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THE CHARACTER OF GOD'S CHURCH

Throughout 1974 Seventh-day Adventists all over the world will be studying the Revelation of John in their weekly Sabbath school classes. Special attention will be given in these sessions, as well it might, to the letters to the Seven Churches. As one reads the account given to the Apostle John, not all was well with God's churches.

Ephesus, told that she had abandoned her first love and her first works, was admonished to repent or her Lord would come and remove her lampstand. *Smyrna* was encouraged to be faithful unto death. *Pergamos* and *Thyatira* were counseled — by him “who searches mind and heart” — to repent. *Sardis* was warned to “awake, and strengthen what remains . . . [or] I will come like a thief . . . upon you.” *Philadelphia* was told that it had but little power. And *Laodicea* — described as wretched, pitiable, poor, blind, naked, and in jeopardy of being spewed out because she was lukewarm — was counseled to be zealous, to repent, and to obtain eye salve from the Lord so that she might see again.

After their sins and weaknesses had been revealed, all the churches were given the same final charge: “He who has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches.” In other words, John pleaded that the churches accept whatever light the Spirit of God presented to them — if there was still any willingness on their part to listen.

The picture of God's Church — as given in the appeals to the Seven Churches recorded in this passage of Scripture — is that of an ever-

repenting, awakening, more faithful, still imperfect church. Its desperate, continuing need was *to listen* to its Lord and *to see* what had never been seen before. Only thus could it become a church ever growing in fellowship with its Lord, in spiritual power, in vision, in knowledge, in works, in love, and in witnessing — and thus become the Church triumphant.

Aimo Nikolainen, a Finnish theologian, wrote a thoughtful article on the Revelation of John. The following paragraph is quoted from it.

The individual local churches, the historical ones (such as the churches of Ephesus, Smyrna, Thyatira, Pergamum, Sardis, and Laodicea), represent the one church of God (the eschatological people of God) only so long as she is willing to repent and turn. When one reads (in the seventh and fourteenth chapters) of the 144,000 who are sealed, it is easy to receive the impression that John had entertained a rigid and static view of the church. However, the *militant church*, which becomes the *church triumphant* only at the victorious return of Christ, is identical with the historical churches and congregations. The mystery of the seven stars and the seven candlesticks (Revelation 1:20) is theologically very important. Every individual church is *the* church. In spite of the fact that she represents a historical entity, she is simultaneously "heavenly" and has also her "heavenly" representative, the angel of the church. This status is valid only as long as the candlestick remains, as long as the church is willing and able to repent and change. John speaks, therefore, of repentance under two different circumstances: when a single pagan or a group of them become converted to faith in Christ (as in Revelation 9:20-21; 16:9, 11), and when the Christian church corrects itself, does again "the first works," and remembers what she received (Revelation 2:5; 3:3). The conversion to Christianity is a one-time event, but reformation is something which must continue. The true church is a reforming, a changing church."

Translated from the German of Aimo T. Nikolainen, *Über die theologische Eigenart der Offenbarung des Johannes. Theologische Literaturzeitung* 93:162-170 (March 1968).

MOLLEURUS COUPERUS

Becky

BEN JACQUES

You keep your name
like a sabbath dress,
black with gold embroidery,
not for everyday.
"I'm not a 'Rebecca,' " you laugh.
But I know,
beyond your easy ways,
your light dance,
you know,
as Rebecca knew her name,
when, with darkening pupils, she
looked into the well
to draw water for *his* camels,
for *his* gold ring.

Martin Luther and Moses

WILLIAM M. LANDEEN

7

As a Roman Catholic theologian and professor, Martin Luther did not find it necessary at any time to speak ill of Moses, the Hebrew historian, law-giver, and prophet. One could search his lecture notes and writings from 1508 to 1519 in vain for statements that belittle or castigate the leader of the Exodus movement, with its accompanying incidents and legislation presented to us in Holy Scripture as of divine ordering and intervention. In Luther's *Psalms* (1513-15), there is not a word that belittles anything Mosaic. In his *Romans* (1515-16), Luther used the name Moses six times in a routine manner. This holds also for *Hebrews* (1518-19). But in his *Galatians* (1516), published in 1519, Luther had begun to resolve the relationship of the Law and the Gospel. We are forced to conclude, however, that his heavy assaults on Moses belong to his activity as a Reformer and leader of the new church in Germany.

How did this come about and how was it resolved? In this paper I seek to clarify these questions.

I

The particular school of religious thought that Luther came to espouse was known as "nominalism" or "modern way" (*via moderna*), in contradistinction to the "old way" (*via antiqua*) that Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), with the help of reason and philosophy, had constructed into a majestic edifice of Christian faith. On the contrary, nominalism declared that *in philosophy* reason was supreme, but *in matters of faith* it was next to bankrupt. William of Occam (d.c. 1349) and Gabriel Biel (d. 1495), the finest minds of nominalism, demanded a broader basis than reason could offer for establishing the supremacy of divine revelation, and they found it in the will of God as revealed in the Bible.

All other knowledge is uncertain and dangerous, since it provides no way to God. All activity of God stems from his free will, but God is too great to be grasped by the human mind. To be sure, he is a God of love, and all his acts are founded in love. Faith, truth, and morals, however, are dependent on the dispositions of God, and human reason cannot ascertain or affirm with finality in these realms. Here nominalism asserted without reservation that man's greatest good lay in learning and understanding God's revelation as found in the Holy Scriptures, and it posited the Church as the guardian and expositor of the divine revelation. Man, a pilgrim in this world, must submit to the Church without reservation. In a world of human frailties and shortcomings, the Church is the only certainty. It is also the supreme interpreter of divine revelation contained in Holy Scripture. Man, the pilgrim, can attain justification only with the aid of these authorities and guides, which in reality are one — the Bible and the Church.

Nominalism likes to treat the Bible as Law, the Old Testament being the "Old Law" and the New Testament the "New Law." All, of course, is divine law given by revelation. According to Biel, both Testaments contain God's law. In the Old the emphasis is on ceremonial regulations and legal precepts; in the New these are fewer, since Christ did not impose laws.¹ Biel calls the New Testament an intermediary or a middle epoch in the story of God's dealings with man, for his revelation is completed, not in the Bible, but in the Church.² Nominalism was ever concerned with confirming the authority of the Church, without which none can be saved, and with helping men obtain justification within the sacramental framework that the Church had determined in its long history.

By Luther's time this framework was completed. It can be summed up conveniently as the scholastic law-works-grace sequence of thought and action, which asserted that a sinner could make himself worthy of God's grace. As monk, priest, and professor, Luther was steeped in this thought — a philosophy by which the Roman church gave Moses a distinguished place as God's mouthpiece. Luther knew this and observed it in all his early writings and lectures.

II

What occasioned so drastic a change in his thinking?

In the winter of 1542-43 Luther dealt with some problems in his early theology in an important "Table Talk." "For a long time I went astray," he said, "and didn't know what I was about." He then told of his unfolding understanding of Romans 1:17 and how he became sure of his cause:

I learned to distinguish between the righteousness of the law and the righteousness of the gospel. I lacked nothing before this except that I made no distinction between the law and the gospel. I regarded both as the same thing and held that there was no difference between Christ and Moses except the times in which they lived and their degrees of perfection. But when I discovered the proper distinction — namely, that the law is one thing and the gospel is another — I made myself free.³

Luther's meaning is clear. In discovering what he believed to be the true relationship between Moses and Christ, he had also found full emancipation from the law-works-grace doctrine and practice of the Roman church. Righteousness by good works — that is, by doing all one could to acquire the first grace — was false and a thing to be attacked and destroyed, and Luther led the way in the new warfare.

A second result of the distinction between Christ and Moses was Luther's strange paradox of making Moses both villain and hero in the great dichotomy of the Law versus the Gospel.

We consider Moses first as villain.

The most important result of Luther's discovery that the "law is one thing and the gospel is another" was his breakup of the traditional unity of Holy Scripture. In his clash with Erasmus in 1525 over free will, he distinguished between the two Testaments thus: "The New Testament, properly speaking, consists of promises and exhortations, just as the Old, properly speaking, consists of laws and threats," and he added that the Old gives us "nothing anywhere but laws and comments, by which men may be moulded in good manners, while the gospel is entirely free, given by the mercy of God the Father alone."⁴ This distinction between the Testaments necessarily included a sharp distinction between Moses and Christ. The Hebrew law-giver found himself in the position of a religious villain. He became "the minister of death," "the doctor of the treadmill," and "the minister of death, sins, and sorrow." He became "a tormentor and cruel executioner and torturer, who torments us and troubles us with his terrors, threatenings, and displays of wrath."⁵ In one of his sharpest comparisons of Christ with Moses, Luther denounced the Hebrew leader as "rough, severe, biting, who looks like the very devil and speaks in a way that our heart almost vanishes before him. For he has lips overflowing with gall and wrath, that have been embittered with laurel and gall, in fact, with hellish fire. So away forever with Moses!"⁶

What did Moses do to deserve such castigations? In the cosmic struggle between good and evil — that is, between Christ and Satan — Moses stood on the side of sin and Satan. Hence Luther could say: "I won't tolerate Moses, because he is an enemy of Christ. If he appears with me before the

judgment I'll turn him away in the name of the devil and say, 'Here stands Christ.' " Moses will acknowledge, of course, that Luther was right.⁷

In this cosmic struggle between Moses and Christ, there can be no compromise. Luther's logic is remorseless. In his *Galatians* (1535) he stated the problem thus: "Therefore anyone who teaches that faith in Christ does not justify unless the Law is observed makes Christ a minister of sin, that is, a teacher of the Law, who teaches the same thing that Moses did. Then Christ is not the Savior and Dispenser of grace; but He is a cruel tyrant, who, like Moses, demands the impossible, which no man can produce."⁸

But Luther could not permit this to happen. His way of escape was to separate Christ as far as possible from Moses.

Let Moses remain on earth; let him be the teacher of the letter, the taskmaster of the Law; let him crucify sinners. But the believers, he [Paul] says, have another teacher in their conscience, not Moses but Christ, who has abrogated the Law, overcome and endured sin, wrath, and death. He commands us to look to Him and believe. Then it is time for the Law to go away and for Moses to die in such a way that no one knows where he is buried (Deuteronomy 34:6). Neither sin nor death can harm us anymore. For Christ, our Teacher, is the Lord of the Law, sin, and death; therefore he who believes in Him is liberated from all these things.⁹

In 1532 Luther gave a series of lectures on Psalm 45, which he interpreted as relevant to Christ as King and Bridegroom (the Church as his bride).¹⁰ His comments on the psalm contain some of his most severe strictures on the Law and help us to understand the intensity of his feelings on the subject.

The law has been done away, in order that faith may rule the conscience. If the conscience is not injured by the delusion of righteousness, then in external circumstances it can be kept, like other laws of civil society. Since in this section we are treating the article that Christ is our King and our head, it is not simply human traditions that are abrogated and rejected here but the whole divine Law as well so that this single King Christ may be retained in the purest faith. The Law does not stop troubling faith and the conscience in the baptized. Rather than permit this, Christ abrogates it also physically. Therefore the whole Law has been taken away, first spiritually, from the conscience, but then also physically; though it did not have to be taken away there, He has nevertheless taken it away because of its peril to faith.¹¹

If the Law, perchance, should enter the royal chambers in heaven, Luther gives advice for such an emergency. "If the Law comes, throw it out of this chamber of the Bridegroom. Tell it to stay on earth and go to Damascus or to Sinai, where it has a place."¹² "Moses is dead." "For not one little period in Moses pertains to us." Such is Luther's final judgment on the Hebrew lawgiver.¹³

III

Could Luther really support his statements rejecting Moses? The answer must be an unqualified *yes*.

He eliminated Moses by the simple expedient of confining to Israel his competence as a lawgiver. The Ceremonial Law, which was Mosaic, pertains to Israel alone. The Decalogue and the Natural Law both antedated Moses and therefore cannot be ascribed to him. He merely edited the Decalogue, which does not "pertain to us."¹⁴ However, in editing the Decalogue, Moses introduced two commandments to which he gave ornamental trimmings so as to make them Jewish. One was the commandment on images, which cannot be supported in Holy Scripture; the other was the seventh-day Sabbath commandment, which was strictly Jewish and was "annihilated as regards the crude external observance" in the New Testament.¹⁵

II

Nowhere is Luther's capacity for slanting Scripture (to make it agree with his assumptions) seen better than in his exegesis of Isaiah 66:23: "From new moon to new moon, and from sabbath to sabbath, all flesh shall come to worship before me, says the Lord" (RSV). In his comments Luther makes the stern Sabbath-defender Isaiah, representing the prophets of Israel (who held "that the Sabbath of the Jews would be abolished"), say: "When the Savior comes, then such will be the time, one sabbath after the other, one month after the other," etc. This is as if he were trying to say, "It will be the sabbath every day, and the people will be such that they make no distinction between days. For in the New Testament the Sabbath is annihilated as regards the crude external observance, for every day is a holy day."¹⁶

It would seem that the Reformer is confused as to time, place, and tenor of thought of the Old Testament prophets when he makes the strong Sabbath-defending Isaiah their spokesman and through him makes them say that the "Sabbath of the Jews would be abolished." This borders on pure theological assumption.

IV

At this point we must go to Luther's interpretation of the origin, purpose, and use of the seventh-day Sabbath given in his *Genesis* (1535). In Genesis 2:1-3 Moses recorded the Sabbath origins. Luther observed that God sanctified it for himself. "This has the special purpose of making us understand that the seventh day in particular should be devoted to divine worship. For 'holy' is that which has been set aside for God and has been removed from all secular uses."¹⁷

It follows, therefore, from this passage that if Adam had remained in the state of innocence, he nevertheless would have held the seventh day sacred. That is, on this day he would have given his descendants instructions about the will and worship of God. . . . On the other days he would have tilled his fields and tended his cattle. Indeed, even after the Fall he kept this seventh day sacred; that is, on this day he instructed his family, of which the sacrifices of his sons Cain and Abel give the proof. Therefore, from the beginning of the world the Sabbath was intended for the worship of God.

Unspoiled human nature would have proclaimed the glory and the kindnesses of God in this way: on the Sabbath day men would have conversed about the immeasurable goodness of the Creator; they would have sacrificed; they would have prayed, etc. For this is the meaning of the verb "to sanctify."¹⁸

Eden did not remain, but the Sabbath did. Luther is specific: "And yet, because the Sabbath command remains for the church, it denotes that spiritual life is to be restored to us through Christ."¹⁹ The Eden Sabbath was a day for preaching, prayer, and praise. These, too, remain. Says Luther: "This is what the Sabbath, or the rest of God, means on which God speaks with us through His Word and we, in turn, speak with Him through prayer and faith. . . . This is the real purpose of the seventh day: That the Word of God be preached and heard."²⁰

Such were Luther's remarkably calm but pertinent comments on the Mosaic account of the origin of the seventh-day Sabbath in Eden. The Sabbath was not made by the Creator's command; God blessed it and "sanctified it for Himself" and gave it to man for a weekly day of worship. If this is so (and we have used Luther's comments on Genesis 2:3 to support Moses), it must follow that, insofar as the seventh-day Sabbath is concerned, Luther's assertion that Christ annihilated the day is ruled out. Christ is the Lord of the Sabbath, as he is Lord of all things in heaven and on earth, not its destroyer.

Luther's eminently sober comments on the seventh-day Sabbath in and after Eden follow the Mosaic account in detail. There is nothing in the origin of the Sabbath about its being based on natural law. That the day was altered later with Mosaic trimmings and ornamentations so as to make it solely Jewish in character is pure fancy.

V

Now we must take up briefly Luther's rehabilitation of Moses. So charmed was Luther with Moses' achievements — as historian, inspired chronicler, leader of Israel, and lawgiver — that he gave him the most detailed attention of any Old Testament character.²¹

First, we observe that when Luther denied Moses as the lawgiver for Christians, he used the word *Christians* in a restricted sense — that is, as ap-

plying to such as understood and appropriated to themselves the gospel revealed in Romans 1:16, 17, namely, the elect. This limited the term greatly.

