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ABSTRACT

UNCOVERING THE PROTOLOGICAL HERMENEUTICS OF GEORGE
MCCREADY PRICE AND BENJAMIN WARFIELD

by

Sergio L. Silva

Adviser: Martin F. Hanna

ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Dissertation

Andrews University

Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

Title: UNCOVERING THE PROTOLOGICAL HERMENEUTICS OF
GEORGE MCCREADY PRICE AND BENJAMIN WARFIELD

Name of researcher: Sergio Leandro Silva

Name and degree of faculty adviser: Martin Frederick Hanna, Ph.D.

Date completed: June 2017

Problem

The problem this dissertation addresses is the protological hermeneutical impasse between George McCready Price and Benjamin Warfield over whether biblical protology should be interpreted literally or symbolically in response to the evolutionary theory.

Method

To identify, compare, and contrast the protological hermeneutics of George McCready Price and Benjamin Warfield, this dissertation adopts an interdisciplinary methodology that seeks to integrate historical theology, systematic theology, and exegetical-biblical theology.

Conclusions

The protological hermeneutical impasse between George McCready Price and Benjamin Warfield over the interpretation of biblical protology was caused by how they applied their views on epistemology. On the hermeneutical level (where ontology, metaphysics, and epistemology inform interpretation), Price held to the meaning of the biblical text interpreted through Scripture alone, and not based on external sources of protological knowledge. While Warfield held that Scripture is “the end of all strife,” he held to an interpretation of the biblical text contingent on the interpretations of nature by mainstream science.

This research indicates many similarities between these two thinkers, bringing to an end a two-decades-long misconception that Warfield’s views on science were superior to Price’s views on science. In fact, they held similar views on science (i.e., its definition, task, etc.). In addition, they both agreed that: God is not timeless and he communicates with humankind through reason; “the heavens and the earth” (i.e., the entire galactic universe) might have been created more than six thousand years ago; Genesis 1:2a is a description of the condition of the earth after the creation of inorganic matter and prior to the beginning of the creation week; the seventh day of the creation week is the foundation of the Sabbath (they disagreed on the actual day of observance—Saturday vs. Sunday); and they both understood the biblical flood in Genesis 6-8 as a historical event.

This research also challenged the claim that Price is the founder of modern Scientific Creationism. This idea was popularized by two historians who wanted to link Price to Fundamentalism—a term generally used pejoratively—to delegitimize Price’s contribution to theology and to science, and to uplift Warfield. However, this research showed that neither Price nor Warfield are Fundamentalists.

The research also showed that the current categorization of the Creationist Movement in the West is obsolete and needs to be updated. The Old Earth vs. Young Earth can no longer account for the views of proponents of biblical protology. The Undated Earth Creation Movement must be included in a landmark publication.

Altogether, these findings can facilitate a renewed dialogue about the relationship between theology and science in the writings of Price and Warfield, their interpretations of biblical protology, the history of the Creationist Movement in the West, and the contributions of their protological hermeneutics to contemporary Christian theology.

Andrews University
Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

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MCCREADY PRICE AND BENJAMIN WARFIELD

A Dissertation
Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

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June 2017

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Sergio Leandro Silva

APPROVAL BY THE COMMITTEE:

Faculty Adviser
Martin Hanna
Associate Professor of Theology

Director of Ph.D./Th.D. Programs
Thomas Shepherd

Richard M. Davidson
Professor of Old Testament

Dean, SDA Theological Seminary
Jiri Moskala

John T. Baldwin
Professor of Theology

Cedric Vine
Associate Professor of New Testament

Warren Johns, PhD, MS, MLS, MDiv
Theological Librarian (retired)
Loma Linda University

Date approved

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

2SBC	Two Stage Biblical Creation Theory
AGC	Active Gap Creation
ANE	Ancient Near Eastern
COD	Conservative Opponents of Darwinism
COED	Concise Oxford English Dictionary
CPE	Conservative Proponent of Evolution
DC	Dynamic Creation
GRI	Geoscience Research Institute
HL	Hermeneutical Level
ICR	Institute for Creation Research
LPD	Liberal Proponents of Darwinism
ML	Material Level in Hermeneutics
NT	New Testament
OEC	Old Earth Creationism
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OPS	Old Princeton School
OT	Old Testament
PGC	Passive Gap Creation

PUC	Pacific Union College
SC	Scientific Creationism
SCSR	Scottish Common Sense Realism
SDA	Seventh-day Adventist
TE	Theistic Evolution
TL	Teleological Level in Hermeneutics
TWBBW	The Works of Benjamin B. Warfield. 20 vols. Logos Bible Software.
UEC	Undated Earth Creation
WCFA	World's Christian Fundamentals Association
WCF	Westminster Confession of Faith
YEC	Young Earth Creationism

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To write a doctoral dissertation is nothing less than pursuing a “Big Hairy Audacious Goal” (BHAG).¹ I am grateful I had a dissertation committee willing to stand beside me while working on my BHAG. Each committee member contributed in unique ways, sharing their expertise and vast experience to help me reach my goal. John Baldwin, on the one hand, introduced me to the works of George McCready Price. He also guided me through the process of understanding both sides of the dialogue between science and religion, and helped me to remain a firm believer in God’s complementary revelations. Martin Hanna, on the other hand, introduced me to the works of Benjamin Warfield and then patiently guided me through the process of crafting concise and clear statements for the dissertation. Not only this, but he also stretched my mind as I struggled to comprehend and explain the philosophical components of various hermeneutical methods. Last but not least, Richard Davidson challenged and inspired me with his diligent study of Scripture and his ability to be faithful to his tradition and the text.

Next, I am grateful to Andrews University and its various departments. To the James White Library, in particular to Jason St. Clair and Silas Oliveira, for their commitment and thoroughness when searching for and acquiring rare sources. To Terry Robertson for sharing his expertise in research, databases, and Endnote. To the

¹ James C. Collins and Jerry I. Porras, *Built to Last: Successful Habits of Visionary Companies* (New York, NY: Collins Business Essentials, 2002), 32.

dissertation secretaries, whose editorial skills helped in polishing this document. To Thomas Shepherd, director of the PhD/ThD Department, for his steady support, his commitment to students, and to fruitful scholarship.

Next, I am grateful to my family. To my mother, Ilma, for giving me the chance to live, for imbedding within me the desire to seek knowledge, and for setting the example of a life of persistence to pursue happiness regardless of the circumstances. To my mother-in-law, Josefina (In Memoriam), for her love and commitment to her family; for living a beautiful life, full of joy, and for raising the woman through whom the LORD showed me his favor (Prov 18:22). To my beautiful wife, Cedilia, for believing in me, for being my best friend, for being patient, and for enduring countless hours of theological discourse as I grasped for understanding. To my sons, Matheus and Gabriel, for encouraging me to take breaks to reset my brain; and for reminding me—without using words—that they are meant to be the most important achievement of my life.

Finally, I am ever so grateful to the One who created me in His image and likeness. To the One who rescued me from a futile life in which there is neither higher nor ultimate meaning. To the One who died on the cross of Calvary to save me. To the One who faithfully walks with me, even when I struggle to walk with Him. To the One who was raised on the first day to give me hope. To the One who ascended to heaven and sits on the throne. To the One who has promised to come again. To the One who is the beginning and the end. To You, LORD, be all the honor and all the glory.

:יְהוָה: אֱלֹהִים Ἐμμανουήλ. Ἰησοῦς. τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Biblical protology¹ has been significantly impacted by the writings of two unique thinkers: George McCready Price and Benjamin Warfield. The first, author and educator George McCready Price, was born in New Brunswick, Canada, on August 26, 1870. He began his career as a shadowy, self-published writer, but became the greatest of the antievolutionists, at least until the middle of the twentieth century.² The second was also an author and an educator. Benjamin Warfield was born near Lexington, Kentucky, on November 5, 1851. He began his career as a professor of New Testament at the Western Theological Seminary in Allegheny, Pennsylvania, and became the chair of the theology department at Princeton University, where he taught for more than thirty years, becoming one of the greatest theological minds of the twentieth century.³

¹ The English noun “protology” comes from the Greek *protos* + *logia* and it means “the study of the origin of things.” *Dictionary.com*, s.v. “Protology.” The word “protology” has been used in connection with the Old Testament writings before. See, Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*, trans., John H. Marks, The Old Testament Library (London: SCM Press, 1961), 99. In this research, the term “biblical protology” is a reference to the study of origins as described in Genesis 1-11. As far as I can tell, the earliest use of “biblical protology” is found in James E. Smith, *Biblical Protology* (Raleigh, NC: Lulu.com, 2007). See also, James E. Smith, *In the Beginning: Commentary on Genesis 1-3* (Raleigh, NC: Lulu.com, 2016).

² Martin Gardner, *Fads and Fallacies in the Name of Science* (New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1957), 127. Quoted favorably in Ronald L. Numbers, *The Creationists*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: A. A. Knopf, 1992), 73.

³ Ethelbert D. Warfield, “Biographical Sketch of Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield,” in *Revelation and Inspiration*, of The Works of Benjamin B. Warfield (Bellingham, WA: Logos Research Systems, 2008), vii.

Both Price and Warfield actively participated in the discussion of how to interpret the biblical account of creation. Price, on the one hand, was puzzled by what he regarded as irreconcilable differences between biblical protology and the Darwinian theory of evolution.⁴ Warfield, on the other hand, thought that biblical protology and the theory of evolution were compatible and that the correct interpretation of Genesis 1:1-2:4a could lead to the harmonization of biblical protology and the interpretation of nature by mainstream science.⁵ It is perplexing, however, that throughout their careers Price and Warfield claimed to have a high view of Scripture, and yet their protological hermeneutical methods⁶ produced different interpretations of Genesis 1:1-2:4a. The

⁴ Throughout this research I use the term “evolution” and “evolutionary theory” to describe change or development within a specie (i.e., microevolution). It is not a reference to Darwinian evolution or Darwinism. Nowadays, the latter means descent with modification from a common ancestor and describes “a theory of the origin and perpetuation of new species of animals and plants, that offspring of a given organism vary, that natural selection favors the survival of some of these variations over others, that new species have arisen and may continue to arise by these processes, and that widely divergent groups of plants and animals have arisen from the same ancestors.” *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 11th ed. (2003), s.v. “Darwinism.” In a more detailed explanation of the term “evolution” Plantinga says: “The term [evolution] covers a multitude. . . . (1) There is the claim that the earth is very old, perhaps some 4.5 billion years old: the ancient earth thesis, as we may call it. (2) There is the claim that life has progressed from relatively simple to relatively complex forms. . . . (3) There is the thesis of descent with modification: the enormous diversity of the contemporary living world has come about by way of off-spring differing, ordinarily in small and subtle ways, from their parents. . . . Connected with the thesis of descent with modification is (4) the common ancestry thesis: that life originated at only one place on earth, all subsequent life being related by descent to those original living creatures—the claim that, as Gould puts it, there is a ‘tree of evolutionary descent linking all organisms by ties of genealogy. . . .’ (5) There is the claim that there is a naturalistic mechanism driving this process of descent with modification: the most popular candidate is natural selection operating on random genetic mutation, although some other processes are also sometimes proposed. . . . Finally (although this thesis is not part of evolution strictly so-called), it is often assumed that (6) life itself developed from nonliving matter without any special creative activity of God but just by virtue of processes described by the ordinary laws of physics and chemistry: call this the naturalistic origins thesis.” Alvin Plantinga, *Where the Conflict Really Lies: Science, Religion, and Naturalism* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 8-10.

⁵ Richard T. Wright, *Biology through the Eyes of Faith*, 1st ed. (San Francisco, CA: Harper, 1989), 84-92.

⁶ I am designating the term “protological hermeneutical method” to refer to the method used to interpret (i.e., hermeneutical) Genesis 1-11. It is a combination of the technical terms “protological” + “hermeneutic.” The first technical term is “protological,” which means “concerned with or relating to

historical background to the issue they addressed can clarify the theological context in which Price and Warfield developed their work.

Historical Background

For centuries, in Western civilization, Christians understood biblical protology in a fairly unified manner, accepting the existence of a creator.⁷ Even though the idea of evolution was known in some circles for about two thousand years, most Christians had accepted that the world was created just a few thousand years earlier.⁸

Gradually, however, with the spreading of modernism⁹ and secularism¹⁰ in the Western world, the notion of a recent creation was replaced by Darwinian evolution and a

origins or beginnings.” *Oxforddictionaries.com*, s.v. "Protological." (See also footnote 1). The other technical term is “hermeneutic.” It derives from the Greek *hermeneuō*, which means, “to explain, interpret.” Cairns defines hermeneutic as “the science of Bible interpretation.” Alan Cairns, *Dictionary of Theological Terms* (Greenville, SC: Ambassador Emerald International, 2002), 207.

⁷ See detailed history of the interpretation of Genesis 1:1-2:3 see, Andrew J. Brown, *The Days of Creation: A History of Christian Interpretation of Genesis 1:1-2:3*, History of Biblical Interpretation Series, (Dorset, England: Deo Publishing, 2014).

⁸ Colin W. Mitchell, *Creationism Revisited* (Grantham, UK: Autumn House, 1999), 17–33. Additional information on the history of the creation and evolution dialog can be found in John C. Greene, *The Death of Adam: Evolution and Its Impact on Western Thought*, rev. ed. (Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 1996). For a critical view on this subject, see Norman Cohn, *Noah's Flood: The Genesis Story in Western Thought* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996).

⁹ Cairns affirms that liberalism is “the theological movement also known as modernism. Liberalism denotes the movement’s free criticism of all theological claims. In effect, it is freedom from all restraint imposed by any theological a priori, meaning that any Biblical doctrine is open to be denied. Modernism denotes its preference for the new. . . . It is a movement which from its inception—usually attributed to Schleiermacher, though its roots go back much further—fully embraced the so-called ‘findings’ of higher criticism, repudiating the doctrines of divine revelation and inspiration, since, according to their theories, the Bible had been disproved at many points by modern scientific investigation.” Cairns, *Dictionary of Theological Terms*, 263.

¹⁰ Secularism is “A philosophy which attempts to achieve human betterment without reference to God or religion. It is based on the assumption that materialism is true. It is thus mancentred, materialistic, and temporally oriented. It is expressed in modern man’s trust in science over God and in his preoccupation with this world over the world to come.” *Ibid.*, 410.

concept of deep time.¹¹ As explained by S. Toulmin and J. Goodfield, “in reconstructing the history of Nature, . . . there was no real progress until the nineteenth century, and at once the enterprise collided head-on with biblical preconceptions dear to many Christians. Yet the issues involved were not new. They had already taken shape in broad outline early in the Christian era.”¹²

The articulation and development of evolutionary theory, which culminated with Darwinism, is not the accomplishment of only one individual. In essence, evolutionary theory arose over a period of thousands of years, and may be traced back to the Greek philosopher Heraclitus of Ephesus (c. 540-480 B.C.) who claimed that in nature, “everything flows.”¹³ Through an extensive process of philosophical and scientific refinement, the evolutionary theory as proposed by Charles Darwin in *The Origin of Species* (1859) became a key motivator for changing the thinking of society on questions of biblical protology. In fact, it has been suggested that Darwinian “evolution in the mid-nineteenth century caused such a change.”¹⁴

As the Darwinian worldview¹⁵ spread throughout the Western world, Christianity

¹¹ Deep time is “the multimillion year time frame within which scientists believe the earth has existed, and which is supported by the observation of natural, mostly geological, phenomena.” *New Oxford American Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (2010), s.v. “Deep Time.”

¹² Stephen E. Toulmin and June Goodfield, *The Discovery of Time* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1965), 55.

¹³ Jostein Gaarder, *Sophie's World: A Novel About the History of Philosophy*, Kindle ed. (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2007), 36.

¹⁴ Mitchell, *Creationism*, 29.

¹⁵ A worldview is “the philosophical or theological spectacles through which we view the world and all reality; the framework within which we interpret the data of the world and of life. A Christian worldview uses the Biblical revelation as the foundation for a proper understanding of the nature and purpose of our existence. That revelation establishes divine truth about God, man, sin, salvation, purpose,

felt its greatest effect in terms of calls for the reinterpretation of the Genesis account of creation and flood. The old worldview, which attributed life on earth to the actions of a creator as described in Genesis 1:1-2:4a, and attributed the fossil record to the Noachian flood in Genesis 6-8, was no longer viewed as tenable.¹⁶ Consequently, Christian thinkers in the Western world reacted in different ways to the Darwinian worldview.

For example, from Europe, Adam Sedgwick (1785-1873), a professor at Cambridge University, announced in 1831 during his last address to the Geological Society as acting president, his recantation and abandonment of the deluge theory. Sedgwick declared,

Bearing upon this difficult question, there is, I think, one great negative conclusion now incontestably established—that the vast masses of diluvial gravel, scattered almost over the surface of the earth, do not belong to one violent and transitory period. . . . Our errors were, however, natural, and of the same kind which led many excellent observers of a former century to refer all the secondary formations of geology to the Noachian deluge. Having been myself a believer, and, to the best of my power, a propagator of what I now regard as a philosophic heresy, and having more than once been quoted for opinions I do not now maintain, I think it right, as one of my last acts before I quit this Chair, thus publicly to read my recantation.¹⁷

Another European Christian thinker who responded to the theory of evolution was

and our destiny. Thus both our belief and our behavior are governed not by changeable theories, but by God's immutable truth." Cairns, *Dictionary of Theological Terms*, 528.

¹⁶ Oard and Walker propose that as a result of the Age of Enlightenment, "Noah's flood was rejected [as were all the narratives in Genesis 1-11] not because of factual data or superior reasoning, but because the biblical account fell out of favor with the intellectual elite." Michael J. Oard and Tas Walker, *Flood by Design: Receding Water Shapes the Earth's Surface* (Green Forest, AR: Master Books, 2008), 20. Critical scholars, however, claim that the story of the biblical flood should be rejected because that is nothing more than a story "inspired by Mesopotamian experiences of flood[s] [which] was adapted to reflect the experience and aspirations of Judaeans exiled in Mesopotamia or recently returned from Mesopotamia. Not an unfamiliar notion nowadays, but it may be worth noting what a relatively new notion it is. Nobody could have entertained it before 1872." Cohn, *Noah's Flood: The Genesis Story in Western Thought*, 18-19.

¹⁷ Geological Society of London, *Proceedings of the Geological Society of London: November 1826 to June 1833*, Vol. 1 (London: Richard Taylor, 1834), 313.

Friedrich D. E. Schleiermacher (1768-1834), known as the father of modern or liberal theology.¹⁸ Schleiermacher wrote in a letter to his friend Lücke (1829), that the only alternative for theology to subsist was to accommodate itself to science, because of the undeniable scientific evidences uncovered by scientists. Schleiermacher asks, “How long will the concept of creation hold out against the power of a world view constructed from undeniable scientific conclusions that no one can avoid?”¹⁹ Then he continues, “I thought I should show as best I could that every dogma that truly represents an element of our Christian consciousness can be so formulated that it remains free from entanglements with science. I set this task for myself especially in my treatment of the doctrines of creation and preservation . . . [so]that science needs not declare war against us.”²⁰

In America, because of the advancement of theological modernism and secularism, Fundamentalism²¹ emerged and urged Christians to uphold the biblical account of origins and to oppose theological modernism and secularism, of which Darwinism was a key component. Henceforth, Christian thinkers in America grew divided in relation to

¹⁸ McKim notes that “Schleiermacher is often called the father of modern theology or the father of liberal theology, and he is best remembered for his pioneering systematic theology, *The Christian Faith* (1st ed. 1821–1822; 2d ed. 1830–1831).” Donald K. McKim, *Historical Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1998), 350. Additional information supporting this view can be found in Cairns, *Dictionary of Theological Terms*, 109; Moisés Silva, ed. *Foundations of Contemporary Interpretation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1996), 84. A different view is portrayed by Berkouwer. He claims that J. H. Scholten (1811-1885), is the “the father of modern theology.” G. C. Berkouwer, *General Revelation*, Studies in Dogmatics (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmann, 1955), 121.

¹⁹ Friedrich Schleiermacher and Friedrich Lücke, *On the Glaubenslehre: Two Letters to Dr. Lücke* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), 61.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 64.

²¹ “The term Fundamentalism came into use in 1920 as a description of the position of the anti-modernist party. . . . It then became the popular name for the evangelical theology of those in various Protestant denominations who were militantly opposed to the modernism that was then taking over the major denominations of America. Thus from the beginning a Fundamentalist was an evangelical on a crusade against modernistic attacks on the faith. . . .” Cairns, *Dictionary of Theological Terms*, 188.

these issues, especially the issue of how evolution relates to biblical protology.²² By the end of the nineteenth century, three groups of Christians coalesced. The largest group, the “Liberal Proponents of Darwinism” (LPD)²³ chose to embrace Darwinian evolution. The other two groups, which I am designating as the “conservative opponents of Darwinism” and the “conservative proponents of evolution,” are described further below.

The “Conservative Opponents of Darwinism”²⁴ (COD), rejected Darwin’s theory because it did not square with Scripture.²⁵ They insisted that, in order to maintain a coherent theological system and preserve the biblical teachings of “the trinity, the resurrection, the sacrifice of the cross, even all miracles, and [the] authority of inspiration or even revelation,” (hereafter referred to as the essential doctrines of Christianity),²⁶ Christians would have to embrace a literal protological hermeneutic for reading and

²² Mark A. Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994), 180-181.

²³ The “liberal proponents of Darwinism” (LPD) are individuals who choose to adopt “higher criticism” as part of their hermeneutical method to read and interpret the Bible. That implies that LPD’s theology is subjected to the propositions of science (as commonly understood). In this sense, the early chapters of Genesis, the biblical accounts of miracles, and the incarnation of Christ and his resurrection were viewed as the product of Jewish culture instead of the product of inspired revelation.

²⁴ I use the term “conservative opponents of Darwinism” (COD) to refer to any individuals who choose to accept a simple, literal reading of the biblical account of creation. In this sense, when the text says, “for in six days the LORD made heaven and earth” (Exod 20:11), a COD understands that the creation week described in Genesis 1:3 passim, occurred recently in a period of six literal, consecutive days, of approximately twenty-four hours. The claim that life on earth is young (i.e., 6-10 thousand years), is based on the interpretation of Genesis 5 and 11—also known as chronogenealogies. For a brief discussion on this subject see, Gerhard F. Hasel, “The Meaning of the Chronogenealogies of Genesis 5 and 11,” *Origins*, 1980, 23-37.

²⁵ Noll suggests the issue was related to the interpretation of Scripture and not with the Scripture itself. *Ibid.*

²⁶ George McCready Price, *God's Two Books or Plain Facts About Evolution, Geology and the Bible* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1918), 23.

interpreting the early chapters of Genesis.²⁷ Such a hermeneutical method would have to (1) promote a high view of Scripture as a source of theology, (2) be followed by a literal interpretation of biblical protology, and (3) preserve the historicity of the biblical record.²⁸

Among the most noteworthy figures in this group was George McCready Price (1870-1963), a proponent of flood geology,²⁹ and a reviver of two-stage creation.³⁰ He

²⁷ Vanhoozer says that literal interpretation “attends to what authors are doing in tending to their words in a certain way. . . . Literal interpretation seeks understanding by determining the nature and content of the literary act. . . . Taking the Bible literally means, . . . taking it as testimony to Jesus Christ. The canon is a corporate communicative act of witness to something real and historical. . . .” Kevin J. Vanhoozer, *Is There a Meaning in This Text? The Bible, the Reader, and the Morality of Literary Knowledge* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1998), 311. See also pages 455-457.

²⁸ Canale defines these elements as *Material, Hermeneutical, and Teleological Levels*. Fernando L. Canale, *Creation, Evolution, and Theology* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2005), 96-109.

²⁹ Numbers, *The Creationists*, xi. Flood geology “is the view that the tremendous natural forces unleashed by the flood at the time of Noah (Gen 6–9) significantly altered the face of the earth. . . . This view also claims that the flood deposited fossils in layers of incredibly thick sediment all over the earth. The flood geology view . . . attribute most of the present geological status of the earth to the immense catastrophe of the flood.” Wayne A. Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Biblical Doctrine* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1994), 306.

³⁰ Price explains, “And it may be well to remember that the record in Genesis has not put the least direct limit upon our imaginations in accounting for the manner of our world’s formation. It only says: ‘In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep.’ This, be it clearly understood, and as other writers have so clearly pointed out, was before the six days of our world’s creation proper began. The six literal days of creation, or peopling our world with life forms, begin with verse 3. They begin with the whole body of our world already in existence. How long it had been formed before this we are not told, and whether by a slow or rapid process we have no information.” George McCready Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science* (Oakland, CA: Pacific Press, 1902), 112. Thomas P. Arnold has compiled into one creation theory entitled *Two Stage Biblical Creation*, that which he regards as the biblically supported arguments given by the other ten theories of creation. He has failed, however, to recognize the works and contributions made by Price as a key reviver of biblical creation in two stages. Thomas P. Arnold, *Two Stage Biblical Creation: Uniting Biblical Insights Uncovered by Ten Notable Creation Theories* (Arlington Heights, IL: Thomas Arnold Publishing, 2008), 339-426. Noteworthy is that Brown has traced the interpretation of biblical creation in two stages to at least the Patristic Era. Regrettably, this is something that neither Ronald Numbers nor Mark Noll acknowledged in their writings. For information see, Brown, *The Days of Creation: A History of Christian Interpretation of Genesis 1:1-2:3*, History of Biblical Interpretation Series, (Dorset, England: Deo Publishing, 2014), 31-33, 37.

opposed interpretations that sought to accommodate³¹ biblical protology to scientific theories, and insisted that this kind of interpretation attacks the essential doctrines of Christianity. Price concluded,

But the plain biblical Christian cannot help regarding [the] day-period theory of creation as anything else than a libel on Moses. To say that the days of creation mentioned there were meant for long periods of time, corresponding to the geological epochs, is . . . only trifling with language. It not only strikes at the very basis of the Sabbath, but, by its forced and unnatural method of “interpretation” it has been the principal cause of the development of the “Higher Criticism”. . . which is eating at the very vitals of modern orthodox Protestantism.³²

Conversely, the “Conservative Proponents of Evolution” (CPE)³³ sought to interpret Scripture in light of modern science.³⁴ They argued that “it was possible to affirm evolution within the boundaries of historic Christian doctrines.”³⁵ In order to do so, a CPE was required to adopt a hermeneutical method that (1) promoted a high view of

³¹ By “accommodate” I mean “to interpret Scripture in light of modern science.”

³² Price stresses that “in the whole field of scientific study there is to-day nothing else of such tremendous importance and far-reaching consequences as is the determination whether these successive ages are scientific fact or mere speculation.” Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 125-126.

³³ The term “conservative proponents of evolution” (CPE) refers to any individual who accepts Darwinian evolutionary theory and claims to read the Bible in a literal fashion, but chooses to accommodate his/her views to whatever challenges science may bring to the literal reading of the biblical text. Thus, when the text says “in six days,” if the letter of the text conflicts with geological assumptions, for example, a CPE understands the word “day” (יָמִים) to render the meaning of a long age, accommodating the biblical text to geological assumptions.

³⁴ “As the Bible is of God, it is certain that there can be no conflict between the teachings of the Scriptures and the facts of science. It is not with facts, but with theories, believers have to contend. Many such theories have, from time to time, been presented, apparently or really inconsistent with the Bible. But these theories have either proved to be false, or to harmonize with the Word of God, properly interpreted.” Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, Abridged ed., 3 vols. (Oak Harbor, WA: Logos Research Systems, 1997), 1:573.

³⁵ Noll, *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 180-181.

Scripture as a source of theology, (2) followed a symbolic³⁶ interpretation of biblical protology, (3) all with a clear purpose of harmonizing Scripture with mainstream science's interpretation of nature.

A noteworthy member of the CPE group was Benjamin Warfield (1851-1921), an architect of the term “inerrancy”³⁷ which was a “key fundamentalist doctrine [proposing] that Scripture did not err in any of its assertions.”³⁸ Surprisingly, and in spite of the fact that Warfield is considered an “orthodox Bible-believer”³⁹ who claimed that the Bible is “a fully credible ‘Thus saith the Lord,’ ”⁴⁰ he argued “that evolution and creation were not opposites.”⁴¹ “We raise no question as to the compatibility of the Darwinian form of

³⁶ I use the term “symbolic hermeneutic method” to describe biblical interpreters “who say that we should interpret Scripture symbolically [and] do so in order to deny the reality of a scriptural truth or a historical event,” when interpreting Genesis 1-11. J. Scott and J. Daniel Hays Duvall, *Grasping God's Word: A Hands-on Approach to Reading, Interpreting, and Applying the Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2005), 291.

³⁷ Vanhoozer explains that “in 1881 (the same year that Westcott and Hort published their critical text of the NT), Archibald. A. Hodge [son of Charles Hodge] and Warfield argued jointly in the *Presbyterian Review* that the ‘original autographs’ of the Bible were without error. This position became the hallmark of the doctrine of ‘inerrancy’ a nineteenth-century neologism that was taken up by conservative Presbyterians during the 1890s and probably contributed to the emergence of fundamentalism in the first decade of the twentieth century.” Kevin J. Vanhoozer *et al.*, eds., *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), 621.

³⁸ George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1991), 156.

³⁹ Morris says: “Certain very popular religious leaders of the day who were believed to be orthodox Bible-believers, . . . even such stalwarts as B. B. Warfield and A. H. Strong—known as strong defenders of the faith—capitulated to evolution.” Henry M. Morris, *A History of Modern Creationism* (San Diego, CA: Master Books, 1984), 42-43. For more information on Warfield's understanding of the relationship between creation and evolution, see Noll, *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 206-207. Benjamin B. Warfield, “Calvin's Doctrine of the Creation,” in *Calvin and Calvinism*, 10 vols., The Works of Benjamin B. Warfield, (Bellingham, WA: Logos Research Systems, 2008), 287-349.

⁴⁰ “What we are to accept as the truth of God is a comparatively easy question, if we can open our Bibles with the confident belief that what we read there is commended to us by a fully credible ‘Thus saith the Lord.’ ” Benjamin B. Warfield, “The Real Problem of Inspiration,” in *Revelation and Inspiration*, 10 vols., The Works of Benjamin B. Warfield, (Bellingham, WA: Logos Research Systems, 2008), 181.

⁴¹ Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, 156.

the hypothesis of evolution with Christianity”⁴² he wrote, while also maintaining that evolution was not to be seen as “a substitute for creation, but at best [something that] can supply only a theory of the method of the divine providence.”⁴³ Warfield concluded,

The question of the antiquity of man has of itself no theological significance. It is to theology, as such, a matter of entire indifference how long man has existed on earth. It is only because of the contrast which has been drawn between the short period which seems to be allotted to human history in the biblical narrative, and the tremendously long period which certain schools of scientific speculation have assigned to the duration of human life on earth, that theology has become interested in the topic at all. . . . The Bible does not assign a brief span to human history: this is done only by a particular mode of interpreting the biblical data, which is found on examination to rest on no solid basis.⁴⁴

To put it more simply, when reading the Genesis account of creation, a CPE like Warfield had no difficulties in using a symbolic hermeneutical method that allowed for the reinterpretation and accommodation of biblical protology to evolutionary theory. This well-known practice among fundamentalists⁴⁵ became an integral element of Warfield’s hermeneutical method.

Christian scholars continue to be divided on how to read and interpret biblical protology. As I have shown above, after the shift of worldview that occurred in the mid-nineteenth century, CPEs have continually insisted that, because “there can be no conflict between the teachings of the Scriptures and the facts of science,”⁴⁶ Christians should

⁴² Benjamin B. Warfield, “Charles Darwin’s Religious Life: A Sketch in Spiritual Biography,” in *Studies in Theology*, 10 vols., The Works of Benjamin B. Warfield, (Bellingham, WA: Logos Research Systems, 2008), 548.

⁴³ Warfield, “On the Antiquity and the Unity of the Human Race,” 235.

⁴⁴ Warfield, “On the Antiquity and the Unity of the Human Race,” 235-236.

⁴⁵ Noll, *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 189.

⁴⁶ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1:573.

reinterpret the protological section of the Bible by using a methodology that excludes the literal hermeneutical method. In opposition, CODs have claimed that a symbolic interpretation of biblical protology is an attack on the essential doctrines of Christianity. Therefore, Christians should insist on the use of a protological hermeneutic that maintains the literal interpretation of biblical protology, thus preserving Christianity's essential doctrines.

In light of these assertions and the fact that scholars recognize biblical protology as “the interpretive foundation of all Scripture,”⁴⁷ a study addressing the protological hermeneutical impasse between Price and Warfield is timely and requires further consideration.

Statement of the Problem

The problem this dissertation addresses is the protological hermeneutical impasse between George McCready Price and Benjamin Warfield over whether biblical protology should be interpreted literally or symbolically in response to the evolutionary theory.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this dissertation is to identify, compare, and contrast the protological hermeneutics of George McCready Price and Benjamin Warfield.

Justification

This study is justified primarily by the negative implications a faulty protological hermeneutical method can bring upon the essential doctrines of Christianity. After all,

⁴⁷ John Rankin, “Power and Gender at the Divinity School,” in *Finding God at Harvard: Spiritual Journeys of Christian Thinkers*, ed. Kelly Monroe, (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1996), 203.

scholars have recognized protology as “the interpretive foundation of all Scripture.”⁴⁸

Second, there is a need to respond to the allegation that the protology of George McCready Price has “preserved a misguided Baconianism for [interpreting] the Bible,”⁴⁹ which has contributed to the “scandal of the mind” in the twentieth century.⁵⁰ Third, given the fact that Benjamin Warfield and George McCready Price had conservative views of Scripture, there is a need to verify why Warfield’s protological hermeneutical method resulted in the endorsement of a creation model that was opposed by Price.

Finally, this study is justified by the fact that no scholarly research has been

⁴⁸ Rankin, “Power and Gender at the Divinity School,” 203.

⁴⁹ To put it simply, if “a healthy Baconianism” can reveal what is truth in science through extensive empirical experiment, then “a misguided Baconianism” is to apply speculation without direct empirical proof or deductions from speculative principles, to suggest that the biblical account of creation and flood can be confirmed by science. Noll claims that “an odd combination of creationist profession and creationist practice actually fosters a stunted ability to perceive the world of nature. The profession is to be Baconian in intellectual procedure; the practice is to misapply Baconianism with respect to Scripture and to abandon it with respect to nature.” That occurs because “Creationists regularly reaffirm the principles of Baconian science: no speculation without direct empirical proof, no deductions from speculative principles, no science without extensive empirical evidence. The tragedy is that creationists preserve a misguided Baconianism for the Bible and abandon a healthy Baconianism for science. . . . The result is a twofold tragedy. First, millions of evangelicals think they are defending the Bible by defending creation science, but in reality they are giving ultimate authority to the merely temporal, situated, and contextualized interpretations of the Bible that arose from the mania for science of the early nineteenth century. Second, with that predisposition, evangelicals lost the ability to look at nature as it was and so lost out on the opportunity to understand more about nature as it is.” Noll, *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 198.

⁵⁰ Noll claims that “the scandal of the evangelical mind is that there is not much of an evangelical mind. . . . [That is because] American evangelicals are not exemplary for their thinking, and they have not been so for several generations. . . . Modern American evangelicals have failed notably in sustaining serious intellectual life. . . . Evangelical inattention to intellectual life is a curiosity for several reasons. One of the self-defining convictions of modern evangelicalism has been its adherence to the Bible as the revealed Word of God. Most evangelicals also acknowledge that in the Scriptures God stands revealed plainly as the author of nature, as the sustainer of human institutions (family, work, and government), and as the source of harmony, creativity, and beauty. Yet it has been precisely these Bible-believers par excellence who have neglected sober analysis of nature, human society, and the arts. . . . *The much more important matter is what it means to think like a Christian about the nature and workings of the physical world, the character of human social structures like government and the economy, the meaning of the past, the nature of artistic creation, and the circumstances attending our perception of the world outside ourselves. Failure to exercise the mind for Christ in these areas has become acute in the twentieth century. That failure is the scandal of the evangelical mind.*” Ibid., 3. Emphasis supplied.

conducted to specifically identify, compare, and contrast the protological hermeneutical methods of George McCready Price and Benjamin Warfield.

Methodology

This dissertation will adopt an interdisciplinary methodology, which seeks to integrate historical theology, systematic theology, and exegetical-biblical theology.⁵¹

With this in mind, the chapters in this dissertation will be structured as follows:

After the introduction in Chapter 1, and in order to proceed from the perspective of historical theology, the second chapter will use a synchronic method⁵² to describe the works of selected thinkers who influenced the interpretation of biblical protology, and helped to construct the philosophical and theological context in which Price and Warfield stood. Simultaneously, I will provide a descriptive analysis of the religious condition in America during the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century. This will allow me to take into account the emergence of Fundamentalism in America, and to address the question of how this particular religious movement relates to the development of Price's and Warfield's theology, especially their protological hermeneutics. In the final section

⁵¹ For information on exegetical-biblical theology see Walter C. Kaiser, *Toward an Exegetical Theology: Biblical Exegesis for Preaching and Teaching* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1981).

⁵² I use the term "synchronic method" in this dissertation as the result of the combination of the great thinker and the diachronic historical methods. In short, the great thinker method traces how a particular thinker understood a particular doctrine and how he/she dealt with the issues. The diachronic method traces how a particular doctrine developed throughout history, and what issues impacted its development. In the context of biblical protology, a synchronic method will consider how a particular thinker understood biblical creation, and how he/she dealt with the issues surrounding this doctrine. The diachronic method will consider how the doctrine of biblical creation developed throughout history, and what issues impacted its development. For a description of the most common methods of historical research, and an alternative description of the "synchronic method" see James E. Bradley and Richard A. Muller, *Church History: An Introduction to Research, Reference Works, and Methods* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 26-32.

of the second chapter, I will present a description of the most popular creationist movements and models to explain biblical protology, which will show how Price and Warfield related to the general consensus about creation in their time.

Next, proceeding from the perspective of systematic theology and exegetical-biblical theology, the third and fourth chapters will begin with a biographical section about Price and Warfield followed by a section providing a descriptive analysis of the theological and philosophical influences⁵³ that formed their protological hermeneutical methods. In most cases, these theological and philosophical influences were the “historic and contemporary figures who have exercised powerful, formative influences over their interpretation of Scripture.”⁵⁴ But in a few cases, these figures and/or philosophies have functioned as normative over Price’s and Warfield’s interpretation of Scripture. Whatever the case might be, a descriptive analysis will allow me to find out whether these influences functioned as formative and/or normative to their hermeneutics.⁵⁵ Then, I will provide a descriptive analysis of selected writings of George McCready Price and Benjamin Warfield in which they addressed the biblical text in Genesis 1-11. The topics I

⁵³ “Theological and philosophical influences” in this dissertation refer to the roles of Scripture, Evolutionary theory, Fundamentalism, Ellen G. White, and Charles Hodge, in the development of Price’s and Warfield’s protological hermeneutics.

⁵⁴ Woodrow W. Whidden, “Sola Scriptura, Inerrantist Fundamentalism, and the Wesleyan Quadrilateral: Is “No Creed but the Bible” a Workable Solution?,” *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 35, no. 2 (1997): 213. I use the term “formative” in this dissertation to describe influences that informed or guided Price’s and Warfield’s protological hermeneutics. In other words, formative is “instructive and worthwhile” in the interpretation of the text, but does not change the natural meaning of the text. Ronald Graybill, “Ellen White’s Role in Doctrine Formation,” *Ministry*, October 1981, 8.

⁵⁵ The term “normative” is used to describe influences that controlled the interpretation of the text to the degree of changing the meaning of the text. Therefore, while Scripture seem to be hermeneutically normative to Price and Warfield, this research wants to verify whether other influences (e.g., mainstream science and/or evolutionary theory) were used to determine their interpretation of the text.

have chosen to analyze are, “the beginning” in Genesis 1:1, the meaning of *tohu wabohu* in Genesis 1:2, the meaning of *yom* in Genesis 1:3-2:4a, the seventh day in Genesis 2:2-3, and the biblical flood in Genesis 6-8. In this process, the focus will be on Price’s and Warfield’s views of the sources of theology (i.e., Scripture, creed, philosophy, science—the material condition), the purpose of their theology (i.e., the teleological condition), and most importantly, the principles of interpretation (i.e., the hermeneutical condition) that guided their theology. These can be called the *Material*, the *Teleological*, and the *Hermeneutical* levels of their methods.⁵⁶ Together, these levels form—epistemologically speaking—the “rationality and formal structure” of every method of interpretation.⁵⁷

While the Material level (ML) is straightforward in describing a theologian’s views of the sources of theology, the Teleological level (TL) deals with the purpose of his/her theology. Canale says, “Determining the overall goal of theology also affect the decision whether to harmonize . . . [Scripture] with evolution or deep time.”⁵⁸ Also, the TL operates inside the Material and the Hermeneutical levels in two ways: (1) selecting presuppositions, and (2) serving as a “controlling agent” that guides the theologian towards a desired conclusion. Similarly, within the Hermeneutical level (HL) the same

⁵⁶ Price’s and Warfield’s hermeneutical methods will be descriptively analyzed in terms of the reality level (ontological), the articulation level (metaphysical), and the knowledge level (epistemological). According to Canale, it is at these levels that “the guiding principles for interpreting biblical texts and constructing the content of Christian theology” are provided. Canale, *Creation, Evolution, and Theology*, 103.

⁵⁷ Fernando L. Canale, *Creation, Evolution, and Theology* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2005), 90. Gulley agrees: “All literature shares the rules of general hermeneutics (hermeneutica profana).” Norman R. Gulley, *Systematic Theology: Prolegomena* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2003), 687. For more information see Canale, *Creation, Evolution, and Theology*, 86–123; Fernando L. Canale, *Basic Elements of Christian Theology* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Lithotech, 2005), 10-29.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 100.

thing happens in the ontological, metaphysical, and epistemological levels, where the theologian's understanding of how God relates to human beings and the natural world, informs (i.e., it is formative, or instructive, and provides presuppositions) and guides (i.e., it is normative, or controls) the process of interpreting biblical data for the formulation of knowledge.

Here, given the hermeneutical emphasis of this dissertation, some additional information on the *Hermeneutical* level is needed to help us understand how and why the interpretation of biblical protology may vary among scholars. It has been noted that the principles of interpretation (i.e., the *Hermeneutical* level) are highly dependent on the theologian's ontology (view of reality), metaphysics (principles of articulation), and epistemology (knowledge).⁵⁹ In other words, the HL—also known as macro hermeneutic—deals with questions related to (1) the reality of God; (2) the interaction between God and humankind; and (3) the source of theological knowledge.⁶⁰ Thus, I am suggesting that by considering how Price and Warfield related their protological

⁵⁹ In the context of this dissertation, (A) the ontological level involves Price's and Warfield's understanding of the reality of God, being, and the natural world; (B) the metaphysical level involves their understanding of God's relations to human beings and the natural world (i.e., protology); and (C) the epistemological level involves their understanding of how human knowledge is formed, and the way in which one should decide how to interpret theological data. Fernando L. Canale, *Basic Elements of Christian Theology* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Lithotech, 2005), 21. "The principles of interpretation are about reality (ontology), articulation (metaphysics), and knowledge (epistemology). The principle of reality deals with the basic characteristics of God, human beings and the world. The principle of articulation deals with the way in which God, human beings, and the world interact. The principle of knowledge deals with the way in which human knowledge operates, the origin of theological knowledge, and the way in which we should interpret theological data." For more information see Canale, *Creation, Evolution, and Theology*, 90-91.

⁶⁰ Canale, *Basic Elements of Christian Theology*, 21. Canale borrowed the designation macro hermeneutic from Hans Küng. See Hans Küng, *Theology for the Third Millennium: An Ecumenical View*, trans. Peter Heinegg, 1st ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 134. For an explanation of Canale's usage of macro, meso, and micro hermeneutics see, Fernando L. Canale, "Evangelical Theology and Open Theism: Toward a Biblical Understanding of the Macro Hermeneutical Principles of Theology?", *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 12, no. 2 (2001): 19-26.

hermeneutics to these three levels, I will be able to understand why they interpreted biblical protology the way they did, to verify whether a consistent and coherent protological hermeneutical method exists, and to assess how their methods impacted contemporary Christian theology.

Then, in the fifth and final chapter, I will compare and contrast Price's and Warfield's biographies, the theological and philosophical influences that shaped their protological hermeneutical methods, their interpretation of selected texts, and the protological hermeneutical methods they used to interpret the texts. Though the material and teleological levels are not left out I will focus on the hermeneutical level of their protological hermeneutics, first, to verify the implications of Price's and Warfield's ontology, metaphysics, and epistemology for their interpretation of the texts, and second, to verify the implications of their interpretations for contemporary Christian theology. Finally, in the last section of the chapter I will summarize the implications and conclusions of this dissertation.

Conceptual Framework

Briefly stated, the conceptual framework of this dissertation includes the hermeneutical principles discussed above and the presupposition that Nature and Scripture work constructively as interacting parts of God's revelation. When these concepts are applied in the study of biblical protology, the result is a coherent protological hermeneutical method that recognizes that God reveals Himself in Nature and in Scripture. Accordingly, conflicts between the interpretation of Nature (i.e., Science) and Scripture (i.e., Theology) are not viewed as real contradictions, but are viewed within a constructive relationship that requires that each part be analyzed more

carefully. In other words, instead of joining Schleiermacher in claiming that Science has proven wrong the biblical teaching of creation,⁶¹ I agree with Leonard Brand who says

that we establish the most constructive relationship between science [i.e., interpretation of Nature] and religion [i.e., interpretation of Scripture] when we allow findings in each of these fields of knowledge to challenge us to analyze the other more carefully. I believe that this feedback process can improve our understanding of both fields. Conflicts between the two force us to dig deeper in both as we seek for genuine resolution that does not relegate either to a secondary role.⁶²

Also, in delineating a conceptual framework for this research, some explanations may be valuable to establish the boundaries in which divine revelation can be objectively studied.⁶³ Since Price and Warfield developed their study of protology from the perspective that general revelation (Nature) and special revelation (Scripture) are God's revelations,⁶⁴ I will conduct my research with the understanding that Nature can be objectively studied by science, and Scripture can be objectively studied by theology.

Hodge concurs,

If natural science be concerned with the facts and laws of nature, theology is concerned with the facts and the principles of the Bible. If the object of the one be to arrange and systematize the facts of the external world, and to ascertain the laws by which they are determined; the object of the other is to systematize the facts of the

⁶¹ Schleiermacher and Lücke, *On the Glaubenslehre*, 61.

⁶² Leonard Brand and David C. Jarnes, *Beginnings* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2006), 7. Brand maintains that “neither scientific results nor the words of Scripture tell lies.” Consequently, whenever a conflict between Scripture and Nature persist, both scientists and theologians need to wait “until better data or research methods can resolve the conflict.” *Ibid.*, 7-8.

⁶³ By using the term “objectively studied” I am emphasizing the subject/object relationship that exists between the scientist (the subject) and *Nature* (the object of science) or, the theologian (the subject) and *Scripture* (the object of theology). In this particular sense, I am suggesting that both *Nature* and *Scripture* can undergo experiments (i.e., testing) by following specific methodologies.

⁶⁴ Gulley concurs that generally speaking, God has two foundational means of revelation: *general* revelation (nature) and *particular* revelation (Scripture). Norman R. Gulley, *Systematic Theology: Prolegomena* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2003), 191.

Bible, and ascertain the principles or general truths which those facts involve.⁶⁵ Hence, the framework to the study of biblical protology in this dissertation is that Nature and Scripture work constructively as interacting parts of God's revelation and, as such, they function as complementary to each other.⁶⁶

Delimitations

This dissertation has been delimited to the study of selected writings of George McCready Price and Benjamin Warfield that relate to their protological hermeneutical methods. With regard to the work of Price, this dissertation does not intend to address the accuracy of the details of his scientific conclusions. Thus, when dealing with Price's writings on scientific topics, I will focus on his writings on biblical protology and the impact of the evolutionary theory upon Christian theology. Similarly, this dissertation does not intend to address the wide spectrum of theological subjects upon which Warfield wrote, such as inspiration and revelation, soteriology, and eschatology. While his complete works are consulted, the intent is to focus on his writings about biblical protology and the relationship between these and the evolutionary theory.

⁶⁵ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1:18.

⁶⁶ Gulley concurs that "because God's self-revelation issues out of His work as creator and redeemer, both kinds of revelation find their objective source in one God. Thus, science (the study of general revelation) and theology (the study of the particular revelation) should agree." Gulley, *Prolegomena*, 192.

CHAPTER 2

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN AMERICA FROM THE MID-NINETEENTH TO THE EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY

The protological hermeneutics of George McCready Price and Benjamin Warfield were highly driven by the epistemological turmoil that grew after the Enlightenment in the Western World. The Age of Enlightenment arose as “a progressive social epoch, promoting secular intellectual freedom . . . against the oppressive forces of tradition,”¹ of which Christian dogmatism was regarded as the most significant. Both Price and Warfield engaged in the academic discussion that followed, as they attempted to justify the rationality of their Christian faith by showing how theology and science could be brought into harmony. In a sense, their works were in large part a reaction to the works of key Enlightenment thinkers that were being held as foundational to a naturalistic worldview, and consequently contributed to unsettling the notion that Scripture should be held as a reliable criterion of knowledge.²

First, throughout Europe and subsequently in America, proponents of liberalism³

¹ Walter Sundberg, “Enlightenment,” *DTIB* (2005), 185.

² For more information see Anthony Kenny, *Rise of Modern Philosophy, A New History of Western Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 117-164.

³ Liberalism is a philosophical movement that insists on the need to reject theological foundationalism and to promote naturalistic rationalism. For more information see Nancy C. Murphy, *Beyond Liberalism and Fundamentalism: How Modern and Postmodern Philosophy Set the Theological Agenda*, Rockwell Lecture Series (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996), 11-35.

insisted on rejecting theological foundationalism, and expedited the spreading of key principles of the Enlightenment such as, rationalism, empiricism, and higher criticism. By the time Price and Warfield developed their protological hermeneutics, rationalism, empiricism, and higher criticism were essentially present in virtually all fields of science, including geology and biology.

Modern Rationalism was consolidated by the works of René Descartes (1596-1650), who laid out the foundation for an epistemology that relied on human reason as the criterion of knowledge.⁴ Descartes argued in favor of reason because “good sense or reason, is by nature equal in all men.” Consequently, Descartes continued, “I know of no other qualities that contribute to the perfection of the mind; for as to the reason or sense, inasmuch as it is that alone which constitutes us men, and distinguishes us from the brutes, I am disposed to believe that it is to be found complete in each individual.”⁵ According to Descartes, apart from revelation⁶ only human reason could provide the type of knowledge that could be used to “establish a certain and indubitable judgment;”

⁴ For more information on Rationalism see Bruce Aune, *Knowledge of the External World*, The Problems of Philosophy (London; New York, NY: Routledge, 1991), 1-26. Kenny, *Rise of Modern Philosophy*, 33-79; Charles Huenemann, *Understanding Rationalism*, Understanding Movements in Modern Thought (Stocksfield: Acumen, 2008); J. M. Robertson, *Rationalism*, Philosophies Ancient and Modern (London: Constable, 1912).

⁵ René Descartes, *The Method, Meditations and Philosophy of Descartes*, trans., John Veitch, Logos ed., Universal Classics Library (Washington, DC: M. W. Dunne, 1901), 149.

⁶ Descartes clearly stated that Divine revelation was to have preference over the findings of human reason. “Above all we must impress on our memory the infallible rule, that what God has revealed is incomparably more certain than anything else; and that we ought to submit our belief to the Divine authority rather than to our own judgment, even although perhaps the light of reason should, with the greatest clearness and evidence, appear to suggest to us something contrary to what is revealed. But in things regarding which there is no revelation, it is by no means consistent with the character of a philosopher to accept as true what he has not ascertained to be such, and to trust more to the senses, in other words, to the inconsiderate judgments of childhood than to the dictates of mature reason.” Descartes, *The Method, Meditations and Philosophy of Descartes*, 333.

something that “must be not only clear, but also distinct.”⁷

Proponents of empiricism, on the other hand, seemed to think that Francis Bacon’s method was best to settle the epistemological debate.⁸ Francis Bacon (1561–1626), who is considered the father of empiricism, proposed an inductive method as the means to obtain raw data (i.e., pure, direct information) from any object.⁹ So, while the rationalism of Descartes allowed for a subjective interpretation of reality,¹⁰ empiricism claimed to rely exclusively on the information available to sensory perception. In time, this methodology became also known as the Baconian method or, bottom-up logic, because knowledge is obtained through a method that moves from the data to an objective conclusion.

⁷ Descartes, *The Method, Meditations and Philosophy of Descartes*, 317. Descartes explains: “I call that clear which is present and manifest to the mind giving attention to it, just as we are said clearly to see objects when, being present to the eye looking on, they stimulate it with sufficient force, and it is disposed to regard them; but the distinct is that which is so precise and different from all other objects as to comprehend in itself only what is clear.” Ibid., 317-318.

⁸ Gaarder says, “An empiricist will derive all knowledge of the world from what the senses tell us.” Gaarder, *Sophie’s World*, 262. Zimmerli puts it this way: “In general, ‘empiricism’ designates any philosophical position whose theoretical and practical content derives ultimately not from reason (Rationalism) but from experience.” Walther C. Zimmerli, “Empiricism,” *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, 2003 ed. (1999-2003), 2:90.

⁹ The inductive method differs from the deductive method in that the former requires experiment (i.e., testing) of an object that is available to the senses, in order to generate a conclusion. For information on deductive versus inductive method see Richard DeWitt, *Worldviews: An Introduction to the History and Philosophy of Science*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 38-45; William M. K. Trochim, “Research Methods Knowledge Base: Deduction vs. Induction,” Atomic Dog Publishing, accessed September 23, 2013, <http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/dedind.php>; Aidan Feeney and Evan Heit, *Inductive Reasoning: Experimental, Developmental, and Computational Approaches* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Hughes and Lavery have a good discussion about the differences and the applications of deduction and induction for constructing arguments. See William Hughes and Jonathan A. Lavery, *Critical Thinking: An Introduction to the Basic Skills*, 5th ed. (Peterborough, Ont: Broadview Press, 2008), 155-180.

¹⁰ Descartes “subdivided created reality into the two distinct domains of ‘thinking substance’ (*res cogitans*) and ‘extended substance’ (*res extensa*). The latter makes up the material universe, the former all nonphysical minds and their thoughts.” Jörg Dierken and Robert F. Brown, “Rationalism,” *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, 2003 ed. (2003), 4:485.

