

As Meyer makes clear in his seminal book *Leibnitz and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution*,[38] the struggle which took place in the late seventeenth century was a struggle over first principles with regard to religion, law, politics, and culture. The autonomous individual who was being established at the heart of philosophy and law had his correlate in the autonomous power-State, as exemplified first and foremost by France. The concept of absolute sovereignty, in which the sovereign makes the law, was superseding the concept of relative sovereignty, in which the sovereign is under law. The mediaeval *corpus Christianum* exemplified relative sovereignty; the most able exposition thereof was Johannes Althusius' *Politica Methodice Digesta*, "Politics Methodically Arranged."[39] The most able expression of the new order was perhaps Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan*.

Ever since World War II it has been the studied conviction of "the international community"—the academic and diplomatic denizens inhabiting that shadowy world of international organisations and networks the centre of which is the United Nations—that national sovereignty, and its seat the nation-State, must be superseded. Their goal is the establishment of a regime of *universal jurisdiction*, in which sovereignty has been swallowed up in a global government operating in terms of a universal administrative law. This would eliminate war, but also poverty, because wealth redistribution could then be carried out on a universal basis. But first things first—universal jurisdiction aims to eliminate warfare and in its place establish a universal penal law in which no criminals may hide behind walls of sovereign States.

Is this the kind of regime that Eugene and Marlborough were fighting for? Far from it. The question at stake was not sovereignty or no sovereignty, it was, and is, *which kind* of sovereignty. Western Christendom presupposed relative sovereignty, in which States recognised and upheld laws answerable to divine principles as summarised in the Decalogue. Absolute sovereignty came along, which recognised no higher principle and would only submit to what it agreed to; the law of nations or common law of Christendom, which at one time served as the guiding light of legislation in all Western States, became transmuted into international law, a law composed of treaty obligations and nothing more. In the modern age, nation-States for the most part have adhered to the principle of reason of State in their dealings, especially with the triumph of Bismarck's *Realpolitik*.[40]

An exception to this rule, it must be said, has been—warts and all—the United States. Its Civil War was fought, at least in part, on the basis of idealism, of the desire to rid the country of slavery. Its entry into the two world wars of the twentieth century stemmed—again, not entirely, but in part, if not mostly—from the desire to ensure that the world order remained one oriented to freedom rather than despotism. The Cold War was fought to maintain freedom over against Communist despotism. And the latest war, the so-called "War on Terror"—in fact, the war against resurgent militant Islam—is in no less degree a war for freedom, freedom from the rule of Sharia law. That such freedom is in the national interest, and thus serves the interests of the United States, is of course true; but it is no less true that Americans view this ideal as something good for all nations and which should be established for the good of all peoples, not just Americans. The hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of Americans who have shed their blood on foreign battlefields testifies to that.

America, therefore, has a rather healthy image of itself in its role of exercising sovereignty. It feels it has exercised sovereignty for the good not only of its own citizens but for the good of the world order. It therefore does not feel the qualms of guilt, the pangs of conscience, that a country like Germany feels upon looking back upon its own history as a nation-State.

But the "international community" is composed precisely of countless idealists of another sort, who view the wars the world has undergone, as well as the global problems, real or imagined, of poverty, environmental destruction, energy shortage, human rights violations, as problems which can and must be solved by eliminating national sovereignty, and in its place establishing the regime of universal jurisdiction.

Most of the countries of the world for one reason or another—either out of guilt or greed (for the wealth of other countries), or both—have lined up on the side of universal jurisdiction. But there is, of course, the 800-pound gorilla who has not yet wised up. And that is the United States.

This explains the opposition to the US which is so vociferously voiced at the international level. The US simply stands as a giant roadblock in the way of universal jurisdiction. The American citizenry certainly is in no mood to give in to such pressure from the international community, and the international community, supported by left-leaning academics and politicians, is in no mood to give up its quest.

Enter the "War on Terror." On the face of it, nothing could be more inimical to the ideals of the international community as currently construed than militant Islam, which despises the very rights and progressive social order the human rights advocates are pushing. Surely the Western intelligentsia would support the effort to rid the world of this virulent strain of repressive regime.

Certainly, opposition to the aims of the Islamicists was not lacking; but the method to combat it must needs be agreeable, must needs further the aim of universal jurisdiction. Hence, all authority and all hope was vested in the United Nations, especially with regard to the rogue regime of Iraq and Saddam Hussein. When the UN's efforts to bring Iraq to heel proved vain, America and its allies took matters into their own hands—to the chagrin, in fact the enragement, of the international community. For this approach, the approach of war, of "taking the law into one's own hands," was precisely what the international community had, and has, been trying to supersede.

Thus was resurrected the image of America as the global oppressor. Just as this image had been used by international leftism during the Cold War to defend Communism, it was brushed off and used again by the promoters of the New World Order of universal jurisdiction. Islamicism was not

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38. R.W. Meyer, *Leibnitz and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1952, *trans.* J. P. Stern).

39. Johannes Althusius, *Politica: An Abridged Translation of Politics Methodically Set Forth and Illustrated with Sacred and Profane Examples*, ed. and trans. Frederick S. Carney, Foreword by Daniel J. Elazar (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1995).

40. For details on this see my forthcoming biography of the Prussian Christian statesman Friedrich Julius Stahl.

worse—Islamicism was simply a response to American "freedom," of globalism, multinational corporations, worker exploitation, energy gluttony, and the like. Islamicists simply wished to preserve traditional ways of life over against the dreaded almighty dollar. Not to mention the "just cause" of the Palestinians over against those global Shylocks, the Jews in Israel. In fact, the violence of the Jihadists could in fact be harnessed to a greater good, the humbling and supersession of national sovereignty, as represented first and foremost by America.

And so the circle has been completed. The proponents of universal jurisdiction today have stepped into the role of Louis XIV 300 years ago. Just as he did, they now seek a new order, an order superseding one of obsolete restraint, an order answering to new demands and conditions, an order in which the sovereign individual attains a new level of self-realisation; most importantly, an order in which they call the tune. The international community of today sees in militant Islam the same hammer to smash its enemy, the US, as Louis did in the Ottomans, a hammer to smash his arch-enemy the House of Habsburg.

But there is another parallel to be drawn: that of conservative opposition to the war effort. Just as the Tories opposed the continental land war because of the opportunities it afforded for the growth of the fiscal/taxation regime and the threat to liberty of a standing army, just so today do conservatives oppose the current War on Terror precisely because of the opportunities of growth it affords the so-called military-industrial complex; the result, win or lose, they say, is Big Government ever more firmly ensconced in power. And the political benefits it provides the House of Bush are just as begrudged as they then were by Protestants with regard to the Catholic, Counter-Reformation-advancing House of Habsburg.

This, then, is what we are up against: as the Dutch say, a *monsterverbond*, an "unnatural alliance" of internationalists, mainly left-wing, and Islamicists, mainly prehistoric. Both seek a New World Order, one under a regime of human-rights-inspired enlightenment, one under a Sharia-inspired Caliphate. They both have a common enemy: the order of sovereign nations, each responsible inwardly for its own law, jointly responsible for maintaining a shared order amongst themselves. And we have a conservative opposition standing in the way of direct dealing with these threats. In the eighteenth century, the Turks were put away once and for all by Eugene, but Louis was able to stamp his image on Europe, an image which lives to this day. In our day we face a different challenge. First, to see off the threat of Islamofascism; second, to see off the threat of universal jurisdiction. And then, perhaps, in the Providence of God we may begin to restore Humpty-Dumpty Christendom, which sat on a wall, and had a great fall. *C&S*

RAPE AND THE VICTIM'S SEXUAL PURITY

by Derek Carlsen

Thesis stated

MY desire in this article is to address the sense of guilt and moral pollution that is often carried around by the victims of rape. I believe God's case laws provide the solid basis for these victims to be freed from the bondage of guilt and feelings of moral pollution (Jn 8:32). For the church to be able to minister to the victims of rape in a godly way, believers need to have their thinking conformed to the mind of Christ. My position comes from my own wrestling with the Scriptures for the purpose finding healing-balm for those who have been sexually violated. There is a great need for such balm in our day. I will begin with my thesis and then provide support for this thesis. While what I say will appear obvious, the stigma that too often follows the rape victim shows that the church's understanding on this matter is in need of reformation. My thesis is this: Should a maiden (i.e. virgin) be raped, believers ought to look upon her and treat her as a virgin. Why? Because, according to Scripture, she is still sexually pure.[1]