Second, for all the rest of mankind the Law of God remains, we might say, as an instrument of spiritual torture. It hammers the sinner's conscience into a recognition of sin. The Law is a tool to kill, and Moses is made its user. As soon as the Law has convinced of sin, the gospel takes over with its healing message. *The two must always work together, one wounding, the other healing.*²²

Third, having made Moses an emissary of sin and death, Luther must, of course, exonerate him; and that he does in delicate humor and appreciative speech:

Finally, Let us take Moses, the chief source, father, and master of all the prophets, and let us see if he would let himself become a Christian and support us while Christ baptized him in John 5 and said, "Moses wrote concerning Me." For if he wrote concerning Him, he most surely prophesied, preached, and commended all the prophets after him to write and to preach of Christ, which they also did with all diligence, so that all Jews, young and old, know that a Messiah must appear. Finally, Moses was buried, but so that they do not know where he lies. However, we will set up two genuine legates and ambassadors and direct them to search, find, awaken, and bring him back. They are named John the Evangelist and Paul the Apostle. What will happen? They will find him and will not fail.²³

VI

In this study, the purpose has been to understand and evaluate Luther's shift in his approach to the Bible when he learned that "the law is one thing and the gospel is another." This led him to break with the Roman Catholic traditional unity and continuity of God's revelation in Holy Scripture — in its place creating the great dichotomy of Law versus Gospel, two unequal but necessary forces in the struggle between Satan and Christ in sacred history.

How far this led Luther in making theological distinctions of doubtful scriptural validity is seen in his *Galatians* (1516-17). In comments on Galatians 2:17 he said that sin and transgression, but not grace (John 1:17), have come through Moses. Then follows the comment: "Christ is not a lawgiver; He is the Fulfiller of the Law. Every lawgiver is an agent of sin, because through the law he sets up the occasion for sin. For this reason God did not institute the old Law through Himself; He instituted it through angels."²⁴ The trouble here is that Luther places unnecessary restrictions on both Christ and God. None can deny that Christ was the "Fulfiller of the Law" — that is, Savior — but he was also "Sovereign Lord, who didst

make the heaven and the earth and the sea and everything in them" (Acts 4:24 ARV). To separate him from the Law, who was the Lord of the Law, is faulty theology; and to say that God the Father "did not institute the old Law through Himself" but "through angels" is not sufficiently clarified.²⁵ Satan and sin are the antagonists of both God's Law and God's Gospel in sacred history, whereas God presents Law and love as continuous and uniting forces. Moses anticipated Christ, as did the Law that he received on Mount Sinai. Christ recognized this fact when he said: "He wrote of me. But if you do not believe his writings, how will you believe my words" (John 5:46, 47 ARV). This was the scriptural unity and continuity that Jesus espoused.

When Luther rejected the Roman Catholic sequence of law-works-grace, he took a giant step toward spiritual liberty. When he set up the sequence of grace-works, he broke the unity of Holy Scripture. He might have posited, with full biblical support, the sequence of law-grace-works, thereby preserving the biblical unity that is imperative in complete Christian faith and service.

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- 5 Volume twelve, p. 207.
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- 7 Volume fifty-four, p. 128, number 1242.
- 8 Volume twenty-six, p. 150.
- 9 Volume twenty-six, p. 151.
- 10 Volume twelve, pp. 197-300.
- 11 Volume twelve, p. 275.
- 12 Volume twelve, p. 276.
- 13 Volume thirty-five, pp. 165-166.
- 14 Late in 1524 and again in 1525 Luther expostulated on Moses. The first statement was a long attack "Against the Heavenly Prophets," found in volume forty, pp. 79-223; the second was a sermon on "How Christians Should Regard Moses," found in volume thirty-five, pp. 157-174.
- 15 Volume thirty-five, p. 166.
- 16 Volume thirty-five, pp. 165-166.

- 17 Volume one, pp. 79-80.
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- 19 Volume one, p. 80.
- 20 Volume one, p. 81.
- 21 See volumes one through ten.
- 22 Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luther und das Alte Testament*, translated by Eric W. Gritsch and Ruth C. Gritsch (Philadelphia: Fortress Press 1969), pp. 103ff.
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- 24 Volume twenty-seven, p. 226.
- 25 Exodus 32:16 says: "And the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables."

“You Shall Not Kill”

THE CHRISTIAN AND WAR

CARL G. TULAND

16

The uncertainty about whether bearing arms and participating in warfare constitute a violation of the sixth commandment has given rise to many problems in the Christian churches and to concern as to their relationship to the state. The position of Seventh-day Adventists has been that of noncombatancy. Since the Civil War, the Adventist church in the United States has consistently followed that course.

At the beginning of the First World War considerable problems arose when Adventist servicemen in countries other than the United States, particularly in Europe, met rigid opposition from their governments. It is well known that many Adventist church members, together with those of other denominations, suffered imprisonment and martyrdom because of their conviction. In Europe, dissent developed within the Adventist church, and the formation of splinter groups resulted.

Shortly after the war, a group of leaders from the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists tried to bring about a reconciliation with these “reform movements.” In spite of numerous attempts through the years, however, the wounds have never healed completely. Because the governments of certain countries were unwilling to grant Adventists noncombatant status, church officials agreed that the men who were forced to participate in warfare should be permitted to retain church membership. This decision caused a considerable stir. Although the attitude of the church thus became more tolerant, remaining unsolved was the question of whether participating in warfare is tantamount to setting aside the sixth commandment, which says, “Thou shalt not kill.”¹ To many church members, noncombatancy was the

only position consistent with their interpretation of Scripture as being "Bible doctrine."

The purpose of this study is to reexamine the historical Adventist position on noncombatancy and to determine whether its conclusions are justifiable and biblically sound.

I

Since much has been written on the history of noncombatancy, my investigation will not include this aspect. My concern is a biblical analysis of the problem — specifically an analysis of philological terms and their meanings, both in the Hebrew of the Old Testament and in the Greek of the New Testament. My objective is to provide sufficient biblical information to guide the reader in reaching an informed conclusion as to whether noncombatancy should be considered a Bible doctrine or merely a church tradition stemming from the understanding and interpretation of the Bible by pious believers in the past.

Conscientious objector, a term used frequently, means that a person's position against participation in war is based on "conscience." But what is conscience?

Webster's New International Dictionary (second edition) offers a simple and easily understood explanation: "Sense or consciousness of right or wrong; sense or consciousness of the moral goodness or blameworthiness of one's own conduct. . . . Hence, a faculty, power, or principle conceived to decide as to the moral quality of one's own thoughts or acts." The definition in a psychological and psychoanalytical dictionary reads: "In earlier theological discussion, [conscience denoted] an innate or divinely implanted faculty enabling one to judge correctly on moral issues."²

However, the question still remains as to what is the norm that establishes what is good or evil, moral or amoral. Christianity does not reflect the moral standards of all religions and cultures. In this paper, the definition of conscience must necessarily be limited to principles found in the Bible. If these principles were absolutely clear, there would be no differences of views and opinions. Because the principles seem to allow more than one interpretation, individual decisions by individual consciences are ultimately required — decisions that presuppose an informed and spiritual understanding of the issues involved.

As a member of human society, man is not responsible to himself only. He faces a larger problem. Is his individual conscience also moral when it ignores the collective security of his family and state? As a noncombatant he

may protest the injustice of warfare, but he likewise exposes himself to the charge that he is letting others suffer as they protect him. If one lets others fight and suffer and die while he eventually reaps the benefits of their sacrifices, is there not a moral issue involved?

There are aspects of morality that resemble a two-way street. During the Civil War a custom of the time was to "buy oneself out" by paying a certain amount of money in order to avoid serving in the war. Such a practice, obviously a prerogative of the affluent, can easily be seen as unjust. As long as noncombatants constitute a relatively small minority, a nation such as the United States can afford to grant them exceptions. However, for a whole nation to be noncombatant would be more than impractical; that nation would be destroyed by its enemies and would cease to exist. Likewise, in a politically complicated world it would be difficult for an individual to decide which nation presents or defends the ideals of truth, justice, and human rights. Is it possible to establish, on the basis of religious conviction, whose side God is on or what constitutes political justice?

In the Old Testament there existed a temporary noncombatancy or, rather, exemption from war. That situation cannot be called analogous to today, because it did not deal with matters of conscience. It was a concession granted on the basis of religious law by a theocratic government. Four reasons were given for such exemptions: (*a*) the building of a new house that the owner had not yet dedicated, (*b*) the planting of a new vineyard whose fruit the owner had not yet enjoyed, (*c*) the betrothal of a man to a woman he had not yet married, or (*d*) the condition of being fearful or fainthearted (that is, cowardly).³ The exemptions for cases *a* and *b* were obviously of short duration. Exemption *c* was valid for one year for a realistic reason — to guarantee the continuation of the family and the right of inheritance.⁴ Exemption *d* was probably permanent because of the demoralizing influence of such a man.

The history of the Old Testament does not lend itself to the defense of noncombatancy, since Israel was called on to conquer a national home that was occupied by other nations. God's role in leading Israel as an army is described by Moses, who said that "the Lord is a man of war."⁵ "It was only that the generations . . . of Israel might know war, that he might teach war to such at least as had not known it before."⁶ In his song of deliverance, David praised God because "he trains my hands for war."⁷ Of half of the tribe of Manasseh who fought to occupy their inheritance, the Bible stated that "many fell slain, because the war was of God."⁸ Other texts also indicate that Israel's history was largely a history of wars — wars that at times

were ordered by God. The Hebrew word *hāraq* signifies to kill, to slay, to slaughter, to massacre. It was carried out with ruthless violence in war or even after battle — slaying in judgment, at God's command. Many texts record the extermination of the heathen nations of Palestine (compare the Septuagint).

There are at least thirteen different words in the Hebrew Bible meaning to kill, to slay, to massacre, to commit violence, to murder, to slaughter, to pierce, to wound, to put to death, to smite, to devote to destruction, to cause to fall.⁹ To many Bible students, some of these terms seem to express only one idea — to kill. In reality, most of the terms have specific meanings, and to distinguish between them is necessary for a proper understanding of the Old Testament.

The word *shāchat* is known to us from *schächten*, the kosher butchering of an animal. In this sense it is used also for the killing of the Passover lamb and sacrificial animals. It is likewise used in certain instances when people are killed. When Elijah succeeded in demonstrating to Israel that there is but one God, he killed the 450 prophets of Baal and the 400 prophets of Asherah.¹⁰ The term used here is not one of the commonly used expressions for killing, but the specific word *šāchat* — to kill ritually — since to the prophet Elijah it was a sacrificial slaughter of the idolatrous priests and prophets of the Canaanite deities. Nevertheless, his procedure did not find God's approval.¹¹

Considering these aspects of Israel's history, we might ask what God intends by the sixth commandment admonition — "You shall not kill." The Hebrew has only two short words, *lō tiršāch* — the kal future, second person, singular, masculine, of *rāšach*. But *tiršāch* does not mean to kill; it means *to murder*. In several modern translations it is thus rendered in its correct form: *Moffatt, The New English Bible, The Torah, The Living Bible, The Amplified Bible, and others*.

What is the difference between "to kill" and "to murder"?

A person can kill or be killed in many ways — accidentally by a car or officially by execution. But this does not make the person who commits such an act a murderer. In such cases present-day law speaks either about negligent homicide or justifiable homicide. In some cases it speaks of involuntary manslaughter. But to murder is different. It is to kill by a willful, deliberate, premeditated act, with malice aforethought. The Old Testament also made this distinction and provided protection, in the form of cities of refuge, for those who had committed involuntary manslaughter.¹²

The distinction between "murdering" and "killing," and the moral im-

plication, were and are of paramount importance. The philological differentiation between the Hebrew terms is “on purpose,” on one hand, and “unintentional” or “inadvertent,” on the other. Rabbinic law also distinguished between “voluntary homicide” and “involuntary homicide.”¹³ The criteria of voluntary homicide were enmity or hatred on the part of the perpetrator,¹⁴ lying in wait or ambushing, guile or premeditation,¹⁵ and the procuring of the instrument or means calculated to produce fatal results.¹⁶

For churches or individuals to build their basis for noncombatancy on philological arguments, therefore, is tantamount to a misinterpretation of the sixth commandment. The Old Testament provides no such support.

II

Let us now turn to the New Testament. In the Greek text there are at least seven different words denoting “to kill.”¹⁷ Like the Hebrew terms, some can be used interchangeably. Some have the same specific meaning — for instance, *thuō*, the slaughtering, the killing, the kosher butchering, specifically of such sacrificial animals as the Passover lamb.¹⁸ *Thuō*, therefore, is used in the same sense as the Hebrew *šāchat*.

The sixth commandment is repeatedly quoted in the New Testament by Jesus himself; it is also used by Paul and James.¹⁹ It is written in two different grammatical forms: (a) *mē phoneusēs* (the second person, singular, aorist one, subjective of *phoneuō*),²⁰ and (b) *ou phoneuseis* (the second person, singular, present indicative of the same verb).²¹ The important point is that Jesus, according to the writers of the New Testament, used the Greek term *phoneuō*, which denotes “to murder,” in the same way as the Hebrew *rāšach* in the sixth commandment. A number of passages have derivative forms, but all of them retain the definite connotation of murder.²²

It is interesting that most New Testament texts referring to the death of Jesus use another Greek term, *apokteinō*, which comes nearest to the idea of “to murder,” and refers mostly to the killing of Christ and of those who believed in him.²³ Stephen, however, charged the Jews with outright murder, *phoneuō*, as a premeditated and planned act of killing Christ.²⁴

One must conclude, therefore, that the sixth commandment — both in the Old Testament Hebrew and in the New Testament Greek — has to be translated and interpreted as *You shall not murder*.

Although the Old Testament records many cases of war (and thus the participation of individual Israelites in acts of warfare), there is no extensive indication in the New Testament as to the attitude Christians should

take in such situations. This is explained by the simple reason that in the Old Testament *one nation*, singled out for a definite purpose, acted on divine command — whereas in the New Testament it had become a matter of a church within a political organization and many heterogeneous nations.

Under such circumstances, biblical counsel for the church or for the individual is practically nonexistent. When the soldiers (who, together with many others, came to John the Baptist to be baptized) asked, "And we, what shall we do?" John said to them, "Rob no one by violence or by false accusation, and be content with your wages."²⁵ This answer indicates that they were to be good Christian soldiers. Whether one should quote the apostle Paul for or against military service or use his words merely as an illustration is, perhaps, a matter of opinion. His question ("Who serves as a soldier at his own expense?"²⁶) admits of the service of a soldier as a legitimate occupation without excluding him from the principles of the Christian religion.

The episode relating the encounter of Jesus with a Roman centurion, a pious and compassionate man pleading for the healing of one of his servants, might be of significance to those trying to understand and solve personal problems. This Gentile soldier is lauded by the Lord above the chosen people: "Truly, I say to you, not even in Israel have I found such faith." Then Jesus added, "I tell you, many will come from east and west and sit at table with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven."²⁷

Evidently it was possible for a Roman soldier to be a follower of Christ even though he might have to face difficult problems in his service. A similar report concerns another centurion, Cornelius, "a devout man who feared God with all his household."²⁸ In the story of Cornelius there is also reference to another "devout soldier." The incident terminates with the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on Cornelius and his men, their baptism, and bestowal of the spiritual gift of speaking in tongues — signs that these soldiers had been accepted into the household of God.

III

The question of whether a Christian may or may not participate in acts of warfare has no simple answer. In fact, it has become a more and more complicated problem because of the historical developments of the wars of the twentieth century. War has always been a cruel affair, not only because of the many dead and wounded combatants, but also because of the enormous devastation wrought on civilians — their property, their children, their loved ones. The consequences of warfare have become staggering. The

youth of nations must give their lives, and countless numbers of them are crippled and subjected to unspeakable misery. Young men are demoralized in more than one sense, not the least of which are by venereal disease and the use of dangerous drugs. Thousands return home with their consciences destroyed — well prepared for a criminal life.