Among the English empiricists, Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) “formulated the basic empirical principle that there is nothing in the understanding [i.e., mind] that was not previously in the senses.”¹¹ Along these lines, the empiricist John Locke (1632-1704) argued against Descartes’ concept of innate ideas, suggesting that the mind is a “*tabula rasa*” (i.e., “white paper” or blank slate) where knowledge is written through “every one’s own observation and experience.”¹² Stated in simple terms, human knowledge can only be achieved through sensory experience. This implies that the only type of knowledge available to humankind is that of the physical world.¹³

Besides interacting with Rationalism and Empiricism, the protological hermeneutics of Price and Warfield were also an attempt to address the questions raised by German higher criticism. In the nineteenth-century, German higher criticism sought to interpret the historical and theological background of Scripture, by “casting suspicion on many older, traditional doctrines about the Bible, the life and teachings of Jesus, and the

¹¹ Zimmerli, "Empiricism," *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, 2:90. For more information on the philosophy of Thomas Hobbes see Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, or, the Matter, Forme, & Power of a Common-Wealth Ecclesiasticall and Civill* (London: Printed for Andrew Ckooke i.e. Crooke, at the Green Dragon in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1651); Kenny, *Rise of Modern Philosophy*, 41-47, 127-131. Stephen J. Finn, *Thomas Hobbes and the Politics of Natural Philosophy*, Continuum Studies in British Philosophy (London: Continuum, 2006); Stephen J. Finn, *Hobbes a Guide for the Perplexed* (London: Continuum, 2007).

¹² John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 13th ed. (London: William Tegg & Co., 1849), 53. For a short summary of the four books of Locke’s Essays see Kenny, *Rise of Modern Philosophy*, 51-52. More information can be found in Aune, *Knowledge of the External World*, 27-56.

¹³ For an example of how empiricism affects epistemology see Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans., Francis Haywood (London: William Pickering, 1848). Erickson explains that in his *Critique of Pure Reason* Kant “refuted the idea that it is possible to have theoretical knowledge of objects that transcend sense experience. This of course disposed of the possibility of any real knowledge of or cognitive basis for religion as traditionally understood.” Millard J. Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1998), 20.

creeds of the church.”¹⁴

In his *On the Free Investigation of the Canon* (1771), Johann Salomo Semler (1725-1791) argued that good theology depended on the proper distinction between the terms “Holy Scripture” and “Word of God”. According to Semler, “the root of evil (in theology) is the interchangeable use of the term ‘Scripture’ and ‘Word of God.’”¹⁵

Moving on, Semler developed the hermeneutical principle that would guide most of the exegetical work of future generations. He insisted that “the interpreter ought to seek in a passage exclusively the ‘understanding of the author and writer’ based upon ‘the language [of the biblical text] and its demonstrable use.’” He stated that “the sacred authors alone must be the lords and masters of what they have truly meant” (in Hornig, 79). He warned his readers to be vigilant and never project into the text the exegete’s own thought and conscience.”¹⁶

On the one hand, Semler was right in urging theologians to interpret the biblical text from the perspective of the biblical author.¹⁷ But on the other hand, the unwarranted

¹⁴ Hugh T. Kerr, ed. *Readings in Christian Thought* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1966), 227.

¹⁵ Johann S. Semler, *Abhandlung Von Freier Untersuchung Des Canon*, (Halle, Germany: C.H. Hemmerde, 1771), 43, 47, 55, 58 as cited in Gerhard Maier, *The End of the Historical-Critical Method*, (St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1977), 15. Cited favorably in Walter C. Kaiser, “Why Get Entangled with Historical Interpretation?: The Role of History,” in *Introduction to Biblical Hermeneutics: The Search for Meaning*, eds. Walter C. Kaiser and Moisés Silva, (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2007), 113. For more information see H. Rollmann, “Semler, Johann Salomo (1725–1791),” in *Historical Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters*, ed. Donald K. McKim, (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1998), 355-359; Carl F. H. Henry, *God, Revelation, and Authority*, 6 vols. (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1999), 4:434-435; Frederic. W. Farrar, *History of Interpretation: Eight Lectures Preached before the University of Oxford in the Year MDCCCLXXXV on the Foundation of the Late Rev. John Bampton*, Logos ed., Bampton Lectures (London: Macmillan and Co., 1886), 396-437.

¹⁶ McKim, *Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters*, 358.

¹⁷ “In biblical interpretation, the reader does not control the meaning; the author controls the meaning.” Duvall, *Grasping God's Word: A Hands-on Approach to Reading, Interpreting, and Applying the Bible*, 178.

dichotomy he created between the terms “Holy Scripture” and “Word of God” opened the door to the subjective interpretation of Scripture, and facilitated the accommodation of the biblical text to extra-biblical sources. In evaluating Semler’s work, Frederic W. Farrar suggests: “the worst feature of his [i.e., Semler’s] system was the extent to which he allowed the principle of ‘accommodation.’”¹⁸ In short, by accommodating the interpretation of Scripture to extra-biblical sources—particularly naturalistic science—Scripture lost its place as the propositional Word of God and became unacknowledged on questions of protology.

In my opinion, rationalism, empiricism, and German higher criticism constitute the most active tenets of the philosophical foundation upon which the epistemological turmoil of the mid-nineteenth century developed, and the dialogue between science and religion after that took place.

Science and Religion Dialogue

For the most part, the dialogue between science and religion from the mid-nineteenth into the twentieth centuries was a contest between biblical protology (i.e., Genesis 1-11) and a naturalistic view of origins, especially on matters related to the age of the universe (i.e., Cosmology), the age of the earth, and the question of how old life is on earth (i.e., Geology and Biology respectively). The roots of this contest, however, reach back into the eighteenth century or beyond.¹⁹

¹⁸ Farrar, *History of Interpretation*, 404.

¹⁹ For a detailed account of the science and religion dialogue see Andrew D. White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, 2 vols. (New York, NY: D. Appleton & Company, 1896). As the title indicates, White approached this subject from the perspective that science and religion are—or at least were—at war. According to White, science had demonstrated the incongruences of the

Genesis and Geology

In geology, for example, William Whiston (1667-1752) advocated in favor of a young life on earth and the Genesis flood, arguing that the latter could explain the formation of the geological strata.²⁰ George Louis Leclerc or, Comte de Buffon (1707-1788), however, sought to interpret nature as if it had appeared exclusively through a natural and independent process, free from any type of divine intervention. In his *Histoire Naturelle*, Buffon criticized Whiston's cosmogony for being mainly biblically oriented, a job that should be left only for theologians and philosophers.²¹ With the rise of

biblical view on matters of origins. For different approaches see Morris, *A History of Modern Creationism*; John W. Draper, *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* (New York, NY: D. Appleton and Company, 1896); Greene, *The Death of Adam*.

²⁰ In his *New Theory of the Earth*, Whiston specifically connected the authority of Scriptures with scientific documentation, indicating their complementary relationship. Whiston stated: "In the Sixteenth or Seventeenth Century from the Creation, there happen'd a most extraordinary and prodigious Deluge of Waters upon the Earth. This general Assertion is not only attested by a large and special Account of it in the sacred Writings, but by the universal Consent of the most ancient Records of all Nations besides, as may be seen in the Authors quoted in the Margin; and is put moreover past doubt by Dr. Woodward's Natural Observations." William Whiston, *A New Theory of the Earth from Its Original to the Consummation of All Things*, The Fifth Edition (London: Mr. Boyle's Head in Fleet Street, 1788), 263. Some other examples of Whiston's assertion of Scripture as an authoritative, historical source can be seen in statements like the following: The Scripture is "the only ancient and authentick [sic] Account of this Matter we have in the World." Whiston, *A New Theory of the Earth*, 252.

²¹ "Il dit que les notions qu'on a communément de l'ouvrage des six jours, font absolument fausses, & que la description de Moyse n'est pas une narration exact & philosophique de la création de l'Univers entier & de l'origine de toutes choses, mais une représentation historique de la formation du feul globe terrestre. [...] Nous n'entrons point dans le détail de ses preuves à cet égard & nous n'entreprendrons pas d'en faire la réfutation; l'exposition que nous venons de faire, suffit pour démontrer la contrariété de son opinion avec la foi, & par conséquent l'insuffisance de ses preuves: au, reste, il traite cette matière en Théologien controversiste plutôt qu'en philosophe éclairé." Georges Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, *Histoire Naturelle, GÉNÉRALE ET PARTICULIÈRE*, Nouvelle Édition, 36 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1769), 1:245-246. My translation: This author began his treatise of *The Theory of the Earth* with a dissertation about the creation of the world. He claimed that we are always misunderstanding the text of Genesis, and that we are too attached to the letter in the sense that is presented at first sight, without paying attention to Nature, reason, Philosophy, and even the requirement of the writer to treat this matter with dignity. He said that the notion of six days work [in reference to six days of creation], was absolutely false, and that the description of Moses was not an exact and philosophical narration of the creation of the whole universe, and the origin of all things, but a historical representation of the formation of the earth alone. . . . We shall not enter into the detail of his evidence in this regard, and we will not undertake to do the rebuttal. The exposure we have done is enough to prove the consequent lack of proof. For the rest [of Whiston's

Neptunism in mid-eighteenth century,²² Buffon seemed to have found the ideal conditions to advance his own cosmogony. He linked “the theory of the recession of the ocean . . . with his comprehensive explanation of biological and geological phenomena in terms of the gradual cooling of the globe from an originally incandescent state over a period of tens of thousands of years,”²³ and formulated a naturalistic cosmogony, which consequently excluded “the Bible and natural theology from the domain of natural history.”²⁴

As the debate about the age of earth and life on earth continued through the eighteenth century, the work of another naturalist geologist would impact the interpretation of nature. James Hutton (1726–1797) was the Scottish geologist who analyzed the forms of the earth in Scotland, and concluded that by doing so, any person could determine how the appearance of the earth was shaped. Hutton argued,

In examining things present, we have data from which to reason with regard to what has been; and, from what has actually been, we have data for concluding with regard to that which is to happen hereafter. Therefore, upon the supposition that the operations of nature are equable and steady, we find, in natural appearances, means for concluding a certain portion of time to have necessarily elapsed, in the production of those events of which we see the effects. . . . We shall thus arrive at facts which indicate a period to which no other species of chronology is able to remount.²⁵

work], he treats this matter [of origins] as a polemic theologian rather than an enlightened philosopher. NOTE: Greene also mentions Buffon’s assessment of Whiston’s theological and philosophical approach to matters of origins in Greene, *The Death of Adam*, 25.

²² “The fundamental thesis of neptunism was that the bulk of the earth’s geological features could be accounted for in terms of the gradual diminishing of an ocean that covered the infant globe at creation.” Davis A. Young, *The Biblical Flood: A Case Study of the Church’s Response to Extrabiblical Evidence* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 88.

²³ Young, *The Biblical Flood*, 89.

²⁴ Greene, *The Death of Adam*, 25.

²⁵ James Hutton, “Theory of the Earth with Proofs and Illustrations,” in *Transactions of the Royal*

This was the beginning of geology's uniformitarian principle of interpretation.²⁶

In short, this principle assumed that the crust of the earth was formed through a long, continuous, and uniform process. It was a naturalistic mechanism that Hutton thought could explain how the surface of the earth was shaped. Hutton added,

The strata, formed at the bottom of the sea, are to be considered as having been consolidated, either by aqueous solution and crystallization, or by the effect of heat and fusion. If it is in the first of these two ways that the solid strata of the globe have attained to their present state, there will be a certain uniformity observable in the effects; and there will be general laws, by which this operation must have been conducted. Therefore, knowing those general laws, and making just observations with regard to the natural appearances of those consolidated masses, a philosopher, in his closet, should be able to determine, what may, and what may not have been transacted in the bowels of the earth, or below the bottom of the ocean.²⁷

Under these premises Hutton concluded: "The result, therefore, of our present enquiry is, that we find no vestige of a beginning,—no prospect of an end."²⁸

Hutton's ideas helped to prepare the way for other geologists and biologists, who supposed that life on earth did not appear instantaneously, as claimed in Genesis 1, but that it appeared through a long and slow evolutionary process, as indicated in the fossil record in the geologic column. A pioneer in documenting the classification of the fossils in the geologic column was William (Strata) Smith (1769-1839), called the "father of English Geology."²⁹ Even though Smith did not receive formal education,³⁰ he went on to

Society of Edinburgh, (Edinburgh: Neill & Co., 1788), 217-218.

²⁶ "The theory that changes in the earth's crust during geological history have resulted from the action of continuous and uniform processes." *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, 11th ed. (2004), s.v. "Uniformitarianism."

²⁷ Hutton, "Theory of the Earth with Proofs and Illustrations," 225. Italics supplied.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 304.

²⁹ London, *Proceedings of the Geological Society of London*, Vol. 1, 270-280. "That the first Wollaston Medal be given to Mr. William Smith, in consideration of his being a great original discoverer in

develop the first geological map of England and Wales, upon which modern geologists like Charles Lyell depended in the development of their views.

Charles Lyell (1797-1875) took the uniformitarian principle further than Hutton. Greene notes that while Hutton had limited the application of his uniformitarianism almost entirely to inorganic change in geology, “Lyell defined geology to include the study of organic change as well.”³¹ Hence, while most geologists in the nineteenth century thought catastrophism—including the Genesis Flood³²—was the best way to explain the fossil record and its lack of continuity (i.e., gaps between species), Lyell felt that if uniformitarianism was applied to both inorganic and organic changes, the apparent lack of continuity in the fossil record would disappear, and its formation would be left entirely to naturalistic processes.³³ To say it bluntly, Lyell saw catastrophism as an extension of supernaturalism, and sought to use a different approach “to better understand

English Geology; and especially for his having been the first, in this country, to discover and to teach the identification of strata, and to determine their succession by means of their imbedded fossil,” 271. “I for one can speak with gratitude of the practical lessons I have received from Mr. Smith: . . . the Father of English Geology,” 278, 279.

³⁰ “According to his [i.e., Smith’s] own account, however, not only were the means of his instruction at the village school very limited, but these were in some degree interfered with by his own wandering and musing habits.” John Phillips, *Memoirs of William Smith, LL.D., Author of the "Map of the Strata of England and Wales"* (London: J. Murray, 1844), 2.

³¹ Greene, *The Death of Adam*, 249.

³² The naturalist Louis Agassiz (1807-1873) and the paleontologist Georges Cuvier (1769–1832) “were the first ones to consider earth history as a succession of catastrophes involving massive destruction of plant and animal life, each catastrophe being followed in turn by a new creation.” Henry, *God, Revelation, And ...* 6:145. What is interesting with Cuvier though, is the fact that he did not embrace the dismissal of the biblical short chronology entirely. Instead, he provided a certain level of accommodation, where he was happy to assume that the last of those catastrophes “was the same as the Flood recorded in Genesis and in other ancient documents.” Cohn, *Noah’s Flood: The Genesis Story in Western Thought*, 112. For more information see Greene, *The Death of Adam*, 86-87, 106-125; Young, *The Biblical Flood*, 100-101.

³³ *Ibid.*, 250-256.

geology and to offer an alternative principle to those theories whose explanatory power relied on the Flood.”³⁴

From a philosophical perspective, Lyell’s principle of uniformity was highly influenced by the philosophy of David Hume. In short, Hume thought that epistemology should be strictly based on empirical evidences and the exclusion of special revelation as a reliable source of knowledge. He stated, “It seems to me, that the only objects of the abstract science or of demonstration are quantity and number, and that all attempts to extend this more perfect species of knowledge beyond these bounds are mere sophistry and illusion.”³⁵ So, Hume concluded:

When we run over libraries, persuaded of these principles, what havoc must we make? If we take in our hand any volume; of divinity or school metaphysics, for instance; let us ask, [1] Does it contain any abstract reasoning concerning quantity or number? No. [2] Does it contain any experimental reasoning concerning matter of fact and existence? No. Commit it then to the flames: for it can contain nothing but sophistry and illusion.³⁶

“Lyell’s principle of uniformity is an application of . . . [Hume’s] second source of knowledge—matter of fact or existence.”³⁷ Generally speaking, it reflected the spirit of

³⁴ Owen Anderson, “Charles Lyell, Uniformitarianism, and Interpretive Principles,” *Zygon: Journal of Religion & Science* 42, no. 2 (2007), 450.

³⁵ David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding and Selections from a Treatise of Human Nature* (Chicago, IL: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1907), 173.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 176.

³⁷ Anderson, “Charles Lyell, Uniformitarianism, and Interpretive Principles,” 454. Hume argued that “Every idea is copied from some preceding impression or sentiment; and where we cannot find any impression, we may be certain that there is no idea. In all single instances of the operation of bodies or mind, there is nothing that produces any impression, nor consequently can suggest any idea of power or necessary connexion [sic]. But when many uniform instances appear, and the same object is always followed by the same event; we then begin to entertain the notion of cause and connexion [sic]. (Hume 1902), 61. Through this process of empirical induction we arrive at the principle of uniformity. Any other explanation that relies on supernatural explanation is ‘sophistry and illusion.’” *Ibid.*

the epistemological turmoil during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Most importantly, Lyell's uniformitarianism served as the principle of interpretation used by Charles Darwin (1809-1882) in the development of his evolutionary theory. Arguably, Darwinism was the most influential development of the nineteenth century, one that prompted Price and Warfield to develop their protological hermeneutic.

Genesis and Biology

In biology, the philosophical foundation (i.e., rationalism, empiricism, and German higher criticism) of the epistemological turmoil unleashed during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, was well expressed in the theory proposed by Charles Darwin in *The Origin of Species* (1859). The story behind the publication of *The Origin of Species* is certainly filled with different accounts about how Darwin struggled for knowledge and understanding of nature.³⁸ For the purpose of this dissertation, however, it suffices to present a short account of key events leading to the publication of Darwin's masterpiece. Each one of these events impacted Darwin's epistemology and helped him to develop the theory that shook both the scientific and the theological communities around the world.

To begin with, prior to the publication of *The Origin of Species*, Darwin had spent five years (1831-1836) sailing down the coast of South America doing observations and collecting specimens.³⁹ Then, in 1832 while aboard the H.M.S. Beagle,⁴⁰ Darwin

³⁸ For a historical account of the development of Darwin's theory of evolution see, Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution*, 1st ed. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959). For an alternative approach (seen from the perspective of a scientist) and an extensive analysis of Darwin's evolutionary theory see Stephen Jay Gould, *The Structure of Evolutionary Theory* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002).

³⁹ For a detailed account of the voyage on the H.M.S. Beagle see Himmelfarb, *Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution*, 59-85.

received a copy of the second volume of Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, which he read with extreme interest. After completing the reading of Lyell's second volume, Darwin was convinced "that Lyell was right concerning geological change having been slow and gradual over long ages."⁴¹ In time, Darwin also accepted Lyell's definition of geology—that uniformity should apply to both organic and inorganic changes—and began "to consider the possibility that species⁴² were not immutable and had gradually changed and evolved in the course of time."⁴³ In his autobiography Darwin wrote:

After my return to England it appeared to me that by following the example of Lyell in Geology, and by collecting all facts which bore in any way on the variation of animals and plants under domestication and nature, some light might perhaps be thrown on the whole subject [of descent with modification]. My first note-book was opened in July 1837. I worked on true Baconian principles, and without any theory collected facts on a wholesale scale, more especially with respect to domesticated productions, by printed enquiries, by conversation with skilful [*sic*] breeders and gardeners, and by extensive reading.⁴⁴

In addition to carrying the interpretive principle received from Lyell (i.e., uniformitarianism), Darwin's theory also sponsored an explanation of how new species had developed. In *The Origin of Species*, Darwin maintained that the evidence he found

⁴⁰ Greene, *The Death of Adam*, 249.

⁴¹ Delvin Lee Ratzsch, *The Battle of Beginnings: Why Neither Side Is Winning the Creation-Evolution Debate* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1996), 23.

⁴² "[a] Kind, sort; [b] a class of individuals having common attributes and designated by a common name; [c] the human race: human beings; [d] (1) a category of biological classification ranking immediately below the genus or subgenus, comprising related organisms or populations potentially capable of interbreeding, and being designated by a binomial that consists of the name of a genus followed by a Latin or latinized uncapitalized noun or adjective agreeing grammatically with the genus name; (2) an individual or kind belonging to a biological species." *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 11th ed. (2003), s.v. "Species."

⁴³ Himmelfarb, *Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution*, 146. Himmelfarb explained that prior to the Beagle's expedition, Darwin believed that species "had originated in special acts of creation." *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Charles Darwin, *The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin, Including an Autobiographical Chapter*, 2 vols. (New York, NY: D. Appleton and Company, 1911), 67-68.

pointed to the possibility that new species developed through a process of “descent with modification” (commonly known as evolution), a concept proposed by “the veteran geologist J. J. d’Omalius d’Halloy” in 1846. D’Halloy argued that it was “more probable that new species have been produced by *descent with modification* than that they have been separately created.”⁴⁵

After considering the evidences for more than twenty-three years Darwin finally published *The Origins of Species*. In this book he argued that species had evolved “from one form into the next strictly through natural mechanisms—inheritable variation operated on by natural selection” through undetermined periods of time.⁴⁶ Darwin said,

How will the struggle for existence . . . act in regard to variation? Can the principle of selection . . . apply in nature? I think we shall see that it can act most effectually. Let it be borne in mind in what an endless number of strange peculiarities our domestic productions, and, in a lesser degree, those under nature, vary; and how strong the hereditary tendency is. . . . Let it be borne in mind how infinitely complex and close-fitting are the mutual relations of all organic beings to each other and to their physical conditions of life. Can it, then, be thought improbable, seeing that variations useful to man have undoubtedly occurred, that other variations useful in some way to each being in the great and complex battle of life, should sometimes occur in the course of thousands of generations? If such do occur, can we doubt (remembering that many more individuals are born than can possibly survive) that individuals having any advantage, however slight, over others, would have the best chance of surviving and of procreating their kind? On the other hand, we may feel sure that any variation in

⁴⁵ Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species*, ed. Charles W. Eliot, The Harvard Classics (New York, NY: P. F. Collier and Son, 1909), 14. Emphasis supplied. Although d’Halloy did not use the words *descent with modification* in his paper, he did argue: “les êtres vivants aujourd’hui descendent, par voie de génération, de ceux des premiers temps, quoique leurs formes présentent diverses modifications successives;” My translation: “living things today descend, by generation, from their ancestors, although their forms have various successive modifications;” J. J. d’Omalius d’Halloy, “Note Sur La Succession Des Êtres Vivants,” in *Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, Brussels Commission royale d’histoire Publications in quarto*, (Bruxelles: M. Hayez, Imprimeur, 1846), 582. For the full article see d’Halloy, “Note Sur La Succession Des Êtres Vivants,” in *Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, Brussels Commission royale d’histoire Publications in quarto*, 581-591.

⁴⁶ Fazale Rana and Hugh Ross, *Origins of Life: Biblical and Evolutionary Models Face Off* (Colorado Springs, CO: NavPress, 2004), 22.

the least degree injurious would be rigidly destroyed. This preservation of favorable variations and the rejection of injurious variations, I call Natural Selection.⁴⁷

In spite of different reactions from the scientific and the theological communities, the first edition of *The Origin of Species* (1,250 copies) sold on the first day, and the theory proposed was soon accepted as the mechanism driving naturalistic evolution in biological organisms. To have an idea of how fast it gained acceptance, a series of papers was published in 1860, just one year after the publication of *The Origin of Species*. Under the title *Essays and Reviews*, the authors Frederick Temple, Rowland Williams, Baden Powell, Henry Bristow Wilson, C. W. Goodwin, Mark Pattison, and Benjamin Jowett, praised Darwin's new ideas and the self-evolving powers of nature, and defended the German higher critical approach to Scriptural interpretation which supported the new cosmology of the newer sciences of deep time geology and Darwinian evolutionary biology.⁴⁸ In addition to *Essays and Reviews*, and less than two years after the publication of *The Origin of Species*, the paleontologist Hugh Falconer acknowledged, "By his admirable researches and earnest writings, Darwin has, beyond all his cotemporaries [sic], given an impulse to the philosophical investigation of the most backward and obscure branch of the Biological Sciences of his day; he has laid the foundations of a great edifice. . . ."⁴⁹

The impact of Darwin's theory of evolution on epistemology cannot be underesti-

⁴⁷ Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species: Or, the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life*, Kindle ed. (London: John Murray, 1859), 80-81.

⁴⁸ Frederick Temple et al., *Essays and Reviews* (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1860).

⁴⁹ Hugh Falconer, "On the American Fossil Elephant of the Regions Bordering the Gulf of Mexico," in *The Natural History Review: A Quarterly Journal of Biological Science*, (London: Williams and Norgate, 1863), 80. Quoted favorably in Gould, *The Structure of Evolutionary Theory*, 2.

mated. According to James Moore, “In the history of biology, it is difficult to conceive of a greater book than *The Origin of Species*. It fundamentally, I believe, permanently changed our view of nature.”⁵⁰ As for the history of the dialogue between science and religion, “the publication of *The Origin* ushered in the greatest intellectual revolution since the proclamation of Christianity, almost two thousand years earlier,”⁵¹ facilitating the emergence of fundamentalism and the fundamentalist controversy of the 1920s.

The Emergence of American Fundamentalism

Christian fundamentalism⁵² is popularly described as a movement that grew among evangelicals⁵³ in America as a reaction to theological liberalism/modernism.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Comments by James Moore in methinxaweezil, “1993 Documentary on Charles Darwin's "Origin of Species" Part 2,” YouTube video, accessed October 10, 2013, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gR5UIRTJP24&list=PLw0v1Oq7AhlaPA-ZNbjWbTxj2G07-YCS3>. Comments were made during 8:44-8:55 minute’s section of the video.

⁵¹ Comment by Ernst W. Mayr in methinxaweezil, “1993 Documentary on Charles Darwin's "Origin of Species" Part 1,” YouTube video, accessed October 10, 2013, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vfmOaAz371M&list=PLw0v1Oq7AhlaPA-ZNbjWbTxj2G07-YCS3>. Comments were made during 3:33-3:44 minute’s section of the video.

⁵² Generally speaking, fundamentalism is “the term used to denote a movement which received its name from a set of twelve booklets published between 1910 and 1912, *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth*. These booklets and the movement that took its name from them sought to establish a testimony to the great basic doctrines of evangelical Protestantism. In May 1919 in Philadelphia, the World’s Christian Fundamentals Association was formed with W. B. Riley as its president. It required its members to adhere to nine points of doctrine held to be fundamental: The inspiration and inerrancy of Scripture. The Trinity. The deity and virgin birth of Christ. The creation and fall of man. Christ’s substitutionary atonement. The bodily resurrection and ascension of Christ. The regeneration of believers. The imminent and personal return of Christ. The resurrection; eternal blessedness for the redeemed and eternal woe for the unregenerate.” Cairns, *Dictionary of Theological Terms*, 188. For the full version of the original statement of beliefs adopted by the WCFA see William V. Trollinger, *God's Empire: William Bell Riley and Midwestern Fundamentalism*, *History of American Thought and Culture* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 163.

⁵³ It is unlikely that the term *evangelical* or *evangelicalism* can be defined precisely and satisfactorily to all. George Marsden, Mark Noll, and Alan Cairns, for example, have provided their own definitions of the term, but they recognize that those definitions carry a variety of implications. For this reason, I am using an eclectic definition to define an evangelical as a conservative Protestant who sustains the following tenets of Christianity: (1) the Reformation doctrine of the final authority of the Bible; (2) the priesthood of all believers, so that they have direct access to God, without the mediation of priests or saints,

According to Edward Larson, after its first appearance in 1920, the “use of the term [fundamentalism] quickly spread to include all conservative Christians militantly opposed to modernism.”⁵⁵ Another way to describe the movement is to say that fundamentalism emerged as an attempt to contain the spreading of theological liberalism/modernism by uplifting Scripture as the truly inspired and inerrant Word of God.⁵⁶ According to Ernest Sandeen, these are the reasons why *The Fundamentals* were

and also have the right to read and understand the Bible for themselves, without the interposition of the authority of the church; (3) the salvation to eternal life based on the redemptive work of Christ, and not by human merits or dependence on any sacramental experience to bring someone into a right relationship with God, but to receive Christ by personal relationship with him; (4) an emphasis on the “new birth” as a life-changing religious experience through the work of the Holy Spirit; and (5) the importance of evangelism and missions. For other definitions see Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, 4-5; Noll, *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 8; Cairns, *Dictionary of Theological Terms*, 169-170.

⁵⁴ Cairns says that liberalism is “the theological movement also known as modernism. Liberalism denotes the movement’s free criticism of all theological claims. In effect, it is freedom from all restraint imposed by any theological a priori, meaning that any Biblical doctrine is open to be denied.” Cairns, *Dictionary of Theological Terms*, 263.

⁵⁵ Edward J. Larson, *Summer for the Gods: The Scopes Trial and America's Continuing Debate over Science and Religion* (New York, NY: BasicBooks, 1997), 36.

⁵⁶ Be aware that there are many other definitions of fundamentalism. James Barr, for example, offers a more inclusive definition when he says, “as generally used, the term ‘fundamentalism’ designates a form of conservative evangelical Protestantism that, along with other traditional doctrines such as the Trinity, incarnation, deity of Christ, original sin, human depravity, and justification by faith, *lays an exceptional stress on the inerrancy and infallibility of the Bible as the absolutely essential foundation and criterion of truth.*” James Barr, “Fundamentalism,” *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, 2003 ed. (1999-2003), 363. Emphasis supplied. Thomas O’Meara gives another definition. He says, “Christian fundamentalism is an interpretation of Christianity in which a charismatic leader locates with easy certitude in chosen words, doctrines and practices the miraculous actions of a strict God saving an elite from an evil world.” Thomas F. O’Meara, *Fundamentalism: A Catholic Perspective* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist, 1990), 18. Leander Keyser offers another definition. He focuses on six features associated with the fundamentalists on matters of religion, from which at least three are more closely related to the fundamentalist behavior than to the fundamentalist’s theological convictions. “[1.] It may be frankly admitted that some of them are more earnest than gentle. . . . [2.] The Fundamentalists stand firmly, unalterably for the orthodox doctrines. With them the Bible is the infallible rule of faith and practice, and they so assert in all their confessional declarations. . . . [3.] Taking a firm and stalwart position on the Bible, they logically accept, ex animo whatever they believe to be the clear teaching of the Bible. They could not consistently do otherwise. . . . [T]hey believe in the Virgin Birth, the Deity of Christ, His vicarious atonement, His bodily resurrection, the bodily resurrection of all men at the last day, and our Lord’s visible second coming. For these doctrines they are willing to contend. They believe, therefore, that the modernistic view and treatment of the Bible is a sapping process; that it is foundationally undermining; that, if carried to its logical conclusion, it would cut the heart out of Christianity. While they do not believe that Modernism will succeed in its destructive

published in the early nineteenth century.⁵⁷ In light of this popular definition, the differences between fundamentalism and liberalism in the days of Price and Warfield are well summarized by Millard Erickson. He says,

To a large extent, the difference between fundamentalism and liberalism was a difference in worldview. The conservative operates with a definite supernaturalism—God resides outside the world and intervenes periodically within the natural processes through miracles. The conservative sees reality as occupying more than one level. The liberal, on the other hand, tends to have a single-story view of reality. There is no supernatural realm outside the natural realm. God is within nature rather than beyond or outside it.⁵⁸

Although this popular definition of fundamentalism is helpful, it does not clarify the issues associated with fundamentalism for the non-academic; it focuses primarily on the fundamentalist attitude that was so evident during the fundamentalist controversy of the 1920s. Furthermore, such a popular definition demotes the theological features of fundamentalism to a secondary role, and prevents us from fully understanding and specifically identifying what is “fundamentalism” and who is a “fundamentalist”. To

work, they feel that, while it is carrying on its propaganda, souls are being led astray, and many may be ruined for ever. [4.] The Fundamentalists also hold it to be a Christian duty to defend the faith, and not to sit idly by and let the enemies beset and capture the citadel of truth. . . . [5.] In order to understand the present situation clearly, an explanation of one point ought to be given. Many uninformed people confuse Fundamentalism with Pre-millinarism. The two are by no means to be identified. Let me put the latter as discriminately as possible. Pre-millinarians are practically all Fundamentalists, but not near all Fundamentalists are Pre-millinarians. . . . So it is a sign of lack of thoroughness for anyone to accuse all, or even the greater thoroughness for anyone to accuse all, or even the greater number, of the Fundamentalists of being advocates of chiliarism. . . . [6.] The Fundamentalists are sometimes accused of being opposed to science. This is a mistake. . . . Indeed, some of the most eloquent tributes to the value and achievements of natural science that I have ever heard have come from the lips of Fundamentalist speakers. Their writings, too, always give to science the proper need of praise.” Leander S. Keyser, *The Conflict of Fundamentalism and Modernism* (Burlington, IA: The Lutheran Literary Board, 1926), 21-25.

⁵⁷ The idea of *The Fundamentals* was born in the mind of Lyman Stewart, a Presbyterian in Los Angeles, California, who wanted “to reassert the truth of the Christian faith and to strengthen those Christians who were being seduced by biblical criticism [German higher criticism] and contemporary unbelief [theological liberalism].” Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 188.

⁵⁸ Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 330.

solve this issue, we must first identify the theological features of fundamentalism so we can precisely identify what is “fundamentalism” and who is a “fundamentalist”. I suspect that once this process is complete, we will be able to better understand how fundamentalism fits into the discussion of Price’s and Warfield’s protological hermeneutics, and to determine whether or not they should be classified as fundamentalists.

Defining Fundamentalism

To define fundamentalism is neither an easy nor a small task. The difficulty begins with the fact that fundamentalism in America is a movement that grew out of the evangelical movement, and neither evangelicalism nor fundamentalism has a list of membership or affiliation that can be connected with a particular community of faith.⁵⁹ In other words, “Fundamentalism was a loose, diverse, and changing federation of co-belligerents united by their fierce opposition to modernist attempts to bring Christianity into line with modern thought.”⁶⁰

Regardless of the lack of a membership list, most scholars tend to associate fundamentalism with orthodoxy or conservative Protestantism, but according to Nancy

⁵⁹ Marsden says, “This definition [of a fundamentalist] would be fairly clear if we knew exactly what an evangelical is. However, our task is made more difficult because neither fundamentalism nor evangelicalism is a clearly defined religious organization with a membership list. Rather, both evangelicalism and fundamentalism are religious movements.” Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, 1-2.

⁶⁰ George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2006), 4. Marsden also says, “Though outsiders to the movement sometimes use the term broadly to designate any militant conservative, *those who call themselves fundamentalists are predominantly separatist Baptist dispensationalists.*” Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, 4. Emphasis supplied.

Ammerman, “the name fundamentalist is not synonymous with ‘conservative.’”⁶¹ She explains that while “fundamentalists share with other conservative Christians their support for ‘traditional’ interpretations of such doctrines as the Virgin Birth of Jesus, the reality of the miracles reported in Scripture (including the Resurrection of Jesus from the dead), and the eventual return of Christ to reign over this Earth,” not all of those supporters are fundamentalists.⁶² The main difference between the conservative interpreters and the liberals is that “in spreading these teachings, conservatives tend to support the more supernatural interpretation of events, while liberals tend to seek naturalistic explanations.”⁶³ So, how do Ammerman and other scholars identify what is “fundamentalism” and who is a “fundamentalist”?

According to Ammerman, fundamentalists belong to a group that sees no virtue in getting along with outsiders—as some evangelicals do—but they insist on actively opposing “liberalism, secularism, and communism.”⁶⁴ She insists that this behavior is based on central features (i.e., beliefs) that fundamentalists cherish as fundamental to their faith. According to Ammerman, these features are *evangelism, inerrancy,*

⁶¹ Ammerman also says, “In American society such conservatism in religion is widespread. Seventy-two percent of Americans say the Bible is the Word of God, with over half of that number (39 percent of the total) saying that it should be taken literally. Almost two-thirds say they are certain that Jesus Christ rose from the dead. Nearly three-fourths say they believe in life after death. And almost half (44 percent) could be called ‘creationists,’ since they believe that God created the world in ‘pretty much its present form’ sometime in the last ten thousand years.” Nancy T. Ammerman, “North American Protestant Fundamentalism,” in *Fundamentalisms Observed*, 5 vols., ed. Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 1:2.

⁶² Ammerman, “North American Protestant Fundamentalism,” 1:2.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 1:2.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 1:4.

*premillennialism-dispensationalism, and separatism.*⁶⁵

Another definition of what is “fundamentalism” and who is a “fundamentalist” comes from George Marsden. He suggests, “an American *fundamentalist is an evangelical who is militant in opposition to liberal theology* in the churches or to changes in cultural values or mores, such as those associated with ‘secular humanism. . . .’ ” Most notably, Marsden adds, “fundamentalists are not just religious conservatives, *they are conservatives who are willing to take a stand and to fight.*”⁶⁶ First and foremost, this approach is one that reflects the fundamentalist spirit of the 1920s. During that time, evangelicals in America were concerned about actively defending the Bible’s foundational authority against “modernism and the schools of Darwinism.”⁶⁷ Marsden says,

During this period of its national prominence in the 1920s, fundamentalism is best defined in terms of these concerns. Briefly, it was militantly antimodernist Protestant evangelicalism. Fundamentalists were evangelical Christians, close to the traditions of the dominant American revivalist establishment of the nineteenth century, who in the twentieth century militantly opposed both modernism in theology and the cultural changes that modernism endorsed. Militant opposition to modernism was what most clearly set off fundamentalism from a number of closely related traditions, such as evangelicalism, revivalism, pietism, the holiness movements, millenarianism, Reformed confessionism, Baptist traditionalism, and other denominational orthodoxies. Fundamentalism was a “movement” in the sense of a tendency or development in Christian thought that gradually took on its own identity as a patchwork coalition of representatives of other movements. Although it developed a distinct life, identity, and eventually a subculture of its own, it never existed wholly independently of the older movements from which it grew.⁶⁸

While this is true, it does not mean that Marsden is limited to a definition of

⁶⁵ Ammerman, “North American Protestant Fundamentalism,” 1:4-8.

⁶⁶ Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, 1. Emphasis supplied.

⁶⁷ Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 5.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

fundamentalism that emphasizes this common militant attitude among fundamentalists. In *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, Marsden moves from an emphasis on what I call “the fundamentalist behavior” and towards a definition that focuses on the theological features attached to fundamentalism. Marsden says,

At the center of this [fundamentalist] coalition were *dispensationalist premillennialists* who had been promoting dispensationalist teachings for nearly half a century through prophecy conferences, Bible institutes, evangelistic campaigns, and the *Scofield Reference Bible* (1909). These same leaders had promoted a wider coalition with the publication and wide, free distribution of *The Fundamentals*, twelve paperback volumes containing defenses of fundamental doctrines by a variety of American and British conservative writers.⁶⁹

In addition to Marsden and Ammerman, Ernest Sandeen developed an interpretation of fundamentalism that can improve our understanding of fundamentalism. He argued that most of the time, scholars described fundamentalism as a temporary controversy or a militant opposition of conservative evangelicals against evolutionary science. But according to Sandeen, this description focused on the fundamentalist controversy of the 1920s instead of focusing on the fundamentalist movement as a whole. This is wrong, Sandeen said, because “the movement existed [and still exists] independently of the controversy.”⁷⁰ Tragically, Sandeen said, “this description of the Fundamentalist of the 1920s had the effect of removing theological and religious variables from the analysis of controversy.”⁷¹ This effect needs to be addressed.

So, how did Sandeen restore these theological and religious variables to provide a clearer definition of fundamentalism? First, he suggested that fundamentalism in America

⁶⁹ Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, 57. Emphasis supplied.

⁷⁰ Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, xiii.

was a product of the development of millenarianism in the late nineteenth century. According to Sandeen, “it is millenarianism which gave life and shape to the Fundamentalist movement.”⁷² Consequently, “Fundamentalism ought to be understood partly if not largely as one aspect of the history of millenarianism.”⁷³ Thus, while the fundamentalist controversy of the 1920s is rightly seen as a reaction against theological liberalism, the larger role of the fundamentalist movement is to show how Scripture is a reliable source of knowledge.

Second, Sandeen explained that the revival of millenarianism in England, and its development in the United States became widely accepted through a system of interpretation developed by John Nelson Darby, commonly known as dispensationalism. This is important, because “Darbyite dispensationalism dominated late nineteenth-century American millenarianism, formed the substance and the structure for the *Scofield Reference Bible*, and constituted one of the most significant elements in the history of *Fundamentalism*.”⁷⁴

Third, Sandeen exposed the prominent place that fundamentalists give to biblical literalism and the verbal inspiration of Scripture—generally known as the doctrine of inerrancy of Scripture. Sandeen said, “A firm trust and belief in every word of the Bible in an age when skepticism was the rule and not the exception—this has been both the pride and the scandal of Fundamentalism. Faith in an inerrant Bible as much as an

⁷¹ Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, x.

⁷² *Ibid.*, xv.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, xix. See also comments by Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 4-5.

⁷⁴ Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, 60-61. Emphasis supplied.

expectation of the second advent of Christ [as taught by dispensationalist] has been the hallmark of the Fundamentalist.”⁷⁵ Such belief in an inerrant Bible, Sandeen said, requires “a systematic theology of biblical authority which defended the common evangelical faith in the infallibility of the Bible. . . . The formation of this theology in association with the growth of the millenarian movement [i.e., dispensationalism] determined the character of Fundamentalism.”⁷⁶

One final description, coupled with the previous definitions of fundamentalism comes from Roger Olson’s explanation of what is “fundamentalism” and who is a “fundamentalist”. Olson states, “if a person believes premillennial eschatology (and especially ‘pre-tribulational rapturism’) and young earth *creationism* are crucial Christian beliefs, ‘fundamentals of the faith,’ she is probably a fundamentalist.”⁷⁷ Olson’s remark

⁷⁵ Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, 103. Here Sandeen makes the connection between plenary and verbal inspiration to inerrancy of Scripture. Other scholars have done the same connection. Backwith explains, “Views of inspiration may be grouped in two general classes—those of plenary or verbal inspiration, and those of partial inspiration. *Advocates of plenary inspiration hold that the writers of Scripture had the immediate influence of the Spirit to such an extent that they could not err in any point.*” C. A. Backwith, “Inspiration,” *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge: Embracing Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical Theology and Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Biography from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, Logos ed. (1908-1914), 17. Italics supplied. See also I. S. Rennie, “Verbal Inspiration,” in *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, ed. Walter A. Elwell, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2001), 1242–1243.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 106. By infallibility I mean that the biblical canon on its entirety is fully trustworthy, to communicate to humankind what God intended about Himself, origin, human nature, sin, salvation, and restoration (i.e., eschatology). Like F.F. Bruce, I use the English noun “infallibility” as an equivalent to the Greek ἀσφάλεια used in Luke 1:4. The BDAG translates ἀσφάλεια as “stability of idea or statement, *certainty, truth.*” Frederick W. Danker, Walter Bauer and William Arndt, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed., (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 147. According to Bruce, “The whole Bible assures us of the *asphaleia* of those things which Christian most surely believe.” F. F. Bruce, “What Do We Mean by Biblical Inspiration?,” *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* 78, (1946): 127n9. For an insightful discussion on a distinction between “infallibility” and “inerrancy” see, Roger E. Olson, “Is the Bible ‘Inerrant’ or ‘Infallible?’,” Roger E. Olson: My Evangelical Arminian Theological Musing, accessed June 20, 2017, <http://www.patheos.com/blogs/rogereolson/2015/11/is-the-bible-inerrant-or-infallible/>.

⁷⁷ Roger E. Olson, “What Is 'Fundamentalism' and Who Is a 'Fundamentalist?',” Roger E. Olson: My Evangelical Arminian Theological Musing, accessed November 14, 2013, <http://www.patheos.com/>

that young earth creationism is associated with fundamentalism is important, because it reveals how creationism and fundamentalism have been connected from the days of Price and Warfield until the present. It is important to notice, however, that creationism is a term popularly used to describe different approaches to biblical protology.

The double entendre in creationism is well observed by Noll. He explains,

The word creationism by rights should define all who discern a divine mind at work in, with, or under the phenomena of the natural world. Yet by a most unfortunate set of events, the term has come to mean only the view that God created the world ten thousand or fewer years ago and that God used a worldwide flood in the days of Noah to form the geological conditions that most modern scientists think reveal an ancient earth with evolutionary changes over great expanses of time.⁷⁸

James Moreland concurs saying, “creationism (also called ‘creation science’ [or scientific creationism]) has a broad and a narrow usage.” “In the broad sense . . . scientific creationism expresses a commitment to theistic science and opposes methodological naturalism.” Nonetheless, “*a more narrow and widely used sense of ‘scientific creationism’ limits its usage to young earth creationism* as advocated by scholars such as Duane Gish and Henry Morris and by organizations such as . . . the Institute for Creation Research (ICR) in San Diego.”⁷⁹

blogs/rogereolson/2013/02/what-is-fundamentalism-and-who-is-a-fundamentalist/. See also Olson’s discussion on the importance of considering the theological distinctions between a conservative evangelical and a fundamentalist. Roger E. Olson, “Why I Am Not a Fundamentalist (or Conservative Evangelical),” Roger E. Olson: My Evangelical Arminian Theological Musing, accessed March 1, 2013, <http://www.patheos.com/blogs/rogereolson/2013/02/why-i-am-not-a-fundamentalist-or-conservative-evangelical/>. Emphasis supplied.

⁷⁸ Noll, *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 188.

⁷⁹ James P. Moreland, “Scientific Creationism,” in *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, ed. Walter A. Elwell, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2001), 1075-1076. Emphasis supplied. Morris is the author of many articles and books such as Morris, *A History of Modern Creationism*; Henry M. Morris and Institute for Creation Research, *Scientific Creationism*, General ed. (El Cajon, CA: Master Books, 1985); John C. Whitcomb and Henry M. Morris, *The Genesis Flood: The Biblical Record and Its Scientific Implications* (Philadelphia, PA: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., 1961); Henry M. Morris, *The*

In their list of Principles of Scientific Creationism and Principles of Biblical Creationism, the ICR states: “There are many scientific evidences for a relatively recent creation of the earth and the universe.”⁸⁰ The core issue in their Principles of Scientific Creationism is that because of Scripture’s “unique, plenary, verbal inspiration,” a recent creation of the universe means that “all things in the universe were created and made by God in the six literal days of the Creation Week described in Genesis 1:1-2:3, and confirmed in Exodus 20:8-11.”⁸¹ Baldwin notes that ICR’s notion of a relatively recent creation of the universe constitutes “what can be called a full Ussherian worldview” and “represents the single model of earth history that many people associate with the term ‘creationism.’”⁸² Judging from this narrow usage of the term creationism, mainstream

Genesis Record: A Scientific and Devotional Commentary on the Book of Beginnings (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1977).

⁸⁰ Institute for Creation Research, “Principles of Scientific Creationism,” Institute for Creation Research, accessed April 10, 2012, <http://www.icr.org/tenets/>. Emphasis supplied.

⁸¹ Institute for Creation Research, “Principles of Scientific Creationism,” accessed April 10, 2012, <http://www.icr.org/tenets/>. Emphasis supplied. See also Henry M. Morris, *History of Modern Creationism*, 2nd ed. (Santee, CA: Institute for Creation Research, 1993), 391; Whitcomb and Morris, *The Genesis Flood*, 219.

⁸² John T. Baldwin, “Creationism: Contrastive Perspectives and Values, Part 1,” Geoscience news, entry posted July 1, 2013, accessed October 22, 2013, <http://gridsa.wordpress.com>. Baldwin explains the tenets of full Ussherian worldview as follows: “On the first page of his 17th-century Annals, Bishop Ussher introduces three initial, seminal notions comprising his worldview regarding creation. One, everything except God was created during the six days of creation a few thousand years ago. Two, the spiritual realm and all the angels were created in the dark portion of the first day of creation week. This understanding means that the angels were created before daybreak on what we now call Sunday morning. Three, the literal and historical six day creation week occurred recently in 4004 B.C.” Marsden says that in the famous 1925 Scopes’ Trial, the fundamentalist William Jennings Bryan was led “reluctantly to say that he basically accepted Bishop Ussher’s chronology as printed in many Bibles.” Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 187. Hugh Ross also says that in 1919 during a conference in Philadelphia “the fundamentalist movement took form as an organized effort with the founding of the World’s Christian Fundamentals Association (WCFA). Subsequent to this meeting, the group took on the task of delineating what qualifies a person as a true Christian, and they went beyond the five fundamentals. In the matter of origins, belief that God created the universe, Earth, and life was no longer enough. Because the WCFA deemed evolution, specifically Darwinism, as the great evil of the day, they adopted Ussher’s chronology as a necessary belief, the only defense they could see against the rising tide of ‘godless’ science.” Hugh Ross, *A Matter of*

scientists around the world insist, “Creationism . . . [is] the negation of science; one of the greatest achievements of civilization.”⁸³

Similar to Olson, Mark Noll also made the connection of the term creationism with fundamentalism recently. Noll explains,

Under the social pressures of the early twentieth century as well as the impetus of their own movement, fundamentalists gave in to the weaker elements of their theology, with harmful results for the practice of science. In particular, fundamentalism retreated to Manichaeism, under the assumption that science was a battlefield in which the forces of light must yield nary an inch to the forces of darkness. It adopted a form of super supernaturalism, which had the effect of demonizing the ordinary study of nature. It also fastened on to notions of the “literal interpretation” for the Bible that made it very difficult to see how earlier believers had found the Scriptures a stimulus to full-scale investigation of the physical world. The rise and, from the perspective of the nineteenth century, surprising strength of scientific creationism among evangelicals is the best illustration of these inclinations.⁸⁴

After assessing the most common definitions of fundamentalism proposed by Ammerman, Marsden, and Sandeen, and its connection with scientific creationism as described by Olson and Noll, how should I answer the questions what is “fundamentalism” and who is a “fundamentalist”?

Days: Resolving a Creation Controversy (Colorado Springs, CO: NavPress, 2004), 30-31. Carpenter also says, “In 1919 this premillennialist party led a coalition of conservative Protestants in forming the World’s Christian Fundamentals Association [WCFA] to purge these ideas [i.e., ‘disbelief in the Bible’s authority and the acceptance of evolutionary philosophy and ethics’] from the nation’s churches and schools. The resulting antimodernist federation became known as the ‘fundamentalists,’ a title coined in 1920 by Curtis Lee Laws, editor of the Baptist paper the Watchman-Examiner.” Joel A. Carpenter, *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1997), 7. For more information see Paul S. Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture*, Studies in Cultural History (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1992), 80-112. James Ussher, *Annales Veteris Testamenti, a Prima Mundi Origine Deducti* (London: Printed by J. Fletcher, 1650).

⁸³ Leandro R. Tessler, “Criacionismo No Mackenzie,” *Cultura Científica*, accessed January 3, 2014, <http://ccientifica.blogspot.com.br/2008/03/criacionismo-no-mackenzie.html>. My translation of “Criacionismo e design inteligente são a negação de uma das maiores conquistas da civilização: a ciência, essa metodologia que nos permite entender leis e padrões na natureza.”

⁸⁴ Noll, *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 187-188.

To make use of an eclectic definition, I suggest that Christian fundamentalism is the religious movement that grew out of developments in millenarianism among American evangelicals. As a movement, fundamentalism reached its apex during the fundamentalist controversy in the 1920s, which is characterized by its attempt to contain the spreading of theological liberalism by uplifting Scripture as the true, verbally inspired, and inerrant Word of God. Fundamentalists adopt a strict view of biblical protology that insists on the instantaneous creation of the entire galactic universe, some six to ten thousand years ago, during the six literal days of the Creation Week described in Genesis 1:1-2:3.⁸⁵ Accordingly, I suggest that a fundamentalist is most clearly identified as an evangelical-premillennialist-dispensationalist who insists that the Bible is verbally inspired and, therefore, inerrant in all the subjects it addresses, which they say includes a strict view of biblical protology.⁸⁶

In light of these descriptions, four observations are required to clarify how the fundamentalist movement is connected with Price's and Warfield's protological

⁸⁵ By "a strict view of biblical protology" I mean an interpretation of biblical protology that sustains that the entire galactic universe was created instantaneously, some six to ten thousand years ago, over the period of six literal, consecutive, twenty-four hour days. Moreland identifies this approach to biblical protology with the narrow usage of the term creationism. For more information see Moreland, "Scientific Creationism," 1075-1076.

⁸⁶ Cairns says, "Nowadays, most Fundamentalists are in dispensational churches, and the notion that to be a Fundamentalist requires one to be a dispensationalist is widely held." Cairns, *Dictionary of Theological Terms*, 189. In relation to biblical protology, fundamentalists actively participate in the Young Earth Creationism movement (YEC), insisting that because the genealogies in Scripture seem to account for the beginning of human life on earth some six to ten thousand years ago, that the entire universe was created within this same time span. A good example of this understanding is found in the belief statement of the ICR, *Principles of Scientific Creationism*. It says: "The record of earth history, as preserved in the earth's crust, especially in the rocks and fossil deposits, is primarily a record of catastrophic intensities of natural processes, operating largely within uniform natural laws, rather than one of gradualism and relatively uniform process rates. *There are many scientific evidences for a relatively recent creation of the earth and the universe*, in addition to strong scientific evidence that most of the earth's fossiliferous sedimentary rocks were formed in an even more recent global hydraulic cataclysm." Research, "Principles of Scientific Creationism," accessed April 10, 2012, <http://www.icr.org/tenets/>. Emphasis supplied.

hermeneutics. First, it must be clear that while Price and Warfield maintained a high view of Scripture throughout their careers, only Warfield was a proponent of the fundamentalist doctrine of inerrancy of Scripture;⁸⁷ Price, however, can be better understood as a proponent of the infallibility of Scripture.⁸⁸ Second, both Warfield⁸⁹ and Price⁹⁰ rejected the fundamentalist's teaching of premillennial-dispensationalism. Third, while fundamentalists were generally portrayed as "foolish, unthinking, religious zealots,"⁹¹ both Warfield and Price were critical thinkers who demonstrated a high regard for the

⁸⁷ Vanhoozer explains that "in 1881 (the same year that Westcott and Hort published their critical text of the NT), Archibald. A. Hodge [son of Charles Hodge] and Warfield argued jointly in the *Presbyterian Review* that the 'original autographs' of the Bible were without error. This position became the hallmark of the doctrine of 'inerrancy' a nineteenth-century neologism that was taken up by conservative Presbyterians during the 1890s and probably contributed to the emergence of fundamentalism in the first decade of the twentieth century." Vanhoozer *et al.*, eds., *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible*, 621.

⁸⁸ "The result has been that an essentially heathenish evolutionary philosophy has largely displaced the Bible doctrines of Creation, the fall of man, and the prime necessity of redemption through a vicarious atonement of One equal with God; while multitudes of a mystical or emotional turn of mind have abandoned all idea of basing their faith on such external things as an inspired Book or a true history of God's dealings with the race, and boast that they follow the divine light within their own breasts, an ever present and infallible guide." George McCready Price, *Poisoning Democracy* (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1921), 131. See also George McCready Price, *Science and Religion in a Nutshell* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1923), 61; George McCready Price, *The Time of the End* (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Association, 1967), 60.

⁸⁹ Noll affirms that Warfield "regarded premillennialism and dispensationalism as aberrations." Mark A. Noll, "Warfield, Benjamin Breckinridge (1851–1921)," in *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, ed. Walter A. Elwell, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2001), 1258.

⁹⁰ Price followed SDAs in their historicist views of prophecy, arguing that one could find its fulfilling in the record of history. "We may not be able to refute such guesses of the astronomer, but the guesses of the false prophet are easily refuted with the actuality of the historical record. On the same basis, a genuine predictive prophecy carries its own credentials; for when the prediction has become history, then all those who do not exercise a strong will to disbelieve can see that God has spoken." George McCready Price, *The Greatest of the Prophets: A New Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1955), 23, 120.