Thesis defended

"If a man entices a virgin who is not betrothed, and lies with her, he shall surely pay the bride-price for her *to be* his wife. If her father utterly refuses to give her to him, he shall pay money according to the bride-price of virgins" (Ex. 22:16,17). When consensual intercourse is engaged in between unmarried people, the man is held responsible and fined. Fornication, on the civil level, results in shame for the girl and her family and legal ramifications for the man. The fine is a way of making restitution for dishonouring the girl and her family and also helps to secure her future, which the seducer's actions have threatened. The girl's father has the responsibility to decide whether to allow his daughter to marry this man. The seducing man has no choice at this stage—his responsibility was to say no long before this. If the father says yes to the marriage, then the seducer has to marry the girl and is not allowed to divorce her all his days (Dt. 22:28, 29). When a virgin was seduced and her father refused to give her in marriage to the man who seduced her, the seducer still had to pay a dowry. The price of a virgin's dowry ensured that the girl's lack of sexual purity would be outweighed by the economic gain to be had. Some future husband would be marrying a fairly rich wife and these riches would benefit the whole family unit. Or, the dowry penalty would serve as security to help the girl survive should no men want to marry her due to her lack of sexual purity.

Deuteronomy 22:25–29 has two cases next to each other—one dealing with rape and the other dealing with seduction. We see that if a man rapes a woman, he is to be executed, but what is interesting is the fact that no monetary payment is given to the raped woman—there is no restitution given to her. Murder and rape were both capital crimes carrying the death penalty. It makes sense in the case of murder that the murdered person gets no restitution—just the murderer is executed. The victim doesn't need restitution since he is dead. In contrast to this, however, the raped person still has a life to live and yet, no economic restitution is given to her in a society where sexual purity was held in high regard. In the Bible, when the living are actually defrauded, the guilty party is forced to give restitution to them (Ex. 22:1–4). We even see that when a maiden is seduced, she has been defrauded and thus receives restitution in order to help her deal with the real-life ramifications of her loss. Though a fornicating girl defiled herself, Scripture still made provision for her in her impure state. Here is the dilemma: if rape sexually defiles the victim, then why is the girl who is raped not compensated for her real-life loss? Why did she have no dowry to make her attractive to a future husband or to provide for her should no man what to marry her due to her sexual impurity? If the raped girl and the fornicating girl are both tainted with sexual pollution, then why does the innocent rape victim end up worse off (in an

1. In this essay I am not looking to deal with the real counselling needs that rape victims require. This does not mean that I minimise the very real horror and trauma that people experience when they are raped. My intention is primarily to address those in the Christian community who are not victims, that we might relate to these victims with biblical wisdom, understanding and compassion.

economic sense), than the fornicating girl? The girl who commits fornication is "rewarded" while the rape victim is not. My explanation for no dowry (restitution) being given to the rape victim is because she has not been sexually polluted. Thus, she is still regarded by her family and the community as sexually pure—there is no difference between her and another virgin. According to Scripture, the rape victim does not need an extra dowry in order to make her attractive to a possible husband.

The spiritual nature of sexual purity

Sexual purity is spiritual not physical in nature. Sexual purity applies to both the married and the unmarried. When sexual activity is conformed to God's word, then it is pure and those engaged in such activity remain sexually pure even though they are sexually active. Impurity in the sexual realm involves the giving of oneself in a way that is outside of God's ordained boundaries for sexual expression. A virgin is someone who has not given themselves sexually to another person. Thus, virginity applies to a state of sexual purity prior to legitimate sexual activity. My point is that a person's sexual purity is lost when they consent to some sexual activity that is outside God's boundaries. When someone is seduced, they give consent to the seduction; however when someone is raped, no consent is given. What I am arguing is that virginity is primarily spiritual rather than physical in nature. Thus, when a girl is raped, though she has been violated physically, she has in no way been polluted spiritually. The maiden who is raped cannot but continue to be sexually pure, for if she was a virgin prior to this act of violence against her, that act doesn't change her state in God's eyes. This means she remains sexually pure as far as God is concerned and therefore ought to be regarded as such by those who call upon the name of the Lord. Sexual purity and virginity have to do with spiritual and moral integrity in the sexual realm. The way this purity is preserved is by not giving oneself sexually to another person until it is morally right to do so. When unmarried people give themselves sexually to each other, they violate their sexual purity and are no longer to be regarded as virgins—they are sexually polluted. On the other hand, when a man and a woman give themselves sexually to each other on their marriage day, they remain sexually pure because their actions are in accordance with God's ordering. The term 'virgin' then ceases to be applicable or relevant in their context, though their sexual purity continues, to the degree that their sexual expression remains within God's defined boundaries.

To lose one's sexual purity one has to self-consciously give it up—it is not something that can be taken from you without your consent. That is, a person's sexual purity cannot be lost without them willingly embracing an illicit sexual union. This is something the Church should proclaim loudly and clearly. There is great comfort here for those who have been sexually molested as young children too. In the case of children who are sexually molested the "consent" aspect is not exactly the same as in the case of adults. The reason for this is because mature people can fairly easily manipulate children due to their immaturity. Someone might look back upon their own experience of being sexually abused as a child and feel that they allowed it to happen or willingly participated in it. The reality is that their immaturity at the time of the abuse "overpowered" them. In other words, due to their intellectual and emotional immaturity, they were unable to resist the advances and manipulation of the older person. A child's natural respect for and trust of adults as well as their natural desire to want to please adults, renders them extremely vulnerable because they are unable to effectively resist a perverse adult. Thus, in a real sense, the molested child's situation is comparable to that of the adult who is physically overpowered and raped. This issue requires further explanation and development, but this is not the place to do it. All that I want to make clear is that there is an accountability difference between a child's consent and an adult's consent to sexual activity. I am convinced that sexual abuse of minors is comparable to the rape of adults and thus the same biblical perspective applies to both, namely, their sexual purity has not been violated.

Spiritual pollution moves in only one direction: from inside to outside

Paul's point to the Corinthians was that spiritual pollution leads to the pollution of the body. He said, "Or do you not know that he who is joined to a harlot is one body with her? For 'the two,' He says, 'shall become one flesh'" (1 Cor. 6:16). The man was as defiled as the prostitute, since both came from the same "spiritual cloth," so to speak. The pollution brought about by illicit sexual union is both spiritual and physical when both seek that perversion. When our hearts consent to sin, our whole being is polluted and this affects us physically in some way, but the reverse is not true. While Christ used such ideas with respect to foods, his words are clearly applicable to the rape victim. He said, "There is nothing that enters a man from outside which can defile him; but the things which come out of him, those are the things that defile a man . . . Are you thus without understanding also? Do you not perceive that whatever enters a man from outside cannot defile him" (Mk. 7:15, 18, read the whole section, v.15–23). It is not possible to be polluted if your heart does not first turn toward the perversion (Pr. 4:23). For example, we are in the presence of evil spirits often (if not always), however, until we turn our hearts towards them, we remain undefiled by their corruption and enticing (Lev. 19:31; 20:6; Eph. 4:27; 6:11; Jm. 4:7). Likewise, Christ's death in our place further supports this idea. Consider the great difference we see between the animal sacrifices in Leviticus and Christ's sacrifice on the cross. The animals had to be without physical blemishes in order to qualify as a suitable sacrifice for sin (Lev. 22:20–25, esp. v. 24; Dt. 17:1). The law said any imperfection, wound etc. on the animal's physical body rendered it defiled. These animals were a shadow of Christ's spiritual perfection and the way they pictured this was physically. Thus, when they did not correctly portray this they were disqualified. Christ's sacrifice was in stark contrast to the animal sacrifices, for when he was sacrificed, his body was almost unrecognisable due to it being so physically disfigured (Is. 50:6; 52:14; 53:4–6; Jn 19:1). Yet, despite being so physically broken, Christ maintained his moral and spiritual purity. His moral perfection is exactly what sinful people needed, thus Christ, despite the great physical abuse he endured, is the perfect sacrifice. No amount of mistreatment of Christ's body could affect his spiritual integrity. Only by him consenting to sin could he have been defiled. Christ was humiliated, violated and afflicted, but not polluted in any way.