There is no sound argument nor a Bible text in defense of the morality of war. Yet, wherever the Christian finds himself, be it in political or religious life, he may encounter problems for which there seems to be no collective solution. The church may take a position and state principles, but it is the individual who must make the decision and who must accept the consequences of his convictions. There are numerous interpretations of Scripture that indicate how difficult it is to define a "Christian position" regarding war. The views of different groups or denominations are not static, but change constantly. No party can claim an authoritative declaration from the Word of God as an absolute answer to this problem. Even the definition of noncombatancy is not uniform; it may range from pacifists, who refuse to wear a soldier's uniform, to those who do not practice with a rifle, to others who are "conscientious cooperators" — that is, who serve as medics or in other branches not requiring the use of arms. The best one can do is to accept God's Word as truth in a twilight zone that demands compassionate understanding and patience with those whose views differ from one's own. A study of ethics offers no solution — man is subject to condemnation whatever position he may take. There is no categorical imperative of reason by which he can make his decision, for there is no absolute right or wrong.

Is noncombatancy to be considered a Bible doctrine or a church tradition? A few decades ago I had an opportunity to discuss this question at length with a prominent layman, an ordained elder of the local church. He was a brilliant lawyer, a man of absolute integrity and deep spiritual convictions, in addition to being one of the highest-ranking state officials. He believed noncombatancy to be a Bible doctrine. When I asked him if he had questioned every baptismal candidate concerning a personal conviction on non-combatancy, he admitted that he had not. He was disturbed when I indicated that if noncombatancy were a legitimate Bible doctrine, then he had committed a serious omission. This man had been in constant contact with the federal government of his country in order to obtain noncombatant status for the church's young men. The government was willing to grant this request on the condition that every such young man give up his civil rights, which meant that all young men of the church automatically became secondclass citizens. This Christian man was willing to pay even that price in

order to obtain one kind of freedom — only to lose all other civil rights including religious freedom. However, the possibility of reforming the philosophy of a church where women had civil rights but men did not, caused him to change his views. Later on, largely through his influence, his country's government made more favorable concessions to the church.

IV

My investigation seems to suggest several conclusions. Perhaps foremost is that the sixth commandment cannot be used in defense of noncombatancy. To interpret the Hebrew and Greek terms of the older versions as meaning "You shall not kill" is incorrect, inasmuch as the original languages do not say, "You shall not kill," but "You shall not murder." Legally and morally it is evident that these two concepts are totally different. Thus, the basis on which the founders of the Adventist church rested their arguments is eliminated.

Historically, there are no points of comparison or parallels between Old and New Testament history and concepts of warfare. Also historically, but in the perspective of our own time, participation in wars of incalculable proportions places a tremendous strain on the individual and his conscience that cannot be relieved by dogma or by church organization. Each man must seek his way — with his God. Whether a man decides to go one way or the other, church authority alone is not sufficient to make him a true noncombatant. More than in any other period of history, faith must now become the power that governs man's convictions and emotions, enabling him to make his decision in the light of God's Word as he understands it.

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Reflections

THOMAS J. ZWEMER

25

AGAPE ISN'T HOLDING HANDS

Gridiron gladiators are prayed over, and spectators are entertained with half-time repertoires that include "Put Your Hand in the Hand of the Man of Galilee." It is a new day in Christendom. Conversions after the modern order of things fill more stadiums than a Henry Aaron. Moreover, the lexicon of today is replete with *relevance*, *commitment*, *concern*, *involvement*, *compassion*, and *love* — proclaimed from bumper and ballad, from coffee shop and commune. The aboriginal and sentimental bent of its proponents is touted as "primitive godliness."

Primitive godliness, however, found its expression in the hands of a carpenter. The Person with those hands commissioned a fisherman and a tentmaker to raise the church militant, not the church rapturous. If we can trace continuity back to these men, we are then comrades-in-arms and not trysting lovers. Let us, therefore, salute each other as workmen on the walls of Zion, as watchmen at the gate, or as Gideon's noble three hundred — not as some effete corps exhausted by the very thought of encounter. Our song is "Onward, Christian Soldiers, Marching As to War."

Today is not the day of pick and fiddle, but of pick and shovel. The *loud cry* is not merely amplified sound, nor is Daniel 12:4 fulfilled by summer buses. An "army of our youth rightly trained" refers to the substantial skills of service from bookkeeping to beekeeping. Such a field force would go forth to battle in pickup trucks armed with hammers and saws . . . paintbrushes and primers . . . shovels, rakes, and hoes. Let us clean up some widow's yard, repair her porch and plumbing, paint her kitchen, stock her pantry, and tell her the Good News of Redemption through Jesus Christ

our Lord. Then if we have energy left, let us sing the songs of Zion — “Lead On, O King Eternal, the Day of March Has Come.”

OUR FATHER —

26

At this vesper hour, we acknowledge your gifts.

You gave us time, and we squandered it.

You gave us speech, and we profaned it.

You gave us appetite, and we perverted it.

You gave us mind, and we devised cunning fables.

You gave us sensitivity, and we became brutish.

You gave us love, and we became sentimental.

You gave us mountaintops, and we built carnivals.

You gave us a holy day, and we made a holiday.

You gave us the Lord of the Sabbath, and we crucified him.

In all things we have been prodigal.

Lord, in the twilight of this day, in the twilight of this earth,

It is only our need that recommends us to thee.

From the wreck of our own vanity and folly, we look up and see

One who took formless space and created a universe —

One who made the lame walk, the blind see,

The dumb speak, the spotted clean, the dead live —

The only one who can say with authority, “Thy sins be forgiven thee!”

And thus we cry: Create in us a clean heart, O God,

And renew a right spirit within us! For our hope is built

On nothing less than Jesus’ blood and righteousness.

SHAMA

With a practiced hand, John snaked the battered and scarred hawser around the capstan and cautiously prepared to make fast. Conning from the bridge, the captain bellowed, “Heave on that line!”

“I think it will part, sir,” John replied.

"Who in the blankety-blank told you to think?" the captain thundered. "Heave."

The redness creeping up John's neck was as much from embarrassment, anger, and rebellion as from heaving. Sixteen years of physical and verbal abuse from an authoritarian father should have hardened John to the captain's manner, yet he chafed as an unwilling servant as much as he had as a reluctant son.

Small wonder, indeed, that he saw the Lawgiver as a vindictive, crusty old sea captain thundering from the mountaintop. The tender, steady fearlessness of a Christian mother was the only incongruity in John's mental image of God. Even now, her last letter, speaking of Bible truth and the Sabbath, sounded to John like just more heaving on the line. Her warmth and love, however, compelled him to listen and think.

The summer became a strange mix of heaving on the line, pulling on the oar, and reading his mother's letters. But slowly, surely the mother's love won that tug-of-war. Late that fall, with baptism, John entered into fellowship with a new Captain of his life.

For many, unfortunately, the word *obedience* suggests an image of a harsh taskmaster, a cat-o'-nine-tails discipline, and a hellfire and brimstone theology — an ignoble connotation that neither the Bible writers nor God ever intended the word to achieve. The Hebrew word for obedience, *shama*, means "to hear intelligently," and the Greek word, *hupakoe*, means "to be willing to listen." Ellen White caught the essence of the thought when she referred to obedience as "the service and allegiance of love."¹

It is easy to say, within such constraints, that John, while complying with the captain's command, had not obeyed. Obedience thrusts far deeper than mere compliance and performance. It goes to the heart of the matter, to the very seat of the affections. Obedience is a willingness to listen *intelligently* to one you love. Such motivated behavior is the test of true discipleship, the evidence of faith and trust, the only requirement for heaven. How refreshing, then, to discover a God who created man not only *empowered* to think but expressly *invited* to think: Come . . . let us reason together. Here again Ellen White caught the tempo when she stated that "the kingly power of reason, sanctified by divine grace, is to bear sway in our lives."²

In a day when reality is equated with a caramelized, caffeinized, carbonated beverage, when the hue and cry is for relevance and immediacy in personal experience, it might be well to pinpoint which question is the big one: "Do you have Jesus?" or "Does Jesus have you?"

"Do you have Jesus?" was answered in the beginning, for Christ was

identified as "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world" (Revelation 13:8). It was ratified at Calvary: "While we were yet sinners, Christ died for us" (Romans 5:8). It was rediscovered at Wittenberg and reemphasized at Minneapolis: "We have not an high priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities" (Hebrews 4:15).

Basic to the Christian faith is the reality of a Creator-Redeemer who is personally identified with every individual and interested in the eternal well-being of each. Implicit in the question "Do you have Jesus?", however, is an egocentric possessiveness that tends toward a subjective, mystical, introspective audit of one's personal righteousness. Indulged, such an orientation leads to smugness, self-righteousness; and ultimately it makes God a personal bellhop, a genie, a bailman.

On the other hand, the question "Does Jesus have you?" accepts the reality of a personal Saviour while maintaining a proper Creator-creature, Redeemer-redeemed perspective without in any way destroying the intimacy of the relationship between God and man. Implicitly this question asks, "Are you listening intelligently to Jesus?" whereas the other question demands, "What overt demonstration can you place in evidence that Jesus hears you?"

The voice may be still and small, but the message is loud and clear: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest" (Matthew 11:28). Many have been called, but few *have chosen*, unfortunately — thereby failing to enter into that "rest" spoken of by Paul. For that matter, neither has the present generation comprehended the invitation fully.

Could it be that God even yet proposes that the Sabbath rest become the ultimate evidence of faith, trust, and obedience? If so, why not enter into it fully today? Surely it must beat heaving on the line!

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Problems in Chronology and Their Solution:

THE KINGS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH

29

EDWIN R. THIELE

The chronological data for the Hebrew kings provide a fascinating and provocative subject for study by the serious Bible student. In the mass and variety of material, the year each king of Israel began his reign is synchronized with that of a neighboring ruler of Judah, and the length of reign is given.

Thus, the account of Abijam in Judah begins with the statement that he started his reign in the 18th year of Jeroboam of Israel and that he reigned 3 years (1 Kings 15:1-2). In Jeroboam's 20th year, Abijam was succeeded by Asa, who reigned 41 years (15:9-10). The next reign recorded is that of Nadab of Israel, who began in the 2nd year of Asa and reigned 2 years (15:25). Next came Baasha, who began his reign over Israel in the 3rd year of Asa and ruled 24 years (15:33). Then follow the accounts of five more rulers of Israel, who also began their reigns during the reign of Asa. The last of these was Ahab, who commenced his reign in the 38th year of Asa and reigned 22 years (16:29). Asa's successor was Jehoshaphat, who began in the 4th year of Ahab and ruled 25 years (22:41-42). Reigns are recorded in strict chronological sequence.

In addition to the synchronisms and lengths of reigns, at times there is information as to the number of years from one point to another. For example, Amaziah of Judah lived 15 years after the death of Jehoash of Israel (2 Kings 14:17); and from the 13th year of Josiah to the 4th year of Jehoia-kim was 23 years (Jeremiah 25:1, 3).

Of particular historical importance are the synchronisms of the Hebrew kings' reigns with those of neighboring nations. Shishak of Egypt came against Jerusalem in the 5th year of Rehoboam of Judah (2 Chronicles 12:2), and Sennacherib of Assyria invaded Judah in the 14th year of Hezekiah (2 Kings 18:13, Isaiah 36:1). The 4th year of Jehoiakim of Judah was the 1st year of Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon (Jeremiah 25:1), and the 10th year of Zedekiah was the 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar (Jeremiah 32:1).

Many difficulties and seeming contradictions are found in the data. For instance, 2 Kings 8:25 says that Ahaziah of Judah began in the 12th year of Joram of Israel; but 9:29 says that it was the 11th year. And 2 Kings 1:17 says that Jehoram of Israel began in the 2nd year of Jehoram of Judah; whereas 3:1 says it was the 18th year of Jehoshaphat. According to 2 Kings 15:30, Hoshea began in the 20th year of Jotham of Judah (who ruled only 16 years according to verse 33); but according to 17:1 he began in the 12th year of Ahaz, son and successor of Jotham.

In one instance each of two kings began to rule before the other. Thus in 2 Kings 1:17 Jehoram of Israel (who followed Ahaziah, who had no sons) commenced in the 2nd year of Jehoram of Judah, whereas in 8:16 Jehoram of Judah began in the 5th year of Jehoram [Joram] of Israel.

Another difficulty is the variant possibilities for the length of a ruler's reign. In 1 Kings 16:23 Omri is said to have reigned 12 years. The synchronism for the beginning of his reign is the 31st year of Asa, though his death occurred in the 38th year of Asa (16:28-29), which would give him a reign of only 7 years. But Omri slew and succeeded Zimri, who had begun in the 27th year of Asa, after Zimri had reigned only 7 days (16:15-16). So Omri must also have begun his reign in the 27th year of Asa. If his death took place in the 38th year of Asa's reign, his reign would have been 11 years. So how long did Omri reign — 7, 11, or 12 years?

Yet another difficulty is that the total years of reign for Judah from one fixed point to another often do not agree with the total years for Israel for the same period, and the totals for both nations are far out of line with the number of years recorded for a contemporary nation. This happens in the century following the simultaneous accessions of Athaliah in Judah and Jehu in Israel, which took place in 841 B.C., the 18th year of Shalmaneser III of Assyria. The terminal point of this period is the death of Pekahiah in Israel in the 52nd year of Azariah of Judah (2 Kings 15:25-27), which was within a year or two of 740 B.C., the 5th year of Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria. The totals involved are as follows:

TABLE 1

JUDAH		ISRAEL		ASSYRIA	
	YRS		YRS / MOS		YRS
Athaliah	7	Jehu	28	Shalmaneser III	17 (18th - 35th)
Joash	40	Jehoahaz	17	Shamsi Adad V	13
Amaziah	29	Jehoash	16	Adad-nirari III	28
Azariah	52	Jeroboam II	41	Shalmaneser IV	10
		Zachariah	/ 6	Assur-dan III	18
		Shallum	/ 1	Assur-nirari V	10
		Menahem	10	Tiglath-pileser III	c 5
		Pekahiah	2		
<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>	
TOTAL	128		114 / 7		c 101

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Seeming inconsistencies such as the foregoing have given rise to many comments criticizing the biblical data of the Hebrew kings. With reference to the period covered by TABLE 1, Albright has said:

It is incredible that all these numbers can have been handed down through so many editors and copyists, without often becoming corrupt. . . . If we examine the chronological material for the century following Jehu's rebellion (which is fixed to within a year or two by Assyrian data), we note that the century between 842 and 742 B.C. is occupied in Kings by four Judahite reigns, totalling 128 years, from which 3-4 years must be deduced [sic] in accordance with antedating practice. The excess of some 24 years can be eliminated entirely by disregarding the total reigns attributed to the kings of Judah and basing our revised estimates of their reigns solely on the synchronisms with Israel (which throughout contradict the regnal totals of the kings of Judah). . . . In this period, however, most of the synchronisms were calculated by some later editor, so they cannot be used as primary material, though they do enable us to correct the regnal totals for the rulers of the Omride Dynasty.¹

So Albright attempts to establish his own chronology for this period by deducting 1 year from the reign of Athaliah, 2 from Jehoash, 11 from Amaziah, and 10 from Azariah of Judah; for Israel he deducts 2 years each from Jehoahaz and Menahem.