⁹¹ Eugenie C. Scott, *Evolution vs. Creationism: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2009), 102. See also David P. Smith, "B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship," in *Evangelical Theological Society Monograph Series*, vol. 10 (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011), 5.

intellect.⁹² Fourth, in relation to the strict view of biblical protology advocated by the fundamentalists, both Warfield and Price distanced themselves from this approach.

Although Warfield insisted on the truthfulness of biblical protology, he fully rejected the views of the YEC movement for “he believed evolution could be reconciled with the inerrancy of early Genesis;”⁹³ Price, on the other hand, distanced himself from a fundamentalist approach to origins by embracing a view of biblical protology that allows for the creation of an ancient universe while affirming the recent creation of life on earth and fully rejecting Darwinism, which he regarded as a threat to the essential doctrines of the Christian faith.⁹⁴

All things considered, I suggest that to classify Price and Warfield as fundamentalists is theologically incorrect. After all, most theological features of fundamentalism are inconsistent with their protological hermeneutics. Generally speaking, the theological features of fundamentalism as a whole were neither normative nor formative to Price’s and Warfield’s protological hermeneutics, but urged both to develop interpretations of Genesis 1-11 that reflected their understanding of how to relate science and theology, and to interact with the most popular interpretations of Genesis at the time.⁹⁵

⁹² Warfield “was heartened by the spiritual zeal of the fundamentalists but felt that they were forfeiting rich theological resources by drifting toward anti-intellectualism.” Noll, “Warfield, Benjamin Breckinridge (1851–1921),” 1257-1258. See also, Smith, “B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship,” 5n11. As for Price, he “was a voracious reader, with the ability to analyze and retain what he read, as well as a clear and original thinker. He was certainly far better educated, in the true sense, than 90% of the Ph.D.’s and Th.D.’s cranked out by the assembly lines of the educational establishment.” Morris, *History of Modern Creationism*, 89-90.

⁹³ Noll, “Warfield, Benjamin Breckinridge (1851–1921),” 1258.

⁹⁴ Price, *God's Two Books or Plain Facts About Evolution, Geology and the Bible*, 23.

⁹⁵ Though I am aware that Price and Warfield exhibited elements of a fundamentalist attitude in defense of Scriptural authority, I maintain that it is incorrect to classify them as fundamentalists. I will

Popular Creationist Movements and Models

Throughout the history of protological hermeneutics, COD and CPE have attempted to interpret and to describe that which cannot be directly observed (e.g., biblical protology), by creating distinct models⁹⁶ to make sense of the available data from Scripture in relation to the data from nature.⁹⁷ In the days of Price and Warfield, there were two creation movements in America from which protological models have grown: one was called YEC and the other OEC. Although YEC and OEC are active movements in America today, I find this classification somewhat outdated. For this reason, I will include in my discussion below another creation movement that has recently been called “Undated Heavens and Earth Creation,” or “Undated Earth Creation” (UEC).⁹⁸ An explanation of the basic premises of these movements and models will follow next.

Old Earth Creation Movement

Also known as “ ‘Old Earth’ Theories of Creation,” the Old Earth Creation (OEC) movement in the days of Price and Warfield was composed of creationists who accepted

address the protological hermeneutical differences between Price and Warfield in Chapters 2 and 3, including its relation to fundamentalism.

⁹⁶ A model is “a description or analogy used to help visualize something . . . that cannot be directly observed.” *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 11th ed. (2003), s.v. "Model."

⁹⁷ For information on the questions surrounding biblical protology, see Jiri Moskala, “A Fresh Look at Two Genesis Creation Accounts: Contradictions?” *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 49, no. 1 (2011): 45-65. Claus Westermann, *A Continental Commentary: Genesis 1-11*, trans., John J. Scullion S.J. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1994), 80. Jacques B. Doukhan, “The Literary Structure of the Genesis Creation Story,” vol. 5 of *Andrews University Dissertation Series* (Berrien springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1978). Gorman Gray, *The Age of the Universe: What Are the Biblical Limits?*, 2nd ed., (Washougal, WA: Morning Star Publications, 2001).

⁹⁸ Arnold, *Two Stage Biblical Creation*, 26, 27. Other scholars that might fit into the UEC category are, John Sailhamer, Paul Copan, William L. Craig, E. J. Young, Derek Kidner, Gorman Gray, Robert H. Brown, George McCready Price, Richard Davidson, Martin Hanna, and John T. Baldwin, .

a creator/designer, and simultaneously accepted deep time or long-ages for creation. Proponents of the OEC presuppose that the planet Earth is “about 4.5 billion years and a universe about 15 billion years old.”⁹⁹ Contrary to proponents of YEC, proponents of OEC are often proponents of the evolutionary theory either in its theistic form or in its naturalistic form. Accordingly, proponents of OEC are also “inclusivists” when it comes to their scientific views for in most cases, they claim to accept both science and theology as parts of God’s revelation to humankind. While most proponents of OEC claim that the correct interpretation of scientific evidences might be consistent with the Bible, science seems to take precedence over theology; this is to say that theology must be controlled by scientific conclusions. The most common models of OEC at the time of Price and Warfield were Gap Creation and Theistic Evolution.

Gap Creation Model

For most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the gap creation model (or, Gap Theory) was associated with fundamentalism.¹⁰⁰ In the days of Price and Warfield, the gap theory was only known as gap theory or creation-ruin-restoration theory. Currently, however, the gap creation model might be better understood if subdivided into the Active Gap theory (AGC) and the Passive Gap theory (PGC).

⁹⁹ Grudem, *Systematic Theology*, 298.

¹⁰⁰ For information on the close relationship of the Gap Theory with fundamentalism see, Henry, *God, Revelation, And ...* 6:144. Numbers, *The Creationists*, 61-71. A. F. Johnson, “Gap Theory,” in *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, ed. Walter A. Elwell, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2001), 480.

Active Gap Theory (Creation-Ruin-Restoration)¹⁰¹

Generally speaking, the AGC theory is a three step theological effort to reconcile biblical protology with the concept of deep time for life on earth (See Table 1). In other words, “the gap theory is . . . an attempt to reconcile the Bible with the views of science.”¹⁰²

Proponents of the AGC theory suggest that an undetermined period of time (i.e., gap) has passed between the original creation (Gen 1:1) and the restoration of creation (Gen 1:3-2:4a). They argue that after the original creation (Step #1), that Satan was expelled from heaven and thrown to earth (Isa 14:12-15) where he destroyed God’s original creation and turned the earth into complete chaos (Gen 1:2). For the proponents of the AGC theory, Satan’s activities would account for much of the fossil record found in the geological column (Step #2).¹⁰³ According to this interpretation, God looked and saw that “the earth was without form, and void” (Gen 1:2), and decided to restore the earth in order to make it habitable.¹⁰⁴ Thus, proponents of the AGC model argue that Genesis 1:3-31 describes the recreation of the earth in six literal days to provide a new

¹⁰¹ Arnold has used the title “Gap or Creation-Ruin-Restoration Theory” in his evaluation of the Gap Creation Model. See, Arnold, *Two Stage Biblical Creation*, 280.

¹⁰² Paul P. Enns, *The Moody Handbook of Theology* (Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1989), 303.

¹⁰³ Arnold, *Two Stage Biblical Creation*, 296.

¹⁰⁴ An excellent evaluation of Gap Creationism is provided by Arnold, *Two Stage Biblical Creation*, 280-305. For more information see Raymond A. Eve and Francis B. Harrold, *The Creationist Movement in Modern America* (Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers, 1991), 47; Ariel A. Roth, *Origins: Linking Science and Scripture* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1998), 341-342; Deborah B. Haarsma and Loren D. Haarsma, *Origins: Christian Perspectives on Creation, Evolution, and Intelligent Design*, Revised ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Faith Alive Christian Resources, 2011), 109; Henry, *God, Revelation, And ...* 6:144-146; and Johnson, “Gap Theory,” 480.

habitat for humankind (Step #3).¹⁰⁵

Table 1. OEC-AGC Structure of the Biblical Account of Creation in Genesis 1:1-2:3

Absolute beginning	Gen 1:1 – God creates the entire universe <i>ex nihilo</i>	
Period of Destruction	Gen 1:2 – Period used by Satan to destroy God’s Creation	
Time of Recreation	God gives the Earth form	God fills the Earth
Divine Action During Creation Week	Gen 1:3-5 – First Day	Gen 1:14-19 – Fourth Day
	Gen 1:6-8 – Second Day	Gen 1:20-23 – Fifth Day
	Gen 1:9-13 – Third Day	Gen 1:24-31 – Sixth Day
God Rests	Gen 2:1-3 – Seventh Day	

While I appreciate the attempt to harmonize biblical protology with the views of science, I agree with Paul Enns and Thomas Arnold that proponents of the AGC model did not provide a consistent exegetical argument that is accepted as conclusive by most scholars.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Mitchell, *Creationism*, 214.

¹⁰⁶ Arnold, Two Stage Biblical Creation, 282-297; Enns, *Moody Handbook of Theology*, 303-304.

Passive Gap Theory (Absolute Creation + Creation of Life on Earth)

Proponents of the PGC theory suggest that God created all things in two steps. In the first step, God created *ex nihilo* the entire universe (including earth) eons ago as described in Genesis 1:1—“In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.” At that time, God also created the planet Earth without the presence of life in it. Then, eons after this initial creation (the passive gap or gap without life activity), God looked and saw that “the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was on the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God was hovering over the face of the waters” (Gen 1:2). Finally, in the second step (Gen 1:3 *passim*), God gave form to the planet Earth—which he created “in the beginning”—by separating the waters, exposing the land, and filling Earth with life in the waters, the air, and the land. This second step took six literal, consecutive, twenty-four hour days (Gen 1:3-2:4b) about six to ten thousand years ago.

In my opinion, the PGC model is more consistent with the scriptural data and the data from mainstream science than the AGC. Davidson analyzes the Hebrew text in Genesis 1:1 and is impressed with the evidences favoring the PGC theory: “Old-universe [including earth], young life [on earth].”¹⁰⁷ Along this line, Arnold developed his “Two Stage Biblical Creation” (2SBC) theory.¹⁰⁸ Although I prefer Davidson’s over Arnold’s methodology,¹⁰⁹ the title of Arnold’s theory—2SBC—is more appealing to readers in the

¹⁰⁷ Richard M. Davidson, “The Genesis Account of Origins,” in *He Spoke and It Was*, ed. Gerald Klingbeil, (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2016), 32-39.

¹⁰⁸ Arnold, *Two Stage Biblical Creation*, 339-426. See pp. 422-423 for a detailed outline of each stage (which I called “steps” in my description of PGC above) in Arnold’s 2SBC)

¹⁰⁹ I prefer Davidson’s methodology because he adopts a systematic approach to the biblical text; i.e., he sees Scripture as a “body” of teachings that is intrinsically related and better understood in its

twenty-first century. This is because it helps to eliminate the unwarranted connection between the PGC model and 2SBC with the AGC model.

Theistic Evolution Model

In short, the "Theistic Evolution" (TE) model "suggests that God created the initial forms of life millions or billions of years ago, and then he used the process of evolution to gradually develop this bit of life until finally it became a human being."¹¹⁰ In other words, "theistic evolutionists . . . subscribe to the Bible's insistence that God is Creator, but leave to science the description of how God created; that is, they . . . espouse an evolutionary process of natural selection and chance variation, although theists adjust evolution in various ways to [include] divine intervention."¹¹¹

I suggest that the idea of God using the process of natural selection to create the universe, and especially life on earth, seems contradictory to the description of His character in Scripture. Roth says, the TE model "seems demeaning to God, in contrast to the all-powerful Creator described in the Bible." He insists, "the slow progress and competition implied in an evolutionary model, challenge the idea of God's creative

totality. Davidson analyzes the entire OT in its "final canonical form of the OT," and argues in favor of someone who "sees creation, and not just salvation history, as foundational to the rest of the OT canon." Richard M. Davidson, *Flame of Yahweh: Sexuality in the Old Testament* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2007), 2, 3. Arnold, on the other hand, argues that he does "not import later Bible concepts into earlier events." By using this principle of interpretation, Arnold eliminates the possibility of interaction between the whole "body" of Scripture, and opens the door to a subjective approach to Scripture. For more details on Arnold's principles of interpretation see Arnold, *Two Stage Biblical Creation*, 421, 364-365.

¹¹⁰ John T. Baldwin, *Creation, Catastrophe, and Calvary: Why a Global Flood Is Vital to the Doctrine of Atonement* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2000), 159. For more information see James P. Moreland and John M. Reynolds, *Three Views on Creation and Evolution*, Counterpoints (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1999), 161-218.

¹¹¹ Henry, God, Revelation, And ... 6:146-147.

power, knowledge, and goodness.”¹¹² Although the TE’s main goal is to explain biblical protology in light of mainstream science, “theistic evolution is rejected by both strict evolutionists and Biblicists alike. Humanistic evolutionists have sharp words of criticism for theistic evolutionists and do not take them seriously in scientific matters.”¹¹³

Young Earth Creationist Movement

Generally speaking, the Young Earth Creationist (YEC) movement in the days of Price and Warfield was formed by strict creationists who followed “a high literal and straight-forward reading of the first eleven chapters of Genesis.”¹¹⁴ More often than not, the YEC teaches that creation—including the creation of the entire galactic universe—occurred about six to ten thousand years ago, in six literal twenty-four-hour days, and that the Genesis Flood (Gen 6-8) was responsible for depositing the sedimentary layers that buried most fossils in the geological column.¹¹⁵ There are, however, different views about

¹¹² Roth, *Origins: Linking Science and Scripture*, 344. Hugh Ross, *The Fingerprint of God: Recent Scientific Discoveries Reveal the Unmistakable Identity of the Creator*, 2nd ed. (Orange, CA: Promise Publishing Co., 1991), 142.

¹¹³ Enns, *Moody Handbook of Theology*, 302. For arguments against theistic evolution see Moreland and Reynolds, *Three Views on Creation and Evolution*, 219-239. For a favorable view of the theistic evolutionary model see Brian Bull and Fritz Guy, *God, Sky & Land* (Roseville, CA: Adventist Forum, 2011). Moreland and Reynolds, *Three Views on Creation and Evolution*, 161-218. Among creationists, “Richard Niessen, a spokesman for scientific creationists, lists twenty-nine divergences between evolutionary theory and theistic creationism (“Significant Discrepancies Between Theistic Evolution and the Bible,” *Christian Research Society Quarterly*, pp. 220 passim)” Henry, *God, Revelation, And ...* 6:147.

¹¹⁴ Eve and Harrold, *The Creationist Movement in Modern America*, 46.

¹¹⁵ Moreland and Reynolds say, “The main distinguishing features of the recent [i.e., young] creation position are: (1.) An open philosophy of science [i.e., open to the possibility that God might act through, or interact with, natural laws if He chooses to do so]. (2.) All basic types of organisms were directly created by God during the creation week of Genesis 1-2. (3.) The curse of Genesis 3:14-19 profoundly affected every aspect of the natural economy. (4.) The flood of Noah was a historical event, global in extent and effect.” Moreland and Reynolds, *Three Views on Creation and Evolution*, 42. See pp. 56-62 for their explanation on the “open” philosophy of science.

how the YEC relates to theology and mainstream science. Hence, the correct understanding of the YEC requires a distinction between the YEC rejectionist interpretation (fundamentalist), and the YEC inclusivist interpretation (non-fundamentalist) of biblical protology.

YEC Rejectionist Interpretation (Fundamentalist)

In most cases, YECs are rejectionists in their views of biblical protology who make little or no effort to take the claims of mainstream science seriously, whenever a conflict appears. Eve and Harrold concur, “Rejectionists flatly reject out of hand any scientific conclusions that contradict their [theological] beliefs.”¹¹⁶ In other words, “If science conflicts with God’s Word [which is inerrant], then the rejectionist dismisses science. A rejectionist feels no need to take scientific claims seriously or to study them analytically to see what is wrong with them, for he already knows that if they conflict with Scripture, they are nonsense.”¹¹⁷ Richard Dawkins got it right when he describes the rejectionist’s fundamentalist attitude towards protology: “Fundamentalists know what they believe and they know that nothing will change their minds.”¹¹⁸

A good example of YEC rejectionists are the current proponents of “Scientific Creationism” (SC), who insist—based on the doctrine of inerrancy of Scripture—that a literal reading of the biblical account of creation is fundamental to the correct

¹¹⁶ Eve and Harrold, *The Creationist Movement in Modern America*, 49.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Richard Dawkins, *The God Delusion*, 1st Mariner Books ed. (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2008), 19.

interpretation of God’s written revelation. Under this premise, these YEC rejectionists insist that when the Bible says, “in the beginning God created the heaven and the earth” (Gen 1:1—KJV), that the reader should interpret the text to say that God created the entire galactic universe in six literal 24-hour days, about six to ten thousand years ago, during the creation week.¹¹⁹ In other words, they “believe that the entire universe [including Earth and the life in it] was created in six [literal] twenty-four-hour days.”¹²⁰ The ICR, an institution particularly linked to its founder Henry M. Morris,¹²¹ states as follows:

The record of earth history, as preserved in the earth’s crust, especially in the rocks and fossil deposits, is primarily a record of catastrophic intensities of natural processes, operating largely within uniform natural laws, rather than one of gradualism and relatively uniform process rates. *There are many scientific evidences for a relatively recent creation of the earth and the universe*, in addition to strong scientific evidence that most of the earth's fossiliferous sedimentary rocks were formed in an even more recent global hydraulic cataclysm.¹²²

In 1961, John C. Whitcomb and Henry M. Morris (both believers of “the plenary verbal inspiration of Scripture”)¹²³ argued in the “fundamentalist classic” *The Genesis Flood* “that when Genesis says God created the universe in six days, it must mean six

¹¹⁹ This is a view that embraces the chronology proposed by Bishop Ussher (1581-1656) in Ussher, *Annales Veteris Testamenti, a Prima Mundi Origine Deducti*.

¹²⁰ Eve and Harrold, *The Creationist Movement in Modern America*, 46.

¹²¹ Morris is the author of many articles and books such as Morris, *A History of Modern Creationism*; Morris and Research, *Scientific Creationism*; Whitcomb and Morris, *The Genesis Flood*; Morris, *The Genesis Record*.

¹²² Research, “Principles of Scientific Creationism,” accessed April 10, 2012, <http://www.icr.org/tenets/>. Emphasis supplied.

¹²³ Edward J. Larson, *Evolution: The Remarkable History of a Scientific Theory*, A Modern Library Chronicles Book (New York, NY: Modern Library, 2004), 255.

twenty-four-hour days.”¹²⁴ They insist, “And this revelation simply says that ‘In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth’ (Genesis 1:1). Although secondary processes are not precluded by this verse, the most obvious meaning derivable from it would be that God instantaneously, by divine omnipotence, called the universe, and particularly the earth, into being.”¹²⁵

How do science and theology interact in the SC model? Consider this: scientists generally estimate the age of the universe to be about 10 to 15 billion years old.¹²⁶ They get these figures by using the speed of light¹²⁷ to calculate the time needed for light to travel from a given place in our galaxy (the Milky Way) to earth. For example, scientists have calculated that it takes a little more than eight minutes for light to travel from the sun to earth, a distance of approximately 93 million miles. Using the same method, scientists estimate that it would take some 100,000 years for an object to travel across the Milky Way, and some two million years for an object to travel from the Andromeda galaxy to earth, if the object is traveling at the speed of light. Thus, Roth explains, “since it takes so long for the light from these more distant stars to reach us, astronomers interpret what they see now from distant stars as representing what happened a very long time ago.”¹²⁸ In other words, scientists believe that the universe is much older than six to

¹²⁴ Larson, *Evolution*, 255.

¹²⁵ Whitcomb and Morris, *The Genesis Flood*, 219. See also pp. 233-239.

¹²⁶ Ariel A. Roth, *Science Discovers God: Seven Convincing Lines of Evidence for His Existence* (Hagerstown, MD: Autumn House, 2008), 46.

¹²⁷ Speed of light is 299,792,458 meters per second.

¹²⁸ Roth, *Science Discovers God: Seven Convincing Lines of Evidence for His Existence*, 40.

ten thousand years.

So, how do YEC rejectionists (the fundamentalists proponents of scientific creationism) react to this mainstream science interpretation of nature? Given their view of plenary verbal inspiration (i.e., inerrancy of Scripture),¹²⁹ the current proponents of scientific creationism tend to reject these numbers (100,000 and 2 million years), on the basis that Scripture cannot err,¹³⁰ and since the biblical genealogies (Gen 5 and 11) seem to indicate that creation occurred some six to ten thousand years ago, in six consecutive twenty-four hour days, the mainstream scientific interpretation that the universe is much older is incorrect. Table 2 below summarizes the SC interpretation of origins. Eve states it this way: “[Whenever] science appears to show that the book of nature contradicts the book of scripture, then there must be a mistake somewhere. And since scripture is God’s

¹²⁹ D.S. Schaff also equates plenary verbal inspiration with the doctrine of inerrancy. He says, “Advocates of plenary inspiration hold that the writers of Scripture had the immediate influence of the Spirit to such an extent that they could not err in any point.” D. S. Schaff, “The Theory of Plenary Inspiration,” *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge: Embracing Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical Theology and Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Biography from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, Logos ed. (1908-1914), 6:17. For a discussion on the relationship between plenary and verbal inspiration see H. D. McDonald in *Baker Encyclopedia of the Bible*. In short, McDonald says that “plenary” and “verbal” are two necessary corollaries of the biblical view of inspiration. He says, “First the inspiration of the Scriptures can be said to be ‘plenary,’ a word meaning ‘full; entire; complete.’ That is, Scripture is God-breathed in all its parts. . . . A second corollary of the Bible’s affirmation is that inspiration applies to the biblical words. God-breathed Scripture consists of God-given words. The Scriptures are ‘sacred writings.’ Inspiration functioned in the inner connection between the thought and the word, influencing them both. That understanding of inspiration historically has been referred to as ‘verbal.’ The term directs attention to the products of the divine outbreathing, the actual words.” H. D. McDonald, “Bible, Inspiration of the,” *Baker Encyclopedia of the Bible*, (1988), 1:307. For more information see Walter Sundberg, “Princeton School,” *DTIB*, (2005), 621-622. Mark A. Noll and Princeton Theological Seminary, “The Princeton Defense of Plenary Verbal Inspiration,” in *Fundamentalism in American Religion, 1880-1950*, vol. 19 (New York, NY: Garland, 1988).

¹³⁰ Morris says: “The Bible, consisting of the thirty-nine canonical books of the Old Testament and the twenty-seven canonical books of the New Testament, is the divinely-inspired revelation of the Creator to man. *Its unique, plenary, verbal inspiration guarantees that these writings, as originally and miraculously given, are infallible and completely authoritative on all matters with which they deal, free from error of any sort*, scientific and historical as well as moral and theological.” Research, “Principles of Biblical Creationism,” accessed April 10, 2012, <http://www.icr.org/tenets/>. Emphasis mine.

infallible [i.e., inerrant] word, it necessarily follows that the mistake is being made by scientists.”¹³¹ In this sense, scientific knowledge must be subordinated to this YEC rejectionist interpretation of Scripture, and scientists must adjust their findings to agree with the teachings of the fundamentalist views of Scripture.

With this clarification in mind, it is evident that the current use of this term does not reflect Price’s views, even though scientific creationism has been incorrectly linked to him in the twentieth century.¹³² As a matter of fact, Price “avoided equating his theory of flood geology with creationism generally.”¹³³ And not only that; Price used the word “creationism” only once in more than 5,700 book pages he published from 1902 to 1967, and when he did use the term, it was to criticize the strict form of biblical creation proposed by Charles Bonnet (1720-1793).¹³⁴

¹³¹ Eve and Harrold, *The Creationist Movement in Modern America*, 50.

¹³² According to Ronald Numbers, in 1929 “Harold W. Clark . . . explicitly packaged Price’s new catastrophism as ‘creationism,’ ” and began to urge his readers to stop simply opposing Darwinian evolution and “to adopt the new ‘science of creationism,’ by which he clearly meant Price’s flood geology.” Ronald L. Numbers, *Darwinism Comes to America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 53. See Numbers, *The Creationists*, xi. Mark Noll also made the link of creationism with the teachings of George McCready Price. He says, “Modern creationism [i.e., SC] arose . . . from the efforts of . . . the Adventist theorist George McCready Price (1870-1963), who . . . argued that a “simple” or “literal” reading of early Genesis showed that God had created the world six to eight thousand years ago and had used the Flood to construct the planet’s geological past.” Noll, *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 189. Note also that Price called his flood theory New Catastrophism. I suggest the reason was to distinguish his theory from the kind of catastrophism advocated by Georges Cuvier, William Buckland, and some of the Scriptural Geologists. Price considered Cuvier a forerunner of the theory of life succession and also the evolutionary theory. See, George McCready Price, *Evolutionary Geology and the New Catastrophism*, (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1926) 55-58. Price, *The Modern Flood Theory of Geology*, (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1935), 26-43. Terry Mortenson, *The Great Turning Point: The Church’s Catastrophic Mistake on Geology—before Darwin* (Green Forest, AR: Master Books, 2004). Warren H. Johns, “Scriptural Geology, Then and Now,” *Answers Research Journal* 9 (2016). Accessed December 10, 2016. <https://answersingenesis.org/age-of-the-earth/scriptural-geology-then-and-now/>.

¹³³ Numbers, *Darwinism Comes to America*, 53.

¹³⁴ George McCready Price, *A History of Some Scientific Blunders* (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1930), 72. Bonnet says, “Toutes les Pieces de l’Univers sont donc contemporaines. La Volonté efficace a réalisé par un seul acte tout ce qui pouvoit l’être. Elle ne crée plus; mais Elle conserve,

Table 2. YEC-SC Structure of the Biblical Account of Creation in Genesis 1:1-2:3

The Creation Week	Gen 1:1 – God creates the entire galactic universe <i>ex nihilo</i>	
	Gen 1:2 – Condition of the Earth prior to the first day of creation	
	God gives the Earth form	God fills the Earth
Divine Action During Creation Week	Gen 1:3-5 – First Day	Gen 1:14-19 – Fourth Day
	Gen 1:6-8 – Second Day	Gen 1:20-23 – Fifth Day
	Gen 1:9-13 – Third Day	Gen 1:24-31 – Sixth Day
God Rests	Gen 2:1-3 – Seventh Day	

Unfortunately, scientific creationism is a term widely used to describe a narrow approach to biblical protology. In the words of James P. Moreland, in the “more narrow and widely used sense . . . ‘scientific creationism’ limits its usage to young earth creationism as advocated by scholars such as Duane Gish and Henry Morris and by organizations such as . . . the Institute for Creation Research [ICR] in San Diego.” To be specific, this is the term now used to describe the fundamentalist approach to biblical protology—the rejectionist interpretation. It places the creation of the entire galactic universe into a time scale of six to ten thousands years, which Price did not support.

& cette conservation sera, si l’on veut, une Création continuée.” Charles Bonnet, *Œuvres D’histoire Naturelle Et De Philosophie De Charles Bonnet*, Vol. 7 (À Neuchâtel: Samuel Fauche, Pere & Fils, 1783), 181. My translation: “All parts of the universe are thus contemporary. The effective Will, realized by a single act all that could be. It no longer creates; but it retains, and this conservation will be, if you will, a continued creation.” Note that one of the books included in this page counting was published postmortem. See, Price, *The Time of the End*.

YEC Inclusivist Interpretation (Non-fundamentalist)

There are cases, however, in which YECs are inclusivists in their views of biblical protology, and claim that science and theology can be seen as complementary to each other. James P. Moreland describes this view as the broad sense of creationism. He says, “In the broad sense . . . scientific creationism expresses a commitment to theistic science and opposes methodological naturalism.”¹³⁵ Commonly referred to in the West as “scientific creationists,” these non-fundamentalist proponents of creation claim that “the correct interpretation of scientific evidence is actually consistent with [Scripture].”¹³⁶

With this being said, the reader must be aware that in spite of being counted as part of the same group of YECs, creationists in the YEC inclusivist group and the proponents of scientific creationism in the YEC rejectionist group are two distinct groups, that should be distinguished by their theological differences. The latter (i.e., proponents of scientific creationism) is more accurately described as fundamentalist proponents of YEC who “have committed themselves to a species of biblical inerrancy that contradicts mainstream science,”¹³⁷ who hold on to the concept of verbal inspiration of Scripture, who reject scientific evidence in favor of an ancient universe, and who insist that all creation (including the entire galactic universe) occurred in six literal, consecutive, twenty-four hour days during the creation week (Gen 1:1-2:3). The former (i.e., inclusivist scientific creationists), on the other hand, can be better described as non-

¹³⁵ Moreland, “Scientific Creationism,” 1075-1076.

¹³⁶ Eve and Harrold, *The Creationist Movement in Modern America*, 50.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 116.

fundamentalists who belong to the UEC movement. This is because they insist only on the recent creation of life on earth, and are favorable to the possibility that the universe (including the inorganic matter on earth) is much older than six to ten thousand years. An explanation of the basic premises of the UEC movement and a creation model will follow.

Undated Earth Creation Movement

Advocators of Undated Earth Creation (UEC) claim that because “the Bible does not state or imply the creation date of the heavens and earth,” that it is inaccurate to attempt to classify the creation of inorganic matter in the universe as young or old. Proponents of UEC view science and theology as companions in their quest for knowledge who have much to gain from each other. In this light, proponents of UEC are sympathetic to the fact that “Scientists may debate evidence of the age of Earth and the universe,” but they maintain that only “God knows the exact date of ‘the beginning’ ” for “nowhere does the Bible tell us the date” of the creation of “heavens and earth.”^{138 139} In a sense, they are open to the possibility that the universe—including the inorganic matter of earth—is very old and perhaps millions or billions of years old. Nevertheless, proponents of UEC insist that life on earth is something recently, and is the result of the direct actions of a creator/designer during a period of six consecutive and literal 24-hour days as described in Genesis. Finally, proponents of UEC accept the biblical account of

¹³⁸ Arnold, *Two Stage Biblical Creation*, 27.

¹³⁹ “Heavens and earth” in Genesis 1:1 is “a figure of speech called a ‘merism.’ A merism combines two words to express a single idea. A merism expresses ‘totality’ by combining two contrasts or two extremes.” John Sailhamer, *Genesis Unbound: A Provocative New Look at the Creation Account* (Sisters, OR: Multnomah, 1996), 56. See also Arnold, *Two Stage Biblical Creation*, 371.

the global flood,¹⁴⁰ which could explain the burial of most fossils in the fossil record and the formation of the geological column through rapid deposition.¹⁴¹ A good example of UEC are the current proponents of the 2SBC model. As far as I can tell, the most recent exposition of the 2SBC has been done by Thomas Arnold.¹⁴² In this dissertation, however, I am introducing a new model of biblical protology I am calling “Dynamic Creation” (DC) model. A description will follow.

Dynamic Creation Model

Proponents of the DC model begin with the basic presupposition that nature and Scripture are God’s revelation to humankind, thus, science (i.e., the interpretation of nature) and theology (i.e., the interpretation of Scripture) are companions in their quest for knowledge. Next, proponents of the DC model are aware of scientific interpretations that describe the universe as a dynamic system, meaning that the universe is “marked by

¹⁴⁰ For information on scientific evidences of a global flood see, Ariel A. Roth, “Can I Believe in a Worldwide Flood?,” in *Understanding Creation: Answers to Questions on Faith and Science*, ed. L. James Gibson and Humberto M. Rasi, (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2011), 123-132; Leonard Brand, *Faith, Reason & Earth History: A Paradigm of Earth and Biological Origins by Intelligent Design* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1997); Whitcomb and Morris, *The Genesis Flood*; Michael J. Oard, “Mt. Everest and the Flood,” in *Rock Solid Answers: The Biblical Truth Behind 14 Geologic Questions*, ed. Michael J. Oard and John K. Reed, (Green Forest, AR: Master Books, 2009), 19-27; Aaron Hutchinson, “Mercury Toxicity and the Genesis Flood,” in *Rock Solid Answers: The Biblical Truth Behind 14 Geologic Questions*, ed. Michael J. Oard and John K. Reed, (Green Forest, AR: Master Books, 2009), 29-44; John K. Reed, “Fossil Distribution in the Flood,” in *Rock Solid Answers: The Biblical Truth Behind 14 Geologic Questions*, ed. Michael J. Oard and John K. Reed, (Green Forest, AR: Master Books, 2009), 207-215.

¹⁴¹ “An act or process of depositing [quickly].” *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 11th ed. (2003), s.v. "Deposition." For information on the process of “rapid deposition” or “sedimentation” see, Brand, *Faith, Reason & Earth History: A Paradigm of Earth and Biological Origins by Intelligent Design*, 209-231. For a geomorphological theory on how a global flood (Gen 6-8) could have caused the current shaping of the Earth’s surface see, Oard and Walker, *Flood by Design: Receding Water Shapes the Earth's Surface*.

¹⁴² Arnold, Two Stage Biblical Creation, 339-426.

usually continuous and productive activity or change.”¹⁴³ Also, proponents of the DC model are aware that “the universe is incredibly huge, filled with billions of galaxies that each contain billions of stars; . . . [that it] has a long and dynamic history; . . . [and, that it] is old, but not infinitely old.”¹⁴⁴

With this in mind, proponents of the DC model perceive the compatibility that exists between these concepts in mainstream science about the universe and the UEC approach to biblical protology, for as I mentioned earlier, Scripture does not state nor imply the date for the creation of the universe (including the inorganic matter on earth). This is not to say that proponents of the DC model reject the historicity of the Genesis account of creation. For the proponents of the DC model, God is the creator of all things, He is before all things, and in Him “all things hold together” (Col 1:16; Col 1:17 NIV11). Accordingly, proponents of the DC model argue favorably to a literal interpretation of the biblical account of creation, including the Flood. They insist that while God seems to have created the universe—heavens and earth—(including the inorganic matter of earth) eons ago, that God created life on earth much more recently in six literal, consecutive, twenty-four hour days, and then used the Genesis Flood (Gen 6-8) to bring judgment upon the earth. According to the DC model, the Genesis Flood is a major mechanism responsible for depositing the sedimentary layers that buried most fossils in the geologic column.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 11th ed. (2003), s.v. "Dynamic."

¹⁴⁴ Haarsma and Haarsma, *Origins*, 149.

¹⁴⁵ For information on how the geological data fits the DC model see Brand, *Faith, Reason & Earth History: A Paradigm of Earth and Biological Origins by Intelligent Design*, 209-318. Give special attention to the comparison table on p. 266.

The DC model insists that while God has created (*bārā*)¹⁴⁶ inorganic matter in the entire universe *ex nihilo* in the undated absolute beginning (Gen 1:1),¹⁴⁷ that the Creator returned to shape the inorganic matter of earth to make habitable that which was “without form and void” (Gen 1:2),¹⁴⁸ and to create life on earth recently in six literal, consecutive, twenty-four hour days (Gen 1:3-2:4b).¹⁴⁹ According to the proponents of the DC model,

¹⁴⁶“The root *bārā*’ has the basic meaning ‘to create.’ It differs from *yāšar* ‘to fashion’ in that the latter primarily emphasizes the shaping of an object while *bārā*’ emphasizes the initiation of the object. . . . The word is used in the Qal only of God’s activity and is thus a purely theological term. This distinctive use of the word is especially appropriate to the concept of creation by divine fiat. The root *bārā*’ denotes the concept of ‘initiating something new’ in a number of passages (Num 16:30; Isa 4:5; 41:20; 48:6–7; 65:17–18; Psa 51:10). . . . The word also possesses the meaning of ‘bringing into existence’ in several passages (Isa 43:1; Ezk 21:30 [H 35]; 28:13, 15). It is not surprising that this word with its distinctive emphases is used most frequently to describe the creation of the universe and the natural phenomena (Gen 1:1, 21, 27; 2:3, etc.). The usages of the term in this sense present a clearly defined theology. . . . The limitation of this word to divine activity indicates that the area of meaning delineated by the root falls outside the sphere of human ability. Since the word never occurs with the object of the material, and since the primary emphasis of the word is on the newness of the created object, the word lends itself well to the concept of creation *ex nihilo* although that concept is not necessarily inherent within the meaning of the word.” R. Laird Harris, Gleason Leonard Archer and Bruce K. Waltke, *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*, electronic ed. (1980), 127.

¹⁴⁷ I side with Davidson on this view. He says, “I find the weight of evidence within Scripture decisive in pointing toward the traditional translation of Gen 1:1 as an independent clause: ‘In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.’ Here in the opening verse of the Bible we have a distancing from the cosmology of the ANE [i.e., Ancient Near Eastern], an emphasis upon an absolute beginning, in contrast to the cyclical view of reality in the ANE, and the ANE concept that matter is eternal.” Davidson, “The Genesis Account of Origins.”

¹⁴⁸ “Such examples as Gn 1:2 and the earth was (אֶרֶץ תֵּהוֹמָה) waste and emptiness, can scarcely be regarded properly as verbal clauses; אֶרֶץ תֵּהוֹמָה is used here really only for the purpose of referring to past time a statement which, is the description of a state. . . .” Wilhelm Gesenius, E. Kautzsch and A. E. Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, 2d English ed. (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1910), 454. [par. 141 i] Note that this approach has also been called Passive Gap Theory. The term “passive gap” refers to a period of time between the creative acts of God recorded in Genesis 1:1 and Genesis 1:3, in which there was no life activity on earth. Ariel Roth pointed out that this theory is sometimes called “soft-gap.” Roth, *Origins: Linking Science and Scripture*, 341. For additional information see Randall W. Younker, *God's Creation* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 1999), 33-35.

¹⁴⁹ I suggest that the Geoscience Research Institute (GRI), an organization directly connected with the work of George McCready Price, might be considered a proponent of the DC model. On their statement titled Affirmation of Creation one reads: “The Bible reveals the story of creation, and teaches us about the Creator God who effortlessly designed the world for His own purposes. In the space of six historical days, He prepared an environment suitable for living creatures and then filled that world with a diversity of organisms. He created humans in His own image and gave them responsibility for His creation. He gave them the gifts of cognition, language, relationships, responsibility, freedom and purpose. Here we find the

Genesis 1:2 describes the condition of earth prior to the beginning of the creation week (Gen 1:3 passim), which culminated with God’s rest on the seventh day as the memorial of creation (Exod 20:8-11).¹⁵⁰ How do science and theology interact in the DC model? To begin with, a proponent of the DC model is someone aware of the different prevailing worldviews in science and in theology (See Figure 1 below).

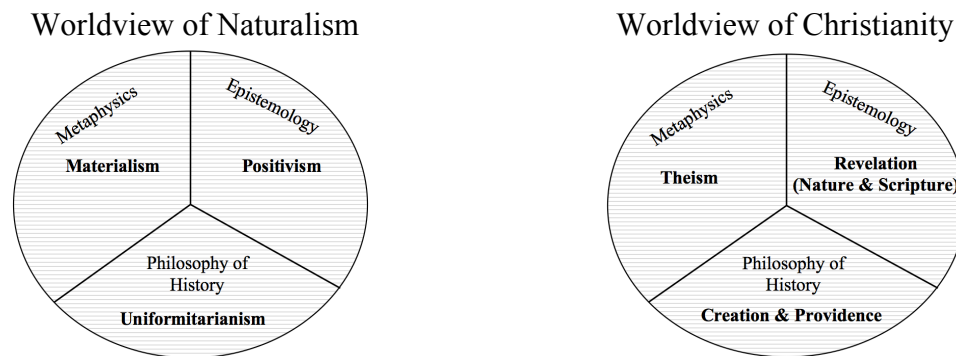


Figure 1. Differences between worldviews¹⁵¹

Reed rightly says,

No other explanation [but opposite worldviews] explains the historical data, which show a causal link between Christianity and science, and between Christianity and history. How can Christianity be “anti-intellectual” if its scholars were responsible for the origin of both disciplines, as well as numerous others? Western culture was built

explanation for the design seen in the creation – it reflects the character and purpose of the God of creation.” Jim Gibson, “Affirmation of Creation,” Geoscience Research Institute, accessed October 23, 2013, <http://grisda.org/about-gri/affirmation-of-creation/>.

¹⁵⁰ For a discussion on the seventh day as the theological foundation of the Sabbath see, Sergio L. Silva, “Creation and Covenant: A Hermeneutical Approach to the Correlation of the Seventh Day and the Biblical Sabbath,” *Andrews University Seminary Student Journal* 1, no. 1 (2015), 17-42. See also, Skip MacCarty, *In Granite or Ingrained? What the Old and New Covenants Reveal About the Gospel, the Law, and the Sabbath* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2007).

¹⁵¹ This illustration is based on Oard, Reed and Hutchinson, *Rock Solid Answers: The Biblical Truth Behind 14 Geologic Questions*, 12.

on the Christian religion . . . overtly until the Enlightenment, and implicitly even after. And that historical tipping point provides a clear clue as to Christianity’s opposite number, Enlightenment naturalism.

With this being said, proponents of the DC model cautiously embrace mainstream science as an essential part of the study of God’s revelation (i.e., nature & Scripture).

Table 3 summarizes the DC interpretation of biblical protology. Thus, instead of simply dismissing the claims of mainstream scientists whenever a disagreement between science and theology occurs, proponents of the DC model invite both sides to go back to their data, to study it further, and to strive for an inference to the best explanation of the data available.

Table 3. UEC-DC Structure of the Biblical Account of Creation in Genesis 1:1-2:4a

Absolute beginning	Gen 1:1 – God creates the entire universe <i>ex nihilo</i>	
Description of Earth	Gen 1:2 – Condition of the Earth prior to the first day of creation	
	God gives the Earth form	God fills the Earth
Divine Action During Creation Week	Gen 1:3-5 – First Day	Gen 1:14-19 – Fourth Day
	Gen 1:6-8 – Second Day	Gen 1:20-23 – Fifth Day
	Gen 1:9-13 – Third Day	Gen 1:24-31 – Sixth Day
God Rests	Gen 2:1-4a – Seventh Day	

Again, Brand is right when he says

that we establish the most constructive relationship between science and religion when we allow findings in each of these fields of knowledge to challenge us to analyze the

other more carefully. I believe that this feedback process can improve our understanding of both fields. Conflicts between the two force us to dig deeper in both as we seek for genuine resolution that does not relegate either to a secondary role.¹⁵²

This approach maintains that “neither scientific results nor the words of Scripture tell lies.” Consequently, whenever a conflict between Scripture and Nature persist, both scientists and theologians need to wait “until better data or research methods can resolve the conflict.”¹⁵³

Summary

I have argued in this chapter that rationalism, empiricism, and German higher criticism constitute the most active tenets of the philosophical foundation upon which the epistemological turmoil of the mid-nineteenth century developed. In this light, it has been suggested that the protological hermeneutics of George McCready Price and Benjamin Warfield were in large part, an attempt to respond to those who were using these tenets as foundational to a naturalistic worldview, unsettling the notion that Scripture should also be held as a reliable source of protological knowledge.

In many ways then, the philosophical turmoil of the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries expressed in the dialogue between science and religion in the mid-nineteenth and twentieth centuries, was primarily a contest between biblical protology and a naturalistic worldview. Among other issues related to this contest, great emphasis was usually placed on questions related to the age of the universe, the age of the earth, and how old life on earth was, when deciding which worldview provided the best

¹⁵² Brand and James, *Beginnings*, 7.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

explanation of the data available to us.

In their attempt to address these questions, the protological hermeneutics of Price and Warfield represent different ways to respond to the challenges of a naturalistic epistemology, and the arguments presented by naturalists like Leclerc, Hutton, and Lyell, whose works provided the philosophy of history needed for Darwin to develop his own evolutionary theory. Because Darwinism found favor among most seminal thinkers, it spread rapidly leading to the emergence of Christian fundamentalism and the fundamentalist controversy of the 1920s.

Given the connection made between fundamentalism, Price, and Warfield, this chapter also provided a distinction between the popular definition of fundamentalism, which focuses primarily on the fundamentalist militant attitude, and definitions issued by prominent scholars who emphasize the theological features of fundamentalism. On the one hand, the popular definition has portrayed fundamentalism as a reaction and the militant opposition of religious conservatives to theological liberalism/modernism by the uplifting of Scripture as a reliable source of protological knowledge. Following this popular understanding, both Price and Warfield are generally listed among those who are fundamentalists. On the other hand, scholarly definitions have shown that a more accurate definition of fundamentalists should not only refer to their militant attitude, but more importantly, it should clearly present the theological convictions of their proponents.

For this reason, a Christian fundamentalist was described in this chapter as a conservative evangelical-premillennialist-dispensationalist who insists that the Bible is inerrant on all the subjects it addresses including origins. It exposed how fundamentalists

insist that because the genealogies in Genesis 5 and 11 seem to account for the beginning of human life on earth some six to ten thousand years ago, that the entire galactic universe was also created at the same time in six literal, consecutive, twenty-four hour days. Once these theological features are taken into account, to describe what is “fundamentalism” and who is a “fundamentalist”, and though I recognize that Price and Warfield partially provided the intellectual, theological, and geological foundation for the YEC rejectionists, I concluded that it is difficult to support the claim that Price and Warfield should be regarded fundamentalist thinkers—theologically speaking.¹⁵⁴

Finally, this chapter dealt with the question of how the COD and the CPE worked towards relating mainstream science and theology in the days of Price and Warfield. Generally speaking, both CODs and CPEs insist that nature and Scripture are God’s revelations. Nevertheless, CPEs like Warfield tend to adopt an interpretation of biblical protology that is associated with the OEC movement (e.g., Gap Theory, TE), while CODs like Price prefer an interpretation of biblical protology that is associated with the UEC movement (e.g., 2SBC, DC).

In the next two chapters of this dissertation, I will turn to a descriptive analysis of the protological hermeneutics of George McCready Price and Benjamin Warfield.

¹⁵⁴ See Chapter 3, pp. 119-122, Chapter 4, pp. 209-211, Chapter 5, pp. 263-264.

CHAPTER 3

THE PROTOLOGICAL HERMENEUTIC OF GEORGE MCCREADY PRICE (1870–1963)

To adequately narrate the life of a prominent figure among creationists like George McCready Price in just a few pages is an impossible task. This would require me to compact Price's life of ninety-three years—of which sixty-plus years were marked by active participation in the epistemological turmoil that began in the mid-nineteenth century—into a short document. So I will not attempt to do that in this chapter, for some historians and colleagues of Price have already written about his life.¹ What I will do in this chapter is to provide a description of Price's experiences leading to his quest into the dialogue between science and theology. Then, I will provide a descriptive analysis of the theological and philosophical influences on his protological hermeneutical method. Next, I will describe Price's interpretation of selected texts in Genesis 1-11, with the purpose of uncovering his views of the source of theology (i.e., Scripture, philosophy, science—the material condition), the purpose of his theology (i.e., the teleological condition), and most importantly, the principles of interpretation (i.e., the hermeneutical condition) guiding his theology.

¹ See Harold W. Clark, *Crusader for Creation: The Life and Writings of George McCready Price*, A Destiny Book, D-110 (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1966); Numbers, *The Creationists*, 72-139.

Biographic Outlook

Early Years

The protological hermeneutics of George McCready Price began to develop when Dr. Alfred Corbett Smith (1841-1909), a physician at the Tracadie Village in Canada, asked Price whether he would be interested in reading about the evolutionary theory.² Once his initial assessment of the evolutionary theory was completed, Price told Smith that he was not yet convinced of the soundness of the evolutionary argument; more investigation was required in order to make a well-informed decision.

It was then that Smith offered Price access to his personal library, where Price spent several hours reading and taking notes about the evolutionary theory.³ To Smith's surprise, instead of repudiating the study of evolutionary theory Price "pushed eagerly into it, sensing the profound influence the evolutionary theory would have on both science and religion."⁴ After two-and-a-half years of research, Price had collected enough information to publish his first book,⁵ but more important than that "was the discovery of his mission in life."⁶ In a nutshell, Price's mission became to stand up against Darwinism, its moral and philosophical implications, and to show how the use of a method that

² George McCready Price, "Some Early Experience with Evolutionary Geology, with Observations on Fundamental Defects of the Rock-Age Theory," *The Bulletin of Deluge Geology and Related Sciences* 1, no. 4 (1941), 78-79. For easier access to this article see Ronald L. Numbers, *Early Creationist Journals*, 10 vols., *Creationism in Twentieth-Century America* (New York, NY: Garland, 1995), 149-164. Quoted favorably in Numbers, *The Creationists*, 75. When quoting Price, I am honoring the spelling and idiosyncrasies used at the time of the publication.

³ Clark, *Crusader for Creation: The Life and Writings of George McCready Price*, 15-16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁵ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

embraces biblical protology to interpret nature, reveals the harmony that exists in God's revelation, consequently exposing the true character of the Creator.

Education

Price's educational background is often the center of much criticism, especially by those who contest his ability to address questions about science. Generally speaking, Price's critics complain that his lack of formal scientific training is an indication that his observations about geology should not be taken seriously. Thus, in this section, I will describe Price's education, and then I will describe the way scholars have responded to his lack of higher education.

Price "graduated from the Government Normal School, Fredericton, N. B., Canada, in June, 1897, and was granted a 'First Class' school license by the Board of Education." Moving on with his studies, Price took "Latin I, II, and III; Greek I and II; a half year in English Literature; [and] a full year in Roman and Ecclesiastical History" at Battle Creek College. Then, "after receiving his school license and while teaching," Price continued his studies in "Latin and Greek under the supervision of the Government Board of Education, covering what was regarded as fully equivalent to one year more in Greek and Two in Latin, with a half year in plane Trigonometry, passing an examination at the close held by the Board of Education." The latter was not a small achievement, considering the fact that the examination he took in the early twentieth century, would require nothing less than master's level education under the present curriculum.⁷ In addition, Price taught Latin for five years and "completed two years' work in German,"

⁷ See Appendix A

while working at the College of Medical Evangelists (now Loma Linda University).⁸

Upon entering the academic scene in America, Price sought to validate his educational background, a good indication that he “greatly valued academic credentials.”⁹ In a letter to the faculty of the College of Medical Evangelists, Price inquired about the possibility of converting his widespread education into a Bachelor of Arts degree. In response to his letter and the evidences he provided, the Office of Registrar at the College of Medical Evangelists awarded Price a Bachelor of Arts degree on June 26, 1912.¹⁰ With joy, Price “proudly displayed the letters on the title page of his next book.”¹¹

Price’s literary career and commitment to the mission he embraced, also led him to aspire to an even higher education. In June 1918, Pacific Union College (PUC) granted Price an honorary degree of Master of Arts. According to the Registrar’s Office at PUC, “this degree was granted in recognition of research work and books written by Mr. Price in the field of geology.”¹² Perhaps feeling the pressure of his critics, Price “toyed with the idea of enrolling in a university, and to the end of his life he wondered whether he had made the right decision in not obtaining an M.D. while teaching at the College of

⁸ George McCready Price, “To the Faculty of the College of Medical Evangelists [at] Loma Linda, California,” George McCready Price Collection, Center for Adventist Research, James White Library, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI.

⁹ Numbers, *The Creationists*, 90.

¹⁰ See Appendix B.

¹¹ Numbers, *The Creationists*, 90. His next book was published in 1913 under the title, *The Fundamentals of Geology*.

¹² See Appendix C. Numbers calls this “a gift from the Adventist Pacific Union College.” Ibid. As far as I can tell, up until 1917 Price had published five books and twenty-six articles in Adventist periodicals alone.

Medical Evangelists.”¹³ Nevertheless, Price never pursued a doctoral degree. The BA and the honorary MA are the only degrees Price ever received.

The criticism about Price’s lack of formal scientific training was noted in the history of creationism on more than one occasion. Numbers, for example, tells us about “Arthur M. Miller (1861-1929), a geologist at the University of Kentucky,” who in 1922 accused Price of “contributing to the recent attacks on evolution” and “masquerading [himself] as a geologist.”¹⁴ In 1931, another critique came from Sterling B. Talmage (1889-1956), who told his father James E. Talmage (1862-1933) that Price’s *The New Geology* (1923) “contained nothing ‘new’ nor any real ‘geology’ . . .” Advancing his criticism, “young Talmage assured his father that ‘neither the book nor its author has any standing whatever among American geologists.’ ”¹⁵ Then, in a quasi-controversy against some of his fellows who were using Price’s arguments to contest the Mormon teaching of pre-Adamite life, “the elder Talmage, . . . not only questioned Price’s scientific training but ridiculed his ‘foolish’ interpretation of the overthrusting in Montana and Alberta.”¹⁶ In more recent years, Mark Noll described Price as “an armchair geologist with little formal training and almost no field experience. . . . Price’s ideas were never taken seriously by practicing geologists, and they also had little impact outside of Adventist circles.”¹⁷

¹³ Numbers, *The Creationists*, 90.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 91.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 311.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 312.

¹⁷ Noll, *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 189.

Both in and out of Adventist circles, scholars recognized that Talmage's attack on Price's interpretation of the overthrusting seemed valid. Nevertheless, scholars have also noticed that Price's misinterpretation was due to insufficient information at the time, and not due to a lack of higher education.¹⁸ On another note, there is recognition that Price's interpretation of the thrust faults and the overthrusting in Montana and Alberta is not inconsistent with a catastrophist model of geology. Post-flooding plate tectonic activities can certainly lead to these types of formations.¹⁹ Again, though some of this criticism might be justified, the overall dismissal of Price's theological and philosophical opus seems unjustified.

As a serious survey of history will show, formal education (BA, BS, MA, MS, PhD, etc.) is not the only means by which academic success is reached. As a matter of fact, self-taught individuals have frequently influenced scientific and philosophical thinking, and created knowledge upon which much of the current mainstream scientific thinking is based upon. A clear example is found in the work of William (Strata) Smith (1769-1839), the father of English Geology.²⁰ Even though Smith did not receive a

¹⁸ Leonard Brand and Richard M. Davidson, *Choose You This Day: Why It Matters What You Believe About Creation* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press), 24-25.

¹⁹ For information see, Brand, Faith, Reason & Earth History: A Paradigm of Earth and Biological Origins by Intelligent Design, 42, 295-298; Oard and Walker, Flood by Design: Receding Water Shapes the Earth's Surface, 41-42, 55-57; Whitcomb and Morris, The Genesis Flood, 180-200.

²⁰ London, *Proceedings of the Geological Society of London*, Vol. 1, 270-280. "That the first Wollaston Medal be given to Mr. William Smith, in consideration of his being a great original discoverer in English Geology; and especially for his having been the first, in this country, to discover and to teach the identification of strata, and to determine their succession by means of their imbedded fossil," 271. "I for one can speak with gratitude of the practical lessons I have received from Mr. Smith: . . . the Father of English Geology," 278, 279.

formal education,²¹ he went on to develop the first geological map of England and Wales, upon which modern geologists like Charles Lyell and the naturalist Charles Darwin developed their views of geology and biological evolution respectively.²²

Looking back at Smith's work, Winchester and Vannithone rightly said:

The brilliance of William Smith's achievement can be amply demonstrated by comparing his great map of 1815 with the one produced today by the British Geological survey. The similarity of so much of the details—visible even at a scale where much cannot be seen—is proof absolute of the accuracy and prescience of Smith's work, yet does not admit of the one signal difference between the two productions: that while the survey map is the fruit of the labors of thousands, William Smith's map, drawn a century and a half before, is the result of the dedication and determination of one man who worked for almost twenty years, always entirely alone.²³

In dealing with Price's lack of higher education, Morris provides us with an insightful perspective:

His [Price's] limited formal training, naturally enough, provided an easy focus for the ridicule of his critics (including, unfortunately, a considerable contingent of compromising evangelicals), but *it was probably this very fact which enabled him to spend time on only that which was really significant and to evaluate what he read as a truly independent thinker*, constrained only by Scripture rather than the evolutionist party line of the schools and textbooks. He was a voracious reader, with the ability to analyze and retain what he read, as well as a clear and original thinker. He was certainly far better educated, in the true sense, than 90% of the Ph.D.'s and Th.D.'s cranked out by the assembly lines of the educational establishment.²⁴

²¹ "According to his [i.e., Smith's] own account, however, not only were the means of his instruction at the village school very limited, but these were in some degree interfered with by his own wandering and musing habits." Phillips, *Memoirs of William Smith*, 2.