The words "humble," "afflict" and "violate" are used for both the rape victim and the fornicator/adulterer (Dt. 21:14; 22:24, 29; Lam. 5:11). Nevertheless, it would be wrong to imagine "pollution" being attached to the rape victim because of the rape. Rape is not an easy concept to communicate and in Hebrew, as in English, words can have more than one meaning, which increases this difficulty. The KJV, for example, uses the word "defile" in connection with rape at Genesis 34:2, 5, however, this must not lead us to think that it means the raped person has been spiritually defiled. Greg Bahnsen alluded to such difficulties with meaning when he wrote, "The Hebrew word anah ('humble, afflict,' . . .) used in Deuteronomy 22:29 can sometimes be used for forcing a woman (Gen. 34:2; Jud. 20:5; 2 Sam.13:12, 14, 22, 32; Lam. 5:11) but *need not* indicate a forcible rape, which is clear from the Deuteronomy passage itself at verse 24. It can simply mean to dishonor, mistreat, or afflict (e.g., Ex. 1:11; Gen. 16:6; Ex. 22:22; Dt. 8:2; Ps. 119:67), and in sexual settings can denote other kinds of sin than rape (Ezek.22:10,11)."[2] Our understanding of the rape victim's purity or lack thereof must rest upon more than the particular words translators may have chosen to use in translating such texts.

Those who engage in sexual activity within God's boundaries remain sexually pure—they are undefiled. The celibate Christian is no more holy or sexually pure than those Christians who are engaged in sexual union within the bounds of marriage. "Marriage *is* honorable among all, and the bed undefiled; but fornicators and adulterers God will judge" (Heb. 13:4). It is vital that Christians clearly promote the beauty of sexual expression that takes place within God's boundaries. In a society were sexual perversion is rampant there is a danger that Christians may develop a negative perception or suppressed expression of the godly gift of sex. We do great harm to ourselves, our children and those we seek to minister to if our communication about sex is only about God's righteous condemnation of the world's perversion of sex. Perversion we must condemn, but the beauty of sex must also be held up as something to be cherished, treasured and truly enjoyed. God's law defines what is beautiful and glorifies Him and what is perverse and destroys lives—both of these need to be spoken about without shame or apology.

Conclusion

While there is a clinical, physical definition for "virginity," this doesn't have anything to do with God's moral purity or focus. His focus has to do with the heart and holiness. The true virgin is the person who has not given herself sexually to someone else outside of God's boundaries. Others cannot defile us no matter what they do to our physical bodies. We are defiled by our own hearts lusting after strange flesh, not by strange flesh lusting after us or even abusing us (Mt. 10:28). It is our own fleshly lusts that war against our soul and defile us (Mk.7:21–23; 1 Pet. 2:11). We are to fight against these lusts (Tit. 2:12) because it is these lusts that lead to sin and death (Jm. 1:14,15; 4:1). Christ's people need to communicate this message to those who have been the victims of rape as well as relating to them in a way that demonstrates this truth. If Christians communicate any kind of stigma towards those who have been sexually abused, then they ought to feel the same toward Christ's abused body that hung on the cross. They will also need to feel the same sense of disgrace toward the memory of innocent people who were murdered. The Bible, however, compares the raped person with the murdered person in the sense that they are both without fault. That is, they are completely innocent of the wrong committed against them and therefore cannot be regarded as defiled or polluted by it in any way (Dt. 22:26).

As members of Christ's body, we need to live and relate in terms of God's word. This means that those within our communities who have been violated sexually, must not be forced to carry around shameful skeletons, dreading the day when others might find out about them. In order for the innocent who have been violated to be healed, both physically and psychologically, if need be, they must know that what happened to them is nothing to be ashamed about. They have not been polluted in God's eyes and therefore mere men cannot regard them as polluted. Christ's people need to insist upon holding to a biblical definition of shame and thus show unwavering support and total acceptance of those who have been sinned against sexually. The victims of such abuse need to be assured that no distinction is made in the eyes of Christ's followers between them and others who have not suffered such things. The biblical perspective is that the virgin who has been raped is as attractive and accepted as the virgin who has not been raped. Christian men, when looking for a wife, ought not to look upon a sexually pure person who has been raped any differently than they would look upon a sexually pure person who has not been raped. No distinction is to be made between such people with respect to pollution or stigma. God saw no need to try and increase the incentives for men to marry girls who had been raped (i.e., through an extra dowry). The Christian's view of people who have been sexually abused or raped should be no different from their view of those who have been assaulted, mugged, robbed, persecuted or tortured.

The pollution associated with rape rests wholly upon the rapist—no pollution from that perverse act is communicated to the victim. Since God does not distinguish, with respect to sexual purity, between someone who has been raped and someone who hasn't, we are foolish if we contradict his view on the matter. We ought to offer help, show compassion and manifest real understanding toward people who have been raped or sexually abused. This will include strongly communicating to them that they have nothing to be ashamed about. Our way of relating should demonstrate to them that no stigma follows them around and that they have nothing to be embarrassed about. The reason for this is simple: the raped person's heart was not turned towards the sexual perversion committed against her and thus she cannot be polluted by the physical abuse committed against her body. An external act done to a person against her will cannot defile her spiritual integrity. Virginity and thus sexual purity are ultimately spiritual in nature. That means a person's heart and will must consent to the perversion in order for her to be polluted by it. This is God's eternal perspective and all people are expected to bring their thinking into line with his unchanging perspective about all things, including how he views the victims of rape and sexual abuse. *C&S*

2. Greg Bahnsen, unpublished paper, "Pre-Marital Sexual Relations: What is the Moral Obligation When Repeated Incidents are Confessed?" p. 4, no date.

KUYPER FOUNDATION

FILM MAKING PROJECT

The Kuyper Foundation will be making a series of documentary films to be shown as part of multimedia road-show presentations and also for wider distribution in DVD format. The purpose of this project is to make the message of the Kuyper Foundation accessible to a wider audience than the readership of the journal.

In order to realise this project we need to purchase the necessary equipment. The current funding of the Kuyper Foundation enables us to publish the journal, organise conferences and publish books from time to time. Funding for the film making project cannot be taken out of the current income without affecting the present publishing and conference work of the Foundation. Therefore we need to raise additional funding for this film project.

We have already been promised a certain amount of money for some of the equipment we need, but we need to raise a further £10,000 of initial funding to get the project off the ground. Equipment needed includes:

digital cameras
sound recording equipment
computer equipment
computer software
work in progress funds

This is an important new project for the future of the Kuyper Foundation. Please consider giving to help fund this project. Information on how to give to the Kuyper Foundation can be found on the inside back cover.

If you want further information on the project or wish to discuss helping to fund the project please contact the Director, Stephen C. Perks at any of the addresses or phone numbers below:

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Book Reviews

THE CONTINUUM HISTORY OF APOCALYPTICISM
Edited by Bernard J. McGinn, John J. Collins & Stephen J. Stein

New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc. 2003, hardback, ISBN 0-8264-1520-2

Reviewed by Bruce Dayman

This book is about apocalypticism. It is an examination of its history. It attempts to provide a collective and comprehensive treatment of apocalypticism in the three monotheistic faiths of Christianity, Judaism and Islam from ancient to modern times. No strict definition is given due to the wide array of data presented. Terms like eschatology, millennialism and chiliasm, as well as messianism, all overlap and are often used interchangeably. There is no subject index.

This collection of twenty-five essays is actually a condensation of The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism originally published in 1998. It is broken into three parts, corresponding to the three volumes of the encyclopedia.

In Part One: "the Origins of Apocalypticism in the Ancient World," it is contended that the roots of this study take us back to the ancient mythologies of the Near East in the rediscovered Akkadian and Ugaritic literatures. The authors see no cultural contradiction between them and the Hebrew Bible. They claim "it is possible to trace a direct line of development from the myths of the second millennium b.c.e. to the apocalypses of the Hellenistic and Roman period" (p. x).

An independent apocalyptic tradition in ancient Persia is also acknowledged dating back to the second millennium. It is believed to have had some influence on Judaism and Christianity. They differ with those authors who would claim this as the sole source of apocalypticism (Western).