Also, as to this period, Oppert says:

The twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam II, King of Israel, is mentioned as the first year of Uzziah, in flagrant contradiction to all the statements of the previous chapter. . . . Intentional mutilation of the text and suppression of all notice of the temporary suspension of the independence of the kingdom of Israel by the Syrians are the real cause of the larger number. . . . The subsequent passages have been ruthlessly altered. . . . A similar mutilation has been practised at the end of ch. xv.²

Other more general indictments can be cited:

Thus almost along the whole line, the discrepancy between synchronisms and years of reign is incurable. . . . The individual numbers of years of reign, as well as the totals, are untrustworthy and useless for the purposes of a certain chronology.³

In details there is much uncertainty and difficulty. . . . Errors which have vitiated more or less the entire chronology have crept in. The existence of these errors can be doubly demonstrated. . . . The length of the reigns of the various kings is not the same according to the traditional and the synchronistic figures. Since, however, it is clear on various grounds that these synchronisms are not original, any attempt to base a chronological scheme on them may be disregarded.⁴

The chronology of the exilic editor in Judges and Kings is purely fictitious. . . . The chronology based on the synchronisms is of course less reliable than the one based on the regnal periods, since the synchronisms were figured from the regnal periods. Neither chronology is wholly accurate.⁵

The numerical errors in the Books of Kings have defied every attempt to ungarble them. Those errors are largely the creation of the editors who set out to write a synchronistic history of Judah and Israel, using as sources two sets of unrelated court chronicles. . . . The editors did not execute the synchronisms skillfully.⁶

Although such criticisms have been widespread and their acceptance almost universal among Bible scholars, it can be shown that they are without foundation. The biblical data are reliable if correctly understood. Once the chronological methods employed by the ancient Hebrew recorders are known and once the existence of certain coregencies and overlapping reigns is recognized (together with the complications introduced into the data of one particular period), there is internal harmony within the data, and there is harmony with the chronology of contemporary nations. I will set forth the chronological principles used by the Hebrew chroniclers, whose recording of events was extremely accurate.

I

Two distinct methods of reckoning the years of reign were employed in the ancient East. According to one system, the year in which a king ascended the throne was termed his accession year; his 1st regnal year did not begin until the commencement of the next full year following his accession. This "accession-year system" was used by such nations as Assyria, Babylon, and Persia. Certain other nations, however, used the "nonaccession-year method," in which the year that a king began to reign was termed the 1st year of his reign; his 2nd year began with the next year following his accession. The 1st year calculated by this system was the accession year of the other system; and the 2nd year of this system was the 1st year of the other.

One should note that according to the nonaccession-year method there was a duplication of 1 year for every reign, with the last year of an old king

also being the 1st year of a new king. Reigns calculated by this system increased by 1 year for every reign when compared with reigns calculated by the accession-year system; they also increased by 1 year per reign when compared with absolute time.

A glance at the chronological date (FIGURE A) for Israel and Judah during the early period of the divided monarchies shows that at this time Judah employed the accession-year system of reckoning, whereas Israel used the nonaccession-year method.

FIGURE A

<i>JUDAH</i> Totals:	20	22	23	46	47	58	61	78	79
Rehoboam 17	Abijam 3	Asa 2nd	3rd	26th	27th	38th	41	Jehoshaphat 17th	18th
Jeroboam	22	Nadab 2	Baasha 24	Elah 2	Zimri Omri 12	Ahab 4th	22	Ahaziah 2	Jehoram
<i>ISRAEL</i> Totals:	22	24	48	50	62	66	84	86	
Excess years:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

At first glance it may seem that the data for Israel and Judah hopelessly contradict each other. The total for Judah from the disruption to the 18th year of Jehoshaphat is 79 years, whereas for Israel the total is 86 years. Discrepancies in totals seem to be everywhere along the line, but careful comparison shows that the totals for Israel increase by 1 year for every reign over the totals of Judah. This is evidence that during this period Israel used the nonaccession-year system, whereas Judah used accession-year reckoning.

The synchronisms give clear evidence of what was happening: Nadab began his reign in the 2nd year of Asa and died in the 3rd year. Thus he reigned only 1 year, although his official length is given as 2 years. Likewise, Baasha, who began in the 3rd year of Asa and died in the 26th year, reigned 23 years, although he is said to have reigned 24 years. And Elah, who began in the 26th year of Asa and died in the 27th year, reigned 1 year; but the record says he reigned 2 years.

The synchronisms of Zimri and Omri are of interest and importance. Zimri came to the throne in Asa's 27th year, but after reigning only 7 days he was slain and was succeeded by Omri (1 Kings 16:15-16). Therefore, Omri also must have begun to reign in Asa's 27th year. Since Omri was succeeded by Ahab in Asa's 38th year (16:29), he actually reigned 11 years, al-

TABLE 2

JUDAH			ISRAEL		
	OFFICIAL YEARS	ACTUAL YEARS		OFFICIAL YEARS	ACTUAL YEARS
Rehoboam	17	17	Jeroboam	22	22
Abijam	3	3	Nadab	2	1
Asa	41	41	Baasha	24	23
Jehoshaphat	18	18	Elah	2	1
			Omri	12	11
			Ahab	22	21
			Ahaziah	2	1
	—	—		—	—
TOTAL	79	79	TOTAL	86	79

It is evident from the chronological data just examined that from Rehoboam to Jehoshaphat the accession-year system was employed in Judah, the nonaccession-year system in Israel. But the data for the rulers following Jehoshaphat show that for the next four rulers — Jehoram, Ahaziah, Athaliah, and Joash — the nonaccession-year system was also employed in Judah, as it continued to be in Israel. Then, from Amaziah in Judah and Jehoash in Israel, both nations shifted to accession-year reckoning — which they continued to use until the close of their histories.

The question may be asked if any reason can be found for Judah's adoption of the nonaccession-year method. The answer is found in the rapprochement that existed during the reigns of Jehoshaphat in Judah and Ahab in Israel. At the time of Ahab's war with Syria, Jehoshaphat visited

Ahab, giving him the assurance, "I am as thou art, my people as thy people, my horses as thy horses." Jehoshaphat also participated in the conflict, almost losing his life in battle (1 Kings 22:4, 29-32). The alliance between the two nations was sealed by the marriage of Athaliah, daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, to Jehoram, son of Jehoshaphat and the next ruler of Judah (2 Kings 8:16). Of Jehoram it is said, "He walked in the way of the kings of Israel, as did the house of Ahab; for the daughter of Ahab was his wife" (8:18). It was at this time that Judah adopted many of the ways of Israel, including the nonaccession-year system of reckoning.

Cooperation between the two nations continued in the ensuing reigns. Specific evidence that Judah adopted a new method of reckoning is found in the two synchronisms for the accession of Ahaziah, son of Jehoram and Athaliah: one, the 11th year of Jehoram [Joram] of Israel (2 Kings 9:29) accords with the former accession-year system; the other, the 12th year of Jehoram [Joram] (8:25) accords with the newly adopted nonaccession-year method.

The chronological problems of the Hebrew kings' reigns cannot be solved without a knowledge of the specific chronological system employed by each nation. But other factors must be considered, too. One is the method that was used by each nation in giving the synchronism with its neighbor, when the neighbor used a different system. For instance, when Judah employed the accession-year system and Israel the nonaccession-year system, would Judah's synchronism for the year of Israel's king be expressed in terms of Israel's method or Judah's method? A careful study of the data shows that each nation always employed the same system for the synchronism as it did for the length of reign, regardless of the system used by the neighboring nation.

Another item of importance is the time of the calendar year when the regnal year began. The Hebrews had two new years, one beginning with the month of Nisan in the spring, the other with the month of Tishri in the fall. Not until we know the month in which Israel and Judah began their regnal years can harmony be brought into the chronological data. In brief, Israel began the regnal year with Nisan, whereas Judah began with Tishri. Biblical evidence for a Tishri regnal year is found by combining the details about the construction of Solomon's temple (1 Kings 6:1, 37-38) with those of Josiah's cleansing of the temple (2 Kings 22:3; 23:23). The only evidence that Israel used the Nisan regnal year is that the chronological data fit into the Nisan scheme; whereas there would be conflicts throughout if another scheme were used.

Because of the fact that a Nisan year for Israel or a Tishri year for Judah overlaps two of our January years, the only exact method for expressing the year of a Hebrew king in terms of modern reckoning is to use a dual system such as 931/30 B.C. At times such symbols have been employed, but usually a simpler, although less accurate, symbol has been used (for example, 931 or 930 B.C.).⁷

II

Three principles employed by the ancient Hebrew recorders have been discussed: (a) the method of reckoning employed by each nation, whether the accession-year or the nonaccession-year system; (b) the method of reckoning synchronisms with a neighboring kingdom when the neighbor's system was different from one's own; (c) the month, Nisan or Tishri, that began the regnal year.

The application of these principles to the chronological data of the Hebrew kings is shown in FIGURE B. Only by the use of these principles can harmony within the data be secured.

In addition to these principles, another factor must be kept in mind: the possibility of joint or rival reigns, as already mentioned in the case of Omri and Tibni. At times these reigns may be mentioned specifically, but at other times their existence may be deduced only from complications presented by the data. I will not discuss the details of the various coregencies here,⁸ but I will deal with two that have raised problems referred to earlier.

I have noted that the synchronisms of Jehoram [Joram] in Israel and Jehoram in Judah indicated that each king began to rule before the other, with Jehoram of Israel commencing his reign in the 2nd year of Jehoram of Judah (2 Kings 1:17) and Jehoram of Judah beginning in the 5th year of Jehoram of Israel (8:16). Another synchronism (3:1) gives the 18th year of Judah's Jehoshaphat, father of Jehoram, as the year when Jehoram, son of Ahab, began to reign in Israel. These dual synchronisms point to a coregency between Jehoram of Judah and his father Jehoshaphat — the 18th year of Jehoshaphat being the 2nd year of his son's coregency.

The reason for this coregency is readily secured from the available data. If Jehoshaphat's 18th year was the 2nd year of his son's coregency, then that coregency began in the 17th year of Jehoshaphat's reign. And it was in Jehoshaphat's 17th year that Ahaziah succeeded Ahab on the throne of Israel (1 Kings 22:51), after Ahab had been slain in the battle against Syria (22:34-37). Jehoshaphat was with Ahab in that battle, and his own life was seriously threatened (22:29-33). It would have been only a matter of pru-

FIGURE B

ISRAELITE RECORD

Nonaccession-year system for both nations

JUDAHITE RECORD

Accession-year system for both nations

Biblical data	ISRAEL Nisan years	JUDAH Tishri years	JUDAH Tishri years	ISRAEL Nisan years	Biblical data
Jeroboam 22 years 1 Kings 14:20	Jeroboam 18			Jeroboam 17	
	19	Abijam 1	Abijam ac	18th	
	20	2	1	19	
	21	3	2		
Nadab 2nd of Asa 2 years 1 Kings 15:25	22 Nadab	4 Asa 1	3 Asa ac	20th	Abijam 18th of Jeroboam 3 years 1 Kings 15:1, 2
	1	→ 2nd	1	21 Nadab ac	
Baasha 3rd of Asa 24 years 1 Kings 15:33	2 Baasha	→ 3rd	2	1 Baasha ac	Asa 20th of Jeroboam 41 years 1 Kings 15:9, 10
	1			1	
	2		3		
	3	4		2	

dence for Jehoshaphat, before entering an engagement that might place his life in danger, to make his son Jehoram coregent, which he did. The synchronism of Jehoram's accession in the 5th year of Jehoram [Joram] of Israel simply denotes the commencement of his sole reign.

This period is of great importance from the standpoint of absolute chronology, for there are correlations with the astronomically fixed years of Assyria that secure exact dates for the kings of Israel and Judah. Ahab is mentioned as a participant in the battle of Karkar, which took place in the 6th year of Shalmaneser III (853 B.C.). Therefore, it is clear that Ahab was still alive at that date. There is also a record of Jehu's paying tribute to Assyria in the 18th year of Shalmaneser (841 B.C.); therefore, it is clear that Jehu was ruling at that time. Since there are 12 years between the death of Ahab and the beginning of Jehu's reign, 853 B.C. thus becomes the year of Ahab's death and 841 B.C. becomes the year of the accessions of Jehu in Israel and Athaliah in Judah. From there one can go forward and backward, supplying absolute dates to the Hebrew kings, and can check the accuracy of the re-

construction at any other points where exact verifications are possible. These correlations give evidence that the reconstruction is correct and that the chronological data of the Hebrew kings are sound.

It is interesting that the Assyrian records of this time confirm the use of the nonaccession-year system of reckoning in Israel for the period just discussed. The 2 official years of Ahaziah would be 1 actual year, and the 12 official years of Jehoram would be 11 actual years, making a total of 12 years. This coincides with the 12 years between the 6th and 18th years of Shalmaneser III — the interval between Ahab and Jehu, when Ahaziah and Jehoram reigned.

III

38

Next I will discuss the century following 841 B.C., which was the year that Jehu and Athaliah began their reigns. This is the period for which Albright proposed the elimination of an "excess of some 24 years" by "disregarding the total reigns attributed to the kings of Judah," and for which Oppert employs such terms as "flagrant contradiction" and "intentional mutilation." Sanders declares, "The exact chronology of this century is beyond any historian's powers to determine. . . . What to do with the extra twenty-five years is uncertain."⁹

I will show how an exact reconstruction of the chronology of this century is made possible by recognizing (a) a 12-year coregency between Jehoash and Jeroboam II in Israel and (b) an overlap of 24 years between Amaziah and Azariah in Judah. The comparison (FIGURE C) between the years of Israel and Judah for this period will be helpful in pinpointing the difficulty. Note that at the termination of Athaliah's 7 years and Joash's 40 years, the total for Judah is 47 years. This total is identical with that of Israel at this point — the 2nd year of Jehoash, which follows the 28 years of Jehu and

FIGURE C

<i>JUDAH</i> compared with Israel:				same	same	-12	+12
Totals:	7			47	61 ← -- 15 -- →	76	114
Athaliah	7	Joash		40	Amaziah	29	Azariah 38th
Jehu		28	Jehoahaz 17	Jehoash 2nd	16	Jeroboam 27th	41 Zachariah
Totals:		28	45	47	61	88	102
<i>ISRAEL</i> compared with Judah:				same	same	+12	-12

the 17 years of Jehoahaz. At the next point of comparison — the death of Jehoash after 16 years of reign — the total for Israel is 61 years. Judah's total for this period is also 61, because the death of Amaziah (after his reign of 29 years) took place 15 years after the death of Jehoash of Israel (2 Kings 14:17).

But at the point where the total for Judah is 76 years, the total for Israel is 88 years, since Azariah came to the throne in the 27th year of Jeroboam (2 Kings 15:1). Thus Israel's total at this point is 12 years more than Judah's. Then Jeroboam reigned 41 years, which makes Israel's total 102 years. Jeroboam's successor, Zachariah, began to reign in the 38th year of Azariah, giving Judah a total of 114 years, which is 12 years more than Israel's total.