²² O'Rourke concurs, "before [evolution by natural selection] could be used to mark off time units, it had to be calibrated by comparing it to the geologic column, which, as a matter of fact, was put together before evolution was known." J. E. O'Rourke, "Pragmatism Versus Materialism in Stratigraphy," *American Journal of Science* 276, no. 1 (1976), 52., quoted in Laurie R. Godfrey, *Scientists Confront Creationism*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1983), 224.

²³ Simon Winchester and Soun Vannithone, *The Map That Changed the World: William Smith and the Birth of Modern Geology*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 2001), xii.

²⁴ Morris, *History of Modern Creationism*, 89-90. Emphasis supplied. For other examples of major

After surveying much of the criticism and mockery issued against Price's lack of formal education, and verifying that conventional geology has its roots in the work of thinkers that also lack formal education (e.g., William Smith), it seems more reasonable to conclude that Price's lack of higher education—similar to Smith's—should be only regarded a secondary issue. Also, the claim that Price's ideas were never taken seriously by practicing geologists, and that they had little impact outside of Adventist circles, should also be reconsidered.

A more effective approach perhaps, to determine Price's credibility is to ask whether or not Price fulfilled his mission to oppose Darwinism with its moral and philosophical implications. Another question could be whether Price developed a coherent protological hermeneutic with academic responsibility. Or, to use a more technical terminology, did Price survey and compare sources to verify whether or not the interpretations being used by mainstream geologists and theologians at the time, were an inference of the best possible explanation of origins?²⁵ All things considered, the answers to these questions seem to give Price, and other thinkers of his time, a better chance to survive criticism and to contribute to a more comprehensive—nonreductive—view of origins in the early twentieth-first century.

Publications

The amount of printed material produced by George McCready Price is vast. I was able to locate a total of thirty books published in English. In twenty-six of these,

academic achievements by self-taught individuals see Chapter 5, p. 281nn43-44.

²⁵ Philip Clayton, "Inference to the Best Explanation," *Zygon*® 32, no. 3 (1997).

Price is the only author on record;²⁶ two books resulted from Price's discussions with Robert Bruce Thurber and Joseph McCabe respectively;²⁷ and in two others, Price appears as co-editor, together with Eric Doolittle, Robert M. Brown, and the American Educational Institute of Philadelphia.²⁸ Price also had one of his books (Back to the Bible) translated into Japanese and it had wide circulation in Japan.²⁹ In addition, Price's

²⁶ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*; George McCready Price, *Illogical Geology: The Weakest Point in the Evolution Theory* (Los Angeles, CA: The Modern Heretic Company, 1906); George McCready Price, *The Fundamentals of Geology and Their Bearings on the Doctrine of a Literal Creation* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1913); George McCready Price, *Q. E. D. Or New Light on the Doctrine of Creation* (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1917); George McCready Price, *General Science* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1917); Price, *God's Two Books or Plain Facts About Evolution, Geology and the Bible*; George McCready Price, *Back to the Bible*, Rev. ed. (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1920); Price, *Poisoning Democracy*; George McCready Price, *The New Geology: A Textbook for Colleges, Normal Schools, and Training Schools*; and for the *General Reader* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1923); Price, *Science and Religion in a Nutshell*; George McCready Price, *The Phantom of Organic Evolution* (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1924); George McCready Price, *The Predicament of Evolution* (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Association, 1925); Price, *Evolutionary Geology and the New Catastrophism* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1926); Price, *A History of Some Scientific Blunders*; George McCready Price, *The Geological-Ages Hoax: A Plea for Logic in Theoretical Geology* (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1931); George McCready Price, *Modern Discoveries Which Help Us to Believe* (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell company, 1934); Price, *The Modern Flood Theory of Geology* (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1935); George McCready Price, *Some Scientific Stories and Allegories* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1936); George McCready Price, *Genesis Vindicated* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1941); George McCready Price, *How Did the World Begin?* (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1942); George McCready Price, *If You Were the Creator: A Reasonable Credo for Modern Man* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1942); George McCready Price, *Common-Sense Geology: A Simplified Study for the General Reader* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1946); George McCready Price, *The Man from Mars* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1950); George McCready Price, *The Story of the Fossils* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1954); Price, *The Greatest of the Prophets: A New Commentary on the Book of Daniel*; Price, *The Time of the End*.

²⁷ George McCready Price and Robert Bruce Thurber, *Socialism in the Test-Tube: A Candid Discussion of the Principles, the Relations, and the Effects of Socialism* (Atlanta, GA: Southern Publishing Association, 1921); George McCready Price and Joseph McCabe, *Is Evolution True? Is Evolution, as a Process, Substantiated by the Facts?* (London: Watts & Co., 1925).

²⁸ George McCready Price and Robert M. Brown, *Geography and Geology*, ed. Peter P. Wahlstad, 6 vols., *Modern American Education: A Series of Texts Prepared for the American Educational Institute as Part of Its Modern American Education Course* (Philadelphia, PA: American Educational Institute, 1920); George McCready Price and Eric Doolittle, *Nature Study and Astronomy*, ed. Peter P. Wahlstad, 6 vols., *Modern American Education: A Series of Texts Prepared for the American Educational Institute as Part of Its Modern American Education Course* (Philadelphia, PA: American Educational Institute, 1921).

²⁹ Clark, *Crusader for Creation: The Life and Writings of George McCready Price*, 33.

Q. E. D. or New Light on the Doctrine of Creation was also translated into German in 1925 under the title *Naturwissenschaft und Schöpfungslehre*.³⁰ Combined, the books published in English amount to more than 5,700 pages, and in addition to his books, Price also published over three hundred articles in denominational magazines and academic journals.

As part of his mission in life, the focus of Price's published writings was to defend biblical protology, and to oppose the moral and philosophical implications of Darwinism. Unfortunately, Weinberg rightly says, "Historians have almost entirely neglected this aspect of Price's opus."³¹

A more accurate reading of Price suggests that he approached the issue between biblical protology and Darwinism from a philosophical standpoint rather than a scientific one.³² In fact, Price wrote widely about philosophical issues related to Darwinian evolution in general and to geology in particular. Throughout his career, Price did not claim to be a scientist with academic credentials, but he maintained that his objections to Darwinism were "mainly philosophical and moral."³³ He stated, "The author makes no

³⁰ George McCready Price and Walter K. Ising, *Naturwissenschaft Und Schöpfungslehre* (Hamburg, Germany: Advent-verlag, 1925).

³¹ Carl R. Weinberg, "'Ye Shall Know Them by Their Fruits': Evolution, Eschatology, and the Anticommunist Politics of George McCready Price," *Church History* 83, no. 3 (2014): 684, 686-688.

³² Like Price, many contemporary scholars nowadays are concerned with the philosophical foundation of the scientific method and its implications to science. For information see, A. R. Peacocke, *Theology for a Scientific Age: Being and Becoming—Natural, Divine, and Human*, Enlarged ed., Theology and the Sciences (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993); A. R. Peacocke, *Intimations of Reality: Critical Realism in Science and Religion* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984); Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 3rd ed. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996); DeWitt, *Worldviews*; Murphy, *Beyond Liberalism and Fundamentalism*.

³³ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 68. For an insightful article on this subject, see Weinberg, "'Ye Shall Know Them by Their Fruits': Evolution, Eschatology, and the

claim to scientific attainments. The logical necessity for such a work, and the long neglect of others better qualified to undertake such a task, are the only excuses he would offer for giving these pioneer ideas to the public in their present comparatively crude condition.”³⁴ These statements are important because much of the criticism against Price’s work focuses on his lack of formal scientific training and the fact that he had little field experience.³⁵ Such criticism should subside once critics realize Price’s focus was on the moral and philosophical implications of the philosophy guiding mainstream scientific research, and not on the scientific research process itself.³⁶

Price’s early publishing career was not unnoticed in scholarly circles. His efforts were recognized by the Philosophical Society of Great Britain,³⁷ and in 1925 he was awarded the Langhorne Orchard Prize Essay of the year.³⁸ Though Numbers recognizes this achievement, he emphasizes the criticism Price received from Owen Weller³⁹ and F. Molony⁴⁰ for the paper he presented that day.⁴¹ Numbers left out the positive comments

Anticomunist Politics of George McCready Price.”

³⁴ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, x-xi.

³⁵ Numbers, *The Creationists*, 89. “Price, an armchair scientist, understandably felt insecure about his lack of formal scientific training and his limited familiarity with the evidence he was disputing.”

³⁶ Weinberg, “‘Ye Shall Know Them by Their Fruits’: Evolution, Eschatology, and the Anticomunist Politics of George McCready Price.”

³⁷ For information about the Philosophical Society of Great Britain (also called The Victoria Institute) see Numbers, *The Creationists*, 140-144.

³⁸ George McCready Price, “Revelation and Evolution: Can They Be Harmonized?,” *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* 57, (1925): 189.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁴¹ For Numbers’ assessment of the relationship between Price and the members of the Victoria

made by other members of the Society who were present during the discussion that followed Price's presentation.⁴² For example, G. Mackinlay said, "I fully agree with the author in believing in the strict truth of the Bible in the subject of the origin of man, and I think the first pages of his address are admirable, and that he has quite proved his point."⁴³ Another positive comment came from J. J. B. Coles, "The Professor's valuable essay should be circulated among those who attempt to use the doctrine of Evolution to exclude the equally true doctrine of Special Creation. Gen 1 and 2 should not be amalgamated."⁴⁴ And Collett said, "I most heartily welcome the paper we have listened to this afternoon as a very fine contribution to the subject under discussion, because it goes to the very root of the matter. . . ."⁴⁵ These reactions show that Price's literary influence went beyond the Adventist circles, and reached the level of international recognition.

Theological and Philosophical Influences

Now that this biographical survey on Price is completed, we will turn to the question, "Which theological and philosophical elements most influenced Price's protological hermeneutic?"

In the epistemological turmoil that began in the mid-nineteenth century, two

Institute see Numbers, *The Creationists*, 141-142.

⁴² Price, "Revelation and Evolution: Can They Be Harmonized?," 185.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 183, 184-186.

major worldviews gained the spotlight of American academe: biblical creation and Darwinian evolution. Capable thinkers from both groups provided their best arguments, trying to debunk each other's views and to establish a consensus about origins. In this process, each group received theological and philosophical influences that were formative and/or normative to their views. In the case of George McCready Price, I identified four main influences on his protological hermeneutic: Scripture, evolutionary theory, fundamentalism, and Ellen G. White. Additional comments about these influences follow.

Scripture

The protological hermeneutic of George McCready Price was built upon two basic premises about Scripture: (1) all Scripture is inspired and (2) Scripture is authoritative.⁴⁶

First, in relation to inspiration, Price argued that all Scripture was God's inspired written revelation to humankind in the same sense that Christ was God's self-revelation to humanity. In Price's view, this was to say that both contained the human and the divine elements working together to fulfill God's revelatory purposes and that as such, neither Scripture nor Christ could be fully understood in isolation from their dual natures.⁴⁷ Price said in Scripture and in Christ, "there is the same indefinable blending of the divine and the human, sublime, incomprehensible. When we begin to dissect and separate the one

⁴⁶ For general information on Price's view of Scripture, see also George McCready Price, "God's Book for Men," *Signs of the Times*, September 27, 1932, 10-11, 14-15; George McCready Price, "Who Gave You Your Bible?," *Signs of the Times*, October 11, 1932, 4-5, 14.

⁴⁷ This is equivalent to Warfield's principle of *concursum*. See Chapter 4, pp. 243n257.

from the other,⁴⁸ all reverence must certainly have departed, to say nothing of faith.”⁴⁹ In other words, Scripture should be read and understood as a unit, not be cut and divided, “calling some parts true and others mythical, to suit . . . preconceived ideas.”⁵⁰ To Price then, the very concept of a biblical metanarrative reinforced the claim that all Scripture was divinely inspired.

Also on the inspiration of Scripture, Price dealt with the question of verbal inspiration. In short, he rejected the concept of verbal inspiration while maintaining that all Scripture was inspired by God. The reason Price rejected verbal inspiration was that he recognized the presence of the human element in the message, which was encircled by the cultural elements related to each biblical writer. In Scripture, Price said, we “find traces of the limited ideas, almost the prejudices, of the authors,”⁵¹ which indicates that God did not use verbal inspiration. Scripture, Price explained, “was written in various human forms of speech, not in any heavenly tongue. It was written by men in their native languages, and by men that were perhaps not perfect masters of these languages.”⁵² Had God used verbal inspiration, one should not be able to find traces of such limited ideas or human prejudices. In that case, “when the Bible speaks, God speaks” and Scripture would

⁴⁸ For an example of this kind of critical approach to Scripture see, Temple, *Essays and Reviews*.

⁴⁹ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 26.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 25. To my knowledge Price did not know about Temple’s *Essays and Reviews*, the famous higher critical work which made room for Darwinism.

⁵¹ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 27. See also Price, *Modern Discoveries Which Help Us to Believe*, 195.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 236.

be inerrant as claimed by fundamentalists.⁵³ Though the discussion about the differences between “biblical inerrancy” and “biblical infallibility” is ongoing, Price’s insistence on the presence of limited ideas in Scripture, its writing in human language and not in heavenly language—which would make it without errors—seem to indicate that he favored biblical infallibility over inerrancy.⁵⁴ Price summarized his view on infallibility in 1934. He said, “God has promised to give His Holy Spirit to guide us into all truth. He has promised to give wisdom liberally and upbraid not, to every one who lacks wisdom and will ask of Him. *This promised Holy Spirit is the infallible Interpreter of the written Word.*”⁵⁵

The rejection of verbal inspiration, however, should not destroy our faith in Scripture as the inspired Word of God. Price agrees with Colgrave and Short, “[With Scripture] it is not a question of words, but of an actual living reality. . . . The only satisfactory way to settle difficulties of inspiration which we may have is to go to the Bible itself, and putting aside all our own or other people’s preconceived ideas, to study the claims which the Bible makes for itself, and to demand of it no more and no less.”⁵⁶ In the end, and convinced that Scripture is God’s “infallible guide,”⁵⁷ the “infallible

⁵³ R. Albert Mohler Jr., “When the Bible Speaks, God Speaks: The Classic Doctrine of Biblical Inerrancy,” in *Five Views on Biblical Inerrancy*, ed. Stephen M. Garret, Counterpoints: Bible and Theology, (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2013), 29-58.

⁵⁴ For my definition on infallibility see, Chapter 2, p. 44n76.

⁵⁵ George McCready Price, *Modern Discoveries Which Help Us to Believe*, (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell company, 1934; 193.

⁵⁶ Bertram Colgrave and A. J. Rendle Short, *The Historic Faith in the Light of Today* (London: Marshall Bros, 1921), 166, quoted in Price, *Modern Discoveries Which Help Us to Believe*, 196.

⁵⁷ Price, *Poisoning Democracy*, 131.

standard of right and wrong by which to test all . . . subjective impression”⁵⁸ Price concludes, “All truth is from God. . . . And today we find unmixed truth only in God’s written Word.”⁵⁹

Price’s rejection of verbal inspiration was an essential characteristic of his hermeneutical method, particularly in relation to his views on biblical protology. This was because, more often than not, Price’s opposition to Darwinian evolution was regarded as a sign that he was a fundamentalist in his interpretation of biblical creation.⁶⁰ But nothing was farther from the truth. In rejecting verbal inspiration, Price was explicitly opposing this hallmark of fundamentalism which insisted that because God guided the thoughts of the writers and the writing process, he had made each and every word in Scripture inerrant.⁶¹ According to Price, Scripture was not inerrant, but it was an “infallible standard,”⁶² an “infallible guide”⁶³ to all Christians seeking knowledge about origins, and about God’s plan of salvation and restoration.⁶⁴

Moving on to Price’s second premise about Scripture—the authority of Scripture—Price considered Scripture a trustworthy and authoritative source of historical

⁵⁸ George McCready Price, *Poisoning Democracy*, 100.

⁵⁹ Price, *Modern Discoveries Which Help Us to Believe*, 197.

⁶⁰ For information on Price’s views on Fundamentalism see Chapter 3, pp. 119-122.

⁶¹ See, Chapter 1, pp. 9-11, and Chapter 2, pp. 43-50.

⁶² Price, *Back to the Bible*, 81.

⁶³ Price, *Science and Religion in a Nutshell*, 61.

⁶⁴ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 37, 240, 271. Price, Q. E. D. or *New Light on the Doctrine of Creation*, 142; Price, *The Greatest of the Prophets: A New Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 82, 172; Price, *Back to the Bible*, 106.

knowledge. Why? To begin with, he explained that it was because “*the current deductions of [mainstream] science as to origins,*” were naturalistic in nature and based on the theory of evolution.⁶⁵ Consequently, these deductions “*are infinitely less reliable than the Word of the eternal God,* which has been handed down to us at such a cost of suffering and blood.”⁶⁶ Next, Price considered Scripture a trustworthy and authoritative source of knowledge, because “the archaeology of all the Bible lands has for many years been confirming in a wonderful way the records of the Scriptures. Biology, of course, has for many decades settled the great truth of biogenesis: life comes only from antecedent life. This means that science has no explanation for the origin of living things except that they must have been created.”⁶⁷ But archeological excavations have proven the reliability of biblical history. Price said,

A hundred years ago, the records of the Hebrew Scriptures stood alone and unconfirmed by any supporting secular history, in their accounts of the various cities and nations of antiquity. Nothing was essentially known about any of the peoples of the Orient back of about 500 B. C., except what was recorded in the books of the Old Testament. Now, however, the spade and pickax have unearthed the records of a thousand cities which confirm in a very wonderful way the statements of so many parts of the Hebrew records, that the rest of these writings must now be taken at their face value for reliable history.⁶⁸

In addition to inspiration and authority, Price’s protological hermeneutic included a concept of biblical metanarrative.⁶⁹ According to Price, all the stories recorded in

⁶⁵ Price uses the term *science* to mean naturalistic or Darwinian science. See Chapter 3, p. 97n87.

⁶⁶ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 24.

⁶⁷ Price, *The Time of the End*, 134.

⁶⁸ Price, *The Modern Flood Theory of Geology*, 117.

⁶⁹ According to Vanhoozer, “the term ‘metanarrative’ has been appropriated in biblical hermeneutics to refer to the overall story told by the Christian Scriptures, which is not totalizing or

Scripture belonged to a larger history, which was the history of the warfare between good and evil.⁷⁰ Hence, the interpretation of any biblical passage must take into account the metanarrative to which it belongs. In other words, Scripture must always be interpreted as a harmonizing unit.⁷¹

When assessing the condition of biblical interpretation in his day, however, Price observed that “orthodox Protestantism” (i.e., Lutherans, Presbyterians, Baptists, etc.) had become “very different in teaching and spirit from the church of fifty years ago [i.e., 1850’s], [and] from that of the early reformers or the primitive Christians.”⁷² Price was concerned that “orthodox Protestantism” was gradually relinquishing its trust on the authority of Scripture in favor of an unproven theory (i.e., Darwinism).

Perceiving the danger of these changes to Christianity, Price called Christians of all denominations to return to what he named “old-fashioned Christianity.” This expression he used to remind all Christians to go back and focus on Scriptural authority, like the Reformers did in the sixteenth century. This return, he insisted, might help Christians to reestablish the confidence in the authority of Scripture in general, and

oppressive (Middleton and Walsh), and which makes possible the ‘redemptive-historical’ level of biblical interpretation (Wolters). In this usage, the term has been given a positive rather than a negative valuation, and it has close links with the idea of ‘worldview.’ ” Albert Wolters, “Metanarrative,” *DTIB*, (2005), 506-507.

⁷⁰ This is what Boyd call the “warfare worldview.” Gregory A. Boyd, *Is God to Blame? Moving Beyond Pat Answers to the Problem of Evil* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 17, 61-106. Among SDAs this worldview is called the great controversy and is well described in Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1911).

⁷¹ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 25.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 23.

particularly in Scripture as a reliable source of protological knowledge.⁷³ After all, biblical protology was *sine qua non* to all the other themes in Scripture, including the Sabbath, redemption, judgment, atonement, and eschatology. In other words, eschatology could not succeed without protology and everything else in between.

To exemplify, Price explained that the denial of biblical reality of creation in six literal days, would strike at the theological foundation of the Sabbath in Scripture.⁷⁴ Price's claim came as no surprise to the readers, since he was a Seventh-day Adventist. Most surprising, however, was the fact that the Sabbath was never Price's only concern. In fact, what Price had in mind when he protested against Darwinism was the integrity of all the essential doctrines of Christianity. Price said,

When this idea of long ages of time during which the world was developing, was first put forward, not many people saw its true import. But now that this theory has been before the world for nearly a century, and as it has had a full opportunity to develop and show its real meaning, we begin to see that it is really one of the worst and most anti-Christian theories ever foisted upon a credulous world. For not only does this idea throw discredit upon the whole Scriptural record of the beginnings of our world; we now see that through its modern developments it strikes also at every fundamental doctrine of historic Christianity.⁷⁵

Among these "fundamental doctrines" were found, for example, the teaching of the fall and the doctrine of the substitutionary death of Christ. Thus, when addressing the relation that exists between the doctrine of creation, the fall, and the substitutionary death of Christ, Price explained that "the doctrine of the fall of man is just as essentially a part of the Christian religion as is the doctrine of Christ's mediatorial work. . . . Indeed, the

⁷³ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 24.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 125; Price, *Back to the Bible*, 105, 128.

⁷⁵ Price, *Science and Religion in a Nutshell*, 12-13.

history of the modern apostasy shows conclusively that when men lose their faith in a real creation, the next step is to deny the reality of the fall, and then to deny the reality of, and the necessity for, the atonement.”⁷⁶ “And surely,” Price concluded, “the principles of progression, . . . would insure the ultimate perfection of the race without the intervention of a divine Mediator and the death of a divine Sacrifice. Can we not therefore say that the evolution theory converts into a fable the old, old story of the cross, and makes the whole Scripture a jargon of unmeaning folly?”⁷⁷ With this being said, Price summarized the implications of denying biblical protology saying, “when the basic idea of Creation is removed or discredited, the whole structure of revealed religion [i.e., Christianity] is vitally endangered.”⁷⁸

On another note, Price reminded us “there are old-fashioned followers of Christ in all the churches, who ‘sigh and cry for the abominations that are done in the midst thereof,’ and who it may be said are doing all the practical old-fashioned kind of work that Christ and His apostles did.”⁷⁹ Price insisted, these Christians are guided by

the same spirit that called out Abraham from his country and his kindred; that sent Elijah to the king of Israel and John the Baptist to the people of Judea with messages of reform; that directed the tent-maker in his self-supporting missionary wanderings; that supported the Waldenses in their long-continued struggles for freedom among the mountains, and the martyrs of all ages in proclaiming their message . . . “to every

⁷⁶ Price, *Science and Religion in a Nutshell*, 16. Nigel Cameron also dealt with the implications of adding the concept of death prior to the fall of Adam. Cameron insists, “this overthrows the sin-death causality, and in so doing pulls the rug from under the feet of the evangelical understanding of the atonement”. Nigel M. de S. Cameron, *Evolution and the Authority of the Bible*, (Greenwood, SD: Attic Press, 1985), 66.

⁷⁷ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 248. See also Price, *God's Two Books or Plain Facts About Evolution, Geology and the Bible*, 31; Price, *Back to the Bible*, 15.

⁷⁸ Price, *Science and Religion in a Nutshell*, 13.

⁷⁹ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 24.

nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people,” the spiritual children of the reformers and martyrs of all past time.⁸⁰

Therefore, Price concluded, “if there is any truth whatever in the mission of Christ and Christianity, we cannot hope to improve either His spirit and methods, or the fundamental doctrines of the church which He established, as revealed in our only Text-book on the subject.”⁸¹

All things considered, Price held Scripture as both formative and normative in his protological hermeneutic.⁸² It was formative because it functioned as the starting point of his theology in general, and the primary written source of his protology in particular. According to Price, “all the reliable scientific evidence . . . [is] in harmony with a reasonable and straightforward acceptance of the Scripture statements on these matters [i.e., protology].”⁸³ Nevertheless, since all Scripture was inspired and an authoritative source of protological knowledge, Scripture was also normative to Price’s protological hermeneutics. This was because its metanarrative provided the philosophy of history that

⁸⁰ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 24-25.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 25. Note that in addition to Textbook, Price uses many other adjectives to call his readers’ attention to God’s written revelation. For instance, Scripture is a guidebook he said or, “a Letter from Heaven [sent] as the guide and instructor of all who will give heed.” Price, *Modern Discoveries Which Help Us to Believe*, 196. Other adjectives Price used to identify Scripture were “the Word of the eternal God;” “our only Text-book;” “the special revelation of the Creator to us.”

⁸² “But in all the difficult problems in regard to man’s duty and destiny, how the world began, how it is now being conducted, and how it will end, we have not been left alone to find our way in the dark by means of the taper lights that we can furbish from the perplexing and conflicting evidences from science and human discovery. *The God of heaven has given us written instructions; so we need not go astray in our reasoning about these matters.* For in all such thinking or reasoning about the origin of the world, or about how the affairs of nature are now being conducted, we can make no progress without very soon getting out into the deep waters of abstract reasoning. And here is just where we need to be very careful in our reasoning and in the words we use, and in addition *we need to check up from fundamental truths revealed in the Scriptures, to make sure that we are not making mistakes on all these subjects.*” Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 92. Italics supplied.

⁸³ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 271.

guided his interpretation of the world, and it was where the general and the special revelation of God might coalesce intelligibly.

Thus, contrary to what has been suggested by Numbers,⁸⁴ Price's protological hermeneutic did not emerge as a biased attempt to promote Ellen White's views on protology.⁸⁵ Though I can agree that White exerted philosophical and theological influences upon Price, his work seemed to be, primarily, a serious attempt to uplift Scripture as a reliable source of protological knowledge. Other goals included, but were not limited to: exposing the moral and philosophical dangers of Darwinism; exposing its weaknesses; and exposing the weaknesses of uniformitarianism—the principle of interpretation on which conventional geology and Darwinian evolution were based.⁸⁶

Evolutionary Theory

Moving on from the question of Price's views on Scripture, let us turn to the question of how the evolutionary theory influenced Price's protological hermeneutic. Here, we must proceed with care to assure we appreciate how Price dealt with evolution.

⁸⁴ Numbers says, "Several times Price tottered on the brink of accepting this [evolutionary] line of reasoning. . . . But how could he possibly harmonize this conclusion with the Mosaic account of creation as interpreted by White?" Numbers, *The Creationists*, 75. This statement by Numbers implies that the purpose of Price's hermeneutical method was to harmonize the interpretation of nature with the writings of Ellen White. More explicit than Numbers, Noll states, "Modern creationism arose, by contrast, from the efforts of earnest Seventh-day Adventists who wanted to show that the sacred writings of Adventist-founder Ellen G. White . . . could provide a framework for studying the history of the earth. Especially important for this purpose was the Adventist theorist George McCready Price (1870-1963). . . ." Noll, *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 189.

⁸⁵ Ellen G. White was a co-founder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. For more information see The Ellen G. White Estate, Inc. "Pathways of the Pioneers: Ellen G. White (1827-1915)," The Ellen G. White Estate, Inc., accessed September 20, 2016, <http://www.whiteestate.org/pathways/ewhite.asp>; R. E. Graham, "Ellen G. White: Co-Founder of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church," in *American University Studies*, (New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing, 1985).

⁸⁶ Numbers, *The Creationists*, 76.

As we proceed, and to better understand his approach to biblical protology, we must verify whether Price rejected all forms of evolution in his protological hermeneutic. If so, how did Price explain the conclusive data that indicated the developments of different strains of viruses, breeding, and adaptation of one species to different environmental conditions?⁸⁷ My hypothesis is that Price's views of the created natural world were more sophisticated than scholars have thought and, if considered fairly, they might reveal more harmony between nature and Scripture than most scholars are inclined to admit.

For instance, as part of his endeavor to expose the harmony that existed between nature and Scripture, Price observed that more often than not, the term *evolution* was generally used in connection with a naturalistic process of origins that was directly opposed to the supernatural biblical process of origins. In this overgeneralization of the term, evolution was generally taken as meaning "naturalism, as opposed to the supernaturalism of creation."⁸⁸ To say it differently, Price pointed out that the term evolution was generally and incorrectly used to describe a naturalistic process of progressive change, or "descent with modification,"⁸⁹ guided exclusively by "natural processes."⁹⁰ Gould called this "speciation, the basis of macroevolution, . . . a process of branching."⁹¹

⁸⁷ Roth, *Origins: Linking Science and Scripture*, 84-88.

⁸⁸ Price, *How Did the World Begin?*, 18.

⁸⁹ Darwin, *The Origin of Species*, 14.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*; Price, *The Predicament of Evolution*, 103.

⁹¹ Stephen Jay Gould, "Is a New and General Theory of Evolution Emerging?" *Paleobiology* 6,

With this in mind, Price explained that the proper use of the term evolution required a distinction between Darwinism and the theory of evolution. The former, Price described as evolution in “the narrower sense.” The latter, he said was much broader and “more inclusive than the former.” Price explained, “Organic evolution means that animals and plants, the human race included, have come about through a long process of natural development, not necessarily in any particular manner, but somehow, we cannot know how. Darwinism undertakes to tell *how*.” In other words, Darwinism did “not attempt to prove organic evolution,” but it provided the mechanism through which progressive evolutionary changes occurred (i.e., natural selection, or the survival of the fittest).⁹²

Empowered by the principle of uniformitarianism and gradual succession, Price said, Darwinian evolution

seeks to show that the world and all it contains, including plants and animals and man, probably came into existence by causes similar to or identical with the forces and processes now prevailing in the natural world. It ignores any supernatural power behind nature, and teaches the absolute supremacy and the past continuity of fixed natural law, without any intervention or modification at any time or by any being.⁹³

In a slightly shorter version of his definition of Darwinian evolution Price said, “Evolution is the modern fashionable theory which professes to account for the origin of things in terms of what we call ‘natural law.’ It is a glorification of naturalism, and a repudiation of God’s direct control of nature or of anything like a miracle for the

no. 1 (1980), 125. See Chapter 2, p. 98n97.

⁹² Price, *The Predicament of Evolution*, 84. Italics his.

⁹³ Price, *Science and Religion in a Nutshell*, 54.

beginnings of anything.”⁹⁴ Darwinism was “*essentially a purely mechanical and non-purposive explanation of the adaptations in nature.*”⁹⁵ It was the attempt to explain how organic evolution occurred through “natural selection or survival of the fittest.”⁹⁶ Price concluded,

Evolution really says that, in the long run, the tendencies toward variation have been sufficient down through the ages to transform a protozoan, such as the amoeba, into a horse or a man. Believers in creation deny any such possibilities in variation, though they admit that considerable changes are possible, such, for instance, as the *possibility* that all the bears of the world may have come from a common ancestor, that all the cats may be of common descent, or that all the dogs and wolves may have had a common origin. *Creationists do not claim to know the limits of such variations*; but they seriously question whether any distinct transformation of one genuine species into another has ever been possible.⁹⁷

This last statement indicates that Price had a much more sophisticated view of the

⁹⁴ Price, *The Man from Mars*, 19. For more information on Price’s understanding of evolution—in the broad sense—and why he thought most thinkers in his day were using Darwinism as a synonym of evolution, see, Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 30; Price, *The Predicament of Evolution*, 84; Price, *God’s Two Books or Plain Facts About Evolution, Geology and the Bible*, 19-22; Price, *Evolutionary Geology*, 44-69. For Price’s explanation of the “nebular hypothesis” see, Price, *A History of Some Scientific Blunders*, 30. For more information on uniformitarian geology see, pp. 111-115 on this dissertation.

⁹⁵ Price, *The Predicament of Evolution*, 86.

⁹⁶ Price, *The Phantom of Organic Evolution*, 179.

⁹⁷ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 173. Italics his. Among creationists, these evolutionary processes are commonly known as microevolution and macroevolution respectively. Microevolution, Goldschmidt explained, “is a process which leads to diversification strictly within the species, usually, if not exclusively, for the sake of adaptation of the species to specific conditions within the area which it is able to occupy.” Richard Goldschmidt, *The Material Basis of Evolution* (Paterson, NJ: Pageant Books, 1960), 183. Macroevolution, on the other hand, was the evolutionary “step from one species to another.” Ibid. These, however, are not the only usages of the terms microevolution and macroevolution. Mainstream scientists, for example, insist that “macroevolutionary trends are governed by the principles of microevolution.” Andrews M. Simons, “The Continuity of Microevolution and Macroevolution,” *Journal of Evolutionary Biology*, no. 15 (2002): 688. This is to say that macroevolution occurs as a result of microevolution. See also, Emanuele Serrelli and Nathalie Gontier, “Macroevolutionary Issues and Approaches in Evolutionary Biology,” in *Macroevolution: Explanation, Interpretation and Evidence*, ed. Emanuele Serrelli and Nathalie Gontier, (Switzerland: Springer International Publisher, 2015), 13. Given these possibilities, I suggest that the greater challenge remain with mainstream scientists, who have been unable to find “the missing link” between microevolution/macroevolution and descent with modification from a common ancestor within the framework of Darwinism. David L. Stern, “Perspective: Evolutionary Developmental

created natural world than some scholars would like to concede. Here, we must note that though Price rejected evolution in its broader and narrower forms, he did not reject the fact that some variations within the same species occurred. In fact, he explicitly acknowledged that “minor variations, called variously subspecies, microspecies, geographical races, and varieties” were undeniable facts in God’s creation.⁹⁸ Price said, “Our modern scientific studies in Mendelism and genetics have taught us to believe in comparatively wide variations among all the different kinds of plants and animals. These wide variations doubtless took place in the ancient world as well as in our modern one.”⁹⁹ “I will concede,” Price wrote, “that a directing *Intelligence* could have produced all the great variety of organic forms by such a process of organic development; but I utterly refuse to consider this as a probable explanation of their origin.”¹⁰⁰

The reason for this refusal was clear to Price. It was the fashionableness of

Biology and the Problem of Variation,” *Evolution* 54, no. 4 (2000): 1079.

⁹⁸ See George McCready Price, “Why I Am Not an Evolutionist,” in *Bible Truth Series* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, n.d.), 6; Price, *The Man from Mars*, 97, 103; Price, *Common-Sense Geology: A Simplified Study for the General Reader*, 139-140; Price, *Modern Discoveries Which Help Us to Believe*, 127-129; Price, *The Predicament of Evolution*, 12-19; Price, *Evolutionary Geology*, 275; Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 173; Price, *General Science*, 193-194, 484-485.

⁹⁹ Price, *The Modern Flood Theory of Geology*, 78. Price’s views on ‘kinds’ was developed by his student Frank Marsh who is the founder of Baraminology. Randy Moore, Mark Decker and Sehoya Cotner, *Chronology of the Evolution-Creationism Controversy* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 2010), 218. “Baramins are the ‘created kinds’ of Genesis. Baraminology attempts to identify, through various scientific tests, what creatures God originally created.” Tim Stafford, *The Adam Quest: Eleven Scientists Who Held on to a Strong Faith While Wrestling with the Mystery of Human Origins* (Nashville, TN: Nelson Books, 2013), 23. In relation to the origin of humankind, Wood and Francis say that “the claim that humans are distinct from animals,” “is the most important result from the statistical baraminology study. Creationists have claimed for years that humans are readily distinguishable from animals. Statistical baraminology supports that contention.” Todd C. Wood and Joseph W. Francis, “Adam and the Animals,” in *What Happened in the Garden*, ed. Abner Chou, (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 2016), 58, 59. For more information see, Todd C. Wood, *A Creationist Review and Preliminary Analysis of the History, Geology, Climate, and Biology of the Galápagos Islands* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2005), 53 passim.

¹⁰⁰ Price, *The Phantom of Organic Evolution*, 124.

Darwinism that seemed to have led CPEs, to look upon this variation within the same species, and “thought that they were just species in the making, or the ones from which genuine new species might ultimately develop.” Nevertheless, Price insisted, “the study of Mendelism and modern genetics has tended to discredit this idea.¹⁰¹ Hence, Price maintained,

The only rational conclusion from these facts is that living forms, whether of plants or of animals, are still today obeying the divine mandate announced in the beginning, to reproduce, each after its particular kind. Variation there is and variation there has been, even sufficient to produce multitudes of variant forms that we have long classed as distinct taxonomic species. But the verdict of modern biology is that these variations are subject to absolute laws, and the limits within which such variation can take place are also subject to laws as fixed as any other laws of nature.¹⁰²

This point can hardly be over emphasized. It is clear that in spite of being a COD, Price never rejected minor variations within the same species. What he denied on scientific grounds was the transmutation of species altogether (i.e., descent with modification from a common ancestor). According to Price, what had been described as “species” among evolutionists “would not stand the physiological test of breeding . . . according to the Mendelian Law.”¹⁰³ Consequently, “We may even be certain that numbers of excellent species recognized by entomologists or ornithologists, for example, would, if subjected to breeding tests, be immediately proved to be *analytical varieties*, differing from each other merely in the presence or absence of definite factors.”¹⁰⁴ All

¹⁰¹ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 159. For Price’s explanation of Mendelism see Price, *Q. E. D. or New Light on the Doctrine of Creation*, 78-98.

¹⁰² Price, *Back to the Bible*, 138.

¹⁰³ Price, *Q. E. D. or New Light on the Doctrine of Creation*, 74. For Price’s explanation of Mendelism see pp. 78-98.

¹⁰⁴ William Bateson, *Mendel's Principles of Heredity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University

things considered, Price concluded,

The theory of world progress toward something like moral [i.e., human being] and social perfection is directly contrary to the teaching of the Bible. Nothing resembling it is to be found in the Holy Scriptures. The idea is based entirely on wishful thinking and on a superficial view of the history of the past century or two, ignoring or twisting the history of the preceding thousands of years.¹⁰⁵

As Price continued to develop his protological hermeneutic and to justify his arguments against the theory of evolution, he reminded his readers that “the premises of Darwinism were established . . . a century or more ago, and, as is usual with great world-errors, it is the premises that are wrong, not the conclusions only.”¹⁰⁶ With this being said, Price pointed out that the arguments used to propagate the Darwinian “doctrine of evolution”¹⁰⁷ were largely dependent on geology.¹⁰⁸ Price said, “Darwinism, as a part, the chief part, of the general Evolution Theory, rests logically and historically on the succession of life idea as taught by geology.”¹⁰⁹ With this in mind, Price identified the premises of modern geology, which according to him, had failed to support the claims of Darwinism. These premises were uniformitarianism,¹¹⁰ gradual succession, and the

Press, 1909), 284. Cited in Price, *Q. E. D. or New Light on the Doctrine of Creation*, 74. Italics his. See pp. 74-76 for additional examples.

¹⁰⁵ Price, *The Time of the End*, 16.

¹⁰⁶ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 31.

¹⁰⁷ Price used the phrase “doctrine of evolution” to describe the evolutionary theory in his writings. For instance, between 1902 and 1930, he used this phrase thirty-nine times in twelve books.

¹⁰⁸ Though Charles Hodge does not present evolution as dependent on geology, he points out that geology presents the most serious objection to the biblical account of creation. Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1:570.

¹⁰⁹ Price, *Illogical Geology: The Weakest Point in the Evolution Theory*, 9.

¹¹⁰ Price, *The Fundamentals of Geology and Their Bearings on the Doctrine of a Literal Creation*, 12. Contemporary scholars Carl O. Dunbar (1891-1979)—a geologist from Yale University—and Steven M. Stanley (1941-)—a paleontologist from Johns Hopkins University—also agree. Dunbar said, “Although

hypothesis that inorganic matter can produce life. Price said,

This full-fledged evolution was not possible without geology--in fact, geology furnishes nine-tenths of its argument; and geology . . . is based on two fundamental assumptions--:

1. That the action of the elements has been uniform with the present in character, perhaps in degree, during all past time.

2. That there has been a gradual succession, perhaps development, in the life upon the globe.

But besides these two basic ideas, evolution is also materially dependent upon that other notion that matter is itself endowed with certain properties by means of which it acts, all phenomena being but the outcome of this endowment of matter [i.e. spontaneous generation].¹¹¹

After evaluating these fundamental premises of modern geology, and consequently of Darwinism, Price proclaimed: "Uniformity, or the Deluge,— these are the two alternatives before the thinking people of our modern world." But unfortunately, Price complained, "for several decades unbelieving scientists have tried by ridicule and every unfair representation to rule the Biblical interpretation entirely out of court. To such a degree has this conspiracy of silence or of travesty and ridicule been carried, that the real Bible alternative to the current uniformitarianism has not had a sober and candid

the comparative study of living animals and plants may give very convincing circumstantial evidence, fossils provide the only historical, documentary evidence that life has evolved from simpler to more and more complex forms." Carl O. Dunbar, *Historical Geology*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Wiley, 1960), 47. Stanley concurs, "It is doubtful whether, in the absence of fossils, the idea of evolution would represent anything more than an outrageous hypothesis. . . . The fossil record and only the fossil record provides direct evidence of major sequential changes in the Earth's biota. On a finer scale, paleontology is our only direct source of information about the course of evolution." M. Stanley Steven, *New Evolutionary Timetable: Fossils, Genes & the Origin of Species* (New York, NY: Perseus Books, 1984), 72. See also, Steven M. Stanley, *Earth System History*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: W.H. Freeman, 2004), 166. For more information on Price's explanation of how uniformitarianism relates to Darwinism see Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 123-153; Price, *Illogical Geology: The Weakest Point in the Evolution Theory*, 11-14; Price, *God's Two Books or Plain Facts About Evolution, Geology and the Bible*, 93-97; Price, *The New Geology: A Textbook for Colleges, Normal Schools, and Training Schools; and for the General Reader*, 600; Price, *Science and Religion in a Nutshell*, 45-46; Price, *The Geological-Ages Hoax: A Plea for Logic in Theoretical Geology*, 20-27; Price, *The Modern Flood Theory of Geology*, 17-21; Price, *The Man from Mars*, 36-42.

¹¹¹ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 41.

hearing for nearly a century.”¹¹² This situation was unacceptable to Price, so he engaged the conservative proponents of evolution, and questioned the very foundation of the theory they embraced.

Uniformitarianism as Premise of Darwinism

As mentioned earlier, the principle of uniformitarianism began with James Hutton’s idea that modern geology could not explain the features of the earth correctly, unless modern geologists were “permitted to refer only to ongoing, natural processes” to explain the earth’s geological features.¹¹³ Charles Lyell, however, took the principle of uniformitarianism further and applied it to the study of organic changes as well. As a modern geologist, Lyell felt that if uniformitarianism was applied to both inorganic and organic changes, the apparent lack of continuity in the fossil record could disappear, and its formation could be left entirely to naturalistic processes.¹¹⁴

According to Price, Lyell’s work represents “the chief obstacle to a simple return to the Mosaic view” of origins.¹¹⁵ For this reason, Price spent much energy to show the flaws in the uniformitarian theory.

Price began by reminding his readers that scientific truth was based on a series of

¹¹² Price, *Back to the Bible*, 43.

¹¹³ Ratzsch, *The Battle of Beginnings*, 14. See also Chapter 2, pp. 28-32. For more information on uniformitarianism from a contemporary perspective, see, Oard and Walker, *Flood by Design: Receding Water Shapes the Earth's Surface*, 16-20. William A. Berggren and John A. Van Couvering, *Catastrophes and Earth History: The New Uniformitarianism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 35-90. Larson, *Evolution*, 46-51, 55-66.

¹¹⁴ Greene, *The Death of Adam*, 250-256.

¹¹⁵ Price, *The Man from Mars*, 3.

observed facts.¹¹⁶ He said, “[S]cience as such only deals with phenomena and the things of time and sense, and thus can never to any philosophic mind demonstrate the materialistic notion of the universe.”¹¹⁷ After analyzing Hutton’s and Lyell’s claims, he concluded that uniformitarian geology was not based on observed facts. Instead, it was based on a philosophical assumption. Price explained, “[U]nlike the other physical sciences, the great leading ideas of geology are not generalizations framed from the whole series or group of observed facts, but are really abstract statements supposed to be reasonable in themselves, or at the most very hasty conclusions based on wholly insufficient data.”¹¹⁸ Hence, Price rejected Darwinism, on the basis of being largely dependent on uniformitarian geology which lacked conclusive data to support its claims. Price proceeded, “[T]he nineteenth century monument of Uniformitarian Geology erected by Lyell and Agassiz (and I write their names with respect), and built about with such indefatigable zeal by their devoted followers, was growing rather top-heavy with absurdity.”¹¹⁹ According to Price, this was happening because

Lyell took over bodily and without any critical examination of its logic the fossiliferous form of the onion-coat theory, as taught by [William] Smith and Cuvier, with the fossils used as the keys to the successive onion-coats instead of the minerals. In reality this theory was based on the tacit assumption that the order of the fossils in England and France will always be found in the same sequence all over the globe.¹²⁰

For Price these were inconclusive assumptions, and further study of these premises of

¹¹⁶ Warfield and Price agree. See Chapter 4, p. 204.

¹¹⁷ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 72.

¹¹⁸ Price, *Illogical Geology: The Weakest Point in the Evolution Theory*, 12.

¹¹⁹ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, x.

¹²⁰ Price, *Modern Discoveries Which Help Us to Believe*, 147.

Darwinism—especially of uniformitarian geology—had revealed the implausibility of the arguments used by their proponents. Price said,

For several decades the disciples of Lyell had things entirely their own way, and the world believed their loud assertions that every kind of work recorded in the fossiliferous strata is being duplicated or reproduced in the deposits made today. But of late years these confident assertions of the uniformitarians have been subjected to more careful scrutiny, with the result that on every essential point their argument has broken down completely.¹²¹

In *The New Geology* (1923), Price maintained this same line of argument against Darwinism saying:

With the general outline before them of the successive types of plants and animals occurring in what was regarded as a true historical order [i.e., the fossil record], there is not much wonder that the scientists of the latter part of the nineteenth century believed that Darwin's theory had cleared away the last difficulty, and that they had a complete scientific account of how the various modern species of organisms had developed from cruder and less organized originals. As the result of this combination of geology and biology, the world for several decades thought that the great problem of the origin of life and of living things had been completely solved by science.

However, in the further attempt to verify all the details of this extraordinary theory of how the organic world has evolved, doubt has been thrown upon one after another of those great leading doctrines on which the [Darwinian] evolution theory has been built up.¹²²

For Price, uniformitarian geology had settled for the desire to comply with the prevailing modern worldview (i.e., naturalism)—which required the denial of biblical

¹²¹ Price, *Back to the Bible*, 45-46. For Price's arguments against the formation of fossils in the uniformitarian way, see *Ibid.*, 46-56.

¹²² Price, *The New Geology: A Textbook for Colleges, Normal Schools, and Training Schools; and for the General Reader*, 600-601. Note that Price does not reject all forms of evolution (See p. 100nn103-04). "I will concede that a directing Intelligence could have produced all the great variety of organic forms by such a process of organic development; but I utterly refuse to consider this as a probable explanation of their origin. . . . It is far easier to believe in the direct creation of all the leading types (e. g., the families), as explained elsewhere, though allowing for many minor variations under each of these larger groups." Price, *The Phantom of Organic Evolution*, 124. See also, Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 159-201; Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 112-113. Like Warfield, Price was opposed to evolution in its extremist, naturalistic form, commonly associated with Darwinism. See Chapter 4, pp. 190-202 for Warfield's view on evolution.

protology—rather than to comply with the actual data available in nature.¹²³ Price said,

And this assumption of a “uniform” action of the elements during all past time, be it remembered, is a point-blank denial of the record of the flood. “It is a question of energy versus time,” as Professor Nicholson says. “We may, on the one hand, suppose them [the geological phenomena] to be the result of some very powerful cause, acting through a short period of time. Or we may suppose them to be caused by a much weaker force operating through a proportionately prolonged period.” And as scientists always consider it their business to push the real first cause of anything back as far as possible, time will always receive the verdict when opposed to energy.¹²⁴

A good example of the kind of dismissal of scientific evidence that Price was talking about, relates to the evidence for rapid deposition of the layers in the geologic column. Price pointed out,

Also there is often physical evidence at the line of contact between two successive beds that the one bed followed the other in quick succession. When the two beds are parallel with each other over wide distances, and when no local erosion is apparent on the upper surface of the lower bed, but instead there are some fragments of the lower bed within the bed above it, the two beds are *conformable* to each other. And this condition of *conformability* is good proof that no long period of time could have elapsed between the two beds. On the contrary, they must have followed one another in comparatively quick succession.

All this makes it increasingly evident that the presence of limestone, sandstone, and conglomerate (gravel) in a series of vertical beds does not give us the slightest hint about the relative age of the materials composing these beds. This condition of superposition cannot tell us anything about the history of these materials before they were brought here and placed in this relative order. On the contrary, the physical evidence may be abundant that the beds were laid down in comparatively quick order and in rapid succession; hence all of these materials were probably existing contemporaneously before the different currents began working upon them.¹²⁵

The conclusions Price reached about uniformitarianism are well summarized in his 1926 *Evolutionary Geology and the New Catastrophism*, “Uniformitarianism is now

¹²³ For a well summarized explanation of the reasons this occurred, see, Murphy, *Beyond Liberalism and Fundamentalism*, 55-61.

¹²⁴ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 145-146. See also *Ibid.*, 107-108.

¹²⁵ Price, *Common-Sense Geology: A Simplified Study for the General Reader*, 19-20.

found to be bankrupt as an explanation of the past geological changes.”¹²⁶ Thus, Price concluded, “Uniformity and evolution have had a fair chance, an open field, and have done their best. But they have failed, miserably failed.”¹²⁷ Again,

If we project our present conditions backward into the past, we find that uniformity is bankrupt, so far as explaining the stratified deposits is concerned. There is no reliable explanation of extensive changes of climate, least of all of any such sudden changes of climate as we find recorded by the Siberian and Arctic elephants in cold storage. And to make the matter altogether hopeless of explanation, we have the fact now brought out in the previous pages that all the fossil kinds of animals and plants must have been living together in the same world,—at least we have failed to make any reliable distinctions among them regarding the age in which they lived.¹²⁸

Gradual Succession as Premise of Darwinism

The second objection Price raised against Darwinism was to gradual succession. In the context of his discussion on the premises of Darwinism, gradual succession in the fossil record, was a reference to the alleged sequence of naturalistic morphological changes of life forms over time, or descent with modification from a common ancestor.¹²⁹ Even though Price had limited scientific data on evolution in the early twentieth century, he foresaw what most scientists now agree upon: “the fossil record, . . . typically fails to provide evidence of smoothly transitional states of morphological change.”¹³⁰

¹²⁶ Price, *Evolutionary Geology*, 38.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 67.

¹²⁸ Price, *The Geological-Ages Hoax: A Plea for Logic in Theoretical Geology*, 119-120.

¹²⁹ In the context of Price’s assessment of uniformitarian geology, succession of life is used to describe morphological changes within a species leading to the appearance of a new species, or descent with modification from a common ancestor. Other terms commonly used to describe this type of morphological change are, speciation, macroevolution. For more information see, Jeffrey S. Levinton, *Genetics, Paleontology, and Macroevolution* (Port Chester, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 2-31. Jerry A. Coyne and H. Allen Orr, *Speciation* (Sunderland, MA: Sinauer Associates, 2004), 9-82, 411-446.

¹³⁰ Jeffrey H. Schwartz, “Homeobox Genes, Fossils, and the Origin of Species,” *The Anatomical*

Aware of the impression that Lyell's uniformitarianism made on Darwin, Price explained that after reading Lyell's *Principles of Geology* in the Beagle, that Darwin was convinced that the small changes he observed in the specimens collected during his five years (1831-1836) sailing down the coast of South America, were in accordance with Lyell's uniformitarianism. In *The Phantom of Organic Evolution*, Price said,

The most serious mistake made by Charles Darwin was his misplaced confidence in Lyellism. It will be remembered that Darwin as a young man had eagerly read Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, that he had taken a copy of this work with him on his voyage in the Beagle, and that to the memory of Lyell he had dedicated his record of the discoveries which he made during this trip. And there is no doubt that the geological picture of a long series of successive forms of life in ever-ascending and increasing complexity and perfection of organization, was the ever-present idea in Darwin's mind on which he undertook to build his scheme of organic evolution.¹³¹

Record 257, no. 1 (1999): 15. This is a partial quotation of the Schwartz's article abstract that says, "This picture of punctuation is consistent with the fossil record, which typically fails to provide evidence of smoothly transitional states of morphological change." Back in 1981, Everett C. Olson wrote, "As a whole, however, the record of this largest and most varied group of metazoans is spotty, and it tells much less of the broader aspects of its evolution than we might hope for. This is particularly true with regard to the relationships of the major groups. Three of these, Trilobita, Crustacea, and Unirama, appear in Cambrian rocks with at least vague Precambrian predecessors, and the Chelicerata appear in the Lower Ordovician. Each is highly distinctive at first occurrence, a fact indicating a substantial earlier period of phylogenetic separation for which there is no tangible fossil record. No common ancestor of any of the major groups is known and, of course, no common ancestor for the phylum as a whole can be specified. . . . To date the fossil record, viewed practically, goes little further, for beyond some generic series and suggestions of a few familial relationships between the best preserved groups, animals suggesting relationships at higher levels are so rare as to be essentially non-existent." Everett C. Olson, "The Problem of Missing Links: Today and Yesterday," *The Quarterly Review of Biology* 56, no. 4 (1981): 429-430. Italics supplied. On his editorial notes to Niles Eldredge and Stephen J. Gould's "Punctuated Equilibria: An Alternative to Phyletic Gradualism," Thomas Schopf says, "Moving from populations to species, we recall that the process of speciation as seen through the hyperopic eyes of the paleontologist is an old and venerable theme. But the significance of 'gaps' in the fossil record has been a recurrent 'difficulty,' used on the one hand to show that spontaneous generation is a 'fact,' and on the other hand to illustrate the 'incompleteness' of the fossil record." See also Niles Eldredge and Stephen J. Gould, "Punctuated Equilibria: An Alternative to Phyletic Gradualism," in *Models in Paleobiology*, ed. Thomas J. M. Schopf, (San Francisco, CA: Freeman, 1972), 82. Eldredge and Gould agree, "A new species does not evolve in the area or its ancestors; it does not arise from the slow transformation of all its forbears. Many breaks in the fossil record are real." *Ibid.*, 84.