In Part Two: "Apocalyptic Traditions from Late Antiquity to CA 1800 C.E.," Christianity is the main subject of investigation. It begins with early Christian theology from the Patristic period, then the Byzantine period. This is followed by the impact of apocalypticism on Church reform from 1100 to 1500 a.d. and importantly radical apocalyptic movements in the late Middle Ages. These movements were radical in the sense that they sought to undermine ecclesiastical structures. The line between reform and revolution is examined.

Many diverse interpretations of the Revelation of John emerged during the Reformation and early modernity. This furthered disputes and even more changes in apocalypticisms which remain with us today.

In a completely different vein, the apocalyptic traditions of Judaism and Islam are presented from the same time period. While the contribution of the Kabbalah to Jewish apocalypticism has been undervalued, so have the apocalyptic origins of Islam. Both are examined in Part Two in separate essays.

In the final section, Part Three, the topic is "Apocalypticism in the Modern Age." The main complement of essay focus is on North America and the USA in particular; however, geographical perspective doesn't stop there.

Its impact on Central and South American colonialism is the topic of one essay. Movements in Latin America are the subject of another. Modern Western and Eastern Europe are given one essay also. Once again, contemporary Judaism and Islam are included in separate essays.

Throughout all periods, apocalypticism is seen as a powerful and indispensable element of Western monotheistic religions for both good and evil. It is because Judaism, Christianity and Islam have a familial connection (via Abraham) that this book gives them a comprehensive and collective investigation.

It is true that it is hard to resist a feeling of ambivalence when approaching the topic. This is because apocalypticism has been the source of hope and courage for the oppressed while also producing fanaticism and intolerance among its thinkers. One can easily feel overwhelmed and bewildered.

The biggest criticism I have of this book is of Part One. In dealing with origins of apocalypticism in the ancient world the first essay begins by advocating the history-of-religions school (*religion geshchichtliche Schule*) that "championed autonomous historical-critical scholarship and insisted that the Bible be seen against its environment" (p. 3). It draws on the work of Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932) who was associated with Hugo Gressman as the founder of form criticism (*Formgeschichte*).

The basic tenets of form criticism teach: (1) it is impossible to establish accurate literary history for the older period; (2) it is therefore practical to define various categories or forms to which Pentateuchal literature belonged in its oral stage and then follow through the logical course of development until they reached their final written stage in the exilic period or thereafter; and (3) following the comparative religions approach, pay strict attention to the religion and literature of ancient Israel's pagan neighbours.

Form criticism is better than Wellhausian source analysis to be sure. It at least recognizes the great antiquity of much of the oral tradition material that lay behind the text of the Torah. Yet Gunkel's conclusion that the books of Moses reached their written form only as late as the exile has to be questionable. The Hebrews being a people of the word of God were surely a highly literate people from the time of Moses onward.

According to Gleason L. Archer, Jr.: ". . . the earliest scrap of written Hebrew thus far discovered by archaeology is the schoolboy's exercise known as the Gezer Calendar (*c.*

925 B.C.), but nearly all of Israel's neighbours were recording all types of literature in written form for many centuries before that period, and even underprivileged Semitic miners at the turquoise mines in the Sinai Peninsula were scrawling their alphabetic inscriptions as early as 1500 B.C., if not earlier."[1]

It would be credulous to think that only the Hebrew nation was so illiterate that people didn't know how to write their most important legal and religious statements until after 600 B.C. In fact the Pentateuchal record makes many references to writing and portrays Moses as a man of letters.

This presents insuperable difficulty to the contributors of *Apocalypticism* who follow Gunkel by looking to Mesopotamia, Canaan and Persia for recurring elements and themes as a source for the Bible. Richard J. Clifford makes all sorts of excuses to justify his contention that Exodus 15 is an adaptation of the combat myth of the early poetry from surrounding nations (p. 24). Anders Hultgärd concludes essay two by claiming that the emergence of apocalyptic eschatology among Jews and Christians in the Hellenic and Roman periods came about due to the struggle for good and evil and the belief in the ultimate restoration of the world found in Persian apocalypticism. One can't help but wonder why it wasn't the other way around (i.e. Hebrew apocalypticism influencing Persian).[2]

Pseudepigraphy is the publication of documents under assumed names that are highly regarded in order to gain a hearing. In justification of this theory it is claimed that pseudonymity was a widespread literary device in the ancient world. It is also assumed that the Christian Church would quite naturally adopt the same practice. But is this a correct assumption? Those who dispute its legitimacy are in the minority. But is there any fresh evidence that substantiates the increasing adoption of pseudonymity? It needs to be asked whether it would be morally justifiable to use a false name for deceitful purposes.[3] There has been no satisfactory explanation to date why any author resorted to pseudonymity rather than issue a word in his own name. If the Holy Spirit is the obvious author, what would be gained by attaching the name of any prophet or apostle? It seems that the proponents of pseudonymity would have us believe that the primitive Christian church was quite happy about someone writing a letter purporting to be Daniel or Jeremiah or Paul because what he was doing was setting out an extension of their teaching. Yet Church leaders like Tertullian and Serapion condemned pseudonymity. The history of the canon in fact leads to the conclusion that works under assumed names would have been rejected from the New Testament collection. One would have to conclude that the many theories of pseudonymous originals are based on subjective opinions.

John J. Collins in his essay, "From Prophecy to Apocalypticism: The Expectation of the End" looks at the Book of Enoch and the Book of Daniel in order to find common literary themes. He concludes that the "visions of Daniel are pseudonymous just like those of Enoch" (p. 73). Yet conservative scholars have emphasised the difference between Daniel (and Revelation) and the apocalypitic writings of the Hellenistic Period.[4] In spite of this difference all scholars are agreed that the Book of Daniel is the prototype for apocalyptic literature and that apocalyptic writings arose out of a context of renewed Jewish nationalism, beginning with the Maccabean revolt. It is also generally agreed that they were written during the times of intense persecution, a fact that the book under review returns to regarding the important role apocalypticism plays throughout history. The oppressed see no hope for the nation in terms of politics or in the milieu of human history and so resort to apocalyptic hopes and the expectation of final judgment.

The writers conclude that apocalypses are intended for a group in crisis. This is partly true. They were written to exhort and console. Apocalyptic hope has persisted as a recurring feature in Western religion for over two thousand years. "While it can never deliver on its promises, it continues to speak eloquently to the hearts of those who would otherwise have no hope at all" (p. 86). "Never" is a long time.

In other words, apocalyptic literature is a myth. Higher critics have maintained all along that humans create myths out of necessity. The goal then is to separate mythical history from actual human history. This, then, is what the book is about: Kantian dualism. Apocalypticism exists as a myth from the trans-historical noumenal world of human meaning that is completely distinct from the phenomenal world of measurable cause and effect. These myths give meaning to the crises of history for believers.

According to higher critics, apocalyptic myths are found in the three major Western religions. It is presupposed that the origin and source of these religions is myth, which is the essence of religion. So the editors have taken great pains to document the response of these religious communities to their sacred narratives as being manifested by everything from peaceful progress to outright revolution depending on whether they have over or underestimated them.

Since mythical imagery is believed to have arisen out of sentiments all mankind has in common, there is a certain necessity and unconsciousness about myth creation. This fits in very well with modern Jungian Gnosticism. The authors of this book are guaranteed to gain acceptance by the new spiritual synthesis of our time. Myth is the foundation of all faiths. It is mankind's ability to make myths that binds us all together. It is but one stage in our evolution and evolution is the foundation of modern mythmaking. It seems that this book is attempting to separate mythical history from actual human history. Yet God's revealed word never makes a distinction here. The Bible stories are actual history, not myth.

It is the authors who are promoting their own myth by failing to recognize this important reality. It baffles my mind why they spend all this time gathering details to compile into this compendium. Do they somehow think that by putting all these varied approaches into one tome they will contribute to the moral righteousness and high ideals society needs? They don't realise that autonomous man cannot create his

1. Gleason L. Archer, Jr., *A Survey of Old Testament Introduction* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1964, 1974), p. 96.

2. It is entirely possible that each culture shared ideas independently of one another. Even then, liberal scholars presume too much (i.e. Israelites were uneducated etc.).