The discrepancies of these totals point to the fact that the chronological difficulties center around the reigns of Amaziah and Azariah in Judah, and the reigns of Jehoash, Jeroboam, and Zachariah in Israel. The chronological data of these kings are as follows:

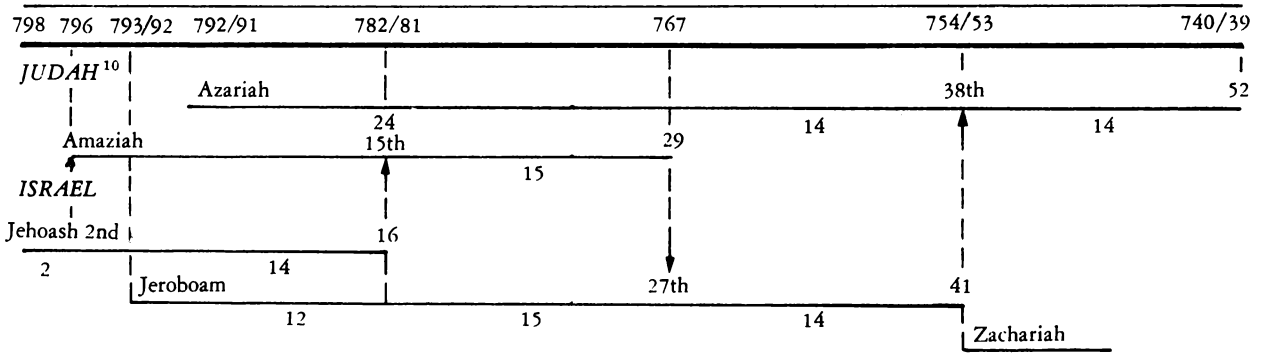
TABLE 3

JUDAH	Amaziah	accession	2nd of Jehoash	2 Kings 14:1
		length of reign	29 years	2 Kings 14:2
	Azariah	accession	27th of Jeroboam	2 Kings 15:1
		length of reign	52 years	2 Kings 15:2
ISRAEL	Jehoash	accession	37th of Joash	2 Kings 13:10
		length of reign	16 years	2 Kings 13:10
	Jeroboam	accession	15th of Amaziah	2 Kings 14:23
		length of reign	41 years	2 Kings 14:23
	Zachariah	accession	38th of Azariah	2 Kings 15:8
		length of reign	6 months	2 Kings 15:8

The relevant data of the kings appear in FIGURE D together with the various dates involved.¹⁰

I will begin the analysis of this rather involved period with the year 798 B.C., when Jehoash began to reign in Israel. In Jehoash's 2nd year, 796, Amaziah came to the throne in Judah. Jehoash ruled 16 years to 782/81 B.C. Amaziah ruled 29 years from 796 to 767, dying 15 years after Jehoash's death in 782/81 (2 Kings 14:17).

FIGURE D



40

The synchronism for the accession of Azariah, son and successor of Amaziah, is the 27th year of Jeroboam. This synchronism for the accession of a king of Judah has caused many perplexities for Bible scholars, but it provides highly important historical information, for it shows that at this time — 15 years after his father's death — Jeroboam had already ruled 27 years. This means that there had been a coregency of 12 years between Jeroboam and his father, Jehoash. The length of Jeroboam's reign was 41 years, which would take him 14 years beyond his 27th year in 767, to 754/53 B.C. In that year, which was also the 38th year of Azariah, he was succeeded by his son Zachariah.

This synchronism of the accession of a ruler of Israel also provides almost endless difficulties for students of the Old Testament, but it provides important information about the history of Judah at this time. With the date 754/53 as the 38th year of Azariah, the date 792/91 is secured as his accession year, which was 24 years before the death of his father, Amaziah, in 767. So there was an overlap of 24 years between Azariah and Amaziah. The length of Azariah's reign was 52 years, which establishes the date of his death as 740/39.

The foregoing, brief explanation is the solution of the chronology problem that has been so perplexing for many years. This chronological inconsistency has been a favorite target of attack by scholars who failed to recognize the remarkable accuracy of the biblical data. The solution of the problem was not found by discarding or ignoring data. It was not necessary to disregard "the total reigns attributed to the kings of Judah," as was done by Albright.¹¹ Nor was it necessary to accuse the Hebrew recorders of "intentional mutilation of the text" or of ruthless alterations, as was done by Oppert. The text can be accepted with confidence and respect rather than dis-

belief and derision. The main difficulty was that, although the data for the lengths of reign of Azariah and Jeroboam covered their full totals of years, their synchronisms of accessions were given in terms of the beginnings of sole reigns. This combination that made so formidable a problem also made possible the restoration of details of Hebrew history that otherwise might have remained unknown.

A brief survey of the reason for these overlapping reigns in Israel and Judah is in order. The report of Amaziah's campaign against Edom, and its aftermath, is given in 2 Chronicles 25:5-24. To assist him in this campaign, Amaziah hired a contingent of Israelites — who, however, were dismissed in accordance with the counsel of a prophet, and returned home in anger. On their way, they pillaged parts of Judah and slew people. When Amaziah returned after a great victory and discovered what had taken place, he sent a challenge of war to Jehoash. This Jehoash rejected with an insulting reply, suggesting that the king of Judah remain home and not seek further trouble. But Amaziah insisted on war.

Having no other choice, Jehoash responded with an invasion of Judah in which he defeated and captured Amaziah; he then took Jerusalem, breaking down part of the wall and looting the temple. Before beginning this engagement, Jehoash no doubt made his son Jeroboam coregent. When Amaziah was taken prisoner by Israel, the people of Judah made young Azariah ruler in the place of his foolhardy captive father. Thus Azariah's long reign of 52 years included 24 years in which his father was still alive. Although Amaziah was a prisoner in Israel, probably until the death of Jehoash at least, his reign was credited with the full quota of years until his death.

The specific dates involved in this troublesome period are as follows:

TABLE 4

	B.C.
Beginning of Jehoash	798
Beginning of Amaziah	796
Campaign of Amaziah against Edom	793
Amaziah's challenge to Jehoash	793
Commencement of Jeroboam's coregency	793 / 792
Invasion of Judah by Jehoash	792
Capture of Amaziah and accession of Azariah	792
Death of Jehoash and probable release of Amaziah	782
Commencement of Jeroboam's sole reign	782
Death of Amaziah and beginning of Azariah's sole reign	767
Death of Azariah after 52 years of reign	740

IV

The chronology problems presented by the Hebrew reigns have long engaged the attention of biblical scholars. In the fourth century A.D. Church Father Jerome said:

Read all the books of the Old and New Testament, and you will find such a discord as to the number of the years, such a confusion as to the duration of the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel, that to attempt to clear up this question will appear rather the occupation of a man of leisure than of a scholar.¹²

In the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek (made in the early pre-Christian period), variations found in the chronological data of the books of Kings in the Septuagint give evidence that scholars of that time were already dealing with these problems and were attempting to solve them by presenting what they considered to be more acceptable figures.¹³ Shortly after the time of Christ, efforts were also being made to correct what were regarded as errors in the Hebrew text. In the writings of Josephus, evidence for this is found in the variant figures for the Hebrew kings.¹⁴

Some of the chronology difficulties go back to the compilation of the Old Testament, for there is evidence that the details of the chronologies were by then no longer fully understood. One such difficulty is found in 2 Kings 8:16: "In the fifth year of Joram the son of Ahab king of Israel, Jehoshaphat being then king of Judah, Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat king of Judah began to reign." Although it is true that there was a coregency between Jehoram and his father, Jehoshaphat, the 5th year of Joram was not the year when that coregency began, but was the year that it ended and that Joram began his sole reign.

Another difficulty is found in 2 Kings 14:21: "All the people of Judah took Azariah, which was sixteen years old, and made him king instead of his father Amaziah." That statement is correct, but it follows a statement in the preceding verse concerning the death and burial of Amaziah. Azariah was not made king at the death of Amaziah, but 24 years before, when Amaziah was captured by Jehoash.

The arrangement of the reigns in 2 Kings 15 also presents difficulties.

TABLE 5

REIGN IN KINGS	SYNCHRONISM		YEARS OF ACTUAL REIGN	
Menahem 2 Kings 15:16-22	39th of Azariah	752/51	10 years	752/51 - 742/41
Pekahiah 2 Kings 15:23-26	50th of Azariah	742/41	2 years	742/41 - 740/39
Pekah 2 Kings 15:27-31	52nd of Azariah	740/39	20 years	752/51 - 732/31
Jotham 2 Kings 15:32-38	2nd of Pekah	738	16 years	750/49 - 735/34

The sequence in which these reigns is recorded gives evidence that this is the order that the editors believed to be correct. They thought that Pekah began his reign of 20 years in the 52nd year of Azariah, 740/39 B.C.; and they thought that Jotham also began a reign of 20 years when Azariah died. But such beginning dates are not correct.

In one sense it is true that both Pekah and Jotham had reigns that began in 740, but in another sense both began before 740. Pekah began to reign in Gilead in 752 as a rival of Menahem — 12 years before he began his sole reign in Samaria in 740. Jotham began in 750, the 2nd year of Pekah, as coregent with Azariah. A 20-year reign for Pekah that began in 740 would terminate in 720. But the year 720 is 3 years after the nation of Israel had ceased to exist. Hoshea, the slayer of Pekah and last king of Israel, began his 9-year reign in 732 and terminated in 723, when Samaria fell to Shalmaneser V. According to contemporary Assyrian records, Pekah's reign ended in 732, and Hoshea replaced him. So, if Pekah had a reign of 20

But 752/51 was the year when Menahem began his reign of 10 years in Samaria. He was followed by Pekahiah, who reigned 2 years, from 742 to 740. When all the evidence of this period is pieced together, it points to a rival reign of Pekah in Gilead that is not expressly mentioned in the biblical record, but that began the same year as did Menahem's in Samaria.¹⁵

The arrangement that accords with the above dates is as follows:

TABLE 6

Menahem	752/51 - 742/41	2 Kings 15:16-22
Pekah	752/51 - 732/31	Beginning with 2 Kings 15:23, following Menahem
Jotham	750/49 - 735/34	After the reign of Pekah
Pekahiah	742/41 - 740/39	After the reign of Jotham; last reign in 2 Kings 15
Ahaz	735/34 - 716/15	2 Kings 16
Hoshea	732/31 - 723/22	2 Kings 17
Hezekiah	716/15 - 687/86	2 Kings 18-20

All reigns are given in their correct sequential order as recorded in 2 Kings, with the exception of Pekahiah, whose record precedes those of Pekah and Jotham, whereas it should follow them.

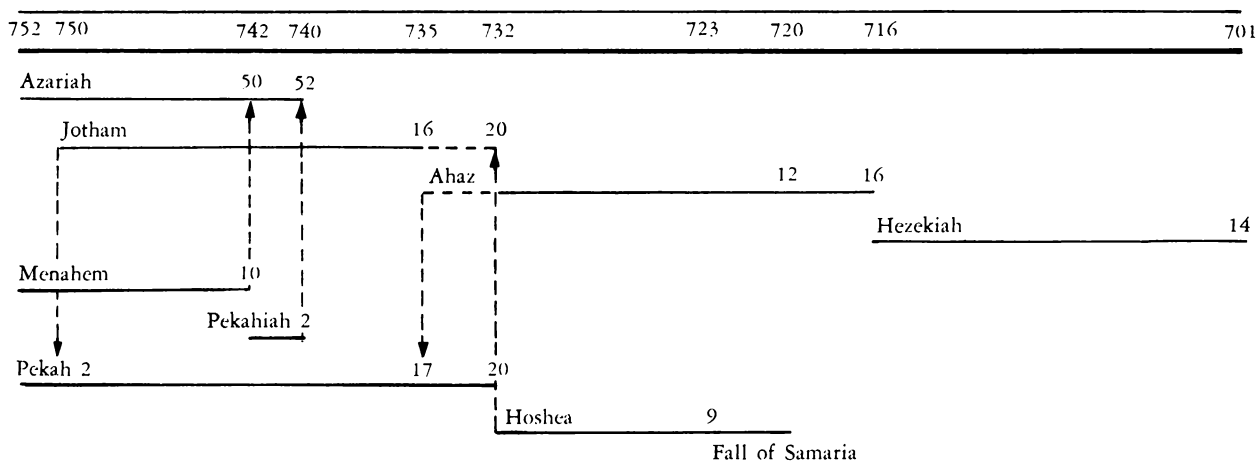
Contemporary Assyrian evidence shows that in 732 Pekah's reign ended and Hoshea's began. Thus, Pekah's 20 years began in 752. In Pekah's 2nd year, 750, Jotham's reign began (2 Kings 15:32). This year was the first year of a coregency between Jotham and his father, Azariah, who was strick-

en with leprosy and was unable to carry on the affairs of state. This coregency is expressly mentioned in 2 Kings 15:5. Although the Bible does not tell when it began or how many years it lasted, one is able, with the aid of Assyrian chronological evidence, to determine the year of its beginning.

The 52nd and last year of Azariah's reign was 740/39, which is the synchronism given for Pekah's accession (2 Kings 15:27). But as shown, 740/39 could not have been the beginning of a 20-year reign for Pekah. Rather, it was the year that Pekah slew Pekahiah and began his reign over all Israel in Samaria (15:25, 27). Nor could the year 740/39 mark the commencement of Jotham's reign, for he began in Pekah's 2nd year (15:32). If 740/39 is taken as Pekah's beginning year (as the synchronism suggests), and if Pekah's 2nd year is taken to be Jotham's beginning year, then Jotham began in 738/37, which was 2 years after his father, Azariah, died in 740/39. Not only was there no gap between the death of the aged, leprous Azariah and the commencement of Jotham; there was a coregency that began some time before Azariah's death. Jotham's reign of 16 years (15:33) began in 750 and terminated in 735/34, with the accession of Ahaz in the 17th year of Pekah (16:1). (For details see FIGURE E.)

FIGURE E

Original correct positions of Jotham, Pekah, and Hoshea



Jotham, Pekah, and Hoshea are here in their true relationships to Ahaz and Hezekiah.

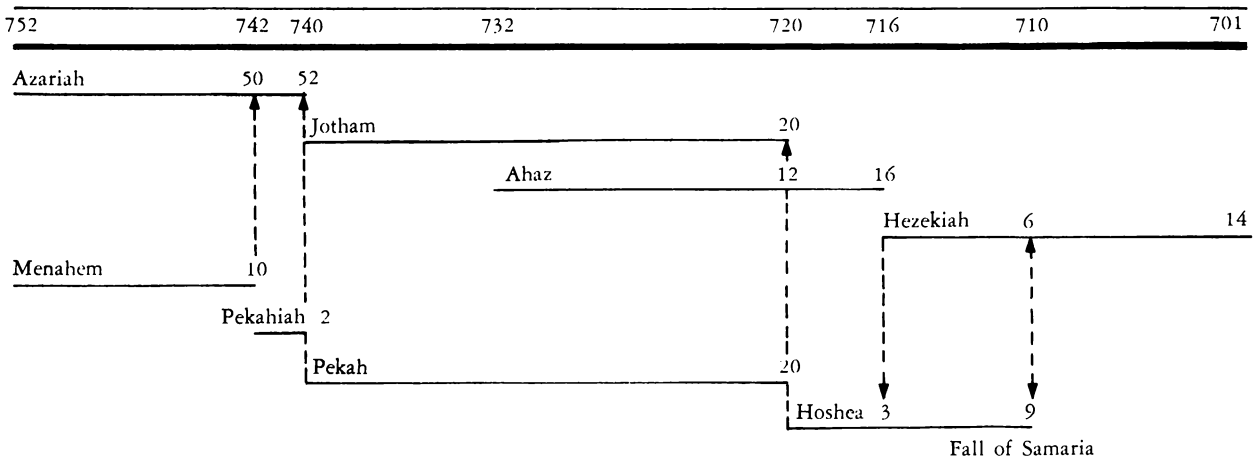
Of all the periods of the Hebrew kings, the period just discussed is the most complex and difficult to reconstruct. One reason is that its details were not understood by the final editors of the books of Kings. The sequence in which the editors placed the reigns in 2 Kings 15, with Pekahiah preceding rather than following Pekah and Jotham, shows what they believed to be correct. The 20-year reign of Pekah was treated as having begun in 740/39, rather than 12 years before. Jotham's reign was considered to have begun at the death of his father, Azariah, whereas in reality it began with a coregency in Pekah's 2nd year. (See FIGURE F.) Although I will not deal with all the intricacies of this problem, I will mention the main points.¹⁶

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Briefly, the reigns, as they are recorded in the books of Kings, fit into two distinct chronological patterns — with Pekah and Hoshea of Israel and Jotham of Judah being thrust 12 years ahead of their true relationships with Ahaz and Hezekiah, on the one hand, while at the same time they stand in their true positions, on the other hand. (See FIGURES E and F.) Once this chronology is understood, the reigns of Pekah, Hoshea, and Jotham may be moved back 12 years to their correct historical beginnings. I will mention several items of evidence that show what has taken place.