¹³¹ Price, *The Phantom of Organic Evolution*, 44. Price also noted how Lyell came to his conclusions about the development of the earth's crust and the fossil record. "In another respect also we now see that Lyell was mistaken. He was quite convinced that there are now slow processes of diastrophism prevailing all over the globe. By diastrophism is meant the theory that the coasts are in places moving upward or downward with reference to the ocean at a slow, gradual rate; and Lyell's doctrine of uniformity was largely based on the evidences which he accumulated to prove this doctrine. Upon this

For Price, however, “a credible theory of evolution was only possible in very modern times, or after the ‘historical’ order of the fossils had been firmly established.”¹³² In other words, “Darwinism as a part . . . of the general evolution theory, rested logically and historically on the succession-of-life idea as taught by geology.”¹³³ With this in mind Price argued,

If there has actually been this succession of life on the globe in a very definite order, then some form of genetic connection between these successive types is the intuitive conclusion of every thinking mind, even though it may prove impossible to recover the connecting-links. But if there is absolutely no evidence in either logic or objective fact that certain types of life are intrinsically older than others; in other words, if this succession of life is not an actual scientific fact capable of the clearest proof; then Darwinism or any other form of biological evolution can have no more scientific value than the vagaries of the old Greeks; in short, from the view-point of true inductive science, it would necessarily be a gigantic blunder, historically scarce second to the Ptolemaic astronomy.¹³⁴

Therefore, building on the idea that gradual succession was essential to the Darwinian theory of evolution and that such idea was a false premise, Price proceeded to present the evidences he thought would discredit gradual succession, and shake the foundation of Darwinism.¹³⁵

doctrine Lyell built up his system of uniformity; and his thought was that if these hypothetical changes of level around the coasts could be prolonged over a sufficient length of time, the bottom of the ocean might become dry land, or the land might in turn become the bottom of the ocean; and this would then explain why we now find sea creatures as entombed fossils in the limestones and shales of our plains and mountains.” Ibid., 46. For more information see Price, *The New Geology: A Textbook for Colleges, Normal Schools, and Training Schools; and for the General Reader*, 238-269.

¹³² Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 20-21.

¹³³ Price, *The Fundamentals of Geology and Their Bearings on the Doctrine of a Literal Creation*, 12.

¹³⁴ Price, *The Fundamentals of Geology and Their Bearings on the Doctrine of a Literal Creation*, 12-13. See also Price, *Q. E. D. or New Light on the Doctrine of Creation*, 100.

¹³⁵ For a historical account of the development of the evolutionary theory, including the theory of gradual succession see, Larson, *Evolution*. It is worth mentioning here that in 1981, almost twenty years after the death of Price, Everett C. Olson also noted some of the complexities related to gradual succession.

To begin with, Price presented the two primary assumptions upon which the theory of gradual succession was built. These assumptions were,

(1) That over all the earth the fossils must always occur in the particular order in which they were found to occur in a few corners of Western Europe; and also—

(2) That in the long ago there were no such things as zoological provinces and zones, and totally different types of fossils from separated localities could not possibly have been contemporaneous with one another as we know they are to-day in “recent” deposits.¹³⁶

He continued, “On the blending of these two assumptions, the latter essentially absurd, and the former long ago disproved by the facts of the rocks, has been built up the towering structure of a complete ‘phylogenic series’ from the Cambrian to the Pleistocene.”¹³⁷

Then, addressing the first assumption Price explained, “It was William Smith,” a self-made English surveyor, “who first conceived the idea of fixing the relative ages of strata by their fossil.”¹³⁸ Price went on to explain that after a “long period of field observations, William Smith came to the conclusion that one and the same succession of strata”—each strata containing a specific group of fossils—expanded from the south to

He says, “Above the family level of organization . . . we do not have concrete evidence, acceptable to the majority of paleontologists, of the origin of any of the phyla or equivalent units, or of transitions between any of the well-known phyla. The immense increase in our knowledge of life during the Precambrian has supplied no more than extremely vague answers to the questions of the origin of any major group, whether kingdom, phylum, or class.” Olson, “The Problem of Missing Links: Today and Yesterday,” 437.

¹³⁶ Price, *Illogical Geology: The Weakest Point in the Evolution Theory*, 20. For information on zoological provinces and zones see Charles Baker Adams, *Contributions to Conchology*, Vol. 1 (New York, NY: H. Bailliére, 1849), 207-215; Josiah Clark Nott and George R. Gliddon, *Types of Mankind*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1854), 62-80.

¹³⁷ Price, *Illogical Geology: The Weakest Point in the Evolution Theory*, 20. For information on zoological provinces, or zones, see Harold W. Clark, *New Creationism* (Nashville, TN: Southern Pub. Association, 1980), 68-86; Harold G. Coffin, *Creation: Accident or Design?* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1969), 174-183; Roth, *Origins: Linking Science and Scripture*, 170.

¹³⁸ Price, *Illogical Geology: The Weakest Point in the Evolution Theory*, 16.

the east coast of England. These conclusions, Price complained, were based on the observations of a small area and one should not pretend that they reflect the distribution of fossils on the entire earth. Price said, “there is . . . a monstrous jump from this [observation of a small area] to the conclusion that even these particular fossils must always occur in this particular relative order over the whole earth.”¹³⁹ Price insisted, “It remains . . . to [be] test[ed] by the facts of the rocks the . . . assumption; namely, that all over the earth the fossils invariably occur in the particular order in which they were first found in a few corners of Western Europe.”¹⁴⁰

It is important to note here that Smith’s findings reflected the scientific thinking from the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century, which had Cuvier as the most illustrious proponent of life succession. After completing a series of observations on fossils, Cuvier concluded, “since species similar to those that are fished for today exist only in the superficial beds, one is authorized to believe that there has been a certain succession in the forms of living beings.”¹⁴¹ In other words, Cuvier assumed that fossils located in lower sections of the geological column were representatives of extinct species. To collaborate his thinking, Cuvier declared, “I can now almost assert that none of the truly fossil quadrupeds that I have been able to compare precisely has been found

¹³⁹ Price, *Illogical Geology: The Weakest Point in the Evolution Theory*, 17.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 20-21. See also Price, *The New Geology: A Textbook for Colleges, Normal Schools, and Training Schools; and for the General Reader*, 17.

¹⁴¹ Martin J. S. Rudwick and Georges Cuvier, *Georges Cuvier, Fossil Bones, and Geological Catastrophes: New Translations & Interpretations of the Primary Texts* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 124.

to be similar to any of those alive today.”¹⁴² These assertions led Price to address the second assumption of the gradual succession.

Price explained that Agassiz, Spencer, and Haeckel had built their theory upon Cuvier’s assumptions. Most importantly, Price called attention to the fact that these individuals had failed to point out “the horrible logic in taking this immense complex of guesses and assumptions as the starting-point for new departures, . . . as to just how this wonderful phenomenon of development has occurred.”¹⁴³ With this in mind, he cried out:

If they had really stopped to consider that some type of fossil might occur next to the Archaean in Wales, and another type occur thus in Scotland, while still another type altogether might be found in this position in some other locality, and so on over the world, leading us to the very natural conclusion that in the olden times as now there were zoological provinces and districts, the history of science during the nineteenth century might have been very different, and this chapter might never have been written.¹⁴⁴

In other words, “fossils cannot be set off in distinct successive ages” Price insisted, “but must be classed together as if they lived together in the same world contemporaneously.”¹⁴⁵

In a sense, Price was calling for a reevaluation of Cuvier’s assumption that creatures living today were not found among the fossils located in lower sections of the geological column. In addition, Price was also calling for a reevaluation of the notion that the order of fossils in the geological column was an indication of gradual succession and an indication of how the history of life on earth developed. He said,

¹⁴² Rudwick and Cuvier, *Georges Cuvier, Fossil Bones, and Geological Catastrophes*, 52.

¹⁴³ Price, *Illogical Geology: The Weakest Point in the Evolution Theory*, 20.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁴⁵ Price, *Modern Discoveries Which Help Us to Believe*, 147.

Thanks to the painstaking field observations of thousands of geological explorers, we now know that the reputed “invariable” order of the fossils has broken down completely, and that the fossils are in reality found occurring in every conceivable sequence, so that the time-values so long associated with the various typical forms are now known to be unreliable and unscientific. A fossil shell is not necessarily older than others because it occurs in a stratum classed as Cambrian; and another is not necessarily younger than others because it is found in an Eocene or a Pleistocene deposit. The time-values of the various fossils are now known to be purely artificial, with no scientific value. So while the fossils may still remain as a very convenient (though artificial) method of classifying the stratified rocks, the whirligig methods of assigning time-values to the strata of the earth by means of their contained fossils, and then claiming a time-value for these typical fossils because of their occurrence only in rocks of the same age, is now a matter for shame and weeping on the part of all those who are seeking only for truth and solid scientific facts.¹⁴⁶

In a nutshell, Price was convinced that the theory of gradual succession was just unfounded speculation, which had no conclusive evidence to support its claims, and CPEs should not twist the meaning of the biblical creation to account for this untested theory.¹⁴⁷ Accordingly, Price concluded, all the

biological arguments which have been presented from embryology, comparative anatomy, etc., might serve to encourage a mind already convinced of some sort of Evolution in some large general way; but the facts covered by each of these arguments could be interpreted otherwise very easily; and *all of these arguments combined could never create the primary notion of a real succession of different types of life covering a long period of time, and a gradual advance in the grade of life during this period.* (Italics on original.)¹⁴⁸

Spontaneous Generation as Premise of Darwinism

In addition to gradual succession and uniformitarianism, Price also dealt with

¹⁴⁶ Price, *The Modern Flood Theory of Geology*, 21.

¹⁴⁷ “Remembering, then, that the geological succession of life is merely the framework or skeleton of the Evolution theory, but utterly without a shred of evidence in its support.” Price, *God's Two Books or Plain Facts About Evolution, Geology and the Bible*, 69.

¹⁴⁸ Price and McCabe, *Is Evolution True?* 36.

spontaneous generation—or biogenesis—as a premise of Darwinism. In a nutshell, spontaneous generation is “the supposed spontaneous origination of living organisms directly from lifeless matter.”¹⁴⁹ Or, as the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) puts it, spontaneous generation is “the supposed production of living organisms from non-living matter.”¹⁵⁰

In light of these definitions, Price explained that spontaneous generation was required of Darwinism “to dispense as much as possible with the Creator and the great Organizer” of the physical world, and then rejected spontaneous generation for theological reasons.¹⁵¹ In other words, Darwinism—in connection to uniformitarianism and gradual succession—“results in a point-blank denial of the loving fatherhood of God, which is the most fundamental idea of Christianity.”¹⁵² This quotation shows us the deep concern of Price for the moral implications of the Darwinian theory. In fact, this fundamental reason for Price’s rejection of spontaneous generation had been recognized long ago. For instance, “as Pasteur put it, if we accept spontaneous generation, ‘God as author of life would then no longer be needed. Matter would replace Him.’”¹⁵³ Thus, the first reason for Price’s rejection of spontaneous generation was theological, for this notion eliminated God as the source of life on earth.

¹⁴⁹ Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 11th ed. (2003), s.v. "Abiogenesis."

¹⁵⁰ *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, 11th ed. (2004), s.v. "Spontaneous Generation."

¹⁵¹ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 74-75.

¹⁵² Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 234.

¹⁵³ Nancy Pearcey and Charles B. Thaxton, *The Soul of Science: Christian Faith and Natural Philosophy*, Turning Point Christian Worldview Series (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1994), 105.

On another note, Price denied the hypothesis that life can originate spontaneously from inorganic matter because it has been discredited by scientists for centuries. To use the words of Geisler, “ever since Francesco Redi (1626–1697) and Louis Pasteur’s (1822–1895) experiments, the theory of the spontaneous (unsupernatural) generation of life has been discredited.”¹⁵⁴ Price was well aware of these facts, and could not agree with those who rejected biblical creation to accept Darwinism.¹⁵⁵

As Price grew in his understanding of the premises of Darwinian evolution, he often mentioned that spontaneous generation was not a new concept among evolutionists. He wrote, “It is interesting to note how all the early teachers of organic evolution were believers in spontaneous generation. Lamarck, of course, taught it openly, and never knew any better.”¹⁵⁶ And “Charles Darwin had been taught it from his early years by the doggerel verses of his grandfather, ‘The Temple of Nature’: ‘Hence, without parents, by spontaneous birth, rise the first specks of animated earth.’”¹⁵⁷ But even though Lamarck and Erasmus Darwin seem to have taught spontaneous generation in spite of the lack of scientific evidences, Price reminded his readers that in order for someone “to talk of the ‘Darwinian Law’ and not of the ‘Darwinian Theory,’ we require two demonstrations: (1.) That living matter really can originate from inorganic matter. (2.) That new species really

¹⁵⁴ Norman L. Geisler, *Systematic Theology*, 4 vols. (Minneapolis, MN: Bethany House, 2003), 2:661.

¹⁵⁵ Price, *A History of Some Scientific Blunders*, 61-64.

¹⁵⁶ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 108.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

can be formed from previously-existing species.”¹⁵⁸

Commenting on the first requirement Price said, “Remembering now what Huxley has told us, that ‘the man of science has learned to believe in justification, not by faith, but by verification,’ and applying it . . . he himself [i.e., Huxley] has told us that spontaneous generation has been ‘defeated along the whole line.’”¹⁵⁹ On another occasion, more than twenty years after the publication of the *Outlines*, Price continued to emphasize how spontaneous generation was a concept rejected by mainstream scientists; “It has become a quite familiar fact that the living cannot be obtained from the not-living. This has been expressed in the brief aphorism, ‘Life only from life.’ For many years thousands of investigators have vainly sought to get down beneath this sublime fact, and to produce some form of life from, lifeless, inorganic matter.” This, Price concluded, Darwinian scientists have failed to produce.¹⁶⁰

The impossibility of spontaneous generation, Price pointed out, “remains so firmly established that no responsible scientist could be found who would dispute its truthfulness.”¹⁶¹ Even the defenders of the evolutionary theory have recognized this fact.

T. H. Huxley, who was at once the most critically minded of the founders of the evolution theory and the most dexterous in arguing on both sides of almost any question, once declared that if he could look back beyond the limits of geologically recorded time, he would expect to witness life appearing directly from the not living “under forms of great simplicity.” But in 1886 he declared: “Those who take a monistic view of the physical world may fairly hold abiogenesis [spontaneous

¹⁵⁸ S. Laing, *Modern Science and Modern Thought*, 6th ed. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1888), 54. Cited in Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 231.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ Price, *Science and Religion in a Nutshell*, 38.

¹⁶¹ Price and Doolittle, *Nature Study and Astronomy*, 143.

generation] as a pious opinion, supported by analogy and defended by our ignorance.”¹⁶²

Having considered all the facts about spontaneous generation, Price was ready to side with Pasteur and affirm, “La génération spontanée est une chimère” (“Spontaneous generation is a wild dream”).¹⁶³ Confidently Price concluded, “As for the origin of the living beings that existed before that event [i.e., the Flood], we can only suppose a direct creation, since modern science knows nothing of the spontaneous generation of life.”¹⁶⁴

All things considered, it seems fair to say that Price’s protological hermeneutic received no philosophical influence from Darwinian evolution that instructed or controlled his interpretation of biblical protology. This is to say, Darwinian evolution was neither formative nor normative to him. In fact, Price cautiously rejected evolution in its narrower and broader forms. He did so because evolution became philosophically contingent on naturalism, and because the three fundamental premises of Darwinism—uniformitarianism, gradual succession, and spontaneous generation—had failed to be supported by conclusive and verifiable evidence. But most importantly, in spite of his rejection of the evolutionary theory, Price’s sophisticated views of the natural world never failed to admit that God’s creation was dynamic, and that minor variations within same species did not contradict the biblical account of origins. Price’s attention to these details revealed the high level of scholarship to which he aspired, and that has led

¹⁶² Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 108-109.

¹⁶³ Louis Pasteur, “Discussion Sur La Fermentation,” in *Bulletin De L'academie De Médecine*, ed. G. Masson, (Paris: Libraire de l'Academie de Médecine, 1875), 269. My translation.

¹⁶⁴ Price, *Illogical Geology: The Weakest Point in the Evolution Theory*, 9.

scholars to consider him the greatest creationist of the twentieth century.¹⁶⁵

Fundamentalism

Now that the description of how Scripture and the evolutionary theory influenced Price is completed, the next step is to verify how fundamentalism influenced his protological hermeneutic. To do this more efficiently, we must have a short review of the historical context in which Price wrote.

In the first chapter of this dissertation, I documented that Price's protological hermeneutic was highly driven by the epistemological turmoil that grew after the Enlightenment in the Western World. I suggested that as the epistemological turmoil spread leading CPEs to develop protological hermeneutics that embraced evolutionary theory, fundamentalism emerged as an attempt to contain the spreading of theological liberalism and to uplift Scripture as a reliable source of protological knowledge.

Looking from this perspective, there is little to no doubt that fundamentalism influenced Price's mission, and even made him well known in the fundamentalist camp.¹⁶⁶ But fundamentalism never converted Price—theologically speaking—into a fundamentalist Christian. In fact, scholars now recognize that Adventism and fundamentalism are theologically distinct from each other.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Numbers, *The Creationists*, 73.

¹⁶⁶ Though Price could not accept Bryan's invitation to participate in the Scopes Trial in 1925, the fundamentalists did not refrain from mentioning Price as one scholar "whose views on earth history" they were willing to accept. See, Numbers, *The Creationists*, 73.

¹⁶⁷ Weinberg is the most recent scholar who recognizes the theological differences between Adventism and fundamentalism. He says, "In the aftermath of World War I, as Bryan, William Bell Riley, and other antievolution activists mobilized sentiment in favor of removing the teaching of evolution from the public schools, *Price and Adventist church leaders increasingly found common ground with fundamentalists, despite their theological differences.*" Weinberg, "'Ye Shall Know Them by Their Fruits':

With this being said, it seems accurate to say that fundamentalism played a religious supportive role to Price, but it was not theologically normative to his protological hermeneutic. After all, neither one of the theological features of fundamentalism (as defined in the first chapter) functioned as foundational, or directional to Price's theological enterprise.

Thus, on the one hand, it was true that fundamentalism played a religious supportive role to Price. It functioned as an external support to his mission, helping to advance his view that the natural realm depended on the creative actions of God to exist, and that it is through Scripture alone that knowledge about the relationship between the natural and the supernatural realms coalesces intelligibly. But, on the other hand, fundamentalism was never theologically normative to Price's theology. As a matter of fact, there are at least two theological features associated with fundamentalism that were opposite to Price's protological hermeneutic, which defeat the popular notion that Price was a fundamentalist.

The first is the fundamentalist view of Scripture characterized by an emphasis on plenary verbal inspiration—the doctrine of inerrancy. Based on this unique view of Scripture, fundamentalists insist on a narrow interpretation of biblical protology that maintains that God created all things some six thousand years ago, including the entire galactic universe, in six literal days during the creation week. This view of protology has been linked to modern creationism, especially creation science, scientific creationism,

Evolution, Eschatology, and the Anticomunist Politics of George McCready Price," 715. Emphasis supplied.

and flood geology.¹⁶⁸ Interesting enough, Numbers himself acknowledges that Price “avoided equating his theory of flood geology with creationism generally.”¹⁶⁹ In fact, as I mentioned earlier, Price sought to distance himself from Charles Bonnet (1720-1793)—a known proponent of creationism—who insisted that all things in the universe were contemporary and created by a single creative act.¹⁷⁰

The second theological feature associated with fundamentalism that is opposite to Price’s protological hermeneutic is the premillennialist-dispensationalist view associated with fundamentalism, which constitutes “*one of the most significant elements in the history of Fundamentalism.*”¹⁷¹

All things considered, and though I am aware that Price sometimes exhibited a fundamentalist attitude in defense of Scriptural authority, I insist that Price cannot be considered a fundamentalist because he did not subscribe to some essential features of fundamentalism. To begin with, Price never subscribed to the doctrine of inerrancy of Scripture. Instead, Price was a proponent of the infallibility of Scripture.¹⁷² Next, Price insisted that an objective interpretation of Scripture indicates that creation occurred in two stages: (1) the entire galactic universe was created at an undated time—either rapidly or slowly; and (2) God gave form to the earth and created life on earth in six literal and

¹⁶⁸ Numbers, *The Creationists*, x-xi.

¹⁶⁹ Numbers, *Darwinism Comes to America*, 53.

¹⁷⁰ See Chapter 3, p. 112n140.

¹⁷¹ Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, 60-61. Emphasis supplied.

¹⁷² See Price, *Poisoning Democracy*, 131; Price, *Science and Religion in a Nutshell*, 61; Price, *The Time of the End*, 60.

consecutive days, possibly six to seven thousand years ago.¹⁷³ And finally, as far as dispensationalism is concerned, Price rejected this fundamentalist teaching and adopted “the Protestant or historical interpretation,” which connected biblical prophecy to history.¹⁷⁴ With this being said, in the next section I will describe Ellen G. White’s philosophical and theological influence on Price’s protological hermeneutic.

Ellen G. White

As far as I can tell, Price mentioned the writings of Ellen G. White sixty-nine times in his books. I have classified these texts into two categories, though I recognize that some of these references might fit into both categories.¹⁷⁵

The first and more extensive, I am designating as the general category. In the general category, which has fifty-five references,¹⁷⁶ Price refers to Ellen G. White primarily when addressing the great controversy theme and/or matters of prophetic interpretation (e.g., meaning of a biblical passage, papacy, Armageddon, salvation, restoration, the 144,000, etc.). In *Genesis Vindicated* for example, Price said:

¹⁷³ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 112-113. See also Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 231.

¹⁷⁴ Price, *The Greatest of the Prophets: A New Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 27-28, 30-32.

¹⁷⁵ “But if, as I believe, the dominant scientific thinking of our time tends in the wrong direction, we realize that we are witnessing another fulfillment. Nearly three quarters of a century ago Ellen G. White wrote: ‘Thus the false science of the present day, which undermines faith in the Bible, will prove as successful in preparing the way for the acceptance of the papacy, with its pleasing forms, as did the withholding of knowledge in opening the way for its aggrandizement in the Dark Ages.’ -*The Great Controversy*, p. 573.” George McCready Price, *The Time of the End* (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Association, 1967), 98.

¹⁷⁶ Price, *The Time of the End*, 11, 12, 13, 35, 36, 38, 43, 44, 47, 50, 52, 55, 62, 65, 66, 72, 80, 82, 86, 88, 90, 94, 98, 103, 105, 107, 108, 122, 125, 134, 141, 145, 147, 148, 152, 153, 155, 156, 161, 162, 165, 167, 169, 170. George McCready Price, *The Greatest of the Prophets: A New Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1955), ix, 96, 174, 254, 317, 326.

In the books of Daniel and the Revelation and the writings of Ellen G. White we have some very definite pictures of the situation which the true people of God are to meet just before the second coming. The powers represented under the figures of the dragon, the beast, and the false prophet are predicted as combining against God's people in a campaign of persecution, trying to compel them to forsake their allegiance and obedience to Jehovah, and to conform to the decrees of man-made origin. The people of God in those closing hours of probation are characterized as those who keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus. Rev. 14:12; 12:17. And we believe that the observance of the Sabbath, the memorial of a literal creation, is one of the items thus described.¹⁷⁷

The second category of references to Ellen G. White is shorter and I am designating as specific category. In this category I found fourteen references dealing with topics directly connected to Price's protological hermeneutic (e.g., God, creation, the fall, the Sabbath, the flood, science, and the authority of Scripture).¹⁷⁸ A good example of how she influenced Price is also found in *Genesis Vindicated*. Here, Price credited Ellen G. White for suggesting that the flood could have caused the geological changes on the earth's surface, including the formation of the geologic column. Price said,

Fortunately, I had also that wonderful book, "Patriarchs and Prophets," by Ellen G. White, a commentary on the first part of the Old Testament. In this I found some revealing word pictures of the Edenic beginning of the world, of the fall and the world apostasy, and of the flood. I found also some statements which seemed to indicate that the flood should be regarded as the cause of the geological changes. I did not discount these statements; but still it was not always easy to see how the scientific facts ought to be understood.¹⁷⁹

With this being said, the question about White's philosophical and theological

¹⁷⁷ George McCready Price, *Genesis Vindicated* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1941), 302.

¹⁷⁸ George McCready Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science* (Oakland, CA: Pacific Press, 1902), 233; George McCready Price, *General Science* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1917), 1, 397. Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 6, 71, 300, 302, 306, 308, 309; George McCready Price, *The Story of the Fossils* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1954), 27; Price, *The Time of the End*, 140, 144. George McCready Price, *If You Were the Creator: A Reasonable Credo for Modern Man* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1942), 109.

influence on Price need to be addressed. Was Ellen White formative and/or normative to Price's protological hermeneutic?¹⁸⁰

It is undeniable that Ellen White had philosophical and theological influence on Price's protological hermeneutic. Thus, it is safe to conclude that White was theologically formative to Price, because she provided the theological framework to develop his version of flood geology—the new catastrophism.¹⁸¹

It is unlikely, however, that White was normative to Price's hermeneutic. First, because he held Scripture as the ultimate source of protological knowledge.¹⁸² The second challenge to those who suggest that White was normative to Price, rests on the fact that White herself insisted that Scripture is the only norm of the Christian faith.¹⁸³ Graybill agrees,

The Bible is our only standard and rule for doctrine. It is our ultimate doctrinal authority. The first step in understanding it is exegesis. The exegetical process is followed by a theologizing process. In this process, Ellen White, by virtue of her prophetic authority, influences us as we form the results of exegesis into doctrine. Her writings may be profitably studied, but she remains a formative authority in Adventist

¹⁷⁹ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 300.

¹⁸⁰ Ronald L. Numbers, *The Creationists*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: A. A. Knopf, 1992), 75-76. Mark A. Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994), 189.

¹⁸¹ George McCready Price, *Common-Sense Geology: A Simplified Study for the General Reader* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1946), 26. Chapter 3, pp. 120-124, 134-140.

¹⁸² Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 92, 271.

¹⁸³ White said, "God will have a people upon the earth to maintain the Bible, and the Bible only, as the standard of all doctrines and the basis of all reforms." Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1911), 595. Again, "The Bible, and the Bible alone, is to be our creed, the sole bond of union. . . . Our own views and ideas must not control our efforts. . . . Let us meet all opposition as did our Master, saying, 'It is written.' Let us lift up the banner on which is inscribed, The Bible our rule of faith and discipline." Ellen G. White, *Selected Messages*, 3 vols. (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1958), 1:416.

doctrine. The Bible is the only normative authority.¹⁸⁴

Third, and to follow Graybill model, the evidence indicated that Price did his own exegesis of the text and on this base, he was open to a two stage creation in which he explicitly argued for the possibility that life on earth could be younger than the galactic universe.¹⁸⁵ Ellen White on the other hand, spoke about creation and the great controversy within a “six thousand years”¹⁸⁶ timeframe, or at most as existing “for more than six thousand years.”¹⁸⁷ Though it is probable that White was using popular Ussherian terms to speak about a recent creation,¹⁸⁸ Price did not let White’s views to control his interpretation of biblical protology. The fact that Price was open to accept a two stage creation indicates that her influence—though formative—was not normative to Price.

¹⁸⁴ Ronald Graybill, “Ellen White's Role in Doctrine Formation,” *Ministry*, October 1981, 11.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 7-8. See Chapter 3, pp. 121-122.

¹⁸⁶ Ellen G. White, *The Spiritual Gifts*, 4 vols. (Battle Creek, MI: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1864), 3:91; Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, Vol. 4 (Oakland, CA: Pacific Press, 1855), 172; Ellen G. White, *The Spirit of Prophecy*, 4 vols., Vol. 2 (Battle Creek, MI: Adventist Publishing Association, 1877), 2:93; Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, Vol. 3 (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1875), 3:138, 139, 491, 492; Ellen G. White, *The Spirit of Prophecy*, Vol. 4 (Battle Creek, MI: Adventist Publishing Association, 1884), 4:371; Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy* (Oakland, CA: Pacific Press, 1888), 13, 518, 552, 656, 673; Ellen G. White, *Christian Temperance and Bible Hygiene* (Battle Creek, MI: Good Health Publishing Co, 1890), 7; Ellen G. White, *Patriarchs and Prophets* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1890), 51, 342; Ellen G. White, *The Desire of Ages* (Oakland, CA: Pacific Press, 1898), 413.

¹⁸⁷ Ellen G. White, *Historical Sketches of the Foreign Missions of the Seventh-Day Adventists* (Basle, Switzerland: Imprimerie Polyglotte, 1886), 133; Ellen G. White, *The Story of Jesus* (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Association, 1896), 183.

¹⁸⁸ For information see, Gerhard Pfandl, “Ellen G. White and Earth Science,” *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 14, no. 1 (2003): 188n39. See Chapter 5, p. 267n20.

Descriptive Analysis of Price's Understanding on Protology

Now that I have provided a biographical perspective and have described the theological and philosophical influences on Price's protological hermeneutic, I want to focus on describing how Price interpreted selected texts in biblical protology. In this section, I will provide some long quotes from Price's books, to allow his own interpretation of the selected texts to surface.

The "beginning" in Genesis 1:1

Price interpreted "the beginning" in Genesis 1:1 as a reference to the creation of the entire universe. Importantly, however, he did not regard this first stage¹⁸⁹ of God's creative actions, to have taken place during the six days of the creation week (Gen 1:3-2:4a). In fact, Price insisted the first stage took place much sooner than the creation week that begins in Genesis 1:3.¹⁹⁰ In 1902 Price explained,

And it may be well to remember that the record in Genesis has not put the least direct limit upon our imaginations in accounting for the manner of our world's formation. It only says: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep."

This, be it clearly understood, and as other writers have so clearly pointed out, was before the six days of our world's creation proper began. The six literal days of creation, or peopling our world with life forms, begin with verse 3. *They begin with the whole body of our world already in existence.* How long it had been formed before this we are not told, and whether by a slow or rapid process we have no information. . . . All that we can positively gather from the Biblical record is that, at the opening of the first week of mundane time, our globe was covered with vapors or

¹⁸⁹ Price also uses the term "primary creation" to speak about the first stage of creation. See pp. 123-124.

¹⁹⁰ John E. Hartley, *Genesis*, New International Biblical Commentary Old Testament Series 1 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000), 41; Sailhamer, *Genesis Unbound*, 38. C. John Collins, *Genesis 1-4: A Linguistic, Literary, and Theological Commentary* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2006), 78.

waters, with the Spirit of God brooding upon the face of these waters.¹⁹¹

In 1941 Price expressed the same idea, but this time he nuanced his epistemological assumption that both Scripture and nature should agree when determining the meaning of Genesis 1:1. He said,

Much speculation has been indulged in concerning the time when this first verse of Genesis applies. Some have supposed that God created all the substance of the entire universe at one and the same time, though He afterward finished off the different sidereal systems one by one. One cannot find this idea here in the Genesis record; nor can one arrive at it from a study of the scientific facts about the universe. Certainly we have abundant proofs from the Bible that many beings and much of the universe were already in existence long before this world [i.e., the earth, and life on earth] was created. (See Job 38:7).¹⁹²

It is interesting that, while insisting on the literal reading and interpretation of the biblical account of creation, Price recognized that different views can emerge from the text without jeopardizing the intent of the biblical author. It is also interesting that Price was not discouraged by the claims of mainstream science that the universe was much older than the biblical account of creation seemed to allow for. According to Price, this apparent contradiction was caused by the fact that many scholars wanted to interpret Genesis 1:1 in isolation from the biblical metanarrative. But if they would pay closer attention to what the biblical text actually said, they would realize that when God created the earth and began to prepare the earth for life (Gen 1:3), the galactic universe already existed. Price argued,

Now I am not concerned with someone's objection that even the most conservative astronomical estimate of the age of the universe is extravagant, from the point of view of the Genesis record. How so? I have always been contending for a system of

¹⁹¹ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 112-113. Italics added.

¹⁹² Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 11-12. See also Price, *How Did the World Begin?* 31.

geology which can be fitted within the time limits of the Bible; but what is there in Genesis which tells us anything whatever about how old the universe is—I mean the rest of the universe outside our solar system? Absolutely nothing at all.

Was there not plenty of the universe already on hand, probably already in existence for long ages, when, at the “foundations of the earth,” or the beginning of our world and its physical setting in the solar system, “the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy”? Job 38:7.

It is not correct to say that the age of the whole sidereal universe must be ‘cabin’d, cribb’d, confined’ within the compass of the creation week of the first chapter of Genesis. Such a view is wholly contrary to the many scriptures which speak of vast numbers of created beings, and of course vast numbers of created worlds, already in existence when creation week began.¹⁹³

Another way Price tried to explain the “beginning” in biblical protology, was by distinguishing between primary and secondary creations. For Price, primary creation meant the divine act of bringing into existence all things or beings that were nonexistent. This was synonymous to creation *ex nihilo* for Price.¹⁹⁴ He said, “By the first [i.e., primary creation] we mean the bringing into existence of things or beings out of the nonexistent, or *ex nihilo*, as the theologians express it. The creation of the earth was of this class.”¹⁹⁵

Price noticed, however, that the biblical account of creation described the creation of organic matter (i.e., living things), as something the Creator made from pre-existent matter (“the LORD God formed man *of* the dust of the ground” [Gen 2:7]). Still, Price insisted on calling this part of the creation “primary creation” instead of calling it secondary creation. This was because neither plants, nor animals, nor humans, existed on

¹⁹³ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 54.

¹⁹⁴ Price also called this *de novo* creation. This is to say, “When beings are created *de novo*, or out of hand and with no dependence upon any antecedents of the same kind.” Price, *If You Were the Creator: A Reasonable Credo for Modern Man*, 89. See also, Price, *The New Geology: A Textbook for Colleges, Normal Schools, and Training Schools; and for the General Reader*, 62.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 15.

earth prior to the divine actions of the creation week (Gen 1:3-2:4a). Price explained,

But man and the other animals and plants were not created out of nothing, but out of the elements of the earth and the atmosphere. And yet, since no living things had preceded the first plants, and as man was made out of the raw materials of the earth and not via the animal route or from previously existing animals, all these creations may in a sense be regarded as true primary creations.¹⁹⁶

In short, Price regarded primary creation as including everything that was caused, or brought into existence, by direct divine action. Here, I must include a note on how the understanding of primary creation impacted Price's interpretation of Genesis 1:1.

As I mentioned above, there is no doubt that Price embraced 2SBC to interpret biblical protology. For many years, however, Price's views on when God created the earth and the solar system was not as definitive, and Price frequently wondered about this question. Again, commenting on Genesis 1:3 Price said,

They begin with the whole body of our world already in existence. How long it [i.e., our world] had been formed before this we are not told, and whether by a slow or rapid process we have no information. . . . [T]he Bible has left the real formation of our globe in obscurity as to time and manner, we cannot say the same with regard to the things on our globe as we find them to-day.¹⁹⁷

Elsewhere, also dealing with the creation of the earth and the solar system, Price said, "we have not the slightest hint in divine revelation regarding how long the sidereal universe was in existence before the creation of our earth and solar system."¹⁹⁸

Then in 1942, Price spelled out his understanding of 2SBC to include two possible views on the interpretation of Genesis 1:1. He said,

Two views are held among Creationists regarding the time referred in the first

¹⁹⁶ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 15.

¹⁹⁷ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 112-113. Italics added.

¹⁹⁸ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 55.

sentence of Genesis: “In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.” [View #1] Some hold that God created the materials of our solar system, together with the entire rest of the material universe, all at this one time, “in the beginning;” but that afterwards He worked on this part of the universe and made it up into the earth and the solar system, as described in the rest of the chapter of Genesis. [View #2] Others hold that the earth and the rest of the solar system were created *de novo* at the beginning of the six days, though all the rest of the sidereal universe had been created long before and had been running for uncounted ages previously.¹⁹⁹

In this article, Price admitted that he held to View #1 during the first twenty years of his career. Nonetheless, he stated that he changed to View #2 because he “became convinced that the second position is more logical.”²⁰⁰ Though Price went back and forth on this issue, it seems he settled for the View #2 in 1959. Price said, “Genesis tells of a deathless, painless, sinless world spoken into existence by God at essentially one period only a few thousands of years ago.”²⁰¹ Consequently, if it was “spoken into existence” (i.e., *de novo* creation) then, this means it did not exist more than a few thousand years ago—perhaps 6000 or 7000 years ago.

What then was the secondary creation that Price mentioned? It was all the forms of life that derived from the “things or beings” created by God—“a perpetuation of the primary creations.” It was all the breeds and other descendants of the original “kinds” originally created by God. Price explained,

The unquestioned law of biogenesis, that all life comes now from pre-existent life, is proof that there has never been any interruption in the chain of life by which all the

¹⁹⁹ George McCready Price, “What Christians Believe About Creation,” *The Bulletin of Deluge Geology and Related Sciences* 2, no. 3 (1942): 69-70.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 70. Davidson also deals with these two approaches to 2SBC. Different than Price, and after a thorough analysis of the Hebrew text, Davidson favors View #1. For more information see, Davidson, “The Genesis Account of Origins,” in *He Spoke and It Was*, ed. Gerald Klingbeil, (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2016), 48-54.

²⁰¹ George McCready Price, “Genesis and Geology,” *Signs of the Times*, January 1959.

men and women now living can be traced back to Adam and Eve. We often speak of these new generations of mankind and of the animals and plants as secondary creations; but in another sense they may be regarded as only a prolonging and a perpetuation of the primary creations, as mere continuations of those primal forms which God created in the beginning and pronounced “very good”. . . . There was only one primary or original creation, namely, the one described in Genesis. All plants and animals and human beings that have appeared on the earth subsequently have been in response to that fiat in the beginning, a fiat which reaches down to our own day—“after its kind.”²⁰²

Altogether, Price’s interpretation of Genesis 1:1 revealed the kind of sophisticated scholarship that was comparable with other thinkers of his time, as well as with some scholars in the twenty-first century.²⁰³

The Meaning of *tohu wabohu* in Genesis 1:2

Price interpreted Genesis 1:2 as the description of the condition of the earth immediately prior to the beginning of creation week. According to Price, “The second verse says that when first created ‘the earth was unformed and void’ (Jewish version), obviously meaning that at this stage the earth had not taken on the form which it later manifested, and that it was empty of living creatures; for the word ‘void’ means empty. These are the only meanings legitimately derived from these two words.”²⁰⁴

With this in mind, Price resented the fact that some theologians had used Genesis 1:2 to suggest that the earth “became without form and void.” Price protested, “Strangely enough, this verse has been made the foundation for what is termed the ‘ruin’ theory, which was first suggested more than a hundred years ago to explain the presence of the

²⁰² Price, “Genesis and Geology,” 15-16.

²⁰³ See Chapter 5, pp. 204-209.

²⁰⁴ Price, Genesis Vindicated, 12.

fossils, which at that time were alleged to give evidence of an antiquity much greater than the period of man on the earth.”²⁰⁵ Price continued,

This ruin theory is sometimes called the interval theory, because it seeks to have an interval or break in the second verse of the Bible, and would have this verse translated, “And the earth became waste and void,” though of course there is not the slightest authority in the field of Hebrew scholarship for any such translation. It also tries to put into the adjectives “waste” and “void” meanings which the original words do not carry, the meaning of the Hebrew words being merely that the earth was still empty, and had not yet been stocked with plant and animal life, and had not yet even been separated into ocean and dry land. The modern Jewish version gives “unformed and void,” the latter term of course not meaning anything like “desolate,” but merely “empty.” The Greek Septuagint translates the Hebrew by words which mean “invisible and unfurnished.” It should be stated with positiveness that there is nothing in the original to give a hint of a ruin or a desolation of some previously inhabited world.²⁰⁶

Given these facts, Price concluded, “I know that some of the advocates of this theory say that the language of the original Hebrew in the second verse can be translated to mean that the world *had become* desolate and waste; though other competent Hebrew scholars tell us that the expression means only that the earth *was* empty and unfurnished.”²⁰⁷ This latter view was to Price a better interpretation of Hebrew,²⁰⁸ which describes the condition of the planet earth prior to the first day of the creation week.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 291-292.

²⁰⁷ Price, *The Man from Mars*, 11-12. Emphasis supplied. For arguments in favor of Price’s interpretation see, F. F. Bruce, “‘And the Earth Was without Form and Void’: an Enquiry into the Exact Meaning of Genesis 1, 2,” *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* 78, (1946), 21-37; David Toshio Tsumura, *The Earth and the Waters in Genesis 1 and 2* (Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1989); Weston W. Fields, *Unformed and Unfilled: A Critique of the Gap Theory* (Green Forest, AR: Master Books, 2005); Bruce K. Waltke, “The Creation Account in Genesis 1:1-3. Part II: The Restitution Theory,” *Bibliotheca Sacra* 132, (1975), 136-144. For arguments against Price’s views on Gen 1:2 see, Francis I. Andersen, *The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew* (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 1974), 85.

²⁰⁸ David T. Tsumura, *Creation and Destruction: A Reappraisal of the Chaokampf Theory in the Old Testament* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 33, 35; Fields, *Unformed and Unfilled*; Waltke, “The Creation Account in Genesis 1:1-3. Part II: The Restitution Theory,” 136-144.

The Meaning of *yom* in Genesis 1:3-2:4a

Price interpreted the word *yom* in Genesis 1:5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31, and 2:2 as indicating literal, consecutive, twenty-four hour days. His explanation was straightforward: “All through this first chapter of Genesis the record is that each successive day consisted of an evening and a morning, like all subsequent days.”²⁰⁹

By taking this position, Price was not alienated from the fact that some scholars were arguing for the Hebrew word יום (*yom*) to be translated “age” instead of the usual translation “day.” In fact, he recognized that “for over half a century this day-ages theory has been the only ‘recognized’ apologetic of the Christian Church” against the teaching of Darwinian evolution.²¹⁰ Nevertheless, Price protested against this interpretation saying,

But the plain Biblical Christian cannot help regarding their day period theory of creation as anything else than a libel on Moses. To say that the days of creation mentioned there were meant for long periods of time, corresponding to the geological epochs, is, as Dean Farrar remarks, only trifling with language. It not only strikes at the very basis of the Sabbath, but, by its forced and unnatural method of “interpretation” it has been the principal cause of the development of the “Higher Criticism,” and that widespread disbelief in the Bible as a real revelation of God to us of the twentieth century, which is eating at the very vitals of modern orthodox Protestantism.²¹¹

In other words, “By admitting that the ‘days’ of creation week were long periods of time, we take all meaning out of the Sabbath, and are in imminent danger of playing

²⁰⁹ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 13.

²¹⁰ Price, *The Geological-Ages Hoax: A Plea for Logic in Theoretical Geology*, 123. Price also pointed out the day-age theory was the only thing Fundamentalists had to present in defense of creationism during the Scopes Trial. He said, “When much later the name ‘Fundamentalism’ came into common use, it was still not very clear just what form of cosmogony or of apologetics it was to represent. Even as late as the Scopes trial in 1925, W. J. Bryan showed that he had nothing with which to meet his opponents except the hackneyed day-age theory, which a half-century earlier had proved so unsatisfactory in the hands of Gladstone and the Duke of Argyll.” Price, *Modern Discoveries Which Help Us to Believe*, 8.

²¹¹ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 125-126.

fast and loose with all the rest of the Bible as well.”²¹²

Price’s disapproval of the day-age interpretation, reviewed three major theological concerns. First, it was an attack on the theological foundation of the Sabbath. Second, it favored the development and spreading of higher criticism, weakening the claim that Scripture is a reliable source of knowledge. And third, it jeopardized the foundation of all the other stories in the Bible, for he perceived that the biblical metanarrative is built upon the literal interpretation of the creation account in Genesis.

Given these theological implications and the fact that the stretching of the creation days into ages, explained neither the formation of the geologic column nor the fossil record, Price concluded,

It may suffice for the present to say that this day-age theory does not treat the Genesis record candidly or fairly; for the plain, obvious meaning of the context is that the word “day” should be taken in its common or ordinary meaning. Moreover this theory can never make the periods of creation fit the scheme of the geological “ages,” even if the “days” of Genesis are stretched out to any length whatever; for the Biblical record has to be “doctored” or changed in various ways to make it fit²¹³ these “ages,” even when the “days” are stretched out to make them correspond.²¹⁴

Altogether, Price unequivocally maintained that the best inference to the meaning of the Hebrew *yom* in Genesis 1:5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31, and 2:2, was that *yom* was better translated as “days” (implying consecutive periods of approximately twenty-four hours

²¹² Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 298.

²¹³ C. Hodge’s approach to *yom* provides the perfect example for the kind of “interpretational fitting” that Price rejected. Hodge said, “It is of course admitted that, taking this account by itself, it would be most natural to understand the word in its ordinary sense; but if that sense brings the Mosaic account into conflict with facts, and another sense avoids such conflict, then it is obligatory on us to adopt that other. Now it is urged that if the word ‘day’ be taken in the sense of ‘an indefinite period of time,’ a sense which it undoubtedly has in other parts of Scripture, there is not only no discrepancy between the Mosaic account of the creation and the assumed facts of geology, but there is a most marvelous coincidence between them.” Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1:570-571.

²¹⁴ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 13.

each) instead of “ages.”²¹⁵

The Seventh Day in Genesis 2:2-3

Price interpreted the seventh day of the creation week as the theological foundation of the biblical Sabbath formally established by God in the Hebrew Bible in Exodus 20:8-11. Price declared, “For the seventh-day Sabbath is the divine memorial of a creation as described in the first [*sic*] chapter of the Bible.”²¹⁶ In support of his views, Price insisted that the seventh day reminds us of “God’s creative energy” and reviews “the teachings of the Bible and the book of nature concerning God’s relation to His created works.”²¹⁷ Price continued,

In taking up the study of what the Bible says on the subject [of creation], we are immediately led to the Sabbath. This is one of the two institutions that, according to the Bible, man brought with him from beyond the gates of Paradise, a souvenir of that happy time and of the universal fatherhood of God. Hallowed by the Creator’s example and blessing, it was given to the race to point them to God’s created works as a reminder of their relation to Him as creatures; and that through the study of

²¹⁵ Hasel concurs, “Both liberal and non-liberal scholars have concluded that the word ‘day’ (Hebrew *yom*) in Genesis 1 must be singularly understood in a literal sense.” Gerhard F. Hasel, “The ‘Days’ of Creation in Genesis 1: Literal ‘Days’ or Figurative ‘Periods / Epochs’ of Time?,” in *Creation, Catastrophe, and Calvary*, ed. John T. Baldwin, (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2000), 53. Von Rad also agrees, “The seven days are unquestionably to be understood as actual days and as a unique, unrepeatable lapse of time in this world.” Rad, *Genesis*, 63. Davidson emphasizes internal references that favor a literal interpretation of *yom*. “The phrase ‘evening and morning,’ appearing at the conclusion of each of the six days of creation, is used by the author to clearly define the nature of the ‘days’ of creation as literal twenty-four-hour days. The references to ‘evening’ and ‘morning’ together outside of Gen 1, invariably, without exception in the OT (57 times, 19 times with *yôm* ‘day’ and 38 without *yôm*), indicate a literal solar day. Again, the occurrences of *yôm* ‘day’ at the conclusion of each of the six ‘days’ of creation in Gen 1 are all connected with a numeric adjective (‘one [first] day,’ ‘second day,’ ‘third day,’ etc.), and a comparison with occurrences of the term elsewhere in Scripture reveals that such usage always refers to literal days.” Richard M. Davidson, “The Biblical Account of Origins,” *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 14, no. 1 (2003), 14.

²¹⁶ Price, *The Man from Mars*, 126. The seventh-day is described in the second chapter of Genesis (Gen 2:1-3), so this sentence should read: “For the seventh-day Sabbath is the divine memorial of a creation as described in the *second* chapter of the Bible.”

²¹⁷ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 38-39.

nature's works on the blessed rest day, men's minds might be wooed away from the things of time and sense, and directed to the study of the great Creator of all.²¹⁸

Price maintained that there are both historical and theological reasons to consider the seventh day as the theological foundation of the biblical Sabbath. Historically speaking, the Sabbath "is as broad as Christendom, and as old as religion; and in so far as it has any meaning whatever, it is the sign or reminder of God's power and wisdom to create, and of His power and love to recreate or redeem: the two most fundamental conceptions of all religion."²¹⁹ Thus, Price reminded his readers, "How very timely, then, is the modern revival of interest in this original Sabbath, *the seventh day of Creation week*, a perpetual memorial of our relationship to Him as His creatures, helplessly dependent upon Him for all that we enjoy."²²⁰

Theologically speaking, Price's justification to interpret the seventh day as the theological foundation of the biblical Sabbath was twofold. First, it was God's intended purpose for the seventh day, which he freely instituted by example.²²¹ Price argued,

²¹⁸ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 39.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁰ Price, *Modern Discoveries Which Help Us to Believe*, 137. Emphasis supplied.

²²¹ Sigve K. Tonstad, *The Lost Meaning of the Seventh Day* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2009), 25-38. Benjamin B. Warfield, "The Foundations of the Sabbath in the Word of God," in *Sunday: The World's Rest Day*, (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1916), 64, 65, 74, 76. For different perspectives on the Sabbath see, Charles P. Arand *et al.*, *Perspectives on the Sabbath: 4 Views* (Nashville, TN: B&H Academic, 2011). For more information see, Roy Gane, "Sabbath and the New Covenant," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 10, no. 1-2 (1999); Ekkehardt Mueller, "The Sabbath Commandment in Deuteronomy 5:12-15," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 14, no. 2 (2003); Gerhard F. Hasel, "The Origin of the Biblical Sabbath and the Historical-Critical Method: A Methodological Test Case," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 4, no. 1 (1993); Frank B. Holbrook, "Did the Apostle Paul Abolish the Sabbath?: Colossians 2:14-17 Revisited," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 13, no. 2 (2002); Norman R. Gulley, "Basic Issues between Science and Scripture: Theological Implications of Alternative Models and the Necessary Basis for the Sabbath in Genesis 1-2," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 14, no. 1 (2003); Jiri Moskala, "The Sabbath in the First Creation Account," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 13, no. 1 (2002).

“Obviously God could have spoken all the animals and plants into existence at one and the same time, and thus not occupy any recognizable period of time for the work of creation. *But in His wisdom He chose to spread out the work over a period of six days, and then set apart the seventh day for mankind perpetually to remember and meditate upon this original work of creation.*”²²² Hence, humans should follow the example of the Creator, dedicating six days for dealing with their personal affairs and one day to enter into a personal and closer relationship with him.

In addition to remembrance and meditation upon God’s creation, Price found a second reason to interpret the seventh day as the theological foundation of the Sabbath. He pointed out that contemplating God as the creator of all things, including that God specially created humankind and that humankind did not evolve naturalistically through long ages, established the highest moral standards by which a person should live. The seventh day Sabbath points us back to this reality. Price concluded,

It will require no effort to make plain that right ideas concerning God’s relation to us and the works of nature lie at the very basis of all morality. Philosophers have in all ages sought for the ultimate basis of morality—why certain things are right and others are wrong. Unbelievers, who deny a personal Creator, have never been able to find any higher reason for right and wrong than policy, and the good of society. Hence, they have never been able to show any great evil in such things as pride and envy, and others of the darkest passions of the human heart, because they can not be proved to be against the wellbeing of others. But the idea of creation brings in higher motives, and a higher reason for right and wrong. Because God created us, we are under infinite obligations to worship and obey Him. Moral duties, then, are such as inhere in our relationship to God as creatures. Hence, we see also that the Sabbath, as the sign of our relation to God, is the souvenir or reminder of all moral obligation.²²³

Though it is true that Price’s interpretation of Genesis 2:1-4a, was a clear example

²²² Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 37. Emphasis supplied.

²²³ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 39-40.

of how Adventists interpret the seventh day, the fact that he was not writing exclusively to Adventists here, suggests that his primary goal was not to promote Adventism, but to preserve and to promote biblical metanarrative and to protect the essential doctrines of Christianity.

The Biblical Flood in Genesis 6-8

Price interpreted the biblical account of the flood as a reliable account of historical events. He called his theory “New Catastrophism” or “Modern Flood Theory.”²²⁴ Note, however, that his interpretation of the Genesis account of the flood was not arbitrary, meaning he neither imposed illogical interpretations on the works he found, nor was he merely driven by religious convictions, as some have suggested.²²⁵ On the contrary, Price’s views on the flood developed over an expansive time of careful thinking and research.²²⁶

²²⁴ “The alternative explanation of the past geological changes has usually been called Catastrophism, or the catastrophic view of geology. However, this term has acquired a bad reputation by being associated with the theory of a great many successive world catastrophes, as taught a hundred years ago by Baron Cuvier (1769-1832), the great French scientist. We might term this view the New Catastrophism; but to avoid confusion it will be better to call it the Modern Flood Theory, because this great catastrophe in the past (if we find evidence that it actually took place) must be identified with the Flood spoken of in the early chapters of the Christian Bible, and also in the traditions of every race of mankind.” Price, *Common-Sense Geology: A Simplified Study for the General Reader*, 26.

²²⁵ Noll, *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 189; Numbers, *The Creationists*, 74.

²²⁶ Note that Price was aware of challenges that cannot be easily explained by his Modern Flood Theory. When asked how he would “explain the presence in Australia of all the chief marsupials (except the opossums), and in South America of all the chief edentates,” Price responded, “I confess that the distribution of the great groups of animals is a very difficult problem. But I do not think that it is more of a problem for me than for the evolutionist. The latter has to say that the mammals, in all probability, spread out from some centre in Western Asia. On the theory of a universal Deluge, according to the record in Genesis, this same place became the distributing point from which all the surviving animals must have scattered out over the face of the recently desolated earth. But on my view, these animals were under the direct guidance of the Creator, Whose care is still marvelously shown in the migration instincts of such animals as the storks, the swallows, the golden pheasants, the Arctic terns, and the eels. On the basis of the evolutionary theory, what is there except blind chance to superintend the distribution from the common centre which we know actually occurred? There are complications and difficulties, I admit. But I do not

During his career Price dedicated time and effort to investigate the claims of conventional geology in relation to the cause of geological changes on the globe.²²⁷ Upon completion of research he did in the Library of Congress and the “the geological library connected with the United States Geological Survey” in Washington, DC, Price concluded that up to the early 1820s, “the general attitude taken was that the Flood must be regarded as the real cause of the chief geological changes.”²²⁸

Price explained that up until the mid-nineteenth century “the great majority of people” would agree with these conclusions. “At that time,” he said, the biblical “account of the fall of man, *of the universal Deluge*, and the Confusion of Tongues, was looked upon as *true history*.”²²⁹ Similarly, most thinkers up until the mid-nineteenth century would regard the book of nature and the book of Scripture as complementary.

Nowadays, however, “a skeptical world has arrayed God’s two books against

consider these difficulties entirely hopeless of explanation, even on a purely scientific basis. On the other hand, it is self-evident that such difficulties about the distribution of the animals can never become a major objection against the view of a world catastrophe. Least of all can such difficulties be used to justify the grotesque want of logic in the idea of the successive ‘ages,’ which is the chief point under discussion in this book.” Price, *The Geological-Ages Hoax: A Plea for Logic in Theoretical Geology*, 105-106.