3. If the intent was to merely gain readership rather than entry into the canon, then the regular occurrence of pseudonomity may be more understandable. According to Old Testament scholar Michael Heiser, the reason that truly disputed and debated books for canonical status is short and the list of pseudipigraphic literature is long is that canonical doubt was rare. Also very few of the pseudipigraphical books bear the name of a canonical author.

4. G. E. Ladd, *Jesus and the Kingdom* (London: SPCK, 1966), p. 75ff.

own meaning. "The meaning of all things is theocentric—God-centered, not man-centered—which means that of necessity things are meaningless if we try to read them in terms of man, in terms of ourselves. We do not create them, govern them, nor more than slightly, in a limited area and manner, influence them; they are of God's ordination. Attempts to read the meaning of things humanistically are thus erroneous, futile and blasphemous."[5]

Nevertheless the book carries on with its theme examining how apocalypticism meets the necessity of myth-making in times of crisis whether it is from the Dead Sea Scroll (Ch. 4), the eschatology of Jesus (Ch. 5), Paul (Ch. 7), John (Ch. 8) or the persecuted Church (Ch. 9).

The importance of Joachim of Fiore and his division of history into three great epochs, Father, Son and Holy Spirit plays a monumental role in Church reform (Ch. 11) The Joachimite heresy was a form of subordinationism that placed the Father and the Son in a place of lesser importance than the Holy Spirit. It was an important part of the radical apocalyptic movements in the Middle Ages (Ch. 12) as well as in our modern age. It also had great prominence in Central and South American colonialism (Ch. 16). In particular, Joachim of Fiore treated apocalyptic texts as a key to the actual events of history. This has impacted modern premillennialism and postmillennialism. Premils believe that a cataclysm of events will lead to a divine new order established on earth. Postmils see its establishment as the culmination of a long cycle of human progress.

In chapter thirteen pessimistic and optimistic expectations concerning history are treated as a "bipolar aspect" of Western psychological vacillation and tension that escalated from 1500 to 1800 A.D. The author, Robin Barnes, states that his intent would be to "show that the experience of historical disillusionment and despair was at least as formative as the rise of forward-looking hope in the evolution of characteristically modern attitudes" (pp. 323–324). In other words the fearful sense of societal breakdown produced the dominant outlook of dread and rumours of the immanent disclosure of the Antichrist. Ross notes correctly those Reformers such as Luther, Zwingli and Calvin that were mostly immune to apocalyptic expectancy (pp. 330–331), though not their followers (332–334). He states that Calvinism bordered on historical meliorism (i.e. the doctrine that man and human life may improve through human effort) which is contrasted with apocalypticism (346).

Barnes acknowledges that there is a strong connection between millenarianism and the secular (Enlightenment) vision of progress as well as between apocalyptic pessimism and modern skeptical reason (341). He concludes that the corrosive and creative aspects of apocalyptic visions are difficult to disentangle from each other and ultimately they reveal radical and psychological tensions that drove Europeans to a modern world in perpetual revolution (350).

In chapter fourteen, Jewish apocalypticism focuses on the messiah who is powerful enough to disrupt the course of nature and history. The rebuilding of the temple, the descent of Jerusalem from above, and the universal victory of Judaism are the main components. However, astrology is shown to have made strong inroads here as it did in Christian apocalypticism.

While Jewish apocalyptics were small in comparison to other bodies of Jewish literature they were concerned with the scriptural validation of dates for the end-time. Biblical texts were deciphered by means of allegorical or numerological codes such as the *gematria* which interchanged words whose letters have the same numerical value. Astrological perspectives were adopted from the Kabalistic schools and mixed with biblical imagery of the Sabbath and the year of jubilee to form a cosmic version. Kabala, influenced by Greek philosophy, produced an inward version of apocalypticism which was projected into the spiritual realm of the individual (377).

Islam (chapter 15), too, has its apocalyptic core. It focuses on the term *mahdi,* used for "rightly-guided one" (388). It was he who was to be the expected restorer of true religion and redresser of injustices. While not originally intended, the term clearly took on messianic overtones throughout history. It often designated a deliverer who was in concealment (occultation) which acquired chiliastic connotations though its association with the manifestation or parousia (*zuhûr*) of the apocalyptic Mahdi (389) or Qã'im. It should be noted that these traditions are exclusively Shi'ite and not Sunni. The author of this essay is Säid Amir Arjomand. He contends that "it was largely history that was transformed into apocalyptic" during Islam's formative period, "not apocalyptic material that was historicized" (399).

Astrology and numerology are portrayed as a distinctive Muslim science for predicting a predetermined future. It produces what the author calls "political astrology" which became the most respected science of prediction of the predetermined future of future revolutions in Muslim world domination. It stimulated many apocalyptic uprisings throughout Islamic history (400). Ultimately political apocalypticism resolved itself into a consolidated nomocratic order in the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal empires in the sixteenth century. This has continued more or less, into modern times (407).

Central and South American apocalypticism (chapter 16) during their colonial period are considered next. Whether it was Indians as descendants of Israel, the good savage myth found in Columbus' first log book or that he considered himself the messianic herald of the era of the Holy Ghost inherited from Joachim of Fiore, the legend of El Dorado developed regarding South America. The influence of Joachimism is seen in a number of important leaders, those among the creoles especially.

The Marian cult originated among the Indians and later revived among the creoles. She was said to have appeared in 1531 on Mount Tepeyac to a poor Indian under the features of the Virgin of the Apocalypse who had been worshiped at Guadalupe monastery in Spain. Tonantzin, the mother of the gods had been venerated at Mount Tepeyac prior to the arrival of the Spaniards. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Mary-Tonantzin became the mother of all Mexicans (433). Fusion between Christian and Indian messianisms also fuelled the myth of Tupac Amaru, a liberating Incan Messiah.

The vast array of South American movements (chapter twenty-one) in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were mostly small communal-based millenarian experiments with negative apocalyptic underpinnings. Nature myths of millennial renewal were used to justify their insurgency by some groups such as the Shining Path guerillas of Peru. But

5. Rousas John Rushdoony, *Systematic Theology,* Vol. 1 (Vallecito, California, Ross House Books, 1994) pp. 19, 20.

overall these movements stress religious, not political goals.

North American Colonial apocalypticism is addressed in chapter seventeen. Apocalypticism inside mainstream Protestantism from 1800 to the present follows in chapter 18 and then outside the mainstream comes in 19. No movement is left unexamined. Everyone from conservative to liberal, Mormon to Sun Myung Moon, the American religion in all its diversity is laid bare.

Fundamentalism is mainly interpreted as dispensationalism and is covered in chapter 20. The book closes with a look at contemporary Judaism (22), modern Islam (23), Western Europe (24) and Eastern Europe (25).

The editors have done an amazing job of editing and synthesising a massive amount of complex information into a useful compendium of reference. Unfortunately it is created on the premise that modern historical methods are more reliable than the biblical record itself. This kind of thinking also now makes its way into the Old Testament departments of so-called conservative seminaries.[6] In typical Kantian fashion history is treated as meaningless apart from autonomous man's interpretation, in this case, a potpourri of prophetic apocalypticism. Autonomous man stands between two dialectical realms and somehow creates meaning for himself. God remains unknowable whether he is Christian, Jewish or Muslim. The common foundation of all faiths is reduced to myth.

The editors of this book have thrown everyone into the mix: the orthodox, radicals and heretics. Apocalypticism has become the touchstone for portraying myth—an imaginative story bearing a transcendental truth. By its very nature apocalypticism is vulnerable to this kind of treatment—because of its symbolic language and the fact that it is often cryptic. What better foil could there be for liberal scholars to debunk orthodoxy.

Accordingly, since all religions originate in myth, then the most advanced stage of religious evolution is met when religious consciousness no longer focuses on its specific claims to doctrine and historicity. The reality of myth is embraced for its own sake.

One of the main premises of the book is that necessity produced the many apocalyptic interpretations. This is a highly humanistic presupposition. It fits nicely into evolutionary theory. In essence the goal is to separate mythical history from actual human history. Humans are, after all, not essentially distinct from God. The human mind is considered only a limited manifestation. When human reason evolves it will ultimately realise that God is man, and man is God. At this point man will be in charge of his own evolutionary progress. A new human religion will be born.