FIGURE F

Late advanced positions of Jotham, Pekah, and Hoshea



Jotham, Pekah, and Hoshea are here 12 years in advance of their true relationships to Ahaz and Hezekiah.

First, the data of 2 Kings 15:27 state that Pekah began his reign in Azariah's 52nd year, 740, and reigned 20 years. According to this information, Pekah's dates are 740 to 720. But, as we have seen, these dates are 12 years beyond their correct positions. And if Hoshea began in 720, then his reign terminated in 711/10, which likewise is 12 years ahead of its correct position. Without an extremely careful examination of all the data, one would be forced, on the basis of 2 Kings 15:27, to give Pekah the dates 740-720, and Hoshea the dates 720-711. This is exactly what was done by the final editors of Kings. The fact that they placed the reign of Pekahiah (15:23-26) before that of Pekah (15:27-31) shows that they regarded Pekahiah's reign as having begun in 742 and Pekah's in 740. (Note that there is nothing incorrect about the data of 2 Kings 15:27, once they are understood.)

Second, in 2 Kings 15:30, it is stated that Hoshea slew Pekah in the 20th year of Jotham and reigned in his stead. These three kings — Jotham, Pekah, and Hoshea — are the rulers whose reigns appear 12 years ahead of their true positions. Here is why. Azariah died in 740; if he was then succeeded by Jotham, the 20th year of Jotham would be 720, which would also be the year of Pekah's death and of Hoshea's accession. These dates are the same as those secured for Pekah and Hoshea from the information in 2 Kings 15:27. And 740 is the year that the editors of Kings regarded Jotham as having begun his reign, as evidenced by the fact that they placed his reign (15:32-38) after that of Pekah (15:27-31). Actually, Pekah preceded Jotham, because Pekah began his reign in the 52nd and last year of the reign of his father, Azariah, whereas Jotham did not begin until his father was dead. (The data of 2 Kings 15:30 are also correct when understood.)

Assyrian evidence from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727) gave 732 as the year of Pekah's death and of Hoshea's commencement, which was 12 years before 720. Therefore Pekah's 20-year reign began in 752; 750 is his 2nd year and is also the year that Jotham began his coregency. This sequence — 752 for Pekah, 750 for Jotham, and 742 for Pekahiah — is the sequence in which these reigns would have appeared in 2 Kings 15 had the final editors of Kings been aware of this original historical arrangement. What they did not take into consideration was that Pekah's 20-year reign began with a rival reign in Gilead that commenced in the same year that Menahem began in Samaria (752), and that the 52nd year of Azariah (740) given as the synchronism of his accession was the commencement of his undisputed reign in Samaria when he did away with Pekahiah. The editors also began the 20 years of Jotham's reign at Azariah's death in 740, rather than in 750 when Jotham became coregent with his father.

A third point of importance is the synchronism of 2 Kings 17:1, which places the accession of Hoshea in the 12th year of Ahaz. According to 2 Kings 15:30, Hoshea came to the throne in the 20th year of Jotham, which, combined with the synchronism of 17:1, would give Ahaz 12 years of reign with Jotham by the time Jotham reached his 20th year. I will show that such a coregency could not have been possible.

According to 2 Kings 15:33, Jotham reigned 16 years. With 750 as the first year of his coregency with Azariah, 735/34 would be his 16th year, when he was replaced by Ahaz in Pekah's 17th year (16:1).

Evidence that Ahaz was already on the throne in 735/34 is found in the Immanuel prophecy of Isaiah 7 and 8. Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Syria had joined forces in an attack on Ahaz, but Isaiah foretold that within two years they would be out of the way — before the promised child Immanuel would “know to refuse the evil and choose the good” and before he would be able to say, “My father, and my mother” (Isaiah 7:14-16; 8:4-10). That prediction was made in either 735 or 734, because it was fulfilled in 732, when, according to Assyrian evidence, both Rezin and Pekah died.

What happened in Jotham's 16th year, 735/34, was that Ahaz took the throne from him and ruled in his stead. Jotham was not put to death, but continued to live, if not to reign, until his 20th year, 732/31, when Ahaz began his own 16-year reign, which terminated in 716/15 when Hezekiah began. Evidence that 716/15 is correct for the end of Ahaz and the beginning of Hezekiah is found in the fact that in 701, the 14th year of Hezekiah's reign, Sennacherib came against Judah (2 Kings 18:13). This date can be secured, not only from the biblical pattern reconstructed here, but also from Sennacherib's own account of his attack on Hezekiah.

It should be noted that Jotham did not terminate his coregency with Azariah or begin his sole reign until Azariah died in 740, and that it was 735 when he was replaced by Ahaz. Therefore, it would be impossible to place a 12-year coregency between Ahaz and Jotham into those 5 years (740-735) that 2 Kings 17:1 seems to suggest by placing the accession of Hoshea in the 12th year of Ahaz. It should also be noticed that although 720 is Ahaz's 12th year, it is 12 years too late for Hoshea's accession, which took place in 732. So 2 Kings 17:1 provides clear evidence of the existence of a dual pattern in which the reigns of Jotham, Pekah, and Hoshea are advanced 12 years in comparison with the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah.

Fourth, another item of evidence is found in the synchronism of 2 Kings 18, which calls for the accession of Hezekiah in the 3rd year of Hoshea, and for the death of Hoshea and the fall of Samaria at the end of Hoshea's 9-

year rule, which was in Hezekiah's 6th year (18:1, 10). This would make 711/10 the 6th year of Hezekiah and the year of Samaria's fall. This date is correct for Hezekiah, but it is 12 years too late for the death of Hoshea and the fall of Samaria. That Samaria fell in 723 in the reign of Shalmaneser V (rather than Sargon II) is attested to by a careful examination of relevant Assyrian records.¹⁷

Once the exact nature of the data in this most difficult area of the Hebrew kings chronology is understood, their years can be established with certainty. The data for Pekah included his total of years from the beginning of his rival reign, but the synchronism of his accession was the commencement of his sole reign. The synchronism of Jotham was that of the beginning of his coregency — not in terms of the years of Menahem in Samaria, but in terms of the years of Pekah reckoned from the commencement of his rival reign in Gilead. The synchronism of Hoshea's accession was in terms of the total years of Jotham, which included Jotham's coregency, his sole reign, and also the years he was dethroned while Ahaz ruled. Ahaz's synchronism was based on two things: (*a*) the year of Pekah's reign reckoned from the commencement of his rival reign in Gilead and (*b*) the year that Ahaz himself took the throne from Jotham. The years of Ahaz's reign did not include the years he stole from Jotham, but only those of his sole reign.

Even where the years of Jotham, Pekah, and Hoshea have been thrust forward 12 years when compared with Ahaz and Hezekiah, the years of all rulers involved may be successfully restored, once what took place is known. The beginning of Hoshea must be moved back 12 years from the synchronism given for his accession in 2 Kings 17:1; and the years of Hoshea's reign and the date of Samaria's fall must be thrust back 12 years from the synchronisms given in 2 Kings 18:1, 9-10.

VI

It would be difficult to imagine a more complicated array of chronological data than is found in this short but important period of Hebrew history that covers the reigns of the last two kings of Israel. If we find the data seem complicated today, part of the reason is that the editors who struggled with the books of Kings also found the data confusing. Much of the difficulty was due, no doubt, to the chaotic state of Israel's final years of history.

Up to within 9 years of the time Israel crumpled under the relentless blows of Assyrian arms, the records continued accurate and adequate. This is known, for the last item in the account of Pekah's reign is that he was slain by Hoshea in the 20th year of Jotham (2 Kings 15:30), which was

732 B.C. This is correct, but as we have seen, is capable of misinterpretation. However, something must have happened to the records of Hoshea's reign — either in their original preparation or in later preservation — for it is here that there is evidence of miscalculations in the advanced synchronisms of 2 Kings 17 and 18, all of which have to do with Hoshea's years.

Today it seems clear that the final editors of Kings — who, engaged in the task of preparing a combined history of Israel and Judah, complete with adequate chronological information for each ruler — were forced by the lack of certain late data to undertake the task of discovering such data by restoring the history of that period. With such information as is found in 2 Kings 15:27, 30, we can imagine what such a reconstruction might have been. What it actually turned out to be we find in the advanced synchronisms of 2 Kings 17 and 18.

But when all this is known, when we understand the methods of reckoning the reigns of the earlier kings, and when we know what coregencies and rival reigns took place, it is possible to set forth a complete record for all the years of Israel, beginning with the disruption of the monarchy in 931/30 and extending to the fall of Samaria in 723. For Judah, the record extends past the fall of Jerusalem in 586 to the termination of Jehoiachin's captivity in his 37th year and the accession of Amel Marduk [Evil-merodach] to the throne of Babylon in 561 (2 Kings 25:27). All the dates for the biblical rulers following the pattern thus produced are in harmony with the events of contemporary history at such points where exact contacts can be made.

In the words of William A. Irwin, the sincere and careful student of the Bible will find that "it is a matter of first-rate importance to learn now that the Books of Kings are reliable in precisely that feature which formerly excited only derision."

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Vocational Schizophrenia and the God of Creation

51

ROY E. BRANSON

What relation do you see between your profession or field of study and your religion?

Many conscientious Adventists have asked themselves this question since high school days, when they were wondering, "What am I going to be when I grow up?" In college the question may have taken another form: "What does my church commitment, just deepened and refreshed in this week of prayer, have to do with the excitement I feel about my new class in physiology . . . or economics . . . or Civil War history?" In graduate school the probing continues: "What meaning does this specialized education — this enormous time, this concentration, this expenditure of energy — have for my conversion experience?"

When the professional person finally begins his chosen work, the wondering may continue — especially if the field is theoretical mathematics or nineteenth-century German poetry. "How do I justify my work from the religious viewpoint? Does my field have anything to do with being an Adventist?" Those who are involved in the education of ministers, doctors, or teachers enjoy honored places in the work of the Adventist church. But what about those who are engaged in scholarly research or whose time is spent inspiring students to create abstract art or to write short stories? What relevance does such activity have to the mission of the Adventist church?

I

Some answers I've heard go like this: "I'll always be an Adventist. But to tell you the truth, I'm not overly pious." Or, "I'm in mathematics because I

like it. I'll be a member of whatever church is close by, but I'm not cut out to be religious all the time."

Many do not answer this way, of course. Most Adventist teachers who teach in Adventist schools do so because of religious conviction. When I ask them why they are teaching students to become architects or physicists or concert pianists, they may answer: "How many Adventist concert pianists are there? Come on — how many?" I have to admit not many. "There's your answer!" they respond. "If I teach students to go into this new area of concert performance, they will go out into the world and rub shoulders with many people who would never enter an Adventist church or attend an Adventist evangelistic campaign. If the students I teach lead good Adventist lives, they will be asked why they are Adventists. Then my students will be able to share their faith — which may lead to Bible study and eventually to new members for the church."

I nod. I agree. Bringing people to a "decision for Christ" is transcendently important. Nothing is more crucial. While we are conversing about religion, I notice that my friend is sober, serious. But when our conversation shifts and we begin talking about music, his eyes light up. His hands move. His voice brightens. He knows he should be enthusiastic about religion too. But he loves music. Vocationally he is an Adventist schizophrenic.

He is not alone. Hosts of Adventists occupied in education will work mathematical or scientific problems at great length, excitedly comparing notes with colleagues. These same persons are also conscientious about their religion — stopping work to go to religious services or to witness in share-your-faith meetings. To them, work and religion are two separate activities.

Now — if these Adventists feel that their own lives are split, why are they surprised or hurt when they discover that many others in the church share their schizophrenia about the significance of education? They should not be surprised when visiting preachers ask about the relevance of basic research to giving the gospel. Their own self-doubts are only being expressed bluntly in the questions of pastors and conference administrators: "What does the history of baroque art possibly have to do with 'saving souls'?"

II

The split that troubles many Adventist students and professional practitioners — between their specialization on the one hand and their religion on the other — derives from their not seeing God as active in their work. It is easier to see God in the Sabbath school class, the evangelistic meeting, the worship service. God seems more *visible* in the clergyman's activities.

God is in conversions. Or God may *seem* more “present” in vocations (other than the ministry) where conversations with colleagues or students are about religion. But it may seem that God is not directly involved in teaching people to prepare nutritious meals, to design beautiful buildings, or to cultivate farmland.

Yet, “The earth is the Lord’s and the fulness thereof, the world and those who dwell therein.”¹ “This is my *Father’s* world,” we sing.² We must not stop at saying that God created the heavens and the earth — in the beginning, back then. We should not be so detained by our controversies about how things started that we fail to continue exploring the meaning of the doctrine of creation. We must not limit God’s creation to a single past act — as though the world has limped along on its own, forsaken after the Fall. We must not abandon life on this earth to Satan — or to the absurd.

If we leave God back at the beginning, we are like the deists, who said that God started the creation but has let it run by itself ever since. The deistic evolutionist also believes that God started the world and then let it improve on its own. Too many Adventists are cryptodeists — saying that God started the world, but since then it has been out of his control, steadily getting worse.

Christians should affirm not only that God created them “in the beginning,” but that he continues to create. Moment by moment, God sustains the world with his power. If his Spirit did not continue to move “on the face of the waters,” there would be none. If he did not continue to “let there be light,” it would vanish. Without his power, the creatures of the field could not “be fruitful and multiply.”

No wonder we praise the Lord “in his mighty firmament.”³ No wonder “all nature sings and round me rings the music of the spheres.”⁴ No wonder Ellen White repeatedly says that God speaks to us in his second book of nature. Because God not only began the creation but continues to sustain it — giving it order and coherence — that creation is God’s. By involving ourselves in it, we follow God’s footsteps after him.

III

What does this mean for Adventists who wonder about the relationship between their work and their religion? A great deal. The Christian understanding of creation leads a physicist to understand that he is part of God’s work, not only by his participation in church activities, but also by his investigations in the laboratory to learn how God sustains creation. The biologist need not feel guilty if he is as thrilled by what he sees under his

microscope as he is by giving an offering or by reading a religious piece of writing. For the Christian who is a scientist, studying the molecular structure of life is to glimpse God at work. Indeed, every scientific discovery can be a religious experience.

The mathematician uncovering the formal structure of thought can regard the elegance that pleases him as a reflection of the Creator of such elegance. He can see a relationship between the simplicity and beauty he may find in his work and the God he praises as a God of harmony and unity.

But what of Adventists whose careers do not involve either religious activities or the natural sciences? What of musicologists, artists, literary scholars, historians of ideas, poets — those who claim the humanities as their field? How can they believe that they are a part of God's work? They spend their time studying, analyzing, and commenting on *human* activity — for it is humans who create art, literature, music, philosophy.

But humans are sinners — cast from the Garden, alienated from God. How can students of humanity — persons who focus their attention directly on this sinful creature — presume to be ennobled by what they learn? We may be prepared to admit that a scientist is cooperating with God by poring over the findings seen under his microscope. But what can we say about an artist or a playwright?

Let us remember that man was part of God's original creation, that man lives now because he continues to be part of the creation God sustains. No man would be here if God did not continue to give him breath. We are all God's — directly, moment by moment. This earth that is the Lord's is also a human world. Men are as much God's creation as are rocks or trees or clear mountain streams.

God created man masterfully — with intelligence, with freedom, with a sense of beauty and fitness. Although man misused his freedom and marred what God created, he retains some of the image of God. Ellen White says:

Man at his creation bore the image and superscription of God. Though now marred and dim through the influence of sin, the traces of this inscription remain upon every soul.⁵

In the beginning God created man in His own likeness. He endowed him with noble qualities. . . . To bring him back to the perfection in which he was first created is the great object of life — the object that underlies all others.⁶

Furthermore, it is because man possesses intelligence and freedom that he is held accountable to decide for or against God.