²²⁷ For information see, George McCready Price, “A Brief History of the Flood Theory,” *Signs of the Times*, October 23 1934; George McCready Price, “The Flood Theory,” *Signs of the Times*, October 30 1934. These articles were merged and added to, Price, *The Modern Flood Theory of Geology*, (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1935), 26-43. For an insightful article on the history of Scriptural Geology and how it might be related to Price see, Johns, “Scriptural Geology, Then and Now,” *Answers Research Journal* 9 (2016). Accessed December 10, 2016. <https://answersingenesis.org/age-of-the-earth/scriptural-geology-then-and-now/>.

²²⁸ Price said, “In some research work which I did recently in Washington, D. C., I had the privilege of spending a good deal of time in the Library of Congress, and still more in the geological library connected with the United States Geological Survey, which has perhaps the best collection of geological works in the world. In the course of these studies I had the opportunity of looking over many old books, some dating back two hundred years or even more; and the general attitude taken was that the Flood must be regarded as the real cause of the chief geological changes.” Price, *Science and Religion in a Nutshell*, 7.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 14. Emphasis supplied.

each other, and men justify themselves in rejecting the one because they say it does not agree with the other.”²³⁰ The wide acceptance of the naturalistic evolutionary theory, has led many thinkers to consider the book of nature and the book of Scripture as presenting different accounts of protology. Accordingly, those in favor of naturalistic evolution insist on denying the biblical flood because it strikes at the foundation of their theory (i.e., uniformitarianism), and favors the biblical account of origins. Price said,

There is no doubt that the wide acceptance of the theory of evolution is one of the chief obstacles to the preaching of the gospel today. This entire theory of evolution, however, depends almost entirely upon the denial of the record of the Flood. A true view of the rocks and the fossils, as held by those who believe in the record of the Flood, is a complete and effective answer to the theory of evolution because, if a universal deluge really did take place in the long ago, this fact makes any theory of evolutionary development nothing but sheer nonsense.²³¹

For this reason, Price maintained, “those who did not like too strong a reminder of the Flood, tried to invent a theory which would possibly account for some of the facts without the necessity of any great catastrophe or any very obvious reminder of an event so clearly a direct ‘act of God.’”²³² In this sense then, “both the assumption of uniformity [which is one of the theories used to deny biblical protology], or the assumption of its antithesis, a world catastrophe like the Flood of the Bible, are alike far beyond any mere natural science; they are philosophy.”²³³

Price explained that

A very plausible way to avoid the idea of a great world catastrophe would be to have

²³⁰ Price, *God's Two Books or Plain Facts About Evolution, Geology and the Bible*, 24-25.

²³¹ Price, *How Did the World Begin?*, 68.

²³² Price, *Science and Religion in a Nutshell*, 8.

²³³ Price, *Common-Sense Geology: A Simplified Study for the General Reader*, 11.

a long succession of small, catastrophes; one following another in a series. Still better (from their point of view) would it be to do away with the idea of a catastrophe altogether, and explain all the events recorded in the rocks in accordance with the quiet, everyday action of the elements of nature. But the latter idea could be plausibly maintained only by also appealing to almost unlimited time, dragging out the process through millions and millions of years.²³⁴

Price's explanation indicated that the biblical flood was essential to a coherent interpretation of data found in nature. According to Price, the biblical flood was the key to connect the biblical account of creation with the current shape of the earth's surface, and to explain how most fossils were originally buried without appealing to long ages of evolutionary process. Price affirmed, "The record of the Flood is the key to the whole puzzle."²³⁵ This was a major point for Price and served as the foundation of his response to Darwinism. Without the Flood, all collapses in the worldview advocated by Price. "[I]n attempting to examine this record of the original creation in the light of modern scientific discoveries, two very important . . . facts must be taken into consideration before we can form any safe conclusions. The first of these . . . facts is the *sin* of man, or his rebellion against God, or what is usually termed '*the fall*.' The second is the *flood*."²³⁶

²³⁴ Price, *Science and Religion in a Nutshell*, 8. Price added, "It is true there has been in recent years a marked revival of the idea of a Flood or a Deluge as having happened to the race in its early days. All modern scientists, in fact, profess to believe that there was a Flood; but they strictly limit its scope and confine its action to a small part of Asia or of Europe, so as to involve only a small district around the early home of the human race." Price, *Poisoning Democracy*, 133.

²³⁵ Price, *How Did the World Begin?*, 60. To this day, Price's point here has not been lost to nor forgotten by the SDA Church. The SDA Church voted in General Conference Session in 2015, to add the word "global" before the term "Flood" in their Fundamental Belief #8. See, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *Church Manual*, (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2016) 164. In addition, there is ongoing scientific, geomorphological research being conducted in northeastern Arizona, to look for possible evidences of the run-off phase of a mega flood (i.e., global flood). This ongoing PhD dissertation research is informed by biblical perspective, and is taking place in the School of Earth and Biological Science at the Adventist owned Loma Linda University, Loma Linda, CA.

²³⁶ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 16-17.

Price continued, “The fossils merely indicate that an earlier state of our world experienced some awful cataclysm, or catastrophe; and we Christians call this catastrophe the Flood, and say that the fossils are simply specimens of the life of the antediluvian world.”²³⁷ And if we consider the current data from nature through the eyes of “Biblical science” instead of naturalistic science, we will prove right the biblical account that “tells us of the one and only catastrophe that has ever befallen our world as a whole, namely, the flood of Noah.”²³⁸ “The elemental tumult described in Genesis 7 and 8 seems by far the most reasonable explanation of the facts as we know them.”²³⁹

Some of the facts Price was referring to were discussed earlier in this chapter. They include the understanding that the arguments of uniformitarianism, which are “a direct and positive denial of the record of a universal Deluge,”²⁴⁰ have “broken down”. Therefore, the formation of the fossil record, or at least most of it, might be better explained by a rapid and catastrophic event instead of a slow process during long ages.

Price wrote that

For several decades the disciples of Lyell had things entirely their own way, and the world believed their loud assertions that every kind of work recorded in the fossiliferous strata is being duplicated or reproduced in the deposits made today. But of late years these confident assertions of the uniformitarians have been subjected to more careful scrutiny, with the result that on every essential point their argument has broken down completely.²⁴¹

²³⁷ Price, *General Science*, 149.

²³⁸ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 154.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 164.

²⁴⁰ Price, *Science and Religion in a Nutshell*, 8-9.

²⁴¹ Price, *Back to the Bible*, 45-46. For Price’s arguments against the formation of fossils in uniformitarian way, see *Ibid.*, 46-56.

As a result, Price concluded that

The Deluge theory of geology has now shown how the fossiliferous formations can best be accounted for by the hypothesis of a universal deluge, thus making the fossils contemporary, not chronological. At one stroke this liquidates the long geological “ages” and makes the entire fossil world a unity, not a series of badly misfitting parts. Hence all the basic kinds of plants and animals, including man, must have been created at essentially the same time, as recorded in Genesis.²⁴²

All things considered, Price’s protological hermeneutic revealed a sophisticated interpretation of biblical protology. On the one hand, a fair reading of Price’s writings shows that he rejected a literalistic interpretation of Genesis 1-11,²⁴³ which sets him apart from the fundamentalists, who suggest that the entire galactic universe was created about six thousand years ago. On the other hand, Price favored a literal interpretation of Genesis 1-11 and, he assumed that all these chapters contained historical facts. To Price, a literal interpretation of biblical protology was essential to the biblical metanarrative, and it was the foundation of the essential doctrines of Christianity. In the next section of this chapter, I will descriptively analyze Price’s protological hermeneutic, beginning with the ML and the TL, and then concluding with the HL. My purpose is to expose the hermeneutical principles that guided Price’s interpretation of these texts.

Descriptive Analysis of Price’s Protological Hermeneutic

The volume of work Price produced has led some to suggest that he was “the

²⁴² Price, *The Time of the End*, 135. See also Price and Thurber, *Socialism in the Test-Tube: A Candid Discussion of the Principles, the Relations, and the Effects of Socialism*, 65.

²⁴³ By literalistic interpretation I mean word for word interpretation, an interpretation that refuses to recognize “less obvious uses of language such as metaphor, satire, and so forth.” Vanhoozer, *Is There a Meaning in This Text?*, 311.

greatest of the anti-evolutionists” up to the mid-twentieth century.²⁴⁴ A “truly independent thinker” and “a voracious reader, with the ability to analyze and retain what he read,”²⁴⁵ Price repeatedly voiced his concerns against the moral and philosophical effects of evolutionary theory, and against those who were too quick to interpret Genesis in light of Darwinian evolution.²⁴⁶ More recently, another scholar pointed out that besides being a theologian, “in his own distinctive way, George McCready Price was not only an amateur geologist, but a creationist politician as well.”²⁴⁷

During his life of ninety-two years, Price developed a protological hermeneutic that earned him a place among the COD. In short, what this means is that Price’s protological hermeneutic (1) included a high view of Scripture as a source of theology, (2) followed a literal interpretation of biblical protology to preserve and to promote biblical metanarrative, and (3) uplifted the historicity of early Genesis. These three features of Price’s protological hermeneutic are expressions of what contemporary scholars call the ML, the HL, and the TL of his method. Altogether, these levels form—epistemologically speaking—the “rationality and formal structure” of every method of

²⁴⁴ Numbers, *The Creationists*, 73.

²⁴⁵ Morris, *History of Modern Creationism*, 90.

²⁴⁶ To Price, naturalistic “Science never conducts us to primary causes; in thousands of cases, not even to secondary ones. But this . . . only shows the limits of the scientific method, for science as such only deals with phenomena and the things of time and sense, and thus can never to any philosophic mind demonstrate the materialistic notion of the universe. The question of real origins and ultimate causes belongs to philosophy and not to science, and philosophy revolts at the idea of matter being the real cause of anything, and assures us that there is an infinite Mind as the first cause of all.” Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 72.

²⁴⁷ Weinberg, “‘Ye Shall Know Them by Their Fruits’: Evolution, Eschatology, and the Anticommunist Politics of George McCready Price,” 722.

interpretation.²⁴⁸ In the next section, I will identify and descriptively analyze Price's views on the ML, the TL, and the HL. This will help us to clarify the rationality and formal structure of Price's protological hermeneutic.

The Material and the Teleological Levels

In contrast to those who reject Scripture as divine revelation on the ML,²⁴⁹ Price's interpretation of early Genesis displayed a high view of Scripture. As expected from a COD, Price's protological hermeneutic maintained that Scripture was God's infallible written revelation,²⁵⁰ and that it could be read in harmony with "the reliable scientific evidence" on matters of origins.²⁵¹

On the TL, Price's protological hermeneutic maintained that Scripture was a guidebook, "a Letter from Heaven [sent] as the guide and instructor of all who will give heed."²⁵² In fact, Price maintained that the purpose of Scripture was to guide humankind into a holistic understanding of protology, soteriology, and eschatology. He affirmed,

But in all the difficult problems in regard to man's duty and destiny, how the world

²⁴⁸ Canale, *Creation, Evolution, and Theology*, 90. Gulley agrees, "All literature shares the rules of general hermeneutics (hermeneutica profana)." Gulley, *Prolegomena*, 687.

²⁴⁹ According to Price, those who reject Scripture as divine revelation are the proponents of higher criticism. Price said, "The Bible student will remember that throughout the Hebrew prophets God's creative energy, and His ability to reveal the future, are the usual and almost the entire proofs which He advances of His power, and of His right to demand our worship and obedience. . . . The same thought is largely carried out throughout the whole Bible. Evolution is supposed to more or less explain away the former, while the 'Higher Criticism' strikes at the very foundation of the latter." Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 38.

²⁵⁰ Price, *Back to the Bible*, 81; Price, *Science and Religion in a Nutshell*, 61; Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 238; Price, *God's Two Books or Plain Facts About Evolution, Geology and the Bible*, 24-25. For information on Price's views on Scripture see pp. 92-101 above.

²⁵¹ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 271.

²⁵² Price, *Modern Discoveries Which Help Us to Believe*, 196.

began, how it is now being conducted, and how it will end, we have not been left alone to find our way in the dark by means of the taper lights that we can furbish from the perplexing and conflicting evidences from science and human discovery. *The God of heaven has given us written instructions; so we need not go astray in our reasoning about these matters.* For in all such thinking or reasoning about the origin of the world, or about how the affairs of nature are now being conducted, we can make no progress without very soon getting out into the deep waters of abstract reasoning. And here is just where we need to be very careful in our reasoning and in the words we use, and in addition *we need to check up from fundamental truths revealed in the Scriptures, to make sure that we are not making mistakes on all these subjects.*²⁵³

A comprehensive study of Price shows that the goal of his protological hermeneutic was threefold. First, Price’s goal was to show that “reliable scientific evidence” exposes the harmony that exists between nature and Scripture.²⁵⁴ Second, he wanted to expose the moral and philosophical implications of Darwinism.²⁵⁵ And third, he wanted to expose the flaws in the presuppositions associated with Darwinism.²⁵⁶ In doing this, Price’s protological hermeneutic—contrary to the popular belief that his goal in interpreting Genesis 1-11 as history, was to show the validity of the writings of Ellen G. White “for studying the history of the earth”²⁵⁷—was more sophisticated, and went beyond White’s approach to this topic.

Thus I suggest that Price’s protological hermeneutic on the ML and on the TL, was both formative and normative. It was formative because it informed Price’s holistic

²⁵³ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 92. Italics supplied.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 271. See also Chapter 3, pp. 75-85.

²⁵⁵ See Chapter 3, pp. 85-86.

²⁵⁶ See Chapter 3, pp. 96-119.

²⁵⁷ In his critique Noll says that Price’s goal was “to show that the sacred writings of Adventist-founder Ellen G. White (who made much of a recent earth and the Noachian deluge) could provide a framework for studying the history of the earth.” Noll, *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 189.

approach to Scripture as an authoritative, infallible, and reliable source of protological knowledge. And, it was also normative because it regulated Price's interpretation of the biblical text and of the data found in nature, to function in accordance with the biblical metanarrative. After all, Price was convinced, God's "works [i.e., nature] and His written Word [i.e., Scripture] are equally divine,"²⁵⁸ and should not be in contradiction.

The Hermeneutical Level

After describing how Price's protological hermeneutic functions on the ML and on the TL, the next step of this dissertation is to describe how Price's protological hermeneutic functioned on the HL. This was an essential part of Price's theological enterprise, for it was at this level in particular that the philosophical attributes of Price's protological hermeneutic were revealed. These philosophical attributes were Price's ontological, metaphysical, and epistemological views; they were the essential assumptions (or presuppositions) guiding his interpretation of biblical protology. Speaking on the importance of these philosophical attributes, Price explained that when "attempting to evaluate the merits of . . . widely conflicting views, it may be well to get back to first principles, and to look at some of the fundamental assumptions at the foundation of these . . . systems [of interpretation]; for such basic assumptions may enlighten us as to what we may expect from these systems of interpretation themselves."²⁵⁹

Given the fact that each one of these philosophical attributes played both

²⁵⁸ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 30. See also *Ibid.*, 65.

²⁵⁹ Price, *The Greatest of the Prophets: A New Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 29.

formative and normative roles on Price's protological hermeneutic, what follows is an itemized description of these attributes. First, I will provide a descriptive analysis of Price's ontological views, which expose his understanding of reality, God, and creation. Second, I will provide a descriptive analysis of Price's metaphysical views, which expose his understanding of how God interacted with the natural world. And third, I will provide a descriptive analysis of Price's epistemological views, which expose his understanding of how human knowledge was formed.

Ontological Views: Price's Concept of Reality

The protological hermeneutic of Price was built on a concept of reality that regarded the events of the OT and the NT as actual history. According to Price, the “outstanding events of history narrated in both the Old Testament and the New, . . . [represent] the objective realities upon which both the Hebrew religion and that of Christianity were founded.”²⁶⁰ These “objective realities” include—but are not limited to—the existence of God, creation, fall/sin, and the global flood.

In relation to the existence of God, Price maintained—in opposition to the Deists of his time—that God was neither distant nor indifferent to his creation. Accordingly, God was neither an abstract idea nor a distant and unreachable being. Consequently, God was seen as a personal Being, who had freely chosen to create all things. As the creator, he had freely chosen to reveal himself in nature and particularly in Scripture. “The plain and unambiguous teaching of the Bible is that God, the Creator, is a being, a person,

²⁶⁰ Price, *Modern Discoveries Which Help Us to Believe*, 6.

infinite in all His powers and perfections, omnipresent throughout the universe.”²⁶¹ Price continued,

The Christian idea of God, as a personal Being, not a mere abstraction or another term for the forces of nature, but One who loves and sympathizes with all His creatures,—this idea is the most sublime concept ever attained by the mind of man. Not that man by his own efforts of thinking or by his discoveries has worked out this idea; it has really come to us through the Bible, God’s revelation of Himself.²⁶²

In this sense, and even though humankind might have had the idea of God imprinted into their minds, expressed in general in the complexities of nature, Price maintained that the idea of the personal creator God was made possible only through Scripture.

Price addressed those who deny the existence of God in general, and his role as the personal creator of the natural world in particular. In opposition to the materialistic view of origins, Price maintained that to deny the existence of God and his role as personal creator, would not bring humankind any closer to the truth about origins. In fact, it would open the way that would lead humankind into “dangerous deceptions” about this subject.²⁶³ Price explained,

Many have denied that there is any God, or in other words, have denied that any Being had anything to do with originating the universe. Such people we call atheists. Of course, such people deny that the universe was made, or created. And they usually deny that the universe is bad. “How can we speak of anything’s being bad,” they say, “when it is the only thing there is, the only thing that ever was, and the only thing that ever will be?”

But we are after truth, not, opinions; and I do not think we shall make much progress toward a true solution of this problem by denying the existence of God. We can get nowhere by such a denial. For the greater part of a lifetime, I have been

²⁶¹ Price, Q. E. D. or New Light on the Doctrine of Creation, 134.

²⁶² Price, The Predicament of Evolution, 105.

²⁶³ Price, Genesis Vindicated, 73.

dealing with scientific problems; and from this point of view, there are far too many proofs of a great Mind at the head of the universe, for me to think of questioning the existence of a personal Being who is in some way responsible for this world and the universe as a whole, and who is now in charge of it in all of its most minute and far-extended manifestations.²⁶⁴

As far as the reality of creation, Price maintained a common sense approach to it. This approach was generally known as Scottish Common Sense Philosophy (hereafter SCSR) or Scottish Realism. According to Cairns, SCSR was “the theory of Thomas Reid (1710–96) and a school of Scottish philosophers and theologians who followed him, that there were certain truths that we know intuitively, beliefs not arrived at by any process of induction, but by common sense.”²⁶⁵ Nowadays, a derivative of SCSR is “critical realism” which embraces a “nonreductive physicalism” approach to philosophy and science.²⁶⁶ In short, it “is now becoming widely recognized by scientists working at a variety of levels in the hierarchy of the sciences that while analysis and reduction are important aspects of scientific enquiry, they do not yield a complete or adequate account of the natural world.”²⁶⁷

Adopting SCSR to his protological hermeneutic, Price opposed the extremist reductive idea “that the universe may have no objective reality, . . . [that it] may be largely or wholly what our minds have made it seem to be.”²⁶⁸ Taking a nonreductive

²⁶⁴ George McCready Price, “Did a Good God Make a Bad World?,” in *Bible Truth Series* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, n.d.), 1-2.

²⁶⁵ Cairns, *Dictionary of Theological Terms*, 101.

²⁶⁶ Murphy, *Beyond Liberalism and Fundamentalism*, 138. For more information see, Peacocke, *Intimations of Reality: Critical Realism in Science and Religion*; Peacocke, *Theology for a Scientific Age*.

²⁶⁷ Murphy, *Beyond Liberalism and Fundamentalism*, 138.

²⁶⁸ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 49. Again, by “objective reality” Price means the existence of God, creation, fall/sin, and the global flood. See previous page.

approach he affirmed, “I hold that the universe has an objective reality, and . . . all Christian life is endangered when we accept [the non-objective reality] . . . of the universe.”²⁶⁹ In other words, reality is not merely the product of the human mind, or a shadow of what is real (Platonism). Also, reality is not limited to the physical world (Aristotelianism). Reality is the combination of the physical and the non-physical realms, which exists and subsists because of God’s supernatural activity. Price explained that

Matter, according to the Bible view, possesses no innate properties whatever. . . . Nature testifies of an active personal energy, a vital presence, continually working through matter in certain regular ways; and those few methods which we have been able to define and label we call the laws of nature. Further, nothing, then, is “supernatural,” but the most uncommon as well as the most common acts are all due to the direct act of God, or to power which He supplies to free, intelligent beings.²⁷⁰

Another important aspect of Price’s ontological views related to the reality of sin/fall, and the flood in relation to biblical protology. When addressing this point, Price explained, “[I]n attempting to examine this record of the original creation in the light of modern scientific discoveries, two very important . . . facts must be taken into consideration before we can form any safe conclusions. The first of these . . . facts is the *sin* of man, or his rebellion against God, or what is usually termed ‘*the fall*.’ The second is the *flood*.” He insisted that the study of origins in general and biblical protology in particular requires that we make “a proper allowance for these two outstanding facts in the early history of the world, facts which stand between us and every objective fact with which we can check up the Bible account of the creation.”²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 49.

²⁷⁰ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 46-47.

²⁷¹ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 16-17.

In relation to the fall, Price wrote, “[T]he fall not only brought sickness and death to man himself, but also brought tendencies to degeneration and perversion of original instincts to the plants and animals over which man had been placed as king.” Therefore, “[T]he primal fall of man and the evil entail which this brought upon the lower forms of life must be taken into consideration when we seek to understand these evidences of degeneration.”²⁷² For Price, the fall had infected and disfigured God’s original creation, bringing suffering, death, divine judgment, and confusion about the interpretation of the natural world. Connecting the fall with the flood, Price explained, “[W]hen we find fossils which are unlike anything now living, or find sea shells buried in the strata of the high mountains, or beds of vegetation buried deep in the earth, it is manifestly very unfair and unscientific to ignore the record of the flood, if we profess to be examining the Bible record of creation.”²⁷³

Altogether, Price saw the evidences found in nature as confirmation of the events recorded in Scripture, including the reality of God as a personal being, and his activities to sustain the natural world.

²⁷² Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 17. For more information on Price’s understanding of the significance of the fall for Christian theology see, Price, *Science and Religion in a Nutshell*, 16-17; Price, *The Predicament of Evolution*, 123-127; Price, *Poisoning Democracy*, 131, 152; Price, “Why I Am Not an Evolutionist,” 8.

²⁷³ Price, “Why I Am Not an Evolutionist,” 8. For more information about how the flood affected the study of nature see, Price, *The Man from Mars*, 26-27, 83; Price, *How Did the World Begin?*, 58-60; Price, *Common-Sense Geology: A Simplified Study for the General Reader*, 43-55; Price, *The Story of the Fossils*, 26-32; Price, *The Geological-Ages Hoax: A Plea for Logic in Theoretical Geology*, 92; Price, *Science and Religion in a Nutshell*, 20-26, 35; Price and Thurber, *Socialism in the Test-Tube: A Candid Discussion of the Principles, the Relations, and the Effects of Socialism*, 65.

Metaphysical Views: Price's Principles of Articulation

Price's protological hermeneutic embraced a principle of articulation that presupposed that God is a temporal being.²⁷⁴ To Price, God's omnipresence (i.e., immanence) testified of his ability to relate to his creation directly in time and space, even though he maintained that God was transcendent to his creation.²⁷⁵ Consequently, Price insisted, "any philosophy which tended in even the slightest degree to represent the Creator as a great absentee, one who set the worlds running and left them to run on through certain endowed or resident 'properties,' taking little or no interest in them thereafter," must be replaced by what Scripture teaches on the subject.²⁷⁶ He affirmed,

Here [in Scripture] we shall have no difficulty, for it makes the matter very plain. It very positively recognizes the direct and immediate action of God in every event and phenomenon of nature; and what we used to think only the highly figurative expressions of the Hebrew poets is seen to be actual science, after all. According to the Bible, certain properties have not been imparted to matter, and it then left to act through this endowed energy, as even most Christians seem to think is the case. Jehovah has not delegated His authority to the molecules, nor even to the angels, as some theologians would have us believe, though doubtless celestial spirits carry on a thousand lines of ministry in our cosmos of which we have no conception.²⁷⁷

As he developed his principle of articulation, Price also described his view on how God interacts with his creation in time and space, particularly with humankind. Price wrote that "the inherent obligations of a creature to its Creator, and the necessity of the

²⁷⁴ See Chapter 1, p. 17n59.

²⁷⁵ Price, *Illogical Geology: The Weakest Point in the Evolution Theory*, 90. Price, *Q. E. D. or New Light on the Doctrine of Creation*, 132-133. Price, *Back to the Bible*, 101-102; Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 72.

²⁷⁶ Price, *If You Were the Creator: A Reasonable Credo for Modern Man*, 35. For more information see, Price, *How Did the World Begin?*, 29-34.

²⁷⁷ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 45-46.

creature conforming to the fundamental principles of its own being as implanted by the Creator, have always been regarded as the highest possible basis of all moral duty and worship.”²⁷⁸ In short, this statement suggested God has implanted in all humans an intuitive knowledge of himself, which invites humankind into a personal relationship with someone greater than themselves. To be specific, God interacts with humankind personally and directly, revealing himself in the human mind and in Scripture through the Holy Spirit. Price said that

In the early days of the human race, the larger aspects of nature spoke very directly to men and women, somewhat as they speak even today amid the mountains, on the open prairie, or on the ocean. In the great open spaces of that early world God could and did speak directly to the human heart, and the Holy Spirit could set home to the individual many lessons which it is now almost impossible for one to learn amid the multitude of distracting voices which call from every side.²⁷⁹

Elsewhere, Price addressed the process of special revelation. He explained that

The Supreme Being, as revealed in the Bible, is the loftiest concept ever made known to the mind of man. The Bible view of God is so far in advance of anything found in any other religion that we conclude it must have been revealed by God Himself, for neither the Hebrews nor any other people could have attained to such a concept of themselves. The pure monotheism of the Bible could never have been thought out by men unassisted by special divine enlightenment.²⁸⁰

Even more explicit was Price’s comment on Revelation 14:7. Here, Price connected the work of the Holy Spirit with his principle of articulation, suggesting that

²⁷⁸ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 13.

²⁷⁹ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 29. For more information on Price’s views on the work of the Holy Spirit see, Price, *Back to the Bible*, 13, 14, 81, 101-102; Price, *The Predicament of Evolution*, 126; Price, *Modern Discoveries Which Help Us to Believe*, 165, 193-195, 198; Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 22; Price, *The Story of the Fossils*, 71-72; Price, *The Greatest of the Prophets: A New Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 7, 8, 196, 197, 206, 331.

²⁸⁰ Price, *Modern Discoveries Which Help Us to Believe*, 164. Price also said, “In direct revelation to the early men and women, and in the recorded instructions in the Bible, we have what He decided to tell us; in nature and in personal experiences we have what He has let us discover for ourselves.” Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 30.

the Holy Spirit induces and directs the mind of humankind towards the creator of heaven and earth. Price said, “The chief idea [here] seems to be that the Spirit of God will be active in inducing all people to become interested in this problem of the making of the heaven and the earth, thus directing their minds toward the inescapable right of the Creator to command the allegiance and obedience of all His created beings.”²⁸¹

As these observations indicate, Price’s principle of articulation included a temporal view of God. This approach allowed God to interact with his creation personally and directly, revealing himself in the human mind and in Scripture through the Holy Spirit. In addition to this principle of articulation, Price’s protological hermeneutic embraced a common sense approach to reality, where the physical world was a portrayal of reality but did not represent all Reality (i.e., natural + supernatural realms). Thus, God, creation, the flood, as well as every other event recorded in Scripture was seen as reliable history. With this in mind, and to complete the rationality and formal structure of Price’s protological hermeneutic, let us look into Price’s epistemology in relation to protology.

Epistemological Views: Price’s Foundation of Knowledge

The protological hermeneutic of Price was based on a nonreductive epistemology. This is to say that Price’s epistemological views were not limited to a single foundation of knowledge. On the one hand, Price explained, “in the Bible we have what he [God] decided to tell us” about his works. On the other hand, “in nature . . . we have what he

²⁸¹ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 22.

decided to allow us to discover for ourselves.”²⁸² With this in mind, Price attempted to unite “*the teachings of the Bible and the book of nature concerning God’s relation to His created works,*” to serve as the epistemological foundation of his hermeneutic.²⁸³ After all, Price insisted that the only way the ongoing epistemological turmoil “can be settled is by showing the absolute harmony between the book of nature and God’s written Word.”²⁸⁴

It is interesting, however, that Price wanted to use both nature and Scripture as the epistemological foundation to his theology, but that he favored Scripture over nature to settle conflicting interpretations.²⁸⁵ At first, Price’s view seems contradicting to his nonreductive epistemology. But in fact, a careful reading of his argument exposes the meticulous reasoning Price became well-known for. Price said,

The Christian is not opposed to true science. He has a firm faith that God is the Creator and the Author of all truth, whether revealed through nature as His oldest testament or through His written word. *Each may be liable to misunderstanding or misinterpretation*; but he holds that of the two the Bible is more plain, and far less likely to be misinterpreted; and when the two appear to be in conflict, he must take the Bible every time, as the Reformers accepted the Bible as against the established church and the councils.²⁸⁶

As we can see, Price consistently pursued a nonreductive epistemology as the foundation of protological knowledge. Nevertheless, he also recognized that both books

²⁸² Price, *Back to the Bible*, 12.

²⁸³ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 38-39. Emphasis supplied.

²⁸⁴ Price, *God's Two Books or Plain Facts About Evolution, Geology and the Bible*, 25. See also, Price, *Back to the Bible*, 121.

²⁸⁵ Price, *The Story of the Fossils*, 62-63. According to Price, sin is the reason humankind needs a written revelation to guide their study from nature. See, Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 114; Price, *Back to the Bible*, 12, 17-18.

²⁸⁶ Price, *The Story of the Fossils*, 62-63. Emphasis supplied.

might be misinterpreted and placed in contradiction to one another. In this case, it is not nature that is in contradiction with Scripture, but the interpretation of those two sources that are in conflict. This was exactly what Price felt was happening in his day.

He acknowledged that for a long time “the entire Protestant world has been in a turmoil of discussion about the relation between the Bible and the book of nature—as to which is the supreme authority.”²⁸⁷ Price said, “That the Bible is out of harmony with the current teachings of so-called [modern] ‘science’ regarding such matters as the age of the world, the origin of man, and the meaning of the Sabbath as a memorial of a literal creation, is obvious to every honest mind.” But the question of authority still remains, and we still need to ask ourselves, “*Which [of these sources] are we to trust? Which shall we take as the final arbiter, the final authority?*”²⁸⁸

In addressing these questions, Price noted that most Protestant Christians of his day, had already decided which interpretation of nature should be considered right when conflict appeared. Price complained, it is “sad to say, the overwhelming majority of those who call themselves Protestants have already decided all these questions by accepting the alleged teachings of [modern] science as superior to the Bible on all those questions about origins, or, indeed, about any and every problem concerning God and His relationship to man, whenever the Bible and this view of nature happen to come into conflict.”²⁸⁹ At the same time, Price insisted to his readers that God’s revelation consisted

²⁸⁷ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 304.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

of the books of nature and Scripture; and Christians should not have to choose between God's two books. Instead, Price insisted that the "two books must be shown to agree."²⁹⁰

Even though Price agreed that to show the agreement between nature and Scripture was not an easy task, he explained that in the intellectual awakening after the Dark Ages, for example, many thinkers were able to show how the book of nature and Scripture revealed the agreement that exists in God's revelation. Price said,

When the human mind awoke from the slumber of the Dark Ages, man found God's two books spread out before him, the written Word and the book of nature. Both were eagerly studied; and so long as the truths of the former were made paramount to the study of the latter, so long as the Bible was allowed its proper influence as the key to the moral and religious lessons from God's larger and more ambiguous book (not the key to the facts of nature, but the key to the lessons from the facts), the human race made rapid progress in understanding these two great revelations.²⁹¹

A revival of the method used after the Dark Ages seemed doable to Price, provided that those interpreting God's revelation reevaluated the presuppositions guiding their conclusion. Price explained that the rift between God's two books was not caused by the corruption of the book of nature nor by Scripture. As Price saw it, the rift was enabled by those who too quickly embraced the philosophical presuppositions of Darwinism and then applied them to the interpretation of Scripture (e.g., CPE).²⁹² For Price, this was the most pressing problem for the church in the post-Enlightenment era. The problem was not with God's revelation in itself; but it was a matter of which

²⁹⁰ Price, *God's Two Books or Plain Facts About Evolution, Geology and the Bible*, 25.

²⁹¹ Price, *Back to the Bible*, 11.

²⁹² Though Price does not use this acronym (i.e., CPE), he described "Protestant Orthodoxy" as those who embraced the philosophical presuppositions of Darwinism, and who developed models like the "modern theistic evolution" to interpret biblical protology. Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 22-23. See also, Price, *God's Two Books or Plain Facts About Evolution, Geology and the Bible*, 167; Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 43-44, 234.

methodological presuppositions were used to interpret God’s revelation and their relationship to each other. In short, Price was convinced that the most pressing problem facing the church—in relation to biblical protology—was a hermeneutical one. “From all this,” Price said, “it becomes clear that the impending conflict before the church and the world is bound to be influenced by *the methods of interpreting nature and their relationship to the Bible.*”²⁹³

Price explained that post-Enlightenment thinkers gradually abandoned Scripture as the presuppositional guidebook to interpret nature.²⁹⁴ Consequently, when faced with the challenges raised by proponents of Darwinism, CPEs felt that the solution was to construct models (e.g., TE) to accommodate the interpretation of Scripture to an evolutionary interpretation of nature. Price insisted, however, that this approach was inadequate, and that it threatened the complementary relationship that should be exposed when we study God’s two books. He affirmed that

Correct inductive methods of reasoning are of great value. They have a high place in the development of the human mind, and constitute one of the ways in which God designed that we should obtain knowledge. But there is a higher light than inductive reasoning based on physical and biological data,—a light beneath which all nature becomes illuminated,—and this light comes from the written Word, or it may be flashed into the soul by the searchlight of God’s Spirit. When the knowledge of nature that we can discover through sense perception and inductive reasoning is used to direct our steps to the great temple of God’s truth, or is used as an encouragement to faith, it is being used in the right way. But when this fragmentary knowledge derived from nature is used in the absurd way of constructing a complete philosophy of the universe, when the investigator ignores the higher light of Revelation given to guide us amid the intricate mazes of scientific investigation, then these quasi-scientific methods become a delusion and a snare; and the human mind, forming

²⁹³ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 305. Emphasis supplied.

²⁹⁴ Price said, “something else than the Word of God as the guide of life.” Price, *Back to the Bible*, 10. See also *Ibid.*, 10-11.

universal conclusions in a haphazard way from the narrow, limited data at its command, will always find that it has been tricked in its conclusions regarding the most solemn questions of origin, duty, and destiny.²⁹⁵

Having laid out the issues, Price proceeded by offering a solution: the use of the inductive method to uncover data from an object, then, draw conclusions from the data instead of drawing conclusions from unproven theories. In relation to geology, for example, this would require first, the exclusion of the claims of uniformitarianism, which in Price's view "is now found to be bankrupt,"²⁹⁶ and second, it would require scientists to adopt special revelation as the philosophical presupposition to protological hermeneutics. Once this was done, Price suspected CPEs should come to four basic conclusions: first, "the Flood theory is now in a position of such scientific reasonableness that it enables all to accept the early chapters of the Holy Scriptures at their full face value;"²⁹⁷ second, "the fossil record has been misunderstood, and . . . in reality all the fossils could have lived contemporaneously in the same world, and been overwhelmed and buried by the waters of the flood;"²⁹⁸ third, "there can be no validity to the geological 'ages,' and the 'short' chronology instead of the evolutionary chronology is what we have to accept;"²⁹⁹ and fourth, "there is no other explanation of the origin of life which deserves a moment's consideration . . . [except] that God created it."³⁰⁰ Altogether, Price

²⁹⁵ Price, *Back to the Bible*, 13-14.

²⁹⁶ Price, *Evolutionary Geology*, 38, 67.

²⁹⁷ Price, *The Modern Flood Theory of Geology*, 6.

²⁹⁸ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 240.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 254.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 203.

concluded, “the Holy Scriptures stand vindicated and confirmed as never before within the history of man.”³⁰¹

In brief, Price’s epistemology can be summarized as follows. Protological knowledge can neither be limited to the interpretation of the book of Scripture by theologians, nor to the interpretation of the book of nature by scientists. Protological knowledge requires us to combine the most accurate and current interpretations of both Scripture and nature. Provided this is done, Price concluded, “Nature and Scripture should speak the same language.”³⁰²

Summary

This chapter was divided into four major sections.³⁰³ In the first section, a description of some of Price’s personal experiences leading to his journey into the dialogue between science and theology about origins was provided. The objective was to provide a short introduction to the reasons leading Price to develop his protological hermeneutic, and to reveal how Price discovered his mission in life: to stand up against the wrong teachings of the Darwinian evolutionary theory, and to show how the use of a method that embraced biblical protology to interpret God’s revelation, revealed the harmony that existed between the books of nature and Scripture, consequently exposing the true character of the creator.

In the second major section, a descriptive analysis of the theological and

³⁰¹ Price, *The Man from Mars*, 55.

³⁰² Price, *Back to the Bible*, 183.

³⁰³ *Biography; Theological and Philosophical Influences; Descriptive Analysis of Price’s Understanding on Protology; Descriptive Analysis of Price’s Theological Method in Relation to Protology.*

philosophical influences on Price's protological hermeneutic was offered. Four main influences were identified: Scripture, evolutionary theory, fundamentalism, and Ellen G. White.

Scripture and Ellen G. White had formative influences on Price's protological hermeneutic, meaning they informed his philosophical, historical, and theological views. Most important, however, is that only one of the four influences—Scripture—was formative and normative to Price, confirming his epistemological views that Scripture should guide the conclusions on protology. Accordingly, the claim that Price's theological task was to bring the views of mainstream science into line with Ellen White's interpretation of biblical protology is inconclusive and should be reexamined. Price's interpretation of Genesis 1:1, for example, which showed his openness to interpret "the when" of creation differently than Ellen G. White, confirms this assessment.

In the third major section of this chapter, a descriptive analysis of selected texts in Genesis 1-11 was provided to expose Price's interpretation of biblical protology. For instance, Price interpreted "the beginning" in Genesis 1:1 as a reference to the creation of the entire galactic universe. Contrary to most fundamentalists, he did not regard this first stage of God's creative actions to have taken place during the six literal days of the creation week. In fact, he insisted that it took place much sooner than the beginning of the creation week in Genesis 1:3. This approach clearly sets him apart from fundamentalists. And it also shows how Price was willing to go beyond Ellen G. White's usage of popular Ussherian terms when speaking of biblical protology, without accusing her of being in contradiction with Scripture.

On the interpretation of Genesis 1:2, Price claimed that this verse provides a

description of the condition of the earth immediately prior to the beginning of creation week. He explained that the second verse provides us with the description of the earth when it was created “In the beginning.” According to Price, the biblical text was clear in affirming that “ ‘the earth was unformed and void’ (Jewish version), obviously meaning that at this stage the earth had not taken on the form which it later manifested, and that it was empty of living creatures; for the word ‘void’ means empty. These are the only meanings legitimately derived from these two words.”³⁰⁴ In providing this interpretation Price distinguished himself from another popular interpretation by the fundamentalists, who attempted to interpret Genesis 1:2 as a description of what the earth became after the fall of Satan and his imprisonment on earth.³⁰⁵ Throughout his career, Price embraced an interpretation that allowed the biblical text to speak for itself and that preserved the biblical metanarrative.

On the interpretation of *yom* (days) in Genesis 1:5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31, and 2:2, Price maintained that these were literal, consecutive, twenty-four hour days. Though Price was aware that the Hebrew *yom* might be translated as the English word “ages,” the best translation of the Hebrew in these texts is the English word “day.” In “this first chapter of Genesis the record is that each successive day consisted of an evening and a morning, like all subsequent days.”³⁰⁶ This interpretation also supported the claim that the seventh day of the creation week functioned as the theological foundation of the biblical

³⁰⁴ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 12.

³⁰⁵ This interpretation is called Active-Gap theory or Creation-Ruin-Restoration. See Chapter 2, pp. 52-54.

³⁰⁶ Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 13.

Sabbath; formally established by God in Exodus 20:8-11.

Price declared that “the seventh-day Sabbath is the divine memorial of a creation,”³⁰⁷ it reminds us of “God’s creative energy” revealing “the teachings of the Bible and the book of nature concerning God’s relation to His created works.”³⁰⁸ According to Price, the understanding that God specially created humankind and that humankind did not evolve naturalistically through long ages, established the highest moral standards by which we should live; and the seventh-day Sabbath points us back to this reality.

On the interpretation of the biblical account of the flood, Price maintained that this account was a reliable record of historical events. He called his theory “New Catastrophism” or “Modern Flood Theory,” which he developed during an extensive time of careful thinking and thorough research. Price maintained, “The record of the Flood is the key to the whole puzzle.”³⁰⁹ It could better explain how the current shape of the earth was formed, including the geologic column and the burial of most fossils in the fossil record. Price’s flood geology or New Catastrophism stood in direct contrast with conventional geology and its uniformitarian method of interpretation.

Finally, the fourth major section of this chapter provided a descriptive analysis of Price’s protological hermeneutic. After exposing Price’s interpretation of selected texts in Genesis 1-11, I was able to uncover Price’s views of the source of theology (i.e., the

³⁰⁷ Price, *The Man from Mars*, 126.

³⁰⁸ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 38-39.

³⁰⁹ Price, *How Did the World Begin?*, 60.

Bible—the material condition), the purpose of his theology (i.e., the teleological condition), and most importantly, the principles of interpretation (i.e., the hermeneutical condition) guiding his theology. As a COD, Price maintained (1) a high view of Scripture as a source of theology (ML), (2) followed a literal interpretation of biblical protology that promoted biblical ontology, metaphysics, and epistemology (HL), and (3) that preserved the historicity of the biblical record as a reliable source of knowledge (TL), all in the context of the biblical metanarrative.

Accordingly, the research showed that the ML and the TL of Price’s protological hermeneutic were both formative and normative to his theology. These were formative because they were inseparable elements of his theological presuppositions, and normative because they regulated and guided how Price interpreted the biblical text, the data found in nature, and their relation to each other. After all, both God’s “works and His written Word are equally divine.”³¹⁰

The final step was to expose Price’s views on the HL. It is here that the philosophical attributes of Price’s protological hermeneutic were revealed, exposing his ontological, metaphysical, and epistemological views.

Ontologically, Price’s protological hermeneutic was built on a concept of reality that regarded the events of the OT and the NT as “objective realities.” Adopting a common sense approach to reality, Price insisted that it was upon these “objective realities” (i.e., the existence of God, creation, fall/sin, and the global flood) that Christianity was founded. In other words, without the reality of biblical protology,

³¹⁰ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 30. See also *Ibid.*, 65.

biblical Christianity would become a “beautiful myth.”³¹¹

Metaphysically, Price’s protological hermeneutic embraced a principle of articulation that presupposed that God is a temporal being.³¹² God is at the same time immanent and transcendent. While his omnipresence testified of his ability to relate to his creation directly in time and space, God was also transcendent for He lived outside of his creation.³¹³ Price also suggested that God had implanted in all humans an intuitive knowledge of himself, which invited humankind into a personal relationship with someone greater than themselves. Thus, God interacted with humankind personally and directly in space and time, also revealing himself in the human mind and in Scripture through the Holy Spirit.

Finally, epistemologically, Price’s protological hermeneutic was based on what I am calling a nonreductive epistemology. This is to say that Price’s epistemological views were not limited to a single foundation of knowledge. To Price, protological knowledge could neither be limited to the interpretation of the book of Scripture by theologians, nor be limited to the interpretation of the book of nature by scientists, but it requires us to combine the best possible explanation of the data to correctly interpret the record of Scripture and the record of nature.

³¹¹ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, ix.

³¹² See Chapter 3, pp. 152-155.

³¹³ Price, *Illogical Geology: The Weakest Point in the Evolution Theory*, 90; Price, *Q. E. D. or New Light on the Doctrine of Creation*, 132-133; Price, *Back to the Bible*, 101-102; Price, *Genesis Vindicated*, 72.

CHAPTER 4

THE PROTOLOGICAL HERMENEUTIC OF BENJAMIN WARFIELD (1851–1921)

Scholars recognize that though a “book-length biography” on Warfield has not been written, “enough of the details of his life are available to highlight the most significant influences upon his scholarship.”¹ Thus, similar to what I have done in the chapter about Price, this chapter is not an attempt to produce a biography of Warfield. Such a task would require that I focus on details about his life not directly relevant for this dissertation. In this chapter, I will first describe some of Warfield’s life experiences that can lead us to a better understanding of his approach to biblical protology in the dialogue between science and theology. Next, I will provide a descriptive analysis of key philosophical and theological influences on his protological hermeneutical method. Finally, I will describe Warfield’s interpretation of selected texts in Genesis 1-11 to uncover his view of the source of theology (i.e., the Bible—the material condition), the purpose of theology (i.e., teleological condition), and most importantly, the principles of interpretation (i.e., the hermeneutical condition) guiding his protological hermeneutic.

¹ Smith, “B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship,” 47. For biographical information on Warfield, see Bradley J. Gundlach, “'B' Is for Breckinridge: Benjamin B. Warfield, His Maternal Kin, and Princeton Seminary,” in *B. B. Warfield: Essays on His Life and Thought*, ed. Gary L. W. Johnson, (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2007), 13-53; Fred G. Zaspel, *The Theology of B. B. Warfield: A Systematic Summary* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2010), 27-61.

Biographical Perspectives

Early Years

Benjamin Warfield was born and raised in a devout Presbyterian home. Both his parents were from Protestant lineage.² Warfield's father descended from the puritans, and his mother was the daughter of Rev. Robert Jefferson Breckinridge, who was "distinguished as a preacher, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, president of Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, and founder and president of the Theological Seminary at Danville, Kentucky." Breckinridge was also the "author of a system of theology entitled 'The Knowledge of God Objectively and Subjectively Considered.'"³

Without a doubt Warfield grew up in a family that took their Presbyterian faith seriously. This can be seen in the fact that Warfield had memorized the Shorter Catechism when he was only six years old, followed by the biblical proofs and the Larger Catechism.⁴ "This achievement should not be lightly brushed aside," Smith insists, for both Catechism and the Westminster Confession of Faith (hereafter WCF) "were the earliest influence on Warfield's theology and he was steeped in them."⁵

However, it is interesting that Warfield's early educational interest was not towards theology. In fact, scholars have noted that Warfield's "early tastes were strongly

² Warfield, "Biographical Sketch of Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield," v.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Smith, "B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship," 54-55; Warfield, "Biographical Sketch of Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield," vi.

⁵ Ibid., 55.

scientific. He collected bird eggs, butterflies and moths, and geological specimens; studied the fauna and flora of his neighborhood; read Darwin's newly published books with enthusiasm; and counted Audubon's works on American birds and mammals his chief treasure."⁶ This being the case, Warfield's announcement that he would study theology came as a surprise to many among his family and friends.⁷

Education and Scholarly Career

During his early years Warfield attended private schools where he studied mainly under Lewis Barbour and James K. Patterson. The fact that Barbour became professor of mathematics in the Central University, and Patterson became the president of the State College of Kentucky, gives us a glimpse of the high quality of preparatory education Warfield received during that stage of his life.⁸

Prior to entering the seminary, Warfield was primarily interested in the natural sciences, especially mathematics and physics. When the time came for him to go to college, Warfield "entered the sophomore class of the College of New Jersey at Princeton in the autumn of 1868 and graduated with the highest honors of his class in 1871, when only nineteen years of age."⁹ Then, in 1873 after spending some time in Europe, Warfield "entered the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church at Princeton," from which he graduated in May 1876. Though Warfield received an invitation to be the pastor of the

⁶ Warfield, "Biographical Sketch of Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield," vi.

⁷ For more information see *Ibid.*, v-ix. Smith, "B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship," 47-62.

⁸ Warfield, "Biographical Sketch of Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield," v-vi.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vi.

First Presbyterian Church of Dayton, OH, that year, he denied the appointment. In a very short time after graduating from the seminary in 1876, Warfield married, went back to visit Europe, served as assistant pastor in Baltimore, and accepted an invitation to teach New Testament at the Western Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania.¹⁰

After teaching at the Western Theological Seminary for nine years, Warfield was invited in 1887, to come back to Princeton as a professor of didactic and polemic theology. Warfield accepted the invitation and remained there for thirty-four years. During his time at Princeton he instructed more than 2,700 students until his death on February 16, 1921.¹¹

During his educational career Warfield “received from the College of New Jersey the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1880; that of Doctor of Laws in 1892; and that of Doctor of Laws from Davidson College in 1892; that of Doctor of Letters from Lafayette College in 1911; and that of Sacrae Theologiae Doctor from the University of Utrecht in 1913.”¹²

Publications

In addition to higher education, Warfield’s achievements also included a voluminous writing career. A diligent student and a prolific writer, Warfield “read widely

¹⁰ Warfield, “Biographical Sketch of Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield,” vii. See also Mark A. Noll, “Introduction,” in *B. B. Warfield: Essays on His Life and Thought*, ed. Gary L. W. Johnson, (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2007), 3.

¹¹ Ibid. Such was Warfield’s passion for teaching that even on the day he died, he took time to meet with his class earlier that day. For more information see Francis L. Patton, “Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield, D.D., L.L.D., Litt.D.: A Memorial Address,” *The Princeton Theological Review* 19, no. 3 (1921).

¹² Warfield, “Biographical Sketch of Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield,” ix.

over an unusual range of general literature, including poetry, fiction and drama, and often drew illustrations from the most unexpected sources.”¹³ A true innovative thinker, after serving as one of the editors of the *Presbyterian Review* for some time, Warfield “planned and for twelve years conducted the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, which in 1902 was taken over by the Faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary and renamed the *Princeton Theological Review*.”¹⁴

During his career Warfield published numerous articles in the following volumes: “Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament” (1886); “On the Revision of the Confession of Faith” (1890); “The Gospel of the Incarnation” (1893); “Two Studies in the History of Doctrine” (1893); “The Right of Systematic Theology” (1897); “The Significance of the Westminster Standards” (1898); “Acts and Pastoral Epistles” (1902); “The Power of God Unto Salvation” (1903); “The Lord of Glory” (1907); “Calvin as a Theologian and Calvinism Today” (1909); “Hymns and Religious Verses” (1910); “The Saviour of the World” (1914); “The Plan of Salvation” (1915); “Faith and Life” (1916); “Counterfeit Miracles” (1918).¹⁵

After his death, many articles and essays published in the *Princeton Theological Review*, other magazines, encyclopedias, and dictionaries, were collected to create a ten volume set titled *The Works of Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield* (1932).¹⁶ More recently

¹³ Warfield, “Biographical Sketch of Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield,” viii.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, viii.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, ix.

¹⁶ Benjamin B. Warfield, *The Works of Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield*, 10 vols. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1932; reprint, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2000).

these were combined with other books, articles, and lectures not found in the original ten volumes.¹⁷ Together, these constitute the twenty volumes now published in digital format under the title *B. B. Warfield Collection*.¹⁸

To this point, I have described how Warfield's early years and education had contributed to his fruitful educational, teaching, and publishing careers. In many ways, his success seems to be the result of constant dialogue with other thinkers in the West during and before his time. With this in mind, the next section will describe key theological and philosophical influences guiding Warfield's theology in general and his protological hermeneutic in particular.

Theological and Philosophical Influences

Before proceeding to a discussion on the theological and philosophical influences on Warfield's protological hermeneutic, to uncover which influence was formative and/or normative to his method, it will be useful to recall that the epistemological turmoil that began in the mid-nineteenth century brought two major worldviews into the spotlight of

¹⁷ The B. B. Warfield Collection was published in digital format by Logos Bible Software in 2008. Besides the ten volume set published in 1932, it includes Benjamin B. Warfield, *Are They Few That Be Saved?* (Bellingham, WA: Logos Research Systems, 2008); Benjamin B. Warfield, *The Canon of the New Testament: How and When Formed* (Bellingham, WA: Logos Research Systems, 2008); Benjamin B. Warfield, *Counterfeit Miracles* (Bellingham, WA: Logos Research Systems, 2008); Benjamin B. Warfield, *Faith and Life* (Bellingham, WA: Logos Research Systems, 2008); Benjamin B. Warfield, *An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (Bellingham, WA: Logos Research Systems, 2008); Benjamin B. Warfield, *The Lord of Glory: A Study of the Designations of Our Lord in the New Testament with Especial Reference to His Deity* (Bellingham, WA: Logos Research Systems, 2008); Benjamin B. Warfield, *The Plan of Salvation: Five Lectures* (Bellingham, WA: Logos Research Systems, 2008); Benjamin B. Warfield, *The Power of God Unto Salvation* (Bellingham, WA: Logos Research Systems, 2008); Benjamin B. Warfield, *The Right of Systematic Theology* (Bellingham, WA: Logos Research Systems, 2008); Benjamin B. Warfield, *The Saviour of the World* (Bellingham, WA: Logos Research Systems, 2008).

¹⁸ For more bibliographical information on Warfield, see John E. Meeter and Roger R. Nicole, *A Bibliography of Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield, 1851-1921* (Nutley, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., 1974).

American academe: biblical protology and Darwinian evolution. During those days, capable thinkers from both groups provided their best arguments, in an attempt to discredit each other's views and to establish a consensus about origins.

Among those who embraced biblical creation, there were some who claimed to maintain a high view of Scripture, and yet they maintained that evolution could be harmonized with Scripture.¹⁹ Benjamin Warfield, for example, was among the CPE who thought that biblical protology and evolution were compatible, and that the correct interpretation of Genesis 1:1-2:4a could lead to the harmonization of biblical protology and evolutionary theory.

But how is this possible? How could an inerrantist like Warfield—who claimed to have a high view of Scripture, and believed that every word of Scripture was the Word of God—produce a protological hermeneutic that embraced evolution as the mechanism used by God to create the universe, and particularly life on earth over billions of years?

My thesis is that these specific questions are closely related to the question of which theological and philosophical influences were formative and/or normative to Warfield's protological views and to how he defined the term evolution. In this research, I identify six main influences at work in Warfield's protological hermeneutic: John Calvin, WCF, SCSR, Charles Hodge, evolutionary theory, and Modern Science.

John Calvin

The first theological and philosophical influence to be described in this section is

¹⁹ In this dissertation these are called the conservative proponents of evolution—CPE. For more information see Chapter 1, p. 9n33.

John Calvin (1509-1564), the founder of Calvinism, and a magisterial reformer like Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli.²⁰

Warfield was well familiarized with Calvin's theology. Zaspel observes that "Warfield's work in all aspects of Calvin studies was exhaustive, and [that] he has been hailed as Calvin's 'incomparable American interpreter.'" ²¹ Warfield's familiarity with Calvin's writings suggests that he took Calvin's theology seriously. Thus, it comes as no surprise that Calvin was a powerful influence on Warfield's theology in general and his protological hermeneutic in particular. To have a better understanding of how Calvin influenced Warfield, an overview on Calvin's views on biblical protology is needed.