This fits the modern mind well today and explains the popularity of such teachers as Joseph Campbell and others who see a new spirituality dawning. Higher critics have become the ultimate myth-makers. They have done this by presenting evidence that any higher critic would approve of, by attempting to destroy the historicity of Scripture. By resting on the presupposition that God's prophetic word is relative to historical time and place, they have denied the unity and moral integrity of the Bible.

In fact the problem with this book is that it never really seems to get to the text of Scripture itself. It is dominated by matters of historicity, authorship, etc. which ultimately keeps the authors from the Bible. I have no problem accepting that Adam, Noah, Abraham and Jacob passed on their accounts of God's acts and words to be collected by Moses.[7] In fact, who is to say that the Garden of Eden, the Flood, etc. are not the original historical versions that have been distorted from antiquity up to and including the latest Public TV myth and legend? Why not? How come that perspective isn't even mentioned?

Because men would rather believe a lie (2 Thess. 2:11) than revelation. They cannot live with the mystery that God ultimately reveals in His time. They cannot put their faith in God. So they create myths in order to explain things. These meta stories are meant to help them make sense of life. Instead of accepting God's mysteries (Ephesians 3), a function of revealed religion, they reach out for the forbidden fruit of autonomous reason. The result is comparative religions that are a product of evolutionary theory. Christianity is treated as a myth, not a mystery. The assumption here is that the authors' pluralistic faith is not a myth but based upon genuine faith. If Christianity were true then they would have to adjust their lives and live ethically in accordance with Scripture. It is easier to create castles in the sky which make no demands but give the impression of scholarly research and erudition. Ah, but is it?

"At that time Jesus answered and said, 'I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father: for so it seemed good in thy sight. All things are delivered unto me of my Father: and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him. Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light'" (Mt. 11:25–30, AV). *C&S*

6. Go to: http://tinyurl.com/qthzh—Peter Enns, *Inspiration and Incarnation: Evangelicals and the Problem of the Old Testament* (Baker Academic, 2005).

7. Of course God could also have directed Moses to extant material that covered much of his subject matter.

THE BINDING OF GOD: CALVIN'S ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF COVENANT THEOLOGY

by Peter A. Lillback

Baker Academic and Paternoster, 331 pages including indices, ISBN: 0-84227-109-1

Reviewed by Stephen Hayhow

I cannot recommend too highly Peter Lillback's study of *Calvin's Role in the Development of Covenant Theology*, so readable, comprehensive, probing, detailed and assured is this work from the Professor of Historical Theology at Westminster Seminary. There is so much in a book like this that it is difficult to know where to begin and where to end. So I will try to summarise Lillback's conclusions.

First of all, where does Calvin fit in the grand scheme of

covenant theology and its development? To this question there have been a number of answers. Lillback identifies the following:

(1) Covenant theology is absent from Calvin's theology

(2) Calvin develops an incomplete form of covenant theology

(3) Calvin's theology is in tension with covenant theology, and especially with developed federal theology

(4) Calvin develops and extensive, if incomplete, covenant theology

The position taken in this book is that "Calvin develops an extensive if incomplete Covenant Theology." For Calvin the covenant is, as Lillback's title suggests, the "binding of God." God binds himself, by grace to his people, to be their God and for them to be his people.

Lillback shows the context in which Calvin appears as a covenant theologian through a detailed study of the historical background to Calvin's covenant theology, first of all in the theology of the mediaeval, and then in the early Reformers, also Luther, the Strasbourg Reformers and finally Zwingli. Lillback concludes:

> . . . four conclusions have been reached. First the covenant was a well known concept of the late medieval period in the social-political and theological realms. Secondly, the emerging Reformed tradition was engulfed with the question of the covenant from its inception due to its conflicts with the radical Reformers. Thirdly, the intense renewal of biblical studies among the Reformed theologians resulted in the rediscovery of the prominent role of the covenant in the Old and New Testaments. Fourthly, a wide range of biblically oriented questions concerning the covenant had already been raised before Calvin appeared on the stage of Reformation history. (p. 126)

So this is the intellectual and spiritual context for Calvin's development of covenant theology.

Lillback tackles a number of key issues, ones that have raised their heads again in more recent Presbyterian debates. His discussion covers the following key areas: continuity versus the discontinuity of the covenants; conditionality in the covenant; law and gospel; the relationship between covenant and predestination; resistance theory; the covenant as the context for the sacraments; the place of the covenant of works in Calvin's theology; and Calvin's rejection of merit in the prelapsarian state.

Lillback's conclusions are that the covenant was central to Calvin's whole thought and that "the basic significance of the covenant" is "the binding of God in sovereign self-humiliation with men, who in turn are bound to perform their duties of faith and obedience toward Him." Hence there is one covenant in all history, with different administrations, but the essence of the covenant remains unchanged. The law stands in unity with the gospel and is only contrasted when "the law is considered in a restricted sense." Calvin's view may be termed "law-in-gospel." Because the law stands within the covenant, it is possible then to understand covenant breaking as a reality. Calvin is then able to set the relationship between justification by faith alone and obedience within the covenant. Lillback adds, "Calvin believes that God does accept man's works as righteousness when they are brought to Him in the light of the covenant benefits." Here Calvin stands in opposition to Luther; in fact, Lillback positions Calvin between Luther, on the one hand, and the Schoolmen on the other. This enables Calvin to reject merit as a basis for fellowship with God, but at the same time to give real significance and importance to the covenant man's obedience.

Calvin also integrates predestination and covenant: ". . . the covenant is a general election that offers the promise of the benefits of the covenant. Only secret election ratifies the covenant in the case of any individual." Man needs to look to the covenant promise and obligations, not peer into the secret counsels of God! In this case, baptism is the entrance point into the covenant and the Church. The baptized are really covenant members, whether or not they turn out to be faithful and elect. This places the Church as the key to the covenant, for to be in the covenant and to be part of the Church of Christ are synonymous because of the role of baptism. The covenant then underpins baptism and the Lord's Supper—the covenant meal.

Lillback shows us that because there is such a thing as real covenant breaking, so there is place for resistance to covenant breakers. This means that if the magistrate has broken his covenant under God, then he may be resisted. From this comes the birth of the Calvinistic doctrine of political resistance to the magistrate. *C&S*

THE SOCIAL GOD AND THE RELATIONAL SELF: A TRINITARIAN THEOLOGY OF THE IMAGO DEI

by Stanley J. Grenz

Westminster John Knox Press, ISBN: 0-664-22203-X, 345 + xii pages (including indices), £30

Reviewed by Stephen Hayhow

The Social God and the Relational Self is part of a series by Stanley Grenz called *The Matrix of Christian Theology,* which he describes as a "contribution to the systematic theological task." *The Social God and the Relational Self* is a detailed study of the theology of the image of God in man, firmly set within the bounds of Trinitarian theology. In fact the opening section is a discussion of recent developments in Trinitarian theology. Grenz is, of course, right to situate his study within the fact that God is the *Triune* God. He is a relationship, or as Chesterton put it, "God is a society," and this significantly shapes our understanding of the image.

Grenz begins by setting the scene, referring to the rootlessness of post-modern man. People feel isolated in the global village, "unconnected" and alone. Thus he quotes James Torrance, "What we need today is a better understanding of the person not just as an individual but as someone who finds his or her true being-in-communion with God, and with others, the counterpart of the Trinitarian doctrine of God" (p. 10). So Chapter One focuses on the way in which recent theologians have shifted their attention to the "persons" as opposed to the "oneness" of God. Grenz goes back to Hegel, in whose "program the Christian theological conception of God as Trinity becomes a symbolic illustration of the philosophical truth accessible through human reason" (p. 29). From this secularised perspective, Grenz opens the way to Barth and Rahner where we see a return to revelation as the basis of theology. The survey

continues on through Moltmann's "Trinitarian eschatological panentheism" to Wolfhart Pannenburg and then the Eastern Orthodox, John Zizioulas. With Pannenburg the "divine essence is ultimately 'the epitome of the personal relations among Father, Son, and Spirit,' which relations unfold throughout the course of the history of the world." For Zizioulas in his *Being As Communion* (1985), *communion* establishes what the person is. Grenz concludes, "Such communion establishes the uniqueness of each person, in that the person is an indispensable and irreplaceable part of the relational existence" (p. 52). Finally, the discussion of this topic concludes with Catherine Mowry LaCugna, who presses all of this to the point of a kind of egalitarianism, where she asserts, "any theological justification for a hierarchy among persons also vitiates the truth of our salvation through Christ" (p. 56). In summary then, the newer Trinitarian theology focuses upon defining the person, or the self in terms that are Trinitarian and this inherently places communion and the relational at the heart of whatever definition of the "self" we might end up with.