Paul believed that man still has part of the image of God: "When the Gentiles who have not the law do by nature what the law requires, . . . they

show that what the law requires is written on their hearts, while their conscience also bears witness.”⁷ Man still has intelligence and freedom. Through the working of the Spirit this freedom can act to glorify God. Perhaps this is why Ellen White steeped herself in *Paradise Lost* and *Pilgrim’s Progress*, which are, after all, the works of humans.⁸ Was it the religious content alone that attracted her? Surely not. The religious ideas in the two works can be found elsewhere. Ellen White must also have been attracted by the powerful artistry she found in the writings of John Milton and John Bunyan, her fellow human beings.

Are we going to turn our backs on the great oratorios produced by sinful mortals — or on the symphonies of Beethoven, which exalt the spirit, although they are not explicitly religious? Will the humanity glimpsed in a Rembrandt portrait be rejected because the subject was human or because the artist was sinful — as we all are?

What of the sociologist or the anthropologist whose lifework is the collection and study of data about humanity? Are such pursuits ennobling? Not always. But the anthropologist may learn how God, through his Spirit, has been able to move men (who sometimes may not acknowledge him) to bear hardship with resourcefulness, to meet tragedy with dignity. When the anthropologist, with faith in God, looks at what even sinful man can achieve, he praises the Creator’s goodness and power.

The humanities and the social sciences — both dealing with man — are no farther away from God’s creation, then, than are the natural sciences. All see God working in and through his creation. For them, as for the psalmist, the trees wave before the Lord; the hills clap their hands. But not only trees and hills wave before the Lord; people do too. There is the good wife who is far more precious than jewels (Proverbs); the wise son who makes the father glad; the friend who was to David “my brother Jonathan,” whose “love to me was wonderful.”⁹

For the man who knows that God’s power permeates the whole creation, that “the earth is the Lord’s and the fulness thereof, the world and *those who dwell therein*” [*italics added*], all life pulsates with God’s power, all events burst with meaning. He greets the world, knowing that he will find God’s presence there.

IV

Does all our talk about creation mean that the Adventist will cherish redemption less? Does it mean that an appreciation of God the Creator and Sustainer of the world will lead the Adventist concert pianist to devote him-

self exclusively to powerful music, to create beautiful scores, and to eventually lose interest in asking his colleagues, "Have you met Christ?" Will he fail to care whether or not his fellow musicians are "saved"?

Not at all. The dedicated Adventist pianist wants his fellow musicians to know God. He knows the inner tranquility they will experience by shaping their actions to fit into a larger pattern of meaning. He knows they cannot be released from preoccupation with themselves unless they use their freedom to acknowledge that God is Lord in their lives. In short, the Adventist musician wants his friends to know Christ as their Redeemer.

What is this redeemed condition? Who is this Christ to be known as a personal Saviour? If we remember that the Christ who died for us was "in the beginning . . . with God," and that "all things were made through Him,"¹⁰ then we will not be surprised at Paul's description of the death and resurrection of Christ as being the restoration of God's creation.

When Christ died and rose again, he did not offer man a secret rapture. He did not provide individuals with a means for escaping creation. Instead, as one of the great hymns of the Christian Church says, Christ has

delivered us from the dominion of darkness and transferred us to the kingdom of his beloved Son, in whom we have redemption. . . . He is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation; for in him all things were created, in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or authorities — all things were created through him and for him. He is before all things, and in him all things hold together. . . . He is the beginning, the first-born from the dead. . . . For in him all the fulness of God was pleased to dwell, and through him to reconcile to himself all things whether on earth or in heaven.¹¹

That is the meaning of redemption: God reconciling the world to himself, restoring all things in creation to their original order. The Christ that we encounter here is the cosmic Christ who is the Lord of creation. To know him as Saviour is to acknowledge him as Lord — not only over our own lives, but over *all* life.

Through this Christ our schizophrenia can be healed — the schizophrenia that plagues far too many Adventists, the schizophrenia that divides the Adventist church. Adventists should not think that they will find God only in religious activities, that they must justify their existence solely on the basis of how many "religious" acts they perform *in addition to* their regular jobs. Those religious acts are important. Religious instruction, Sabbath school classes, and prayer meetings are opportunities to reveal, clearly and penetratingly, the meaning of life. Worship services are irreplaceable experiences of God's holiness.

But God is also to be found in the job, in the vocation, in the discovery of

knowledge. To create moving art is to be a part of God's action. To unlock the workings of chromosomes is a way of making clear God's gracious activity in the world. The scientist as scientist and the artist as artist can help us know God.

Christians are obligated to share with their professional colleagues the pleasure of recognizing Christ as Lord. Conversion is the *beginning*, not the end, of Christian experience — the entrance into abundant life. Adventists in professional life have a great opportunity to share with their associates the exciting awareness of God's glory flashing through all of human experience.

The distinctly religious activities of life will merge with the occupational activities through the Christ who redeems by restoring creation. Adventists in myriad professions will be agents for reconciling the world to its Lord. Adventist institutions of higher learning are, and should be, places where Adventist Christians can find God in all activities.

Christians who see God in his fullness will hear God both in the pulpit and also in song and symphony. God will speak both in ancient texts and in contemporary poetry. He will be present both in sacred revelation and in ordinary life. Adventists need not feel guilty or apologetic about the value of their studies and work. They can have a sense of participating with God in his work. They can have the solemn but exhilarating knowledge that as they walk through life in this world they step on holy ground. Any bush may burst into flame. Any voice may be God's voice. The earth is the Lord's.

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Three Lone Trees

ALAN DAVIES

Three lone trees
stand gaunt as crows
against the bouldered ground.
The sky turns heavily
away, and goes
by leaps and bounds
from boulders
on to hills
and then to trees, treetops,
and, further on, to clouds.
Scattered 'round
about the middle one of these
some clustered flowers
cloister, a choir of
black-backed widows
weeping after a single
infant's coffin. Everywhere
the anger
of some dread, horrendous thing
is flung, is spattered down
like autumn's blooded leaves
hurled at the ground.
We wait. We wait.

Support of the Gospel Ministry

WILFRED M. HILLOCK

59

An important objective of the Adventist church, as set forth by General Conference President Robert H. Pierson, is to discover solutions to outstanding problems of the church. One area of concern is church finance.¹ As a student of finance directly interested in the future of the church, I would like to present a viewpoint that may be helpful in developing a better understanding of Adventist church finance.

I

Many of God's promises can be claimed by the Christian who follows God's plan for church finance. God challenges those whom he has supplied with bounties to prove him: "Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house, and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it."²

The solution to the problem of financing church programs is tied to the principle of tithing stated by Ellen White: "God's plan in the tithing system is beautiful in its simplicity and equality. . . . If one and all would accept it, each would be made a vigilant and faithful treasurer for God; and there would be no want of means with which to carry forward the great work of sounding the last message of warning to the world."³

Why is it, then, in spite of such promises and such church plenty, that many members find themselves struggling with financial problems?

Although the plan for support of the church by its members is simple, the expected result is not forthcoming. Some believe that the reason this is so is that the members are apathetic — that if they were close enough to God, their financial problems would be solved. But perhaps spiritual condition is

not the only causal factor. Inconsistencies in church policy may raise honest questions, with the result that some persons decrease their financial support (at least that portion given through established channels). Thus, although some may blame members for church financial problems, inconsistent church policy may indeed be a contributing factor.

A Jewish rabbi, commenting on the Adventist interpretation of the tithing system, recommended that Adventists look carefully at the way tithe funds are allocated. After closely observing Adventism for an extended time, he concluded that the church has defined the uses of tithe too narrowly. He suggested that church financial policy may be too restrictive, or at least that it is applied too narrowly.

The Adventist policy of using church tithe to support the gospel ministry is stated thus: "The tithe is to be held sacred for the work of the ministry and Bible teaching, including the carrying forward of conference administration in the care of churches, and of field missionary operations. The tithe is not to be expended upon other lines of work such as church or institutional debt-paying or building operations."⁴

In practice, briefly, the tithe is used for the support of ministers and the conferences, but not for church institutions or church congregations. This restriction is subject to challenge on two counts: first, the church tithe policy is man-made, since biblical counsel on tithe does not seem to be as restrictive; second, actual practice is even more restrictive than the statement of the official church working policy.

Some aspects of this restrictive use of tithe funds may be rather difficult to defend. In the present finance method, almost any conference office expense can be paid from tithe funds, whereas almost no expense incurred by the local church or the institutions of the church can be paid from this source. Thus, the system is really neither simple nor equal. An artificial distinction, based on the classification of the spending organization, divides the church into units that have and units that have not — all of which function for the same purpose.

In recent months, church leaders have emphasized that an institution such as Loma Linda University *is* the church and that its purposes are one with the church. But this oneness is then denied in effect by an artificial barrier between the ministry that takes place in the college classroom, in the patient's hospital room, and in the conference office promotional planning room. The case might be made, perhaps, that the first two are more directly related to gospel ministry than the last is.

In biblical times the tithe was devoted exclusively to the Levites, the tribe

that had been set apart for the service of the sanctuary. The Adventist church appears to have interpreted the Levitical plan to mean that the tithe is solely for the support of the ordained clergy. It is time that the church reexamine the roles of its personnel to determine what is meant by support of the gospel ministry. Are not the grade school teachers and hospital dietitians ministering in the Lord's vineyard?

The real problem stems from the arbitrary division of conference employees from other employees. The barrier exists in the financial structure as well as in the concept of *who* composes "the ministry." A conference office janitor is legitimately paid with tithe funds, but a church janitor is not. Surely a case could be made for the latter to be paid from tithe funds if the system were related to biblical tithing.

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The present division of tithe use is a comfortable one. To change would open a number of questions and would demand considerable rethinking. Nevertheless, the rationale of the current system is not easy to defend. Thinking persons may be expected to question the motives for maintaining a position because it is comfortable to do so, even though that position may be based on unsound reasoning. Either all classifications of church employees are ministers or they are not. They cannot be gospel ministers when it is convenient to so classify them in official statements, but something else when it suits the purpose to put them in another classification. Either they are engaged in a soul-saving ministry, or their work is in the category of purchased professional or technical skill.

Programs in welfare, medicine, and education were not outside the scope of ministry in Old Testament times. The work of the Levites was varied — extending into music, healing, teaching, church care, and church finance, as well as support of the welfare program. Nehemiah clearly presents musicians and persons appointed to collect the tithes as being legitimately part of the priesthood that shared in the distribution of tithes. "All Israel in the days of Zerubbabel, and in the days of Nehemiah, gave the portions of the singers and the porters, every day his portion; and they sanctified holy things unto the Levites."⁵

In the Levitical system, from which our tithing concept springs, part of the tithe fed those in need. "Thou shalt bring forth all the tithe of thine increase; . . . and the Levite . . . and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow . . . shall come, and shall eat and be satisfied; that the Lord thy God may bless thee."⁶

Those who took care of the temple and its furnishings were also supported by the tithe: "Thou shalt appoint the Levites over the tabernacle of

testimony . . . and over all things that belong to it; . . . the Levites shall take it down; . . . the Levites shall set it up.”⁷

Paul states that “some should be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors, and teachers, for building up the body of Christ.”⁸ A parallel text also lists teachers, healers, and administrators as those involved in the work of the ministry.

II

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To support God’s work is a duty and a privilege. The rigidity with which the church has viewed the allocation of tithe may not necessarily be God’s plan. Some may have formalized timely practice into timeless biblical principle. Occasionally fiscal rules have come to be regarded as sacred. It is time to reexamine holy counsel without undue concern for maintaining precedent or convenience for its own sake. Preservation of the status quo should not be the ultimate purpose in church governance. Actions should be based on principles. What is needed is primitive godliness, combined with a search for efficient ways of achieving goals. First the church must concern itself with what is right; then it must concentrate on getting results.

Church members can be trusted with open discussion of church problems. Study of the tithing system need not be regarded as a prelude to withdrawal of financial support. Understanding can increase support.

The Adventist position on tithe allocation appears to be based almost exclusively on this quotation from Ellen White:

A very plain, definite message has been given to me for our people. I am bidden to tell them that they are making a mistake in applying the tithe to various objects which, though good in themselves, are not the object to which the Lord has said that the tithe should be applied. . . . One reasons that the tithe may be applied to school purposes. Still others reason that canvassers and colporteurs should be supported from the tithe. But a great mistake is made when the tithe is drawn from the object for which it is to be used — the support of the ministers. . . . The tithe is sacred, reserved by God for Himself. It is to be brought into His treasury to be used to sustain the gospel laborers in their work. . . . Let the work no longer be hedged up because the tithe has been diverted into various channels other than the one to which the Lord has said it should go. Provision is to be made for these other lines of work. They are to be sustained, but not from the tithe. God has not changed; the tithe is still to be used for the support of the ministry.⁹

An earlier statement by Ellen White, containing a seemingly contradictory message, suggests that school work, at least in mission lands, should be supported from the tithe.

The islands of the sea are waiting for a knowledge of God. In these islands schools are to be established, to prepare students. . . . In our own country there is much to be done. There are many cities to be entered and warned. . . . It is the neglect of Seventh-

day Adventists to improve these providential opportunities that is hindering the cause of God. . . . The Lord has made us His stewards. . . . He has reserved the tithe as His sacred portion, to be used in sending the gospel to all parts of the world.¹⁰

When you see a young man or a young woman who is a promising subject, advance or loan the sum needed, with the idea that it is a loan, not a gift. . . . But the money is not to be taken from the tithe, but from a separate fund secured for that purpose.¹¹

Is this kind of loan fund an example of the school purposes that are not to be supported from the tithe?

One cannot escape the principle of tithing set forth by Ellen White: "A tithe of all our increase is the Lord's. He has reserved it to Himself, to be employed for religious purposes. It is holy. . . . This fund should not in any case be devoted to any other use; it is to be devoted solely to support the ministry of the gospel."¹²

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What is the ministry of the gospel? In the foregoing discussion the missionary and the overseas educational worker have been included in the scope of the ministry. Who else might be included?

Some who do not see the advantage of educating the youth to be physicians both of the mind and of the body, say that the tithe should not be used to support medical missionaries, who devote their time to treating the sick. In response to such statements as these, I am instructed to say that the mind must not become so narrowed down that it cannot take in the truth of the situation. A minister of the gospel who is also a medical missionary, who can cure physical ailments, is a much more efficient worker than one who cannot do this. His work as a minister of the gospel is much more complete. . . . No line is to be drawn between the genuine medical missionary work and the gospel ministry. These two must blend. They are not to stand apart as separate lines of work. They are to be joined in an inseparable union, even as the hand is joined to the body.¹³

Thus the medical missionary's work is also part of the ministry and as such should receive tithe support. How does the hand draw its support from a different source than the body does? The conclusion is that all workers who devote their lives to the church are ministers in the same endeavor.

The tithe should go to those who labor in word and doctrine, be they men or women.¹⁴

If we have fellowship with God, we are His ministers, though we may never preach to a congregation. We are workers together with God in presenting the perfection of His character in humanity.¹⁵

The management and instruction of children is the noblest missionary work that any man or woman can undertake. . . . The great day of God alone can reveal the good this work will do.

III

Clearly, Ellen White's writings reveal the ministry in both a broad sense, including all dedicated gospel workers, and in a narrower sense, referring to the ordained clergy. The problem in determining tithe allocation is to determine whether her statements should be used in the broad or in the narrow sense. Persons who attempt to answer this question for themselves should first reconcile their view with the biblical tithing system.

The implications of the broad definition of the gospel ministry are sweeping.

First, such a definition would call for a unified approach to the work of the church rather than a compartmentalized approach. Teachers and medical (and adjunct) personnel would be seen as full partners in proclaiming the gospel. This outlook would not only emphasize the direction of their work, but would help remove the artificial barrier between the ordained clergy and other gospel workers.

Second, the problem of finding methods to legitimize the flow of tithe funds would be solved. The practice of exchanging checks between accounts in order to be legalistically correct in statements to the constituency would not be necessary any longer. No one is entirely comfortable with this system, and quite likely God in his foresight had no such plan in mind.