Calvin's protology included the possibility of creation in two stages—the *ex nihilo* creation of "the heavens and the earth" and the creation of "the present world."²² By the former he meant the creation of all the inorganic matter in the universe, including the inorganic matter on earth; and by the latter he meant the "creation" of life—especially human life—on earth. Commenting on Genesis 1:1 Calvin affirmed, "For Moses simply intends to assert that the world was not perfected at its very commencement, in the manner in which it is now seen, but that it was created an empty chaos of heaven and earth."²³ Calvin insisted, "There is no doubt that Moses gives the name of heaven and

²⁰ The magisterial reformers are those who like Calvin and Luther, "worked in conjunction with and through secular lords to implement reform." Gregory Miller, "Reformers," *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, 2005 ed. (2005), 550.

²¹ Zaspel, *The Theology of B. B. Warfield*, 384.

²² Jean Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans., Henry Beveridge (Bellingham, WA: Logos Bible Software, 1997), 1.14.1.

²³ Jean Calvin, *Commentaries on the First Book of Moses, Called Genesis*, trans., John King (Bellingham, WA: Logos Research Systems, 2010), 69-70.

earth to that confused mass which he, shortly afterwards, (verse 2,) denominates *waters*. The reason of which is, that this matter was to be the seed of the whole world.”²⁴

In continuing with his interpretation of Genesis, Calvin elucidated the reason God provided us with an account of the creation. “In that history,” he says, “the period of time is marked so as to enable the faithful to ascend by an unbroken succession of years to the first origin of their race [i.e., human race] and of all things.”²⁵ This “first origin” of the human race, Calvin said, occurred some six thousand years before his time.²⁶

Note, however, that Calvin maintained, “the work of creation was accomplished not in one moment, but in six days.”²⁷ This was in contrast with Augustine who argued that God created all things in a single moment.²⁸ Calvin explained,

²⁴ Calvin, *Commentaries On . . . Genesis*, 70.

²⁵ Calvin, *Institutes*, 1.14.1.

²⁶ Calvin says, “We must not be moved by the profane jeer, that it is strange how it did not sooner occur to the Deity to create the heavens and the earth, instead of idly allowing an infinite period to pass away, during which thousands of generations might have existed, *while the present world is drawing to a close before it has completed its six thousandth year.*” *Ibid.* Italics supplied.

²⁷ Calvin, *Institutes*, 1.14.2.

²⁸ Froom says, “Augustine did not regard the six days of creation as literal, but as a step-by-step revelation to the angels of the various phases of a creation which really occurred all at once. But he symbolized the events of the six days by the ages of the world. His enumeration of these ages was followed by later writers through the Middle Ages and into modern times; they were used, with slight modification, by Ussher and incorporated into various Bible chronologies.” Le Roy Edwin Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, 4 vols. (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1950), 1:487. For information see, Augustine, “De Genesi Ad Litteram,” (Rome: Citta' Nuova Editrice; Nuova Biblioteca Agostiniana, 415), accessed June 4, 2014, http://www.augustinus.it/latino/genesi_lettera/index2.htm, IV.35.56. An English version is also available. See Augustine and John Hammond Taylor, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, Ancient Christian Writers No. 41-42 (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1982), 123-131, 133-138, 141-145. In “City of God” Augustine also says, “These works are recorded to have been completed in six days (the same day being six times repeated), because six is a perfect number,—not because God required a protracted time, as if He could not at once create all things, which then should mark the course of time by the movements proper to them, but because the perfection of the works was signified by the number six.” Augustine, “City of God,” in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. Philip Schaff, (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1887), 222.

Here [i.e., Gen 1:5—the first day] the error of those is manifestly refuted, who maintain that the world was made in a moment. For it is too violent a cavil to contend that Moses distributes the work which God perfected at once into six days, for the mere purpose of conveying instruction. Let us rather conclude that God himself took the space of six days, for the purpose of accommodating his works to the capacity of men.²⁹

It is interesting, however, that while insisting on the fact that God created very recently in six days, Calvin did not specifically address the question of whether the days of creation were literal twenty-four hour days or six ages. On the one hand, some scholars argue, the fact that Calvin said that God “took the space of six days”³⁰ to create, seems to imply that he interpreted the days of creation as literal twenty-four hours days. But on the other hand, the fact that he used phrases such as “this matter [i.e., heavens and earth] was to be the seed of the whole world,”³¹ “accommodating his works to the capacity of men,”³² and “the fabric of the world,”³³ seems to imply that Calvin was open to the idea that God created the earth and its immediate solar system by preordained secondary causes. In other words, that God might have created nature as we know through a preordained evolutionary process.³⁴

²⁹ Calvin, *Commentaries On . . . Genesis*, 78.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, 70.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, 104.

³⁴ McGrath agrees, “Calvin’s second major contribution was to eliminate a significant obstacle to the development of the natural sciences—biblical literalism. . . . In the case of the biblical accounts of the creation (Genesis 1), Calvin argues that they are accommodated to the abilities and horizons of a relatively simple and unsophisticated people; they are not intended to be taken as literal representations of reality. The author of Genesis, he declares, ‘was ordained to be a teacher of the unlearned and primitive, as well as the learned; and so could not achieve his goal without descending to such crude means of instruction.’ The phrase ‘six days of creation’ does not designate six periods of twenty-four hours, but is simply an

While no scholarly consensus has been reached on Calvin's interpretation of the days of creation,³⁵ Warfield interpreted Calvin as one who attempted to unite a literal interpretation of biblical creation with the claim that "God perfected the world by process (*progressus*, I. xiv. 2)."³⁶ Three elements combined led Warfield to this conclusion.

First, Warfield said, "[T]he six days [Calvin] . . . understands as six literal days; and, accepting the *prima facie* chronology of the Biblical narrative, he dates the creation of the world something less than six thousand years in the past."³⁷ Second, the word creation for Calvin meant "the origination out of nothing, of essence," which was to say, creation *ex nihilo* of "all [the inorganic matter] that exists, whether celestial or

accommodation to human ways of thinking to designate an extended period of time. The 'water above the firmament' is simply an accommodated way of speaking about clouds." Alister E. McGrath, *Science & Religion: An Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 11. For more information see footnote 35.

³⁵ Osborn blog posting summarizes well the scholarly debate on this question. See Ron Osborn, "John Calvin on the Literal Meaning of Genesis," Spectrum Blog, accessed June 9, 2014, <http://spectrummagazine.org/blog/2010/01/31/john-calvin-literal-meaning-genesis>. Some of those who insist that Calvin interpreted the creation days as literal days of twenty-four hours are, Benjamin B. Warfield, *Calvin and Calvinism*, 10 vols., The Works of Benjamin B. Warfield (Bellingham, WA: Logos Research Systems, 2008), 5:292; Matthew Barrett and Ardel B. Caneday, "Adam, to Be or Not to Be?," in *Four Views on the Historical Adam*, ed. Matthew Barrett and Ardel B. Caneday, Counterpoints: Bible and Theology, (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2013), 15; Mortenson, *The Great Turning Point: The Church's Catastrophic Mistake on Geology—before Darwin* (Green Forest, AR: Master Books, 2004), 42; H. Van Den Belt, *The Authority of Scripture in Reformed Theology: Truth and Trust* (Boston, MA: Brill, 2008), 206; William A. Dembski, *The End of Christianity: Finding a Good God in an Evil World* (Nashville, TN: B & H Academic, 2009), 53; K. A. Mathews, *Genesis 1-11:26* (Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 1996), 148; Peter M. van Bemmelen, "Divine Accommodation and Biblical Creation: Calvin vs. McGrath," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 39, no. 1 (2001); Oliver D. Crisp, "Calvin on Creation and Providence," in *John Calvin and Evangelical Theology: Legacy and Prospect*, ed. Sung Wook Chung, (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2009). For an opposing view see, Alister E. McGrath, *The Foundations of Dialogue in Science and Religion* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999), 125; Alister E. McGrath, *Science & Religion: An Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999), 11; Osborn, "John Calvin on the Literal Meaning of Genesis."

³⁶ Warfield, *Calvin and Calvinism*, 5:298.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 5:292.

terrestrial.”³⁸ Third, Calvin did not admit the use of the word creation “to any production in which preexistent material is employed.” “This,” Warfield explained, “might appear to involve the view that after the creation of the world-stuff recorded in Genesis 1:1, there was never anything specifically new produced by the divine power. And this might be expressed by saying that, from that point on, the divine works were purely works of providence, since the very differentia of a providential work is that it is the product proximately of second causes.”³⁹ Warfield claimed,

It is God who has made all things what they are . . . but, in doing so, God has acted in the specific mode properly called creation only at the initial step of the process, and the result owes its right to be called a creation to that initial act by which the material of which all things consist was called into being from non-being. ‘Indigested mass’ as it was, yet in that world-stuff was ‘the seed of the whole world,’ and out of it that world as we now see it (for ‘the world was not perfected at its very beginning, in the manner it is now seen’) *has been evoked by progressive acts of God.*⁴⁰

On the basis of these elements, Warfield concluded, “It should scarcely be passed without remark that Calvin’s doctrine of creation is, if we have understood it aright, for all except the souls of men, an evolutionary one.”⁴¹ Warfield said,

The “indigested mass,” including the “promise and potency” of all that was yet to be,

³⁸ Warfield, *Calvin and Calvinism*, 5:289-290.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 5:302.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 5:300. Emphasis supplied. Note that through these “progressive acts” God also created the human body. Contrary to the human soul, which was created *ex nihilo*, Warfield observed that Calvin thought the human body developed from the creation. Warfield explained, “It is important further that we should not suppose that Calvin removed the production of the human soul out of the category of immediate creation, in the strictest sense of that term. When he insists that the works of the days subsequent to the first, when ‘in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth,’ were not strictly speaking ‘creations,’ because they were not productions *ex nihilo*, he is thinking only of the lower creation, inclusive, no doubt, of the human body; all this is made out of that primal ‘indigested mass’ which sprang into being at the initial command of God. The soul is a different matter; and not only in the first instance, but in every succeeding instance, throughout the whole course of human propagation, is an immediate creation *ex nihilo*.” *Ibid.*, 5:304.

⁴¹ Warfield, *Calvin and Calvinism*, 5:304.

was called into being by the simple *fiat* of God. But all that has come into being since—except the souls of men alone—has arisen as a modification of this original world-stuff by means of the interaction of its intrinsic forces. . . . The whole process takes place in the limits of six natural days. That the doctrine should be of use as an explanation of the mode of production of the ordered world, it was requisite that these six days should be lengthened out into six periods—six ages of the growth of the world. Had that been done Calvin would have been a precursor of the modern evolutionary theorists. As it is, he only forms a point of departure for them to this extent—that he teaches, as they teach, the modification of the original world-stuff into the varied forms which constitute the ordered world, by the instrumentality of second causes—or as a modern would put it, of its intrinsic forces.⁴²

Altogether, these statements by Warfield provide conclusive evidence that he interpreted Calvin as a sponsor of an evolutionary view of creation. It appears that this understanding provided the support he needed to advance his interpretation of biblical protology, which included divine action and natural process over time.

Scottish Common Sense Realism

Moving beyond Calvin's influence on Warfield's understanding of creation and evolution, another important influence guiding Warfield's protological hermeneutic was SCSR.⁴³ This philosophical movement originated in Europe and it had Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746), Thomas Reid (1710-1796), and Dugald Stewart (1753-1828) as its chief proponents.

It was John Witherspoon, however, that brought SCSR with him to America when he came to serve as the sixth president of the College of New Jersey, later called

⁴² Warfield, *Calvin and Calvinism*, 5:304.

⁴³ “Also known as Scottish Common Sense Philosophy or Scottish Realism. The theory of Thomas Reid (1710–96) and a school of Scottish philosophers and theologians who followed him, that there are certain truths that we know intuitively, beliefs not arrived at by any process of induction, but by common sense.” Cairns, *Dictionary of Theological Terms*, 101.

Princeton University.⁴⁴ According to Alan Strange, for more than fifty years most scholars in America have considered the theology of those in the Old Princeton School (hereafter OPS)⁴⁵ as being ruled by SCSR.⁴⁶ In fact, most scholars regard SCSR as being formative and normative to Warfield's protological hermeneutic. Sydney E. Ahlstrom was generally regarded the architect of this view, which he presented in his 1955 article "The Scottish Philosophy and American Theology."⁴⁷ As Smith rightly notes, "in some scholar's thinking Ahlstrom's thesis has become virtually an unquestionable presupposition."⁴⁸ Nowadays, historians George M. Marsden and Mark A. Noll are

⁴⁴ Smith, "B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship," xii-xiii.

⁴⁵ According to Noll, the OPS was "the dominant theology of American Presbyterianism, and one of the most influential theologies in all the United States, from the founding of Princeton Seminary in 1812 until the reorganization of that institution in 1929." It includes the works of Archibald Alexander (1772–1851), Charles Hodge (1797–1878), Archibald Alexander Hodge (1823–1886), Benjamin B. Warfield (1851–1921), and J. Gresham Machen (1881–1937). Mark A. Noll, "Old Princeton Theology," in *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, ed. Walter A. Elwell, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2001), 955-956. See also Zaspel, *The Theology of B. B. Warfield*, 37. Zaspel summarizes the legacy of OPS well: "In terms of their theology historically considered, the Princetonians taught nothing new. They labored conscientiously to perpetuate the historic faith, and they would not alter it, no matter the demands of the new age. Their theological anchor held firmly in place. But in terms of their methodology, organization of thought, and points of contemporary application, they labored just as vigorously to bring the old faith to bear on the modern world and the American culture. And this they did with distinguished success. From its inception in 1812 to its reorganization in 1929, Old Princeton was the recognized force in the contemporary defense and propagation of the historic Reformed faith." *Ibid.*, 40.

⁴⁶ Smith, "B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship," ix.

⁴⁷ Sydney E. Ahlstrom, "The Scottish Philosophy and American Theology," *Church History* 24, no. 3 (1955). According to Ahlstrom "Reid's philosophy can be summarized in terms of four major conclusions. . . . I. Philosophy depends on scientific observation, with the primary object of such observation being self-consciousness and not the external behavior of other men. . . . II. The observation of consciousness establishes principles which are anterior to and independent of experience. Some principles, like that of substance or cause-and-effect, are necessary, others, like the existence of things perceived, are contingent, but all are in the very constitution of the mind and not the product of experience. . . . III. Nothing can be an efficient cause in the proper sense but an intelligent being; matter cannot be the cause of anything but is only an instrument in the hands of a real cause. . . . IV. The first principles of morals are self-evident intuitions; moral judgments, therefore, are not deduced from non-moral judgments, for they are not deductions at all." *Ibid.*, 261.

⁴⁸ Smith, "B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship," 25.

among those who support this view.⁴⁹

In a nutshell, Ahlstrom argued that the reason SCSR was the predominant philosophical influence in the OPS, including Warfield's theology, was that SCSR provided the kind of philosophical dualism—meaning object-subject epistemology, ontology, and cosmology—necessary to connect the Westminster standards⁵⁰ with Warfield's teaching of inerrancy of Scripture.⁵¹ Consequently, Ahlstrom insisted, the SCSR dualism “made possible a synchronous affirmation of science on one hand, and an identification of the human intellect and the Divine Mind on the other.”⁵² Ahlstrom explained that what led the OPS to adopt SCSR was “the religious decadence of the Revolutionary epoch and the fear, felt particularly in the post-war period, that French

⁴⁹ Smith, “B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship,” xi. Marsden says, “By 1812 when the Presbyterian Church established its own seminary at Princeton, Scottish Realism was likewise what the faculty taught. It would be difficult to exaggerate its influence on Princeton theology in the nineteenth century.” Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 110. Similarly, in his presentation of Warfield, Noll says, “Warfield was also content with what had been handed down to him by his Princeton predecessors on questions concerning the larger framework of thought. He did not delight in speculation. . . . Rather, he gave himself wholeheartedly to Princeton's deeply ingrained commitment to theology as a scientific task (with “science” defined in conventional terms). In so doing, he thus shared fully in Princeton's equally long-standing confidence in a philosophy of common-sense realism. That philosophy owed something to its formal statement by the cautious savants of the Scottish Enlightenment such as Thomas Reid and Dugald Stewart. But it owed even more to a concrete, anti-speculative turn of mind that the ‘old Princeton’ theologians liked to describe as a simple inductivist Anglo-Saxon inheritance.” Noll, “Introduction,” 4.

⁵⁰ The Westminster standards are “the productions of the Westminster Assembly of Divines which met in Westminster Abbey from 1643 to 1648. The *Westminster Confession of Faith*, with the *Larger* and *Shorter Catechisms*, has ever since formed the confessional standards of Presbyterianism and, with some modification in areas of church government, of the Congregational churches.” Cairns, *Dictionary of Theological Terms*, 519. For a full version of the WCF with the *Larger* and *Shorter Catechisms* see, Westminster Assembly Church of Scotland, *The Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, with the Scripture-Proofs at Large* (Glasgow: Robert and Andrew Foulis, 1765); John Macpherson, *The Westminster Confession of Faith. With Introduction and Notes by John Macpherson* (Edinburg: T. & T. Clark, 1881).

⁵¹ Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 109-111. See also Smith, “B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship,” 22.

⁵² Ahlstrom, “The Scottish Philosophy and American Theology,” 268. Quoted favorably by Smith,

infidelity was engulfing the universities.” In other words,

[T]he American Calvinistic tradition was suffering from a serious *malaise*; secular rationalism was eating away its vitals, and the *tour de force* accomplished by Edwards and his distinguished successors did not change the total circumstance. Consistent Calvinism, in fact, only made the great Judeo-Christian paradoxes seem more incomprehensible and uncongenial. Rational defense was required.⁵³

Another reason for the OPS to adopt SCSR, according to Ahlstrom, was that it represented the perfect combination of an object-subject epistemology that “not only got around Hume’s ‘skepticism’ by a *reductio ad absurdum* but short-circuited all the major metaphysical heresies” propagated in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁵⁴

It should be noted that the connection of SCSR to Warfield occurred through Charles Hodge, whose *Systematic Theology* was fully “endorsed by Warfield.”⁵⁵ According to Ahlstrom, “Hodge was . . . the culmination of the Witherspoon tradition” to which “Scottish Philosophy, for weal or woe,” was an essential presupposition.⁵⁶ Ahlstrom concludes, SCSR “brought into Hodge’s Systematic Theology what one Dutch Calvinist critic called the ‘stains of humanism,’ ” which in time led to the separation of Hodge’s “theology from that of John Knox and John Calvin.”⁵⁷

“B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship,” 22.

⁵³ Ahlstrom, “The Scottish Philosophy and American Theology,” 267.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 267-268.

⁵⁵ Smith, “B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship,” 25.

⁵⁶ Ahlstrom, “The Scottish Philosophy and American Theology,” 266. Ahlstrom identified the Scottish John Witherspoon (1723-1794) as the first representative of SCSR to America. He said, “It would be futile to try to discover the first entrance of the Scottish Philosophy into America; but since Reid’s Inquiry—the *sine qua non*—was not published until 1764, the honor of being the first real ambassador should probably be assigned to Witherspoon, who after long and almost coercive supplications finally left his native land in 1768 to become president of the College of New Jersey in Princeton.” *Ibid.*, 261.

⁵⁷ Ahlstrom, “The Scottish Philosophy and American Theology,” 266. Ahlstrom also said, “In the

Though Ahlstrom acknowledged that the influences informing and guiding the thoughts in OPS were not limited to the SCSR, he insisted that it made three specific “contributions” that determined the course of OPS theology, including that of Warfield.⁵⁸

To use the words of Ahlstrom,

The first is attributable to the humanistic orientation of the Hutcheson-Reid tradition. As this philosophy was adopted, the fervent theocentricity of Calvin, which Edwards had striven to reinstate, was sacrificed and a new principle of doctrinal interpretation was increasingly emphasized. Self-consciousness became the oracle of religious truth. Man’s need rather than God’s Word became the guide in doctrinal formulation. Flowing from this first reorientation was a second. The adoption of the benign and optimistic anthropology of the Scottish Moderates by American Calvinists veiled the very insights into human nature which were a chief strength of Calvin’s theology. This revision, in turn, affected the whole complex of doctrine and infused the totality with a new spirit. In a third and more general way, Scottish Realism accelerated the long trend toward rational theology which had developed, especially in England, during and after the long Deistic controversy. Combined as it was with an all too facile dismissal of Hume’s critique, Reid’s influence on subsequent thinkers in the Scottish tradition served to reinforce the prestige of thinkers like Locke, Butler, and Paley, who were reinterpreted in accordance with the typical Scottish emphasis.⁵⁹

Westminster Confession of Faith

In recent years, however, an increasing number of scholars have begun to question Ahlstrom’s thesis that SCSR had formative and normative influence on the OPS. David Smith, following in the footsteps of Paul Helseth,⁶⁰ Fred Zaspel,⁶¹ and E. Brooks

seminaries and universities their theology lost its Reformation bearings; ‘the Augustinian strain of piety’ suffered. The belief that Christianity had a proclamation to declare lost its vitality. Park hemmed-in the Scriptures with so many criteria of interpretation that they came to be only an external support to his theological system. And for Hodge doctrine became less a living language of piety than a complex burden to be borne.” For more information see Ralph J. Danhof, *Charles Hodge as a Dogmatician* (Goes, Netherlands: Oosterbaan & Le Cointre, 1950).

⁵⁸ Smith, “B. B. Warfield’s Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship,” 23.

⁵⁹ Ahlstrom, “The Scottish Philosophy and American Theology,” 268-269. For more information see Smith, “B. B. Warfield’s Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship,” 23.

⁶⁰ Paul K. Helseth, “Right Reason” and the Princeton Mind: An Unorthodox Proposal.

Holifield,⁶² approaches the discussion by recognizing that the professors at Princeton “imbibed and even promoted SCSR.” Nevertheless, Smith denies “that SCSR enjoyed the hegemony with which the reigning paradigm of the last fifty years has credited it.”⁶³ For Smith, it was the WCF and not SCSR that were formative and normative to the OPS, especially to Warfield’s theology. He explains,

As one who was thoroughly concerned to highlight the unity of truth, or the circle of the sciences, Warfield’s concern for the “doctrines of the system” was the very means through which he communicated his concern for the system, because he believed that all of the doctrines were implicated in each other. . . . Warfield believed that he had knowledge of the whole because he had been grounded in the WCF and its Shorter and Larger Catechism. He, therefore, analyzed and operated with a view of theology, science, and apologetics that was consistent with the doctrines of the Confession.⁶⁴

To begin with, scholars like Smith are impressed with the fact that Warfield memorized the Shorter Catechism when he was still six years old—a truly “arduous and awesome” achievement.⁶⁵ In this light, Smith points out, it is “the WCF and the Catechisms [that] were the earliest influences on Warfield’s theology.”⁶⁶ Accordingly, the reason the WCF was so influential to Warfield was that from his early age, he was taught that Scripture was the only divine revelation available to humankind in written

(Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2010).

⁶¹ Zaspel, *The Theology of B. B. Warfield*.

⁶² E. Brooks Holifield, *Theology in America: Christian Thought from the Age of the Puritans to the Civil War* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003).

⁶³ Smith, “B. B. Warfield’s Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship,” ix.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁶⁵ Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 109. See also Meeter and Nicole, *A Bibliography of B. B. Warfield*, iii-iv.

⁶⁶ Smith, “B. B. Warfield’s Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship,” 55.

form, and that the WCF accurately expressed the truths revealed by God in Scripture.⁶⁷ In a sense, “Warfield’s scholarship reveals a *primary* interest in the exegesis of Scripture,” and “he believed that the theological and doctrinal system of the WCF was a direct result of such exegesis.”⁶⁸ Warfield said,

I wish, therefore, to declare that I sign these standards not as a necessary form which must be submitted to, but gladly and willingly as the expression of a personal and cherished conviction; and, further, that the system taught in these symbols is the system which will be drawn out of the Scriptures in the prosecution of the teaching to which you have called me,—not, indeed, because commencing with that system the Scriptures can be made to teach it, but because commencing with the Scriptures I cannot make them teach anything else.⁶⁹

Another important point relates to the underlying influences on the WCF itself. Smith explains that the Augustinian and Calvinistic perspectives on epistemology, anthropology, theology, and soteriology expressed in the WFC, were vividly present in Warfield’s writings. Smith’s point is that both “the Augustinian and Calvinistic perspectives expressed in the Confession not only predate the rise of SCSR, but also dominate all of Warfield’s developmental years—long prior to any formal academic exposure to the Scottish philosophy.”⁷⁰ With this being said, Smith concludes,

Memorizing the Catechisms meant memorizing the theological content in them. This process imprinted an indelible stamp on Warfield’s young mind. The theological content committed to memory at such an early age, and reinforced during Warfield’s entire childhood, had a lasting effect upon his thinking. Indeed, the doctrines concerning God, revelation, and human beings expressed in the Confession and Catechisms are what Warfield explicated as he argued against the biblical and theological scholarship that polemicized for the reconceptualization of the Christian

⁶⁷ Smith, “B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship,” 59.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁶⁹ Warfield, *Revelation and Inspiration*, 1:395-396.

⁷⁰ Smith, “B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship,” 55.

faith. Warfield demonstrated that his intent was to bow to the ultimate authority of Scripture, recognizing that Scripture warranted his belief in the doctrinal teaching of the Confession. . . . Warfield is not only in correspondence with the Confession, but also heralds the Confession as being in correspondence with Scripture. There is, therefore, good reason to identify the Confession, and the biblical exposition upon which it is based, as a decisive influence on his thoughts and tactics.⁷¹

Charles Hodge

In addition to Calvin, the SCSR, and the WCF, Charles Hodge also had a lasting and powerful influence on Warfield's protological hermeneutic. The five areas that Hodge most influenced Warfield, and which are vital to the correct understanding of Warfield's protological hermeneutic are the concepts of revelation, science, Scripture, inspiration, and biblical interpretation.⁷²

Hodge's influence on Warfield's views of revelation (i.e., general and special) reflected the OPS presupposition that "the careful examination of the facts as opposed to 'metaphysical and philosophical speculations' "⁷³ should expose the coherence of God's revelation in Scripture or in nature. In relation to science, and to comply with this basic assumption, Hodge adopted a view of science that could align his intention to show the harmony between God's general and special revelation, and the claims of modern science

⁷¹ Smith, "B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship," 57-58.

⁷² David B. Calhoun affirms, "Dr. Warfield was above all a theologian, and the key to his theology was his unfaltering belief in the inspiration of the Old and New Testaments," which "he inherited . . . from Charles Hodge." Smith, "B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship," xii-xiii; Gary L. W. Johnson, *B. B. Warfield: Essays on His Life and Thought* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2007). Calhoun also includes Archibald Alexander, Francis Turretin, the Reformed Confessions, Calvin, and Augustine, as foundational to Warfield's concept of inspiration (i.e., inerrancy of Scripture). Marsden, on the other hand, limits Warfield's views of inspiration to teachings of Charles Hodge. See Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 113.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 111-112. For background information about these "metaphysical and philosophical speculations," see Smith, "B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship," 63-87.

on origins. Warfield sponsored similar views throughout his career. Hence, Hodge and Warfield described “the proper function of science as . . . the gathering and classifying of facts.”⁷⁴ In practice then, while scientists are responsible to gather, analyze, and classify the data found in nature, theologians are responsible to gather, analyze, and classify the data found in Scripture, without using metaphysical and philosophical speculations.⁷⁵

Hodge explained,

If natural science be concerned with the facts and laws of nature, theology is concerned with the facts and the principles of the Bible. If the object of the one be to arrange and systematize the facts of the external world, and to ascertain the laws by which they are determined; the object of the other is to systematize the facts of the Bible, and ascertain the principles or general truths which those facts involve.⁷⁶

Next, in relation to Scripture and inspiration, Hodge’s influence enhanced Warfield’s notion that Scripture was the only written source of theological knowledge. To both Hodge and Warfield, Scripture was the Word of God and “contains all the facts or truths which form the contents of theology.”⁷⁷ More significant, Hodge thought that Scripture was to the church “the only infallible rule of faith and practice.”⁷⁸ This last point in particular, had a lasting influence on Warfield’s view on inspiration.

Hodge spoke of inspiration as the divine guarantee against miscommunication between God and humankind. He insisted that God inspired both the thoughts of the

⁷⁴ Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 112.

⁷⁵ This process was commonly known among OPS theologians as Baconianism. For information see, Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 111-112.

⁷⁶ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1:18.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 1:17.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:98.

sacred writers and the words that were written by them.⁷⁹ Hodge said, “The infallibility and divine authority of the Scriptures are due to the fact that they are the Word of God; and they are the Word of God because they were given by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.”⁸⁰ Thus, Hodge insisted, “The object or design of inspiration is to secure infallibility in teaching.”⁸¹

In his assessment, Marsden rightly observes that Hodge’s view was linked to the OPS’s opposition to Schleiermacher, who claimed that true religion was “grounded on feelings”⁸² instead of being grounded on Scripture. According to Marsden, “Hodge considered truth adequately supported only when it was based on the exact apprehensions of intellect, and not on indefinable feelings.”⁸³ To Hodge—and to Warfield alike—theological truths were the result of the work of the mind to understand Scripture objectively.⁸⁴ Hodge stated,

The Bible gives us not only the facts concerning God, and Christ, ourselves, and our relations to our Maker and Redeemer, but also records the legitimate effects of those truths on the minds of believers. So that we cannot appeal to our own feelings or inward experience, as a ground or guide, unless we can show that it agrees with the

⁷⁹ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1:97-98, 151.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:153.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 1:155.

⁸² Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 112. For an exposition of the OPS view on inspiration, see William Lee, “The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, Its Nature and Proof. Eight Discourses Delivered before the University of Dublin,” in *The Princeton Review*, ed. Charles Hodge, (Philadelphia, PA: Peter Walker, 1857), 660-698. For information on the impact of Schleiermacher theology see, John Sailhamer, *The Meaning of the Pentateuch: Revelation, Composition, and Interpretation* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2009), 124-140.

⁸³ Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 112.

⁸⁴ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1:8.

experience of holy men as recorded in the Scriptures.⁸⁵

What this tells us about Hodge's view of inspiration is that he believed "genuine religious experience . . . grew only out of right ideas; right ideas, in turn, could only be expressed in words." With this in mind, Hodge developed his "doctrine of the inspiration of Scripture," which included both the thoughts of the sacred writer and every word in the Scripture.⁸⁶ In time (1881), Archibald A. Hodge—son of Charles Hodge—and Benjamin Warfield "argued jointly in the *Presbyterian Review* that the 'original autographs' of the Bible were without error."⁸⁷ With this in mind, Vanhoozer concludes, "This position became the hallmark of the doctrine of 'inerrancy' a nineteenth-century neologism that

⁸⁵ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1:16.

⁸⁶ Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 112. Hodge summarized his view of inspiration as follows: "Inspiration was an influence of the Holy Spirit on the minds of certain select men, which rendered them the organs of God for the infallible communication of his mind and will. They were in such a sense the organs of God, that what they said God said." Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1:154. To be more specific, Hodge's argument that Scripture was infallible and inspired by God is threefold. "**First.** Inspiration is a supernatural influence. . . . It is not a natural effect due to the inward state of its subject, or to the influence of external circumstances. . . . Inspiration, therefore, is not to be confounded with spiritual illumination. They differ, first, as to their subjects. The subjects of inspiration are a few selected persons; the subjects of spiritual illumination are all true believers. And, secondly, they differ as to their design. The design of the former is to render certain men infallible as teachers; the design of the latter is to render men holy; and of course they differ as to their effects. Inspiration in itself has no sanctifying influence. . . . **Second.** The above definition assumes a difference between revelation and inspiration. They differ, first, as to their object. The object of revelation is the communication of knowledge. The object or design of inspiration is to secure infallibility in teaching. Consequently they differ, secondly, in their effects. The effect of revelation was to render its recipient wiser. The effect of inspiration was to preserve him from error in teaching." Thus, the biblical writers "were rendered infallible as teachers. . . . **A third point** included in the Church doctrine of inspiration is, that the sacred writers were the organs of God, so that what they taught, God taught. . . . The ancients, indeed, were accustomed to say, as some theologians have also said, that the sacred writers were as pens in the hand of the Spirit; or as harps, from which He drew what sounds He pleased. These representations were, however, intended simply to illustrate one point, namely, that the words uttered or recorded by inspired men were the words of God. . . . [So,] they spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and their words were his words." *Ibid.*, 1:154-157. Emphasis supplied.

⁸⁷ Vanhoozer *et al.*, eds., *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible*, 621. See also, Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 111-118. For A. A. Hodge's and B. B. Warfield's exposition of the doctrine of inerrancy, see Archibald A. Hodge and Benjamin B. Warfield, "Inspiration," in *The Presbyterian Review*, ed. Archibald A. Hodge and Charles A. Briggs, (New York, NY: Anson D. F. Randolph & Company, 1881), 2:225-260.

was taken up by conservative Presbyterians during the 1890s and probably contributed to the emergence of fundamentalism in the first decade of the twentieth century.”⁸⁸

Another area in which Hodge influenced Warfield was biblical interpretation. Hodge’s powerful influence on Warfield was clear in the interpretation of biblical protology, particularly the interpretation of the days of the creation week. As a proponent of biblical creation, Hodge—like George McCready Price—recognized that among the objections raised by modern scientists against biblical creation, the “geological objections to the Mosaic record are apparently the most serious.”⁸⁹ This was because these “geological objections” challenged the most common interpretation of biblical protology on the age of the earth in general, and the origin of life on earth in particular. Hodge summarized the objections as follows: “According to the commonly received chronology, our globe has existed only a few thousand years. According to geologists, it must have existed for countless ages.” More to the point, “according to the generally received interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis, the process of creation was completed in six days, whereas geology teaches that it must have been in progress through periods of time which cannot be computed.”⁹⁰

Hodge’s response to these objections reflected the traditional OPS approach to God’s revelation. Again, because nature and Scripture are God’s revelation to humankind they should agree, provided the data (i.e., facts) of both are interpreted without

⁸⁸ Vanhoozer et al., eds., *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible*, 621.

⁸⁹ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1:570.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

metaphysical and philosophical speculations. Thus, Hodge said,

As the Bible is of God, it is certain that there can be no conflict between the teachings of the Scriptures and the facts of science. It is not with facts, but with theories, believers have to contend. Many such theories have, from time to time, been presented, apparently or really inconsistent with the Bible. But these theories have either proved to be false, or to harmonize with the Word of God, properly interpreted.⁹¹

Hodge suggested that there were two ways by which theologians could respond to the objections raised by modern geologists. The first way was by interpreting Genesis 1:1 as a reference to “the original creation of the matter of the universe in the indefinite past, and what follows to refer to the last reorganizing change in the state of our earth to fit it for the habitation of man.”⁹² This view was commonly known as active-gap theory or creation-ruin-restoration.⁹³ The second way to respond was by interpreting the word “day” throughout the chapter as “geological periods of indefinite duration.”⁹⁴ Favoring the latter, Hodge concluded,

It is of course admitted that, taking this account by itself, it would be most natural to understand the word [day] in its ordinary sense; *but if that sense brings the Mosaic account into conflict with facts, and another sense avoids such conflict, then it is obligatory on us to adopt that other.* Now it is urged that if the word “day” be taken in the sense of “an indefinite period of time,” a sense which it undoubtedly has in other parts of Scripture, there is not only no discrepancy between the Mosaic account of the creation and the assumed facts of geology, but there is a most marvelous coincidence between them.⁹⁵

After considering the evidences favoring Hodge’s influence on Warfield’s views

⁹¹ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1:573.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 1:570.

⁹³ See Chapter 2, pp. 52-54.

⁹⁴ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1:570.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:570-571.

of revelation, of science, of Scripture, of inspiration, and of biblical interpretation, the claim that Hodge's theology was strongly formative to Warfield seems solid. In addition, Hodge provided a foundation upon which Warfield built his view of inerrancy; Hodge also informed his interpretation of biblical protology, particularly the interpretation of the "days" of creation. The fact that Warfield "made his [i.e., Hodge] Systematic Theology the basis of his own teaching,"⁹⁶ seem to support this conclusion.

Now that my descriptive analysis of Hodge's influence on Warfield is completed, what follows in the next section is a descriptive analysis of how the theory of evolution influenced Warfield's protological hermeneutic, during the epistemological turmoil from the mid-nineteenth and the early twentieth century.

The Evolutionary Theory

It is not really a secret that Warfield remained sympathetic to a theory of evolution throughout his career. Warfield himself made clear in 1888 that one of the most popular views about evolution in his day, was that "We [Christians] may look upon the hypothesis [of evolution] as a more or less probable, or a more or less improbable, conjecture of scientific workers as to the method of creation; others use it merely as a working hypothesis which is at present on its probation and seeking to try itself by the facts. This is the position which I should [like] to commend to you as a reasonable one to occupy."⁹⁷ In fact, it seems that his inclination towards evolution predated his entrance to

⁹⁶ Patton, "Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield, D.D., L.L.D., Litt.D.: A Memorial Address," 387.

⁹⁷ Benjamin B. Warfield, "Evolution or Development," in *Evolution, Science, and Scripture: Selected Writings*, ed. Mark A. Noll and David N. Livingstone, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2000), 116.

Princeton Seminary in 1873,⁹⁸ since his father—William Warfield—“bred livestock scientifically” for a living.⁹⁹ Noll and Livingstone concur. “In the preface to his own book, *The Theory and Practice of Cattle-Breeding* . . . William Warfield thanked his son and indicated the unity of their opinions on such matters.”¹⁰⁰

Nevertheless, despite Warfield’s own recognition that he was willing to accept evolution as a secondary method of creation, scholars are divided about how to interpret Warfield’s views on evolution in relation to biblical protology.

For instance, Mark Noll and David Livingstone argued in 2000 that “One of the best-kept secrets in American intellectual history is that B. B. Warfield, the foremost modern defender of the theologically conservative doctrine of the inerrancy of the Bible, was also an evolutionist.”¹⁰¹ A decade later, Fred Zaspel points out “that this understanding [of Warfield] is mistaken.” Zaspel maintains that while “Warfield did claim to have accepted the theory of evolution in his youth,” he “rejected it early in his career. Thereafter he remained open to the possibility of it and affirmed that Scripture could accommodate it, if it were to be proven true, but he continued to reject the theory.”¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Zaspel, *The Theology of B. B. Warfield*, 28.

⁹⁹ Mark A. Noll and David N. Livingstone, “B. B. Warfield as a Conservative Evolutionist,” in *Evolution, Science, and Scripture: Selected Writings*, ed. Mark A. Noll and David N. Livingstone, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2000), 17. See also David N. Livingstone and Mark A. Noll, “B. B. Warfield (1851-1921): A Biblical Inerrantist as Evolutionist,” *Isis* 91, no. 2 (2000), 291-293.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 291.

¹⁰¹ Livingstone and Noll, “B. B. Warfield (1851-1921): A Biblical Inerrantist as Evolutionist,” 283. Hereafter called the Noll-Livingstone view.

¹⁰² Fred G. Zaspel, “B. B. Warfield on Creation and Evolution,” *Themelios* 35, no. 2 (2010), 199.

On the one hand, both views concur that Warfield’s protological hermeneutic was impacted by evolution. On the other hand, these two contrasting views have kept unanswered the question of whether evolution was—to use the language adopted in this dissertation—formative and/or normative to Warfield’s protological hermeneutic. Can this impasse be resolved?

After analyzing Warfield’s writing on creation and evolution, I suggest that a resolution is possible. In order to get there, and to understand how the evolutionary theory influenced his protological hermeneutic, we must extract a clear definition of the terms “creation” and “evolution” directly from Warfield’s writings. This will provide us with a clear distinction between what Warfield saw as things originating through creation and things originating through the evolutionary process, and how they were related.

In relation to his concept of creation, I have found that Warfield had the same concept of creation that Calvin had. For Calvin, “creation . . . is not a transfusion of essence, but a commencement of it out of nothing.”¹⁰³ To Calvin—and to Warfield—this was generally known as the *ex nihilo* creation of “the heavens and the earth.”¹⁰⁴

Commenting on Genesis 1:1 Calvin affirmed, “Moses simply intends to assert that the world was not perfected at its very commencement, in the manner in which it is now seen, but that it was created an empty chaos of heaven and earth.”¹⁰⁵ And Calvin insisted, “There is no doubt that Moses gives the name of heaven and earth to that confused mass

¹⁰³ Calvin, *Institutes*, 1.15.5.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.14.1.

¹⁰⁵ Calvin, *Commentaries On . . . Genesis*, 69-70.

which he, shortly afterwards, (verse 2,) denominates *waters*. The reason of which is, that this matter was to be the seed of the whole world.”¹⁰⁶

Similar to Calvin, creation was to Warfield “*origination*.” He continued, “creation produces something that did not exist before. . . . When we say ‘creation, we say . . . there has been no modification. We say there has been *origination*—and origination in itself implies previous nonexistence and hence excludes modification.” Looking from this perspective then, creation and evolution were to Warfield “mutually exclusive” for “whatever comes by evolution is not created; whatever is created is not evolved.”¹⁰⁷

In relation to the meaning of evolution, I discovered in this research that Warfield used the word “evolution” in two distinct ways—(1) in a broad sense and (2) in the Darwinian form. In the broad sense, Warfield used the word “evolution” to describe change, modification, or development of some sort.

A good example of the use of the term “evolution” in the broad sense appeared in 1888, in his article on Darwin’s religious life. Warfield wrote that “The result of this excessively minute description, and all the more because it is so lacking in proportion and perspective, is that we are put in possession of abundant material for tracing the evolution of his life and opinions with an accuracy and fullness of detail seldom equaled in the literature of biography.”¹⁰⁸ As far as I can tell, this was the first time—in his published writings on creation and evolution—that Warfield used the word “evolution,” and he

¹⁰⁶ Calvin, Commentaries On . . . Genesis, 70.

¹⁰⁷ Warfield, “Creation, Evolution, and Mediate Creation,” 200.

¹⁰⁸ Warfield, “Charles Darwin’s Religious Life: A Sketch in Spiritual Biography,” 9:542.

used it to convey development.

Another example appeared in 1909, in his article on Calvin's doctrine of God.

Similar to the previous case, he used the word "evolution" as a synonym to development or changes. Commenting on Calvin's philosophy of idolatry, Warfield commented,

His philosophy of idolatry takes the form of a psychological theory of its origin. While allowing an important place in the fostering and spread of idolatry to the ancient customs of honoring the dead and superstitiously respecting their memory, he considers idolatry more ancient than these customs, and the product of debased thoughts of God. He enumerates four stages in its evolution.¹⁰⁹

A third example appeared in 1910, when Warfield was describing how the history of Jesus Christ might be communicated from a supernaturalistic or a naturalistic perspective. Before elucidating to his readers how the naturalistic view of Christ functioned, Warfield stated that "It is instructive to observe the lines of development of the naturalistic reconstruction of the Jesus of the Evangelists through the century and a half of its evolution."¹¹⁰ Here, like in the previous year, Warfield used the word "evolution" in a broad sense, to call attention to the changes or developments in the interpretation of the person and the works of Christ, as advocated by liberal scholars in his day.¹¹¹

A fourth example appeared in 1914, as part of his examination of Douglas C. Macintosh's (Yale Divinity School) arguments on the essentials of Christianity. Warfield said, "The gospel of Jesus is merely . . . the root of the Church; the Church is the living development of the gospel; the essence of Christianity is its historical evolution, which in

¹⁰⁹ Warfield, "Calvin's Doctrine of the Knowledge of God," 5:179-180.

¹¹⁰ Warfield, *Christology and Criticism*, 3:166.

every part is the necessary outcome of the complex of circumstances in which it lives.”¹¹²

Similar to the previous cases, Warfield used the word “evolution” in a broad sense to convey development, modification, or change, but he used it in disconnection to the Darwinian evolutionary theory.

The fifth and the last example appeared in a book review Warfield published in 1916. It was here that Warfield explained more clearly, how he used the word “evolution” in a broad sense throughout his career, to convey change or development.

Warfield said,

In its very idea, evolution involves change towards a result, a perfecting; and this is the evolution which a contemplation of the world’s development brings to our observation. It is an unrolling, a realization of a somewhat already present in idea, but not yet embodied in fact. An idea so present in the very form of an idea which we call an end. Imbedded in the very conception of evolution, therefore, is the conception of end, and of an end which is in process of realization, and for the realization by which all that exists is but a series of stages. It is this end that impresses its law of existence on all the process, and that gives what reality it has to every stage of the process. A purely materialistic evolution is inconceivable; it would not be an evolution, but a mere instability,—meaningless and vacuous. To give meaning to it direction must be postulated for it; and when direction is postulated for it, an end towards which it is directed is postulated on the one side, and a director, directing it to that end, on the other.¹¹³

In addition to using the word “evolution” to convey change or development, it is true that Warfield used the word “evolution” in the Darwinian form.¹¹⁴ This is to say that Warfield used the word “evolution” to describe how evolutionists—who are

¹¹¹ For details see, Warfield, *Christology and Criticism*, 3:149-177.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 3:417.

¹¹³ Benjamin B. Warfield, "Book Review: The Natural Theology of Evolution," review of *The Natural Theology of Evolution*, by J. N. Shearman, *The Princeton Theological Review*, April 1916, 325.

¹¹⁴ For a definition of the Darwinian Form of evolution—Darwinism—see Chapter 1, p. 2n4.

antissupernaturalists—explained the origin of all the inorganic and organic matter through natural processes. Circumspect of the implications of such a view, Warfield proposed that a clear distinction should be made among the uses of the word “evolution,” in order to understand how “evolution” might affect Christianity.

“There are three general positions,” he said in 1888, “which may be taken up with reference to the various development or evolutionary hypotheses.”¹¹⁵ When used in the Darwinian form, Warfield said, the word “evolution” was generally taken as “furnishing an adequate philosophy of being,” and used “in the mass—including the nebular hypothesis, spontaneous generation, and transmutation of forms—as supplying a complete account of the origin and present state of the universe. From a religious point of view,” Warfield said, “this position is tantamount to atheism and is but a new form for the expression of an atheistic philosophy.”

Another example of the usage “evolution” in the Darwinian form appeared in 1896. This time Warfield was commenting on how “atheistic naturalism” had spread across the “modern world” under the “watchword of ‘evolution.’ ” Warfield wrote,

But it [i.e., atheistic naturalism] has reached out and embraced in its ramified network of branches the whole sphere of human thinking through the magic watchword of “*evolution*,” by means of which it strives to break down and obliterate all the lines of demarcation which separate things that differ, and thus *to reduce all that exists to but varying forms taken, through natural processes, by the one life that underlies them all.*¹¹⁶

A better version of this definition of “evolution” in the Darwinian form appeared

¹¹⁵ Warfield, “Evolution or Development,” 115.

¹¹⁶ Warfield, “Charles Darwin’s Religious Life: A Sketch in Spiritual Biography,” 9:28. Italics supplied.

in 1901 as follows:

Over against the Christian conception there has arisen in our day, however, a movement which has undertaken to explain the world and all that it contains without God, without any reference to any unseen, supernatural, spiritual element. The watchword of this movement is “evolution.” And its confession of faith runs: “I believe in an eternal flux and the production of all things out of their precedent conditions through the natural interworking of the forces intrinsic to the changing material.”¹¹⁷

In its Darwinian form, then, “Evolution is an *unrolling*, and the process of unrolling—say of a ball of twine—produces nothing; the unrolled twine is just what the rolled-up twine was, that and nothing more. The only difference is a difference of *state*: what was rolled up before is now unrolled.” Thus, “when we say ‘evolution’”—in the Darwinian sense—“we say thereby that there has been no origination; we say that there has been only *modification*—and modification in itself implies preexistence in unmodified form.”¹¹⁸

Yet another example of how Warfield defined the word “evolution” in the Darwinian sense appeared in 1911. Warfield said, “the doctrine of evolution in its specifically Darwinian form” means that “evolution is supposed to be accomplished by the fixing through the pressure of the environment of minute favorable variations, arising accidentally in the midst of minute variations in every direction indifferently.”¹¹⁹

After considering how Warfield used the words “creation” and “evolution” in his writings, it seems reasonable to conclude that when used in its Darwinian form, “evolution” means the unguided development of pre-existent matter, or “the modification

¹¹⁷ Warfield, “Creation, Evolution, and Mediate Creation,” 198.

¹¹⁸ Warfield, “Evolution or Development,” 200.

of species over time”¹²⁰ without supernatural interference. Consequently, Darwinian evolution excluded creation. Nevertheless, when the word “evolution” is used in the broad sense, “evolution” is compatible with “creation” for it means change, modification, and development. This understanding seems to have followed Warfield throughout his career, and was used to show how God’s revelations—general and special—were not contradictory.

Now let us return to the question I raised earlier. How did the evolutionary theory influence Warfield’s protological hermeneutic? Are Noll and Livingston correct in their conclusion that Warfield was an evolutionist; or, is Zaspel correct in his critique of their conclusion based on the idea that Warfield abandoned evolution early in his career?

After evaluating Warfield’s writing on creation and evolution, it seems reasonable to conclude that he perceived God’s creation as dynamic; a creation that developed, progressed, and adapted under God’s guidance over an “age-long process.”¹²¹ In short, God’s creation evolved in the broad sense, but never in the Darwinian sense. Thus, creation and evolution were related only when the term “evolution” was used in its broad sense. In this case, “evolution” might be regarded as a method used by God to produce modifications to the created world but not to create the world.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Warfield, “On the Antiquity and the Unity of the Human Race,” 9:250.

¹²⁰ Livingstone and Noll, “B. B. Warfield (1851-1921): A Biblical Inerrantist as Evolutionist,” 291.

¹²¹ Warfield, *The Power of God Unto Salvation*, 12.

¹²² Warfield, “Calvin’s Doctrine of the Creation,” 5:289-290, 291, 299-300, 303, 304, 312, 348. See also Benjamin B. Warfield, “Creation Versus Evolution,” *The Bible Student* IV, no. 1 (1901), 7. Warfield, “Christian Supernaturalism,” 9:35.

In this light, it appears that Noll and Livingstone are correct in saying that from an early stage in his career, Warfield accepted “the modification of species over time” as compatible to Christianity.¹²³ This is clear in Warfield’s writings. “The whole upshot of the matter” Warfield said, “is that there is no *necessary* antagonism of [Christianity] to evolution, *provided* that we do not hold to too extreme a form of evolution.”¹²⁴ This is to say that “Warfield certainly did not rule out species transformation or a developmental account of natural history.”¹²⁵ It must be clear, however, that what Warfield rejected is evolution in its Darwinian form.

To be fair, it also appears that Zaspel is correct when he says that Warfield cannot be classified as an evolutionist, since an evolutionist—generally speaking—cannot be a proponent of biblical creation. This is because the term “evolutionist” indiscriminately implies and requires evolution in its Darwinian form—including philosophical naturalism—and biblical creation demands supernaturalism. Warfield’s words were clear in this matter: “When we say ‘evolution,’ we definitely deny creation; and when we say ‘creation,’ we definitely deny evolution. Whatever comes by the one process by that very fact does not come by the other.”¹²⁶ Thus, Zaspel is right; when it comes to the question of whether evolution might be accepted as a method of creation, “the foundation for Warfield is the essential, necessary distinction between naturalism and supernatural-

¹²³ Livingstone and Noll, “B. B. Warfield (1851-1921): A Biblical Inerrantist as Evolutionist,” 291. See also, Noll and Livingstone, “B. B. Warfield as a Conservative Evolutionist,” 27.

¹²⁴ Warfield, “Evolution or Development,” 130.

¹²⁵ Livingstone and Noll, “B. B. Warfield (1851-1921): A Biblical Inerrantist as Evolutionist,” 299.

¹²⁶ Warfield, “Creation, Evolution, and Mediate Creation,” 200.

ism.”¹²⁷ Warfield agreed,

To adopt any form that does not permit God freely to work apart from law and that does not allow *miraculous* intervention (in the giving of the soul, in creating Eve, etc.) will entail a great reconstruction of Christian doctrine, and a very great lowering of the detailed authority of the Bible. But if we condition the theory by allowing the constant oversight of God in the whole process, and his occasional supernatural interference for the production of *new beginnings* by an actual output of creative force, producing something *new*, i.e., something not included even *in posse* [potentially] in preceding conditions, we may hold to the modified theory of evolution and be Christians in the ordinary orthodox sense.¹²⁸

Warfield advised, “I say we may do this. Whether we ought to accept evolution, even in this modified sense, is another matter, and I leave it purposely an open question.”¹²⁹

All things considered, what Warfield clearly rejected was evolution in its Darwinian form, which is “a purely materialistic evolution,” “meaningless and vacuous.” But, as long as evolution was used in the broad sense, and it was given divine direction, meaning “an end towards which it is directed is postulated on the one side, and a director, directing it to that end, on the other,”¹³⁰ Warfield maintained that the theory of evolution could be seen as compatible with the teachings of Christianity.

Therefore, on the one hand, I suggest that evolution in the broad sense might be viewed as formative and normative to Warfield’s protological hermeneutic. Formative, because it helped Warfield to see nature from the perspective of the natural sciences, and the product of God’s ever-changing creation. Normative, because evolution in the broad

¹²⁷ Zaspel, “B. B. Warfield on Creation and Evolution,” 199.

¹²⁸ Warfield, “Evolution or Development,” 130-131.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 131.

¹³⁰ Warfield, “Book Review: The Natural Theology of Evolution,” 325.

sense led him to embrace an interpretation of the days in Genesis 1 that was contrary to the natural meaning of the Hebrew text, but that could align his interpretation of biblical protology with the concept of deep time. Again, evolution may be viewed as formative and normative to Warfield's protological hermeneutic, as long as the distinction between the broad sense and the Darwinian form of evolution is maintained.

On the other hand, I suggest that the Darwinian theory of evolution was neither formative nor normative to Warfield's protological hermeneutic.¹³¹ After all, Warfield had always rejected spontaneous generation—which became a necessary condition to Darwinism—and a purely materialistic evolutionary process that indicated the absence of divine purpose in nature.¹³²

Therefore, it seems that neither Noll and Livingstone nor Zaspel were as precise as they could have been in their affirmations of Warfield's view on evolution. A better understanding of Warfield's view on this subject, and how he used evolution in connection to biblical protology, requires a clear distinction between "evolution" as a

¹³¹ Criticizing Darwin's rejection of God's guiding hand on the development of nature, Warfield said, "We can only account for Mr. Darwin's failure to accept the guidance of his inextinguishable conviction here, by recognizing that his absorption in a single line of investigation and inference had so atrophied his mind in other directions that he had ceased to be a trustworthy judge of evidence. Whatever may be true in other cases, in this case the defection of a scientific man from religion was distinctly due to an atrophy of mental qualities by which he was unfitted for the estimation of any other kind of evidence than that derived from the scalpel and the laboratory, and no longer could feel the force of the ineradicable convictions which are as 'much a part of man as his stomach or his heart.'" Benjamin B. Warfield, "Darwin's Arguments against Christianity and against Religion," in *Selected Shorter Writings of Benjamin B. Warfield*, 2 vols., ed. John E. Meeter, (Nutley, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed Pub. Co., 1973), 132-141.