This leads in Chapter Two to a survey of the development of the idea of the "self." Grenz begins with Augustine. He quotes LaCugna again,

> Largely due to the influence of the introspective psychology of Augustine and his heirs, we in the West today think of a person as a "self" who may be further defined as an individual center of consciousness, a free, intentional subject, one who knows and is known, loves and is loved, an individual identity,a unique personality endowed with certain rights, a moral agent, someone who experiences, weighs, decides and acts. (p. 60)

According to these theologians, Augustine started from the dictum "know thyself." This turn inwards was balanced by the fact that Augustine turned inward in order to find God—and thus, we might say, to be turned outwards at the same time. But Grenz adds, "Augustine's inward journey opened the way for the Western concept of the self with its focus on the inwardness of self-consciousness in contrast to the outwardness of relationality to others." (p. 63). Grenz traces this idea through Boethius, then Descartes—noting how Augustine and Descartes appear to sound alike. Augustine: "If I am deceived I am. For he who is not cannot be deceived; and if I am deceived, by this same token I am. And since I am if I am deceived, how am I deceived in believing that I am? (*City of God*, 11:26). Whilst this might resemble Descartes' working from doubt to the *cogito ergo sum,* the purpose is quite different. Augustine is on his way to God, Descartes isolates the self, or as Grenz says, Descartes' is "an inwardness of self-sufficiency—that is an inwardness of the autonomous power of reason ordering the world" (p. 70). We then journey through Locke's empiricism, Hume's skepticism to "The Kantian revolution." Kant declares, "We can . . . have no knowledge of any object as thing in itself, but only in so far as it is an object of sensible intuition, that is, an appearance" (p. 75).

Next, Grenz moves to the Reformers and Puritans and talks about the relationship between certainty of knowledge and the certainty of election and personal salvation. At the other end we come out in modern psychology. Grenz sees Edwards as "forming the transition from evangelical piety to modern psychology in both its theoretical and practical dimensions." Hence Edwards' research into the conversion experience of his parishioners was "in keeping with the empirical method of Enlightenment science." The book abounds in thought provoking observations like this.

By the time we have made the move to William James and the "Therapeutic Self" we have reached the modern world. Grenz concludes, borrowing from Philip Rieff, "with the ascendancy of modern psychology 'religious man' who was 'born to be saved,' has been replaced by 'psychological man,' who is 'born to be pleased' and who looks to the psychotherapist as a 'secular spiritual guide'" (p. 96).

In Chapter Three, we shift to a discussion of the development of autobiography from the self-revelations of Michel de Montaigne to Rousseau's *Confessions*, where "introspection is not directed toward mastering the self in accordance with some external, universal standard, but serves the goal of discovering the goodness present within oneself" (p. 106). This paved the way for the Romantics where self-expression comes to the fore. "Through the self's expression of its true inner self, therefore, the infinite comes to expression." This journey ultimately takes us to the post-modern fragmentation of the self, via Emerson, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Freud, down to Michel Foucault et al. Grenz concludes,

> The spiritual chaos endemic in the postmodern condition may lead to the celebration of the death of the self. But it may also occasion a new quest for some semblance of meaning in the face of the terrible emptiness introduced by, or the search for some measure of stability in the midst of the vertigo endemic to, the postmodern condition. (p. 137)

This concludes the first part of Grenz's study, which I can barely do justice to here. But as you can see we are given a broad and full view of the theological, psychological and philosophical currents that form the background to this study of the *imago dei.*

Part two is theological and exegetical. It commences with a survey of the development of the doctrine of the *imago dei,* from the Church Fathers, Aquinas, through the Reformers to more modern theologians. The Church Fathers saw clearly that the true image of God is Christ. Their view was also developmental: the *likeness* is something that only the saints gain in perfection, and so they posited a distinction between the image and the likeness. Later the Greek Fathers started to give more place to reason as a key attribute of the *imago.* Mind and reason are thus imparted, according to Gregory of Nyssa, "adding to the proper adornment of His own nature . . ." Augustine also took on the distinction between the *likeness* and the *image.* "Augustine posited a distinction between the image and likeness of God, viewing the latter as designating the growing resemblance of the human person to God, the fullness of which comes only at the resurrection" (p. 153).

The Reformers more or less rejected the distinction between the image and the likeness, noting their synonymous usage in the text. With the post-Reformation Reformed theologians there is a heavy emphasis upon man's spirituality as constituting the image. For example, Grenz cites Hodge, "God is spirit, the human soul is spirit. The essential attributes of spirit are reason, conscience and will. A spirit is a rational, moral, and therefore also, a free agent. In making man after his own image, therefore, God endowed him with those attributes which belong to his own nature as a spirit" (p. 172). All of this enables us to know God

and have communion with him. The *imago* is therefore relational. As James Orr concludes, the image is constituted "highest of all, in his capacity for fellowship with God."

Chapter five starts the exegetical piece with a detailed study of the Genesis text. Through a detailed discussion of the terms and the context, Grenz draws out the different views on the text: the royal image, the *imago dei* as similarity, as counterpart, as dominion, as representation. All of these can be derived from the text: man was made to know God, to represent him as a king on earth and to exercise dominion under him. Interestingly, Grenz does not refer back to Genesis 1, where certain attributes of God are very clearly revealed. In other words, if man is *imago dei,* what are the attributes present in the locality of Genesis 1–2? The answer is speech ("and God said"), creativity, and then the capacity for appreciation ("and behold it was good"). The close context also stresses man's dominion over the Creation, under God. God has ultimate dominion as King, but he has given to man a subordinate dominion and therefore a task. The benefit of this view is that it is derived from the context and makes the image very concrete.

Moving to the New Testament, we see that the image of God is the Son, who is the image of the Father. With this the image of God cannot be seen as a peripheral doctrine, but central to God's purpose in restoring, renewing and saving humanity. The Son is the image after whom we were made. That image became disfigured through man's sin and rebellion, thus God sent his own image-Son to redeem mankind as image-bearers and restore his image and likeness in us. Grenz treats all of the New Testament material in excellent fashion, so that we start to see many other passages as having a bearing on the subject, for example Rom. 8:29; 1 Cor. 15:49 etc. Very clearly the restored image is also our destiny, the purpose for which Christ came. This has the advantage of linking the image of God theme and the new Adam themes, as well as to the resurrection.

Part three is centered upon application; "The Social *imago* and the Postmodern (loss of) Self " is the sub-title. Here there are two sections: the first deals with human sexuality and it's relation to the *imago dei.* Grenz begins by drawing attention to the very close relationship in the Genesis text between the *imago* and the definition of humans as male and female. There follows a very helpful discussion of the interpretive options. Grenz gives some attention to Barth's view at this point, and he poses the question: "At issue is this question: Does the reference to the creation of humankind as male and female entail a theological statement regarding the significance of created sexuality for the *imago dei*, or is it merely a bridge to the divine pronouncement of the blessing of procreation (related to the power of reproduction) that follows?" (p. 271). In answering this point, Grenz interacts with the feminist interpretations, challenging them for ignoring the text, and draws away from any view that there is gender in the Godhead. Instead he widens the lens somewhat and looks for the communal as the divine original for the sexual.

On page 283 Grenz brings to the dissuasion the fact that Genesis says that man was made after "our image." Is this some kind of direct Trinitarian reference? After dismissing alternative views, and shying away from an explicitly Trinitarian reference as such, Grenz moves towards a third option, which concludes that ". . . a Trinitarian reading of the text understands the narrative as depicting God at work fashioning creatures who through their sexuality are to serve as the representation of their triune Creator." So where does this leave sexuality? "Marriage and genital sexual expression are limited to the penultimate age, of course, but sexuality is not. But sexuality lies at the heart of human identity, to reduce it to the temporal is to undermine the significance and depth of this dimension of existence that, as was noted previously, many contemporary theologians and even Brunner himself seek to uphold. Furthermore to leave sexuality behind is to undercut the significance of the resurrection. This central Christian doctrine indicates that sexuality is not eradicated en route to eternity. Instead, after the manner of the risen Jesus, humans participate in the transforming event of resurrection as the embodied persons—male or female—who they are" (p. 301f.).