Third, the church would be on much safer legal ground in its employment practices if the wider definition were used. The question of religious discrimination makes Adventist reluctance to hire qualified non-Adventists hard to defend. On the other hand, opinion is a long way from viewing positions of ministry as having no religious prerequisites. The differentiation that Adventists make between minister and teacher is different from that made by Catholics between priest and teaching sister. The Adventist position that church colleges *are* the church would be more consistent if teachers were considered gospel ministers. If they are not, then the reason for establishing church schools is subject to question.

Fourth, decision as to the use of tithe funds would not be on the basis of who sponsored the program but on the basis of cost-effectiveness. Tithe funds could be available for the pastoral ministry, the medical ministry, or the educational ministry — on the basis of capitalizing on those opportunities promising the greatest results. In this atmosphere all would feel impelled to justify expenditure. Stewardship of the funds would be called to account by the pressure of alternative uses.

Fifth, Adventists intend to be accurate in interpreting biblical principle.

Therefore, the more sense a system makes, the greater should be the response from thinking individuals. When conscientious persons detect something wrong, their dissatisfaction is often revealed by a decrease in their support of the church.

To be effective, tithing ought to be beautiful in its simplicity and equality.

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and we forget

DOROTHY BAKER

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the time has faded
and yesterday is an encyclopedia or an almanac
behind us lie the questions
 the special news bulletins
 the taxes
 and the dinner dishes
the answers now are past events
 erasing the voices and the prophets
 leaving us to memorize dates and discoveries
the questions without answers
 are not remembered
and uncertainties have dissolved

the men we spoke of
 but never touched
 are gone
the children who cried to us
 from the posters
 still cry
we cannot recall our words
 (did we give to the United Fund?)
 and no one heard us speak

a beggar we fed
or refused
is dead
dead of hunger
or the cold nights
or cancer
he has forgotten
today swirls and reels
and again there are questions
budgets
elections
and green stamps
we can imagine importance
and pretend answers
but again
men ask or refuse
sides with or lose
equally
time moves on
and repeats old phrases
the flags fade
pain eases
and new diseases grow from our fingertips
we grow sleepy
and forget

REVIEW

The Traditions of American Religious Liberty

JOHN KEARNES

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RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN THE UNITED STATES: The Development of
Church-State Thought Since the Revolutionary Era

By Elwyn A. Smith

Philadelphia: Fortress Press 1972 373 pp \$10.95

The author analyzes the thought of individuals who helped fashion the laws and customs that institutionalized religious liberty for the American republic. He classifies these people in three traditions — separatist, Catholic, and constitutional. Each category has a double reference, that of historical usage and that of conceptual construct.

The *separatist* tradition derives its meaning from the views historically held by the “separatist Baptists” and others who were willing “to grant full civil rights to the adherents of any religion or philosophy loyal to liberty and the new nation” (p. xii). In this section Smith synthesizes the church-and-state thought of Roger Williams, Isaac Backus, John Leland, James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, Jonathan Edwards, and more recent figures.

The *Catholic* tradition takes its meaning from the Christianity of Rome — from Catholicism’s theological assumptions concerning the religious and political unity of man and society. All established religions are “Catholic” in the sense that they prefer to institutionalize the unity of the human being. This second section reviews the church-and-state thought of Catholic writers, including John Carroll, John England, Orestes A. Brownson, John J. Hughes, John Ireland, John Courtney Murray, and others.

The *constitutional* tradition draws its substance from the interpretations of the federal Constitution. The author attempts in this section to “discern the changing assumptions and understandings visible in judicial documentation” (p. xii). Smith asserts that the constitutional tradition is not a synthesis of the separatist and the Catholic traditions; rather, it emerges from the decisions made by the Supreme Court in its resolution of conflicts between religion and civil authority.

Even though there are diverse strains of thought within the separatist and the Catholic traditions, these have common elements that enable the historian to systematize and synthesize each tradition in an honest fashion. Smith’s cogent exposition ac-

completes this, thereby helping us understand the differences between these two traditions.

Unhappily, the author's examination of the constitutional tradition does not have the same merit. Succinctly portraying the events that brought about the First Amendment's religion clauses, Smith analyzes the relevant court cases that explicate the theory and law of the First Amendment. But he fails in his attempt to establish a constitutional tradition with a unity similar to that of the previous traditions.

The Supreme Court has formulated some guiding theoretical and conceptual referents from the Establishment and the Free Exercise clauses. Quite early the Court gave them meaning with the famous Jefferson metaphor that they were intended to erect a "wall of separation between church and state." The Court further refined this in the *Everson* case with specific illustrations and with the concept of neutrality between the state and religion, and between religion and religion.¹ The Court also formulated tests to measure this proscription.

The most basic test devised by the Court appeared in the *Schempp* decision: "There must be a secular legislative purpose [and secular means] and a primary effect that neither advances nor inhibits religion."² This test has its primary association with the Establishment Clause; but with reference to the Free Exercise Clause, the Court noted that "the distinction between the two clauses is apparent — a violation of the Free Exercise Clause is predicated on coercion while the Establishment Clause violation need not be so attended."³

One could expect that this rubric would help define a line of separation between church and state. More accurately, however, one might suggest that it created a permeable membrane, and that what does and does not go through the membrane is ultimately a matter not of logic but of psychology. One can characterize the law of the First Amendment and religion as protean and topically specialized, its strictures assuming different casts, depending on their contexts. In contrast, although recognizing some incongruities, Smith suggests a continuity that is illusory.

In his final chapter, entitled "The Meaning of Separation of Church and State," Smith summarizes the principle of separation (as he interprets the First Amendment) by stating: "If the laws bear so heavily on a religious group as effectively to inhibit freedom of exercise . . . it may be shown that the state is hostile and thus breaching the principle of separation. Similarly, if the state is favoring one program above others, the proper complaint is not that it should aid all but that it should favor none. The *McColum* decision [religious instruction in public schools] is thus balanced by *Sherbert* [denial of unemployment benefits for refusal to work Saturday]" (p. 364).

As accommodating as this spacious principle of separation is for these two examples, it narrows so as not to admit the free-exercise Sunday-law cases of *Braunfeld v. Brown*, which allowed general Sunday laws that advanced the state's secular goals.⁴ There was no material difference in the effect of the law on either *Sherbert* or *Braunfeld*, and yet the Court chose to accommodate the religious conscience of one and not of the other. The clearest difference between the cases is that one pertains to unemployment insurance and the other to Sunday laws. The *Braunfeld* decision makes untenable the argument for continuity that Smith attempts by pairing of the *McColum* and *Sherbert* cases.

RECENT BOOKS BY ADVENTIST AUTHORS

Although Smith's work concentrates on the history of thought, he does dip into the "exciting story of the struggle for religious liberty only as much as is required to make the ideas intelligible" (p. xiv). One could wish that he had dipped deeper into this well of historical fact — as he did in his study of the refusal to bear arms because of religious scruples (related in the chapter "Religion, Conscience, and Free Exercise"). At issue was the proposition of the district court in *Girouard v. United States* that refusal to bear arms is not necessarily a sign of disloyalty.⁵ Smith observes that "the nation may thank the 10,000 Seventh Day Adventist non-combatant soldiers in the American army in World War II for putting this question to rest" (p. 275).

The real continuity of church-and-state thought lies in society's day-to-day events — not in legal decisions nor in a formal constitutional statement.

The Ellen G. White Writings. By Arthur L. White. Washington, D. C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association 1973. pp. 192. \$2.95 (paper).

John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church. By V. Norskov Olsen. Berkeley: University of California Press 1973. xii plus pp. 264. \$11.50.

Modern Messianic Movements as a Theological and Missionary Challenge. By Gottfried Oosterwal. Elkhart, Indiana: Institute of Mennonite Studies 1973. pp. 55. \$1.00 (paper).

The Remnant. By Gerhard F. Hasel. Berrien Springs, Michigan: Andrews University Press 1972. vi plus pp. 460. \$4.90 (paper).

What Ellen White Has Meant to Me. Edited by Herbert E. Douglas. Washington, D. C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association 1973. pp. 226. \$2.95 (paper).

NEW ADVENTIST JOURNALS

Adventist Heritage: A Magazine of Adventist History. Published in cooperation with Loma Linda University Division of Religion (A. Graham Maxwell, director). Editors: Gary G. Land (Andrews University), Ronald L. Numbers (Loma Linda University), Jonathan M. Butler (Union College).

This new journal is to appear twice a year, January and July. The first issue (January 1974), with 60 pages and numerous illustrations, contains the following articles: After the Great Disappointment (David T. Arthur); Dr. Jackson's Water Cure and Its Influence on Adventist Health Reform (Ronald L. Numbers); Glimpses of Early Battle Creek (Gerald G. Herdman); When Seventh-day Adventists First Faced War:

The Problem of the Civil War (Peter Brock) ; The Perils of Prophesying: Seventh-day Adventists Interpret World War I (Gary G. Land) ; The Utopia Park Affair and the Rise of Northern Black Adventists (Joe Mesar and Tom Dybdahl) ; Heirloom: A Miller Letter (Vern Carner) ; and book reviews. *Adventist Heritage* is an exceedingly worthwhile addition to Adventist periodical literature and fills a long-vacant niche. We wish it all the success it deserves! Subscription requests (\$4.00) may be mailed to *Adventist Heritage*, Division of Religion, Loma Linda University, Loma Linda, California 92354.

Origins, a Geoscience Research Institute publication to be issued periodically, is edited by Ariel A. Roth (Loma Linda University). The first number (January 1974) of 48 pages contained the following: Why a Publication on Origins? (Ariel A. Roth) ; Towards the Development of a General Theory of Creation (Berney R. Neufeld) ; Rationalism, Empiricism, and Christianity as Philosophical Systems for Arriving at Truth (Conrad D. Clausen) ; Fossil Tree Orientation in the Chinle Formation (Arthur V. Chadwick and Leonard R. Brand) ; Famous Fossils from a Mountaintop (Harold G. Coffin) ; and two book reviews. No subscription price is given, but requests may be sent to *Origins*, Geoscience Research Institute, Loma Linda University, Loma Linda, California 92354.

AGG, Die Adventgemeinde in Geschichte und Gegenwart, is published as a series of pastoral-theological contributions by the Adventistischer Wissenschaftlicher Arbeitskreis e. V. of Germany. This organization of German Adventist academicians has published three volumes under the editorship of L. E. Träder of Darmstadt. Volume 1 (114 pages) was devoted to Biblical exegesis and Environmental Pollution ; volume 2 (129 pages) to Faith and Medicine ; and volume 3 (64 pages) to The Time of Judgment or the Judgment of Time?, a round-table discussion of the book *Zeit des Gerichts oder Gericht der Zeit* by Christian D. Schmidt, a former Seventh-day Adventist. We congratulate our fellow Adventist scientists and scholars in Germany for this fine series. No subscription price is given. The address is Adventistischer Wissenschaftlicher Arbeitskreis e. V., 61 Darmstadt-Eberstadt, Heinrich Delp-Strasse 211, Germany.

MOLLEURUS COUPERUS

LETTERS

The need and importance of the article "Are Adventists Protestants?" by Herold D. Weiss (Spring 1972) was brought home to me (although no doubt unintentionally) after the article appeared. At a church service broadcast to the public, the "Scripture" reading was a selection from the writings of Ellen White — and this alone. The implication seems to be that these writings are considered to be Scripture. As Weiss makes clear in his article (pp. 75-77), Mrs. White did not claim to exercise hermeneutical control over the Scriptures. Words and actions suggesting that Seventh-day Adventists do not accept the Protestant doctrine of "Scripture alone" should be avoided.

MIRIAM TRIPP
Berrien Springs, Michigan

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The criticisms of Maly and Minear have valid points, but neither can do justice to what really motivates Adventists. Yet, their critiques are of utmost importance to us. We badly need a challenging book on Adventist apocalyptic eschatology. I strongly believe that eschatology should not be dealt with by itself. First and foremost it must always be the way of salvation here and now. That is soteriology (from *Soter*, Saviour). Everything is related to everything else. But not everything is central or essential. The heart of all theology is personal redemption, but not in the sense of individualism. Every essay must relate its subject to the hub of the wheel. Theology without faith and redemptive experience shining through becomes a lifeless philosophy, a dead orthodoxy at best.

HANS LA RONDELLE
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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

DOROTHY BAKER (*And We Forget*) lives at Cohasset, Massachusetts, with her husband, David, and two children.

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ALAN P. DAVIES (*Three Lone Trees*) was graduated from Atlantic Union College in 1972 with a bachelor of arts degree. A previous contributor to *SPECTRUM*, he is interested in writing, modern literature, and religion.

WILFRED M. HILLOCK (*Support of the Gospel Ministry*) is chairman and associate professor of the business and economics department at Loma Linda University. This issue carries his fifth article for *SPECTRUM*.

BEN JACQUES (*Becky*) is working on writing requirements for the master of fine arts degree at the University of Arizona, Tucson. His poem on page 6 is his seventh to appear in *SPECTRUM*.

JOHN KEARNES (*The Traditions of Religious Liberty*), who earned his doctor of philosophy degree at the University of Utah in 1972, has been assistant professor of political science at Andrews University since 1971.

WILLIAM M. LANDEEN (*Martin Luther and Moses*), Loma Linda University emeritus professor of history, is a recognized Luther scholar. In addition to having earned respect as teacher and as president at three colleges, he has served also as educational secretary of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists and as representative of the U. S. government in Europe.

EDWIN R. THIELE (*Chronological Problems*), Andrews University emeritus professor of religion and philosophy, has written journal articles and a book, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, in his field of special interest. The subject of his book, which is partially covered in the article beginning on page 29, deals with Old Testament history, chronology, and archaeology.

CARL G. TULAND (*You Shall Not Kill*) has served as pastor of a number of churches and as administrator in conferences throughout the Middle East, Europe, South America, and the United States. He is the author of journal articles, booklets, and essays in several languages.

THOMAS J. ZWEMER (Reflections) is associate dean of the school of dentistry at the Medical College of Georgia. His degrees were earned from the University of Illinois and Northwestern University, and his specialty is orthodontics.



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NOW AND THEN one becomes aware of a compelling desire to express appreciation to associates whose ability, drive, quality of spirit, and other virtues help accomplish complex tasks. The act of thanking, in fact, seems to give the thanker renewed zest and to generate momentum. Although there are many advisers to whom SPECTRUM is indebted for generous assistance in areas of special knowledge, the several gifts of certain "dependables" have substantially benefited the journal regularly. Of the latter group, let it be known that the persons who deserve laurels for the preparation of this unusually difficult issue are as follows:

For the major work of organizing, crosschecking, making consistent, and keeping an eagle eye on the multitude of jots and tittles that make up the five-year index: DONNA L. ALLEN, with collaborators and critics Audrey J. Vance and Ann Louise Diamond.

For sensitive care in copyediting articles (and for special attention to stylistic matters in Edwin R. Thiele's complicated technical article): JERILYN V. EMORI.

For resourcefulness and diligence in researching citations and verifying quotations (in addition to exercising care in the critical examination of typescripts): AUDREY J. VANCE.

For preparation of the notes-on-contributors section (this issue) and participation in the painstaking attention given to typescripts: ANN LOUISE DIAMOND.

For skilled proofreading of an unusual mass of technical details: All of those already NAMED, plus Di Line Corporation's JOHN F. MORTHLAND, whose broad services to the journal include a generous complement of general editorial and printing knowhow, practicality, industriousness, and gracious concern.

For masterful typesetting (sans grumbling) and cooperation in solving sticky problems: WILLIAM A. NEWMAN (also of Di Line, where the journal is printed).

For those without whose judgment, scholarly attainments, patience, admonition, and encouragement the rest of us would falter: Editor MOLLEURUS COUPERUS and Associate Editor FRITZ GUY.

As to the shortcomings that are inevitable in such an undertaking, the buck stops at my desk.

ADA L. TURNER, Executive Editor

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