The final chapter proposes a solution to the fragmented, postmodern self. The answer is God's new Trinitarian community—the Church. God saves us, out of redeeming love in Christ, so as to make us into a new community: his family and children. The goal is "to draw the reconciled new humanity together with all creation into glorious communion within the divine perichoretic life" (p. 320). The Trinity is the model for the life of the Church, the self-giving, other-focused relation of persons in communion. The Church is thus the expression of that Trinitarian life amongst redeemed men. God's purpose, in restoring his image in his people, in this way, becomes the only answer to the fragmented, post-modern self. *C&S*

Book Notices

The following books have been received for review. If you would like to review a book please send an e-mail requesting the book you would like to review along with your address (books will be allotted on a first come first served basis). Reviews should interact with the material in the book, not merely describe the contents, and should ideally be between 3000 and 7000 words (though we will accept shorter reviews and run longer reviews as review articles). Please include all publisher information. Reviews should be completed within a year of receiving the book.

Augustine, *Augustine's Commentary on Galatians: Introduction, Text, Translation, and Notes by Eric Plumer* (Oxford University Press, 2003), hardback, 294 pages.

John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford University Press, 2005), hardback, 604 pages.

Francis J. Bremer, *John Winthrop: America's Forgotten Founding Father* (Oxford University Press, 2003), 478 pages.

Stephen Clark, Editor, *Tales of Two Cities: Christianity and Politics* (Leicester: IVP, 2005), 294 pages.

James D. G. Dunn and John W. Rogerson, Editors, *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003), hardback, 1629 pages.

Jonathan Edmondson, Steve Mason & James Rivers, Editors, *Flavius Josephus & Flavian Rome* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 400 pages.

Kenneth L. Gentry, *Thine is the Kingdom: Studies in the Postmillennial Hope* (Vallecito, California: Chalcedon, 2003), 264 pages.

David W. Kling, *The Bible in History: How the Texts Have Shaped the Times* (Oxford University press, 2004), 389 pages.

Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 242 pages.

Wesley A. Kort, *C. S. Lewis Then and Now* (Oxford University Press, 2001), 194 pages.

William Loader, *The Septuagint, Sexuality, and the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2004), 162 pages.

I. Howard Marshall, *New Testament Theology* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 765 pages.

Steven L. McKenzie, *How to Read the Bible* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 207 pages.

Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church*, Vol. 5: *Moderatism, Pietism and Awakening* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2004), paperback, 620 pages.

Frank Prochaska, *Christianity & Social Service in Modern Britain: The Disinherited Spirit* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 216 pages.

Eckhard Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission* (Leicester: Appolos/IVP, 2004), 2 vols, hardback, 1,928 pages.

Matthew Scully, *Dominion: The Power of Man, the Suffering of Animals and the Call to Mercy* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2002), paperback, 434 pages.

Michael Slee, *The Church in Antioch in the First Century C.E.* (London: T. & T. Clark International, 2003), paperback, 214 pages.

Robert Song, *Christianity & Liberal Society* (Oxford University Press, [1997] 2006), 250 pages.

Brian Watts, *What Do You Learn in School: How to Choose or develop a Curriculum for Church-Based and Home School Teaching Programs* (Pescara, Italy: Destiny Image Europe 2004), 161 pages.

Michael E. Wittmer, *Heaven is a Place on Earth: Why Everything you do Matters to God* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 2004), paperback, 269 pages.

Letters to the Editor

Dear Sir,

David Estrada's series on the common sense philosophy and in particular his study of Thomas Reid is most welcome. It is high time that the importance of this body of thought once again be acknowledged among Reformed Christians.

Professor Estrada concludes, however, by pointing to the "renewed interest" in the philosophy of Reid, and even the existence of a "Thomas Reid Society," but then he says: "The sad fact that overshadows this revival of interest in Reid is the absence of Reformed thinkers and theologians among the students of his thought. The name of Reid does not appear in the writings of contemporary Reformed scholars." He then asks what the reason for this could be.

I wish to report that matters are not nearly so dark as the professor supposes. In fact, one of the members of the Thomas Reid Society is Nicholas Wolterstorff, formerly of Calvin College and now at Yale. He has published some articles on Reid, such as "Hume and Reid," *The Monist*, Vol. 70, No. 4, October 1987, pp. 398–417. The collection, *Rationality in the Calvinian Tradition*, ed. Hart, Van Der Hoeven, and Wolterstorff (University Press of America, 1983) has two articles on Reid, "Thomas Reid on Rationality" by Wolterstorff, and "Thomas Reid, Common Sense and Calvinism" by Paul Helm. Another article, perhaps of special interest to Professor Estrada is "Spanish Common Sense Philosophy: Jaime Balmes' Critique of Cartesian Foundationalism," by Kelly James Clark, of Calvin College, *History of Philosophy Quarterly*, Volume 7, No. 2, April 1990. This list is merely of what I had lying about in my office. If I had researched the matter, doubtless I would have found more authors.

If we turn to the work of Alvin Plantinga, in particular his

trilogy on warranted belief, *Warrant: The Current Debate* (Oxford: 1993), *Warrant and Proper Function* (Oxford: 1993) and *Warranted Christian Belief* (Oxford: 2000) we find numerous index entries to Plantinga's discussion of Reid. There is even a journal article on Plantinga's use of Reid: D. D. Todd, "Plantinga and the Naturalized Epistemology of Thomas Reid," *Dialogue* (Canada), 35 (1), 93–107, Winter, 1996.

The phenomenon that we are reviewing is the Reformed Epistemology that Plantinga and Wolterstorff have made famous. This is a very different stream of thought than has prevailed in American Presbyterianism, which until very recently has been locked in the apologetics wars between the partisans of mostly dead mediocrities . . .

Van Til and Westminster Seminary are the reason that Presbyterians are especially ignorant of the thought of Reid and absent from Reid studies. But this is on top of a general and widespread ignorance. When I was in graduate school, I found that my fellow students, even the doctoral candidates, had never heard of Reid. By this time a new interest in the nature of reliable belief formation had taken hold among many analytical philosophers, leading to renewed interest in Reid, but this interest had not yet become general. Today however, the Reformed Epistemology has become ubiquitous in the philosophy departments of Christian colleges, and some acquaintance with Thomas Reid may become unavoidable.

Timothy Wilder
St. Paul, Minnesota

Response from David Estrada:

Dear Mr Wilder,
I greatly appreciate your comments and observations on my article on Thomas Reid. It is quite apparent that I was mistaken in thinking that Reid's influence on today's Reformed circles was very limited—a drop in a bucket; but according to your information there seems to be a revival of "common sense thought" among some important thinkers in the States. Good news! Living in Barcelona, and more active in the academic world, I feel sometimes very isolated and short of information of what is going on in the States. On the other hand my contacts in Europe do not seem to know about the flourishing of common sense thought among US Calvinist scholars either. I take good notice of your valuable information.

I personally know some of the members of the "Thomas Reid Society," among them Alexander Brodie and Misericordia Anglés (a former student of mine at the University of Barcelona), and for what I have been able to gather, a goodly number of the scholars in the list are Roman Catholic, and even Jewish. You alluded also to K. J. Clark's article on Jaime Balmes. I haven't read the article and consequently I ignore the arguments he uses in order to defend Reid's influence on his thought. All I can say is that I am very familiar with the writings of the Catalan thinker, and in my opinion his knowledge of common sense philosophy was extremely limited, very superficial, and did not alter at all his deeply rooted Thomistic position.

With regards to Dr. Van Til I want to say this: he was one of my dear and respected professors at Westminster and I have always treasured his friendship and have greatly admired his scholarship and firm stand against modernism. Although I must admit that in his classes I do not remember ever having heard—not even once—any reference to Reid. (Both in his thought and theology Van Til was more at home with Holland than with Scotland.) As a student Van Til must necessarily have learned something about the common sense philosophy tradition at Princeton and its impact on the Presbyterian Church in the States. I judge as incomprehensible his absolute disregard for the Scottish tradition of thought. Thank you again for your letter to *C&S*.

David Estrada

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Portrait of the First Duke of Marlborough

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