¹³² Zaspel concurs, "What then is Warfield's view of the evolution question? We know for certain that he consistently rejects any purely evolutionary explanation for the arrival of man, and by this he means especially the human soul. He also rejects as 'exegetically untenable' the understanding of the 'days' of Genesis 1 as twenty-four-hour days standing at the climax of successive ages of development. With this he also rejects the understanding that the Genesis account concerns the origin only of those things which man can see, leaving unaddressed the long ages of development previous to man." Zaspel, *The Theology of B. B. Warfield*, 380-381.

general process of development and evolution as Darwinism.¹³³ Once this is done, it becomes clear that Warfield never abandoned evolution in the broad sense. More important, it becomes clear that he never accepted the Darwinian form of evolution as a method of origins. The latter he dismissed as incompatible with biblical protology; and the former he embraced as formative and normative to his protological hermeneutic.

What follows next, is a descriptive analysis of how science influenced Warfield's protological hermeneutic. Though the previous section includes information on how Hodge had influenced Warfield's definition of science as the gathering, and classifying of facts without philosophical speculations, the following section will provide additional clues as to how Warfield articulated the presumable relationship between science and religion.

Modern Science

Another element that can lead to a better comprehension of Warfield's protological hermeneutic was his understanding of the meaning (i.e., definition) and task of science. Contrary to some of his contemporaries who regarded science as opposed to theology, Warfield wrote under the assumption that science and theology were affirmative of each other.¹³⁴ In fact, his understanding of the meaning and task of science,

¹³³ "When we say 'evolution,' we say thereby that there has been no origination; we say that there has been only modification—and modification in itself implies preexistence in unmodified form." Warfield, "Creation, Evolution, and Mediate Creation," 200.

¹³⁴ Warfield said, "Science too is a builder in the Kingdom of God, and along with religion advances its coming." Benjamin B. Warfield, "Book Review: Overdruk Van Het Gereformeerd Theologisch Tijdschrift," in *Critical Reviews*, 10 vols., The Works of Benjamin B. Warfield, (Bellingham, WA: Logos Research System, 2008), 10:482. See also Benjamin B. Warfield, "Book Review: A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom," review of *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, by Andrew D. White, *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, July 1898.

and his understanding of revelation, aligned with his presuppositions on the existence and the guidance of a designer in nature, the capability of the human mind to apprehend God's existence and creation, and that Scripture was the media through which all sciences should judge their conclusions.¹³⁵

A good example of this approach is found in Warfield's comments about the address Visscher delivered at the University of Utrecht on the 26th of March 1920. Warfield observed that while Visscher understood the need to bring science and religion into harmony,¹³⁶ Visscher's articulation of how this relationship should function, ultimately placed science and theology in opposition. This was because Visscher limited his conception of the word "science" to mean only "the physical sciences." "But physical science," Warfield said, "is far from being all the science there is. There is, for example, as we have suggested, theology. Theology is as truly a science as physical science; it is as truly a product of the intellect; it deals as truly with facts; it is as truly a knowledge. It is

¹³⁵ "All science without God is mutilated science, and no account of a single branch of knowledge can ever be complete until it is pushed back to find its completion and ground in Him." Warfield, "The Idea of Systematic Theology," 9:70. "It is only in theology, therefore, that the other sciences find their completion. Theology, formally speaking, is accordingly the apex of the pyramid of the sciences by which the structure is perfected. Its relation to the other sciences is, thus, in this broader sphere quite analogous to its relation to the other branches of the theological encyclopedia in that narrower sphere. All other sciences are subsidiary to it, and it builds its fabric out of material supplied by them. Theology is the science which deals with the facts concerning God and His relations with the universe. Such facts include all the facts of nature and history: and it is the very function of the several sciences to supply these facts in scientific, that is, thoroughly comprehended form." *Ibid.*, 9:72.

¹³⁶ Visscher says, "For the salvation of Western humanity there rests on science and religion the most pressing call to work in harmony for the regeneration of civilization. Science has the task of subjecting nature to the scepter of reason, in order thus to make it ancillary to the full development of human life. But because of its very nature, it is unable of itself to bring about this ripe result. The happiness of the peoples is not the product of it alone. Quite the contrary. It is social health alone that secures the happiness of the people. And it is religion, which sheds the light of eternity on human life, that is the wellspring of moral strength. Science and religion are the two spiritual powers which in harmonious coöperation can save the peoples of civilization." Warfield, "Book Review: Overdruk Van Het Gereformeerd Theologisch Tijdschrift," 10:476.

theology, the science, . . . which should be set in comparison with physical science.”¹³⁷

But how could Warfield place theology as a science alongside the physical sciences? The answer to this question seems to rest on Warfield’s view of science and its task, two concepts that followed Warfield throughout his academic career.

As for a definition, Warfield maintained that science should be defined from the study of a subject matter, which was identified through the objective study of a particular object.¹³⁸ In theology, “God in His nature and in His relations with His creature” was its subject matter, and Scripture was the object to be objectively studied. “Theology is therefore that science which treats of God and of the relations between God and the universe.”¹³⁹

To clarify, Warfield suggested that “For the very existence of any science, three things are presupposed: (1) the reality of its subject-matter; (2) the capacity of the human mind to apprehend, receive into itself, and rationalize this subject-matter; and (3) some medium of communication by which the subject-matter is brought before the mind and presented to it for apprehension.”¹⁴⁰ In relation to theology as the science of God, these conditions were met through the recognition of the existence of the reality of God,¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Warfield, “Book Review: Overdruk Van Het Gereformeerd Theologisch Tijdschrift,” 10:477.

¹³⁸ Warfield said, “A science is defined from its subject-matter.” Warfield, “The Idea of Systematic Theology,” 9:56.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 9:56.

¹⁴⁰ Warfield, “The Idea of Systematic Theology,” 9:53.

¹⁴¹ Warfield explained, “The affirmation that theology is a science presupposes the affirmation that God is, and that He has relation to His creatures. Were there no God, there could be no theology; nor could there be a theology if, though He existed, He existed out of relation with His creatures. The whole body of philosophical apologetics is, therefore, presupposed in and underlies the structure of scientific theology.” Warfield, “The Idea of Systematic Theology,” 9:55. For information on how theology can determine the

through the exercise of human reason to apprehend this reality,¹⁴² and through Scripture as the media (or object) that communicates and confirms objectively to the human mind the reality of God.¹⁴³ Warfield summarized this perspective well as follows.

[W]hen we affirm that theology is a science, we affirm not only the reality of God's existence and our capacity so far to understand Him, but we affirm that He has made Himself known to us—we affirm the objective reality of a revelation. Were there no revelation of God to man, our capacity to understand Him would lie dormant and unawakened; and though He really existed it would be to us as if He were not. There would be a God to be known and a mind to know Him; but theology would be as impossible as if there were neither the one nor the other.¹⁴⁴

reality of God see Warfield, "Apologetics," 9:13-14.

¹⁴² Warfield explains, "Facts do not make a science; even facts as apprehended do not make a science; they must be not only apprehended, but also so far comprehended as to be rationalized and thus combined into a correlated system. The mind brings to every science somewhat which, though included in the facts, is not derived from the facts considered in themselves alone, as isolated data, or even as data perceived in some sort of relation to one another. Though they be thus known, science is not yet; and is not born save through the efforts of the mind in subsuming the facts under its own intuitions and forms of thought. No mind is satisfied with a bare cognition of facts: its very constitution forces it on to a restless energy until it succeeds in working these facts not only into a network of correlated relations among themselves, but also into a rational body of thought correlated to itself and its necessary modes of thinking. The condition of science, then, is that the facts which fall within its scope shall be such as stand in relation not only to our faculties, so that they may be apprehended; but also to our mental constitution so that they may be so far understood as to be rationalized and wrought into a system relative to our thinking." Warfield, "The Idea of Systematic Theology," 9:53-54.

¹⁴³ Warfield explains, "With the fullest acceptance, therefore, of the data of the theology of the feelings, no less than of natural theology, when their results are validly obtained and sufficiently authenticated as trustworthy, as divinely revealed facts which must be wrought into our system, it remains nevertheless true that we should be confined to a meager and doubtful theology were these data not confirmed, reinforced, and supplemented by the surer and fuller revelations of Scripture; and that the Holy Scriptures are the source of theology in not only a degree, but also a sense in which nothing else is. There may be a theology without the Scriptures—a theology of nature, gathered by painful, and slow, and sometimes doubtful processes from what man sees around him in external nature and the course of history, and what he sees within him of nature and of grace. In like manner there may be and has been an astronomy of nature, gathered by man in his natural state without help from aught but his naked eyes, as he watched in the fields by night. But what is this astronomy of nature to the astronomy that has become possible through the wonderful appliances of our observatories? The Word of God is to theology as, but vastly more than, these instruments are to astronomy. It is the instrument which so far increases the possibilities of the science as to revolutionize it and to place it upon a height from which it can never more descend." Warfield, "The Idea of Systematic Theology," 9:62-63.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. Warfield said, "But if theology is the science of God, it deals not with a mass of subjective experiences, nor with a section of the history of thought, but with a body of objective facts; and it is absurd to say that these facts must be assumed and developed unto their utmost implications before we stop to ask whether they are facts. So soon as it is agreed that theology is a scientific discipline and has as

With regard to the task or function of science, Warfield followed Hodge, who described the task of science as to gather and to classify the facts about the object being studied. Warfield insisted that “it is the very function of the several sciences to supply . . . facts in scientific, that is, thoroughly comprehended form.”¹⁴⁵ In other words, the task or function of science to Warfield was to establish facts about a specific subject matter. Warfield said, “In any progressive science, the amount of departure from accepted truth which is possible to the sound thinker becomes thus ever less and less, in proportion as investigation and study result in the progressive establishment of an ever increasing number of facts.”¹⁴⁶ With this understanding in mind, Warfield reminded us,

What most impresses the layman as he surveys the whole body of these evolutionary theories in the mass, is their highly speculative character. If what is called “science” means careful observation and collection of facts and strict induction from them of the principles governing them, none of these theories have much obvious claim to be “scientific.” They are speculative hypotheses set forth as possible or conceivable explanations of the facts.¹⁴⁷

Having completed the analysis of Warfield on science, the question over whether science was formative and/or normative to his protological hermeneutic needs attention.

its subject-matter the knowledge of God, we must recognize that it must begin by establishing the reality as objective facts of the data upon which it is based.” Warfield, “Apologetics,” 9:7.

¹⁴⁵ Warfield, “The Idea of Systematic Theology,” 9:72. He also said, “What a science does for a division of knowledge, that philosophy essays [i.e., attempts] to do for the mass of knowledge. A science reduces a section of our knowledge to order and harmony: philosophy reduces the sciences to order and harmony. Accordingly there are many sciences, and but one philosophy. We, therefore, so far agree with Professor D. W. Simon . . . when he says that ‘what a science properly understood does for a subsystem; that, philosophy aims to do for the system which the subsystems constitute.’ ‘Its function is so to grasp the whole that every part shall find its proper place therein, and the parts, that they shall form an orderly organic whole’: ‘so to correlate the *reals*, which with their interactivities make up the world or the universe, that the whole shall be seen in its harmony and unity; and that to every individual real shall be assigned the place in which it can be seen to be discharging its proper functions.’ ‘This . . . is the function of each science in its own sphere.’ ” Ibid., 9:50-51.

¹⁴⁶ Warfield, “The Idea of Systematic Theology,” 9:78.

¹⁴⁷ Warfield, “Book Review: Darwinism to-Day,” 10:184-185.

So, I suggest that science was both formative and normative to his protological hermeneutic. On the one hand, it was formative because it contributed to Warfield's definition of the meaning and task of theology. Hence, theology was the science of God, whose written revelation allows us to study about him objectively, eliminating speculative hypotheses, and collecting the established facts about God.¹⁴⁸

But, on the other hand, science was normative because it controlled Warfield's interpretation of biblical protology, particularly his interpretation of the days of creation in Genesis 1:1-2:4a. This claim is based on the fact that Warfield favored a symbolic interpretation of the days of creation, to align his interpretation of Genesis 1:1-2:4a with the interpretation of nature by modern scientists, who claimed life on earth existed for millions of years. He was willing to embrace deep time (i.e., ages instead of days of creation) as a possible explanation for the development of all forms of life on earth, including the human body (not the human soul).¹⁴⁹ Had Warfield rejected this symbolic interpretation and followed his own doctrine of inspiration, Darwinian evolution would be nothing more than a theory prompting Warfield to defend the reliability of Scripture and to show that evolution in its broad sense was compatible with the Christian faith.

Fundamentalism

Scholars generally recognize that Warfield is well-known among fundamentalists, particularly because of his standing on biblical inerrancy. Nevertheless, "the rise of

¹⁴⁸ Warfield, "The Idea of Systematic Theology," 9:49-87.

¹⁴⁹ Warfield, "Introduction: B. B. Warfield as a Conservative Evolutionist," 43; Benjamin B. Warfield, "Book Review: God's Image in Man and Its Defacement in the Light of Modern Denials," review of *Evolution, Science, and Scripture: Selected Writings*, by James Orr, October 1906, 233; Warfield, "Calvin's Doctrine of the Creation," 5:305-306.

fundamentalism, . . . placed Warfield and other confessional conservatives in an ambiguous situation. While they applauded the fundamentalists' adherence to biblical infallibility and their defense of a supernatural faith, they found fundamentalism theologically eccentric and methodologically suspect."¹⁵⁰

Particularly important in distinguishing Warfield's theology from fundamentalism, were Warfield's views on the methodology used by fundamentalists. Warfield found their methods to be not only "undistinguishable from the ordinary method . . . known as 'Bible-readings,' " but also "incomplete, insufficient and occasionally erroneous."¹⁵¹ In addition, dispensationalism did not make a positive impression on Warfield, who frequently saw the kind of theology associated with John N. Darby and C. I. Scofield as containing "faulty exegesis, questionable theological construction, and errors on the work of the Holy Spirit."¹⁵² Finally, Warfield was clearly favorable to interpreting biblical protology in light of "historic confessional Calvinism with nonnaturalistic forms of evolution."¹⁵³ As noted by Livingston and Noll, this "was a move that fundamentalists were unwilling to make."¹⁵⁴

All things considered, Warfield's theological views set him apart from the

¹⁵⁰ Warfield, "Introduction: B. B. Warfield as a Conservative Evolutionist," 22.

¹⁵¹ Benjamin B. Warfield, "Book Review: What the Bible Teaches. A Thorough and Comprehensive Study of All the Bible Has to Say Concerning the Great Doctrines of Which It Treats," review of *What the Bible Teaches. A Thorough and Comprehensive Study of all the Bible has to Say Concerning the Great Doctrines of which it Treats*, by R. A. Torrey, *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, November 1899, 563.

¹⁵² Warfield, "Introduction: B. B. Warfield as a Conservative Evolutionist," 22.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 22-23.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 22-23.

fundamentalists, both in method and content. After analyzing Warfield’s writings on creation and evolution, it becomes nearly impossible to label him as a fundamentalist. Even “a carefully qualified view of biblical inerrancy, like the one Warfield developed,” Noll and Livingston say, “did not necessarily entail the particulars of fundamentalist theology, but could in fact provide a basis for judgments on nature, the character of biblical theology, and approaches to biblical scholarship very different in tone, and substantially different in substance, from what was found among fundamentalists.”¹⁵⁵

Descriptive Analysis of Warfield’s Interpretation of Protology

Now that my survey of the key theological and philosophical elements that influenced Warfield’s theology is completed, it is time to turn to a descriptive analysis of Warfield’s interpretation of selected texts of Genesis 1-11. My thesis in this section is that Warfield’s interpretation of biblical protology provided a glimpse of how he read the text. Most importantly, it exposed the hermeneutical presuppositions guiding Warfield’s interpretation and forming his protological hermeneutic.

The “beginning” in Genesis 1:1

Similar to Calvin, Warfield interpreted “the what” of creation in Genesis 1:1 as a declaration of the “absolute origination of essence,”¹⁵⁶ or, the creation *ex nihilo* of “the

¹⁵⁵ Warfield, “Introduction: B. B. Warfield as a Conservative Evolutionist,” 23.

¹⁵⁶ Warfield, “Calvin’s Doctrine of the Creation,” 5:312. Calvin said, “creation . . . is not a transfusion of essence, but a commencement of it out of nothing,” or, the *ex nihilo* creation of “the heavens and the earth.” See Calvin, *Institutes*, 1.15.5. *Ibid.*, 1.14.1.

formless world-stuff.”¹⁵⁷ “The creation of the world-stuff,” Warfield said, was “recorded in Genesis 1:1.”¹⁵⁸ According to Warfield, this was what the author of Genesis meant by the phrase “the heavens and the earth.” His interpretation of “the what” of creation in Genesis 1:1 was well summarized in 1896:

As over against all such speculations, gross and subtle alike, the Christian man is bound to maintain that God created the heavens and the earth—that this great act by which He called into being all that is was in the strictest sense of the words a *creation*, and that in this act of creation He produced in the strictest sense of the words a *somewhat*. It was an act of *creation*: not a mere molding or ordering of a preexistent substance—not a mere evolution or modification of His own substance. And in it He produced a *somewhat*—not a mere appearance or simulacrum, but being, derived and dependent being, but just as real being as His own infinite essence. In creation, therefore, the Christian man is bound to confess a frankly supernatural act—an act above nature, independent of nature, by which nature itself and all its laws were brought into existence.¹⁵⁹

Though I agree with Warfield that Genesis 1:1 seems to address the creation of the “world-stuff”, I find it strange that Warfield made no distinction between “heaven and earth” in Genesis 1:1 and “heaven, earth and sea” in Exodus 20:11. The former is a merism for totality (i.e., entire universe, or “the world stuff”), and the latter addresses only the work of the week of creation. Davidson explains,

The phrase “the heavens and the earth” in verse 1 is most probably to be taken here, as often elsewhere in Scripture, as a figure of speech expressing the two extremities

¹⁵⁷ Benjamin B. Warfield, “The Spirit of God in the Old Testament,” in *Biblical Doctrines*, 10 vols., The Works of Benjamin B. Warfield, (Bellingham, WA: Logos Research Systems, 2008), 2:108. He also referred to “the heavens and the earth” as, “primal act of creation,” “indigested mass,” “primal indigested mass,” “primordial matter,” “primal stuff.” See Warfield, “Calvin’s Doctrine of the Creation,” 5:299, 304, 305. Warfield, “The Present-Day Conception of Evolution,” 161; Benjamin B. Warfield, “Book Review: Ideas from Nature,” review of *Ideas From Nature*, by William Elder, *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, November 1899, 547. I am using the phrase “inorganic matter” to describe what was created by God in the absolute beginning of our galactic universe.

¹⁵⁸ Warfield, “Calvin’s Doctrine of the Creation,” 5:302.

¹⁵⁹ Warfield, “Christian Supernaturalism,” 9:35. See also Warfield, “The Spirit of God in the Old Testament,” 2:108.

in order to include all that God has created, in other words, the entire universe. If “heavens and earth” refers to the whole universe, this “beginning” (at least for part of the heavens) must have been before the first day of earth’s Creation week, since the “sons of God” (unfallen created beings) were already created and sang for joy when the foundations of the earth were laid (Job 38:7).

[And] the “heavens and earth” (entire universe) of Genesis 1:1 are to be distinguished from “heaven, earth, and sea” (the three earth habitats) of Genesis 1:3-31 and Exodus 20:11. This means that the Creation action of Genesis 1:1 is outside or before the six-day Creation of Exodus 20:11 and of Genesis 1:3-31.¹⁶⁰

Davidson’s approach to Genesis 1:1 as a merism is important, because it allows for a non-fundamentalist interpretation of biblical protology that may facilitate the dialogue between science and religion.

Moving on to the question of when “the heavens and the earth” were created; Warfield did not disregard the question altogether, but he never addressed this question directly. It was implicit in his writings that “the heavens and the earth” were created more than six thousand years ago. For instance, commenting on Calvin’s claim that the formation “of the ordered world” (i.e., our solar system and life on earth) took place in six literal days, Warfield explained that Calvin’s “doctrine of evolution is entirely unfruitful.” The reason was that to Calvin, “the whole process takes place in the limits of six natural days.” Favoring a symbolic interpretation of Genesis, Warfield insisted that in order to be a coherent interpretation, Calvin should have interpreted the days of creation as long ages instead of literal days. He explained, “That the doctrine should be of use as an explanation of the mode of production of the ordered world, it was requisite that these six days should be lengthened out into six periods—six ages of the growth of the

¹⁶⁰ Gerald Klingbeil, ed. *He Spoke and It Was* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2016), 51.

world.”¹⁶¹ Consequently, “the beginning” occurred ages ago instead of only six thousand years ago as some want us to believe.

Another indication that Warfield favored the creation of “the heavens and the earth” at more than six thousand years ago, was found in his doctrine of the origin of humankind. First, Warfield affirmed that “the Bible does not assign a brief span to human history: this is done only by a particular mode of interpreting the Biblical data, which is found on examination to rest on no solid basis.”¹⁶² Then, in denying this “particular mode of interpreting the Biblical data,”¹⁶³ Warfield concluded, “if the Scriptural genealogies supply no solid basis for chronological inferences, it is clear that we are left without Scriptural data for forming an estimate of the duration of these ages [i.e., time before Abraham]. For aught we know they may have been of immense length.”¹⁶⁴

In light of these evidences, two conclusions can be reached. First, Warfield clearly interpreted the days of the creation week as symbolic. Second, and most important for this section, Warfield interpreted the “beginning” as the creation of the inorganic matter in the universe, from which the earth—including life on earth—was transformed through divine providence.

¹⁶¹ Warfield, “Calvin’s Doctrine of the Creation,” 5:305-306.

¹⁶² Warfield, “On the Antiquity and the Unity of the Human Race,” 9:236.

¹⁶³ Here Warfield is referring to the “*prima facie* view of the Biblical record of the course of human history,” of which the “most influential of these chronological schemes . . . was worked out by Archbishop Ussher in his “*Annales Veteri et Novi Testamenti*” (1650–1654).” See *Ibid.*, 9:236-237.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 9:237.

The Meaning of *tohu wabohu* in Genesis 1:2a

Though Warfield did not address Genesis 1:2a specifically, he said enough to reveal his likely interpretation of this verse. In short, Warfield understood Genesis 1:2a as a description of the condition of the earth, after the creation of “the world-stuff” and prior to the beginning of the creation week. Warfield said,

In the beginning [i.e., Gen 1:1], we are told, God created the heavens and the earth. And then the process is detailed by which the created earth, at first waste and void, with darkness resting upon the face of the deep [Gen 1:2], was transformed by successive fiats into the ordered and populous world in which we live. . . . And it is certainly very instructive to observe that God is conceived as immanent already in what may be called the *formless world-stuff* which by His immanence in it alone it constituted a *stuff from which on the divine command an ordered world may emerge*.¹⁶⁵

Though Warfield was not addressing here the technicalities on the interpretation of Genesis 1:2a, two conclusions can be drawn from his words with certainty. First, Warfield connected Genesis 1:2a to his Calvinistic concept of creation (i.e., Gen 1:1). Second, Warfield clearly indicated that Genesis 1:2a was a description of the condition of the earth after the creation of “the formless world-stuff,” from which God created all that is known to humankind.¹⁶⁶

The Meaning of *yom* in Genesis 1:3-2:4a

Similar to the previous passage, Warfield did not write on the meaning of *yom in*

¹⁶⁵ Warfield, “The Spirit of God in the Old Testament,” 2:107-108. Italics supplied.

¹⁶⁶ Sailhamer says, “The description of the land as *tohu wabohu* in verse 2a, then, plays a central role in the creation account. It describes the condition of the land before God’s gracious work prepared it for man’s dwelling place.” Sailhamer, *Genesis Unbound*, 65. For more information on the interpretation of Genesis 1:2, see, Tsumura, *Creation and Destruction*; Tsumura, *The Earth and the Waters in Genesis 1 and 2*, 22-35; Richard M. Davidson, “In the Beginning: How to Interpret Genesis 1,” *Dialogue* 1994; Davidson, “The Biblical Account of Origins,” 19-25; Paul Copan and William L. Craig, *Creation out of Nothing: A Biblical, Philosophical, and Scientific Exploration*. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2004), 60-65.

Genesis 1:3-2:4a. As far as I can tell, Warfield dealt with the nature of the days of the creation week explicitly on two occasions only.

The first time was in 1892, when he disagreed with Charles B. Warring's symbolic-literal interpretation of the days of creation.¹⁶⁷ Warfield said,

In expounding the first chapter of Genesis thus in the light of science, Dr. Warring does not always carry us with him. He seems to be too minute in seeking correspondences, and sometimes to press the narrative under the thumbscrew of too severe an exegetical method. Nor do all of his harmonistic expedients commend themselves to us. . . . His view that the "days" of the narrative are ordinary days of twenty-four hours each, serving to mark the end of each successive period of varying length (pp. 190ff.)—[is] a view which seems to be exegetically untenable.¹⁶⁸

In 1915, Warfield dealt with the nature of the days of creation explicitly for the second time. It occurred in his discussion of Calvin's interpretation of "the six days" of creation.¹⁶⁹ Warfield took Calvin's interpretation that God's providence acts as a "second cause" in nature,¹⁷⁰ and concluded that Calvin had an evolutionary view of origins. "It should scarcely be passed without remark that Calvin's doctrine of creation was, if we

¹⁶⁷ I am calling symbolic-literal interpretation of *yom*, Warring's argument that creation occurred during long ages, and that the days of the creation week in Genesis 1 are literal days of twenty-four hours. Thus, in each day of the creation week, the author of Genesis has summarized what God has created during an undetermined period of time. See Charles B. Warring, *Genesis 1 and Modern Science* (New York, NY: Hunt & Eaton, 1892).

¹⁶⁸ Benjamin B. Warfield, "Book Review: Genesis 1 and Modern Science," review of *Genesis 1 and Modern Science*, by Charles B. Warring, *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, October 1892, 761.

¹⁶⁹ Warfield, "Calvin's Doctrine of the Creation," 5:292, 298, 301, 306, 307.

¹⁷⁰ "This might appear to involve the view that after the creation of the world-stuff recorded in Genesis 1:1, there was never anything specifically new produced by the divine power. And this might be expressed by saying that, from that point on, the divine works were purely works of providence, since the very differentia of a providential work is that it is the product proximately of second causes. . . . Second causes, in his view, are nothing more than 'instruments into which God infuses as much of efficiency as He wishes,' and which He employs or not at His will. . . . The facility with which Calvin sets aside the notion of 'mediate creation' is then due in no sense to desire to remove the productions of the five days of 'creation' out of the category of divine products, but is itself mediated by the height of his doctrine of providence." *Ibid.*, 5:302, 303.

have understood it aright, for all except the souls of men, an evolutionary one.” Warfield explained, “The ‘indigested mass,’ including the ‘promise and potency’ of all that was yet to be, was called into being by the simple *fiat* of God. But all that has come into being since—except the souls of men alone—has arisen as a modification of this original world-stuff by means of the interaction of its intrinsic forces.”¹⁷¹ With this being said, Warfield said,

[But] his doctrine of evolution is entirely unfruitful. The whole process takes place in the limits of six natural days. That the doctrine should be of use as an explanation of the mode of production of the ordered world, it was requisite that these six days should be lengthened out into six periods—six ages of the growth of the world. Had that been done Calvin would have been a precursor of the modern evolutionary theorists. As it is, he only forms a point of departure for them to this extent—that he teaches, as they teach, the modification of the original world-stuff into the varied forms which constitute the ordered world, by the instrumentality of second causes—or as a modern would put it, of its intrinsic forces.¹⁷²

In light of Warfield’s remarks about Warring’s and Calvin’s interpretation of *yom*, two conclusions rise to the surface. First, that Warfield rejected a symbolic-literal interpretation, in which each day of the creation week was a twenty-four hour day that occurred at the end of a undetermined period of time. Second, that Warfield rejected a literal interpretation, in which the days of the creation week were twenty-four hour days. Thus, what Warfield favored was a symbolic interpretation of *yom*, in which *yom* was translated as “ages” instead of literal “days”.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ Warfield, “Calvin’s Doctrine of the Creation,” 5:304.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 5:305-306.

¹⁷³ For more information see Noll and Livingstone, “B. B. Warfield as a Conservative Evolutionist”; Livingstone and Noll, “B. B. Warfield (1851-1921): A Biblical Inerrantist as Evolutionist”; Mark A. Noll, “Charles Hodge and B. B. Warfield on Science, the Bible, Evolution, and Darwinism,” *Modern Reformation* 7, no. 3 (1998).

The Seventh Day in Genesis 2:2-3

According to Warfield, the seventh day of the creation week was the foundation of the Lord's day, which he told us was the Sabbath. In his address to the Fourteenth International Lord's Day Congress held in Oakland, CA,¹⁷⁴ Warfield spoke of "the joy of the Sabbath" as a "day of gladness and triumph," a "day on which the tired body rests from its appointed labor," and we can "refresh our souls in God."¹⁷⁵

It is true that from the beginning of his address Warfield linked the Sabbath with the day of the resurrection,¹⁷⁶ building on the WCF's affirmation "that 'there is no day commanded in Scripture to be kept holy *under the Gospel but the Lord's Day, which is the Christian Sabbath.*'"¹⁷⁷ Nevertheless, Warfield was clear that the Sabbath stretched back to "the creation of the world The Sabbath is undoubtedly rooted in nature; in our human nature and in the nature of the created universe."¹⁷⁸

Though questions may arise regarding Warfield's argument that Christ had led by example the switch between observing the weekly Sabbath, and observing Sunday as the Christian Sabbath,¹⁷⁹ the fact that Warfield interpreted the seventh day in Genesis 2:1-3

¹⁷⁴ Benjamin B. Warfield, in *Studies in Theology*, vol. 9 of *The Works of Benjamin B. Warfield* (Bellingham, WA: Logos Research Systems, 2008), 9:669. The congress was held from July 27–August 1, 1915.

¹⁷⁵ Warfield, "The Foundations of the Sabbath in the Word of God," 63.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. See also Benjamin B. Warfield, "A Sunday Rest for the U. S. Army," *The Independent* XXXVIII, (1886), 1427-1428.

¹⁷⁷ Warfield, *The Westminster Assembly and Its Work*, 6:50-51. Italics supplied.

¹⁷⁸ Warfield, "The Foundations of the Sabbath in the Word of God," 64.

¹⁷⁹ See Tonstad, *The Lost Meaning of the Seventh Day*; Arand *et al.*, *Perspectives on the Sabbath*, 9-72; Silva, "Creation and Covenant: A Hermeneutical Approach to the Correlation of the Seventh Day and the Biblical Sabbath." For views that align with Warfield's view on the Sabbath, see Arand *et al.*,

as the theological foundation of the weekly Sabbath—formally established by God in the Decalogue—is unquestionable.¹⁸⁰ Warfield declared,

We are told on the highest authority that “the Sabbath was made for man.” Man needs it. It blesses his life. But man apparently would never have had it, had it not been “made” for him; made for him by Him Who from the beginning of the world has known all His works, and, knowing man, has made for him from the beginning of the world the day of rest which he needs. He Who needed no rest, in the greatness of His condescension, rested from the work which He had creatively made, that by His example He might woo man to his needed rest.

The Sabbath, then, is not an invention of man’s, but a creation of God’s. . . . It is Jehovah who made the Sabbath; though *for* man, the Sabbath is not *of* man, but has come to man as a gift from God Himself. And, as God has made it, so He has kept it, as He has kept all else that He has made, under His own hand. It is in the power of no man to unmake the Sabbath, or to remake it—diverting it from, or, as we might fondly hope, adjusting it better to, its divinely appointed function. What God has made it, that will He Himself see that it shall remain.¹⁸¹

The Biblical Flood in Genesis 6-8

Warfield clearly understood the biblical flood in Genesis 6-8 as a historical event. This is evident by the references he made to the biblical flood, and its connection with other biblical events and biblical characters. This suggests that Warfield thought that both the flood and Noah were authentic elements in history.

For instance, in his explanation of how some thinkers calculated the age of the human race, based on the wrong interpretation of the genealogies in Genesis 5 and

Perspectives on the Sabbath, 73 passim.

¹⁸⁰ Referring to the benefits of resting on the weekly Sabbath, Warfield said, “the recurrence of a day of rest is of advantage to us, physically, mentally, spiritually.” Warfield, “The Foundations of the Sabbath in the Word of God,” 64. Warfield also pointed out that the Sabbath of the Decalogue—which he insisted, was “given to Israel”—was “the positive publication . . . of the universal human duties, the common morality of [all] mankind.” *Ibid.*, 66, 67. In other words, “there is no duty imposed upon the Israelite in the Ten Commandments, which is not equally incumbent upon all men, everywhere.” *Ibid.*, 67.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 64, 65.

Genesis 11, Warfield referred to both creation and the flood as pivotal moments in the history of humankind. He stated,

It certainly looks, at first sight, as if we needed only to add these one hundred and thirty, one hundred and five, and ninety years together in order to obtain the whole time which elapsed from the creation of Adam to the birth of Kenan; and, accordingly, as if we needed only to add together the similar numbers throughout the lists in order to obtain an accurate measure of the whole period from the Creation to the Deluge.¹⁸²

However, he continued, “the Scriptural data leave us wholly without guidance in estimating the time which elapsed between the creation of the world and the deluge and between the deluge and the call of Abraham.” Then, after placing the flood as a historical event that linked creation to Abraham, Warfield concluded, “so far as the Scripture assertions are concerned, we may suppose any length of time to have intervened between these events which may otherwise appear reasonable.”¹⁸³

On another occasion, when dealing with the question of predestination, Warfield pointed out that the flood was an integrating part of “the history of the establishment and development of the kingdom of God.” In other words, the flood was an inseparable historical event of the history of God’s people, in which he chose to save “a seed from the destruction” and to keep the development of God’s kingdom going, until his Messianic promise to save all humankind was fulfilled. Warfield said,

[T]he kingdom of God is consistently represented, not as the product of man’s efforts in seeking after God, but as the gracious creation of God Himself. Its inception and development are the crowning manifestation of the free grace of the Living God working in history in pursuance of His loving purpose to recover fallen man to

¹⁸² Warfield, “On the Antiquity and the Unity of the Human Race,” 9:239.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 9:244. See also, Benjamin B. Warfield, “Book Review: Eden Lost and Won,” review of *Eden Lost and Won*, by J. W. Dawson, *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, Janeiro 1897, 120. Warfield, *The Plan of Salvation*, 103.

Himself. To this end He preserves the race in existence after its sin, saves a seed from the destruction of the Flood, separates to Himself a family in Abraham, sifts it in Isaac and Jacob, nurses and trains it through the weakness of its infancy, and gradually molds it to be the vehicle of His revelation of redemption, and the channel of Messianic blessings to the world.¹⁸⁴

Additional support for the claim that Warfield took Genesis 6-8 as history is the fact that he referred to Noah and his family as historical characters, which were actively involved in God's plans to rescue humankind from sin. Warfield said, "Already in the opposing lines of Seth and Cain (Gen 4:25, 26) a discrimination is made; Noah is selected as the head of a new race, and among his sons the preference is given to Shem (Gen 9:25), from whose line Abraham is taken."¹⁸⁵ Here, Warfield emphasized the fact that God used Noah and his son Shem as ancestors of Abraham, who is in the lineage of the promised Messiah—the rescuer of all humankind.

On another occasion, this time speaking of the historical development of the definition of the term "faith," Warfield argued that the concept of faith in both the NT and the OT was the same, differing only in "the progress of the historical working out of redemption brought with it."¹⁸⁶ To illustrate his point, Warfield said that "the hinge of Old Testament religion from the very beginning turns on the facts of man's sin (Gen 3) and consequent unworthiness (Gen 3:2–10), and of God's grace (Gen 3:15) and [His] consequent saving activity (Gen 3:4, 4:5, 6:8, 13f.)."¹⁸⁷ Accordingly, and to explain how

¹⁸⁴ Warfield, "Predestination," 2:11-12.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 2:24.

¹⁸⁶ Warfield said, "Between the faith of the two Testaments there exists, indeed, no further difference than that which the progress of the historical working out of redemption brought with it." Warfield, "Faith," 2:484.

¹⁸⁷ Warfield, "Faith," 2:484.

this idea was reflected in OT characters, Warfield turned to the relationship between God and Noah, prior, during, and after the biblical flood. Warfield said, “Similarly, the whole story of the Flood is so ordered as to throw into relief, on the one hand, the free grace of God in His dealings with Noah (Gen 6:8, 18, 8:1, 21, 9:8), and, on the other, the determination of Noah’s whole life by trust in God and His promises (Gen 6:22, 7:5, 9:20).”¹⁸⁸ Again, Warfield’s reference to Noah as a historical character testified of his assumption that both Noah and the flood, occupied a real place in history.¹⁸⁹

Finally, and though Warfield did not address the question of the dimension of the flood directly—whether it was local or global—he implied that the biblical flood in Genesis 6-8, was a historical event of global magnitude. On more than one occasion, Warfield pointed out that during the flood “all flesh is destroyed,” that Noah became the “second father” of humankind, and that through his descendants “the whole earth was overspread” (Gen 9:19). On one occasion, Warfield said,

The absolute restriction of the human race within the descendants of this single pair is emphasized by the history of the Flood in which all flesh is destroyed, and the race given a new beginning in its second father, Noah, by whose descendants again “the whole earth was overspread” (Gen 9:19), as is illustrated in detail by the table of nations recorded in Genesis 10.¹⁹⁰

On another occasion Warfield said, “Behind even the ethnic development, there lay, of course, the supernatural intercourse of man with God which had obtained before the entrance of sin into the world, and the supernatural revelations at the gate of Eden

¹⁸⁸ Warfield, “Faith,” 2:485.

¹⁸⁹ See also, Warfield, “The Manner and Time of Man's Origin,” 218-219, 222. Benjamin B. Warfield, “Pervasive Bible Witness to Man's Origin in God's Creative Act,” *The Bible Student* VIII, no. 5 (1903), 245, 248.

¹⁹⁰ Warfield, “On the Antiquity and the Unity of the Human Race,” 9:256.

(Gen 3:8), and at the second origin of the human race, the Flood (Gen 8:21, 22; 9:1–17).”¹⁹¹

With this being said, three conclusions might be drawn from Warfield’s statements on the biblical flood: first, that he interpreted the biblical flood in Genesis 6-8 as a historical event; second, that he clearly thought of Noah and his family as historical characters; and third, that he thought of the flood as a global event, for it required a second beginning for the human race after it ended, which suggests that it completely destroyed the life of those who remained outside the ark. It is interesting that in spite of these views, Warfield never addressed the fact that his belief in a global flood contradicts his belief in descent with modification from a common ancestor—these are geologically incompatible.

Descriptive Analysis of Warfield’s Protological Hermeneutic

Warfield’s voluminous work has provided contemporary scholars with an understanding of his theology that includes a high view of Scripture and approval of evolutionary theory when dealing with biblical protology.

As mentioned earlier in this dissertation, CPEs like Warfield adopted a protological hermeneutic that (1) maintained a high view of Scripture as the source of theology, (2) followed a symbolic¹⁹² interpretation of biblical protology, and (3) brought harmony between the interpretation of biblical protology and the interpretation of nature.

¹⁹¹ Warfield, “The Biblical Idea of Revelation,” 1:9-10.

¹⁹² I use the term “symbolic hermeneutic method” to describe biblical interpreters “who say that we should interpret Scripture symbolically [and] do so in order to deny the reality of a scriptural truth or a historical event,” when interpreting Genesis 1-11. Duvall, *Grasping God’s Word: A Hands-on Approach to Reading, Interpreting, and Applying the Bible*, 291.

My thesis is that these three features of Warfield’s protological hermeneutic are expressions of what contemporary scholars call the ML, the TL, and the HL of Warfield’s method. As in the case of Price, these levels form—epistemologically speaking—the “rationality and formal structure” of every method of interpretation.¹⁹³

With this in mind, in the next section I will identify and descriptively analyze Warfield’s protological hermeneutic on the ML, the TL, and the HL. On the ML, I will expose his understanding of the source of theology. On the TL, I will explore the purpose of his interpretation. And finally, on the HL, I will describe Warfield’s ontological, metaphysical, and epistemological views in relation to biblical protology.

The Material and the Teleological Levels

Contrary to those who discredit Scripture (i.e., the ML) as divinely inspired, Warfield maintained that Scripture was God’s written revelation to humankind and, therefore, it was the inerrant Word of God in its autographs. In short, Scripture was the ultimate source of theological knowledge, “the end of all strife,” retaining “full authoritativeness in all controversies of religion,”¹⁹⁴ which included controversies over the interpretation of nature.

According to Warfield, the status of “inerrancy” of Scripture was guaranteed by the divine superintendence (i.e., inspiration) of the biblical writers during the writing process of all “*Sacred Books*,” by which he clearly meant the OT and the NT.¹⁹⁵ To

¹⁹³ Canale, *Creation, Evolution, and Theology*, 90. Gulley agrees, “All literature shares the rules of general hermeneutics (hermeneutica profana).” Gulley, *Prolegomena*, 687.

¹⁹⁴ Warfield, “The Inerrancy of the Original Autographs,” 2:580-581.

¹⁹⁵ Warfield, “Inspiration and Criticism,” 1:396. See also, Warfield, “The Inspiration of the Bible,”

distinguish revelation from inspiration, Warfield said that “revelation . . . is the frequent,” and that “Inspiration . . . is the constant attribute of all the thoughts and statements of Scripture.” The former, Warfield said, came to humankind in two levels commonly known as, “natural and supernatural revelation, or general and special revelation, or natural and soteriological revelation.”¹⁹⁶ The latter, he affirmed, meant “the superintendence by God of the writers in the entire process of their writing, which accounts for nothing whatever but the absolute infallibility [i.e., inerrancy] of the record in which the revelation, once generated, appears in the original autograph.”¹⁹⁷

Though it is not the purpose of this dissertation to discuss Warfield’s view of inerrancy, it seems useful to summarize Warfield’s view on the topic since he developed his theology upon the presupposition that all Scripture was inspired (i.e., superintended by the Holy Spirit) and, therefore, inerrant.¹⁹⁸

Moisés Silva is right when he says that inerrancy, to Warfield, essentially meant that “the divine origin of Scripture ensures the preservation of both the divine truth being

1:54-55; Warfield, “The Biblical Idea of Inspiration.”

¹⁹⁶ Warfield, “The Biblical Idea of Inspiration,” 1:6.

¹⁹⁷ Benjamin B. Warfield and Archibald A. Hodge, “Inspiration,” in *The Presbyterian Review*, ed. Archibald A. Hodge et al., (New York, NY: Anson D. F. Randolph, 1881), 225, 226. According to Warfield, “The Church, then, has held from the beginning that the Bible is the Word of God in such a sense that its words, though written by men and bearing indelibly impressed upon them the marks of their human origin, were written, nevertheless, under such an influence of the Holy Ghost as to be also the words of God, the adequate expression of His mind and will. It has always recognized that this conception of co-authorship implies that the Spirit’s superintendence extends to the choice of the words by the human authors (verbal inspiration), and preserves its product from everything inconsistent with a divine authorship—thus securing, among other things, that entire truthfulness which is everywhere presupposed in and asserted for Scripture by the Biblical writers (inerrancy).” Warfield, “The Real Problem of Inspiration,” 1:173.

¹⁹⁸ Warfield, “The Inerrancy of the Original Autographs,” 2:580-587; Warfield, “The Inspiration of the Bible,” 1:51-74; Warfield, “The Biblical Idea of Inspiration,” 1:76-112.

communicated and the unique personality of each writer. The Holy Spirit, in other words, prevents the authors from teaching falsehood or error without overriding their personal traits.”¹⁹⁹ This interpretation of Warfield’s concept of inerrancy “reminds us of the crucial role that exegesis must play” in the interpretation of Scripture, since “not everything found in the Scriptures is actually affirmed or taught by the biblical authors (e.g., “There is no God,” Ps. 14:1). The text must therefore be studied so that we can determine what it teaches.”²⁰⁰ After all, Silva concludes, “We cannot claim to know what the Scripture infallibly teaches unless we have done our exegetical homework.”²⁰¹ In other words,

Our best theologians made it clear all along that inerrancy was being claimed for the Bible on the assumption that the Bible would be interpreted responsibly, and such a proper interpretation consists in determining what the original author meant, what he intended. As Hodge and Warfield stated it: the Bible gives us “a correct statement of facts or principles intended to be affirmed. . . . Every statement accurately corresponds to truth just as far forth as affirmed.”²⁰²

In relation to Warfield’s protological hermeneutic, inerrancy seems to ensure the historicity of the early chapters of Genesis. Silva concurs, “It would surely require hermeneutical prestidigitation [i.e., tricks] to argue that the original writer meant those chapters to be taken as ‘less historical’ than the later patriarchal narratives.”²⁰³ This high view on the inspiration of Scripture followed Warfield throughout his career. In fact, it

¹⁹⁹ Moisés Silva, “Old Princeton, Westminster, and Inerrancy,” in *B. B. Warfield: Essays on His Life and Thought*, ed. Gary L. W. Johnson, (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2007), 80.

²⁰⁰ Silva, “Old Princeton, Westminster, and Inerrancy,” 80.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 84.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 82.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 84-85.

seems that his view on inspiration functioned as the foundation of his theology, and is linked directly to the purpose (i.e., TL) of his theology.

On the TL of Warfield's protological hermeneutic, two hermeneutical purposes of Warfield's interpretation become evident: (1) to expose the complementary relationship between God's general and special revelation, and (2) to be faithful to the WCF as the best expression of the teachings of Scripture in light of Calvin's theology.²⁰⁴

About the first—the complementary relationship between general and special revelation—Warfield maintained that it was a clear concept in Scripture itself.²⁰⁵ Using Psalm 19 to illustrate, Warfield said,

“The heavens declare the glory of God . . . their line is gone out through all the earth” (ver. 1, 4); “The law of Jehovah is perfect, restoring the soul” (ver. 7). The Psalmist takes his beginning here from the praise of the glory of God, the Creator of all that is, which has been written upon the very heavens, that none may fail to see it. From this he rises, however, quickly to the more full-throated praise of the mercy of Jehovah, the covenant God, who has visited His people with saving instruction. Upon this higher revelation there is finally based a prayer for salvation from sin, which ends in a great threefold acclamation, instinct with adoring gratitude: “O Jehovah, my rock, and my redeemer” (ver. 14).²⁰⁶

According to Warfield then, general revelation appears naturally in all God's creation, whether intuitively in the human mind, or in nature as a testimony of God's power.²⁰⁷ In contrast, special revelation was supernaturally manifested and had the specific purpose of bringing salvation, “to rescue broken and deformed sinners from their

²⁰⁴ Quoted favorably by Smith, “B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship,” 47.

²⁰⁵ Warfield, “The Biblical Idea of Revelation,” 1:5.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:5-6.

²⁰⁷ Warfield, “The Idea of Revelation and Theories of Revelation,” 1:37.

sin and its consequences.”²⁰⁸ To use Warfield’s own words,

These two species or stages of revelation have been commonly distinguished from one another by the distinctive names of natural and supernatural revelation, or general and special revelation, or natural and soteriological revelation. Each of these modes of discriminating them has its particular fitness and describes a real difference between the two in nature, reach or purpose. The one is communicated through the media of natural phenomena, occurring in the course of Nature or of history; the other implies an intervention in the natural course of things and is not merely in source but in mode supernatural. The one is addressed generally to all intelligent creatures, and is therefore accessible to all men; the other is addressed to a special class of sinners, to whom God would make known His salvation. The one has in view to meet and supply the natural need of creatures for knowledge of their God; the other to rescue broken and deformed sinners from their sin and its consequences.²⁰⁹

With this in mind, Warfield expressed his view on the relationship between general and special revelation, which was a necessary condition of his protological hermeneutic to show that the interpretation of nature and Scripture could agree. He said,

But, though thus distinguished from one another, it is important that the two species or stages of revelation should not be set in opposition to one another, or the closeness of their mutual relations or the constancy of their interaction be obscured. *They constitute together a unitary whole, and each is incomplete without the other.* In its most general idea, revelation is rooted in creation and the relations with His intelligent creatures into which God has brought Himself by giving them being. Its object is to realize the end of man’s creation, to be attained only through knowledge of God and perfect and unbroken communion with Him.²¹⁰

Moving on to the second purpose of his protological hermeneutic, Warfield attempted to remain faithful to the WCF as the best expression of the teachings of Scripture in light of Calvin’s theology, because he believed that Scripture did not teach anything else but the articles of faith present in the WCF. A good example of this effort is found in Warfield’s inaugural address to the faculty of the Western Theological Seminary

²⁰⁸ Warfield, “The Biblical Idea of Revelation,” 1:6.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 1:6.

in 1881. Referring to the WCF as the “standards” of their faith, Warfield adamantly proclaimed to his colleagues:

I wish, therefore, to declare that I sign these standards not as a necessary form which must be submitted to, but gladly and willingly as the expression of a personal and cherished conviction; and, further, that the system taught in these symbols is the system which will be drawn out of the Scriptures in the prosecution of the teaching to which you have called me,—not, indeed, because commencing with that system the Scriptures can be made to teach it, but because commencing with the Scriptures I cannot make them teach anything else.²¹¹

Another example appeared in 1897 during Warfield’s address to the Presbytery of New York, “on the occasion of the celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Completion of the Westminster Standards.” Here, Warfield referred to the WCF as “a gift . . . to the world,” and “though it has its difficulties arising from its magnitude, cannot fail to appeal powerfully to one who has, in all sincerity and heartiness, set his hand to these Standards as ‘containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures.’ ”²¹² “These precious documents,” Warfield continued, “appeal to us as but the embodiment in fitly chosen language of the pure gospel of the grace of God.” Hence, Warfield concluded, “in these forms of words we possess the most complete, the most fully elaborated and carefully guarded, the most perfect, and the most vital expression that has ever been framed by the hand of man, of all that enters into what we call evangelical religion, and of all that must be safeguarded if evangelical religion is to

²¹⁰ Warfield, “The Biblical Idea of Revelation,” 1:6-7. Emphasis supplied.

²¹¹ Warfield, “Inspiration and Criticism,” 1:395-396. This is found in Warfield’s introductory address as the chair of New Testament Literature and Exegesis in the Western Theological Seminary.

²¹² Benjamin B. Warfield, *The Significance of the Westminster Standards as a Creed* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898), 1.

persist in the world.”²¹³ “They are not merely a notably exact scientific statement of the elements of the gospel: they are, in the strictest sense of the words, the very embodiment of the gospel.”²¹⁴

Throughout his academic career “there was a conscious intent to be faithful to the Bible, which, to him, also meant being faithful to the Confession.”²¹⁵ This devotion to the WCF, I am convinced, led Warfield to develop an interpretation of biblical protology that included Scripture (ML) as the ultimate source of theological knowledge,²¹⁶ and that sought to unite (TL) the interpretation of Scripture and nature under the guidance of the Confessions.²¹⁷

Altogether, Warfield’s ML and TL in his protological hermeneutic were formative and normative elements. They were formative because both elements were

²¹³ Warfield, *The Significance of the Westminster Standards*, 2. See also pp. 13, 15, 18, 22, 24, 25, 26, 31, 32, 34-35.

²¹⁴ Warfield, *The Significance of the Westminster Standards*, 32.

²¹⁵ Smith, “B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship,” 47. Smith also noted that Warfield saw “the WCF as the system of doctrine giving expression to the content of the Bible.” *Ibid.*, 62.

²¹⁶ Warfield said, “The Confession does not deny either the existence or the value of truth so obtained or so preserved for man. But it does deny the need of such sources of knowledge to supplement what is set down in Scripture, in order to instruct us what ‘man is to believe concerning God and what duty God requires of man.’ It does affirm the absolute objective completeness of Scripture as a guide to the service of God, to faith, and to life. And it does deny that aught in the way of truth required by God to be believed, or in the way of duty required by Him to be performed, in order that we may attain salvation, is to be added from any other source whatever to what is revealed in Scripture.

This, it is to be observed, is to make Scripture something more than *a* rule of faith and practice; something more than *the* rule of faith and practice, in the sense of merely the fullest and best extant rule; something more even than *a sufficient* rule of faith and practice. It is to make it the *only* rule of faith and practice, to which nothing needs to be added to fit it to serve as our rule, and to which nothing is to be added to make it altogether complete as our authoritative law. It contains not only enough to serve all the purposes of a rule of faith and practice, but all that is to be laid as the authoritative law of life on the consciences of Christians.” Warfield, “The Westminster Doctrine of Holy Scripture,” 6:224-225.

²¹⁷ According to Smith, Warfield developed a theology that was “chiefly captive to the Scriptures and Confessions.” Smith, “B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship,” xi.

inseparable from his interpretation of Genesis 1-11: Scripture is a reliable and inerrant source of protological knowledge, and the goal of a theologian is to show how God's revelation in Scripture complements God's revelation in nature. Finally, it was normative because both elements controlled Warfield's interpretation of Scripture. To Warfield, general and special revelation did not need to be set in opposition to one another, in fact, they could be shown to be in agreement to one another.

The Hermeneutical Level

As mentioned earlier, the HL deals with the presuppositions behind the method and together with the material and the teleological levels, forms the "rationality and formal structure" found in every method of interpretation.²¹⁸ To use Canale's definition again, the HL—also known as macro hermeneutic—deals with questions related to (1) the reality of God; (2) the interaction between God and humankind; and (3) the source of theological knowledge.²¹⁹

Though Warfield never used Canale's terminology, he understood the HL similarly. In 1908 for example, Warfield spoke about three elements he thought were essential for the correct classification of a theological method as a scientific method. He said,

If theology be a science at all, there is involved in that fact, as in the case of all other sciences, at least these three things: the reality of its subject-matter [i.e., God], the capacity of the human mind to receive into itself and rationally to reflect this subject-matter, the existence of media of communication between the subject-matter and the

²¹⁸ Canale, *Creation, Evolution, and Theology*, 90. Gulley agrees, "All literature shares the rules of general hermeneutics (hermeneutica profana)." Gulley, *Prolegomena*, 687.

²¹⁹ Canale, *Basic Elements of Christian Theology*, 21. See Chapter 1, pp. 16-17.

percipient and understanding mind.²²⁰

To restate these three philosophical elements using the terminology I have chosen for this dissertation, I suggest that “the reality of its subject-matter” points to the theologian’s ontological view. “The capacity of the human mind to receive into itself and rationally to reflect this subject-matter” points to the theologian’s metaphysical view (i.e., the principle of articulation), and the “media of communication between the subject-matter and the percipient and understanding mind” points to the theologian’s epistemological view. According to Warfield, these philosophical elements were the object of study of apologetics. Consequently, they formed the basis of Warfield’s apologetic, which was the basis of “his theological apologetic method.”²²¹

The connection between Warfield’s apologetic and the HL is made explicit in his explanation of the function of apologetics. “It is . . . the function of apologetics,” he said, “to investigate, explicate, and establish the grounds on which a theology . . . is possible; and on the basis of which every science which has God for its object must rest, if it be a true science with claims to a place within the circle of the sciences. It necessarily takes its place,” Warfield continued,

at the head of the departments of theological science and finds its task in the establishment of the validity of that knowledge of God which forms the subject-matter of these departments; that we may then proceed through the succeeding departments of exegetical, historical, systematic, and practical theology, to explicate,

²²⁰ Warfield, “Apologetics,” 9:11.

²²¹ Smith, “B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship,” 101-109. For example, Smith says, “Warfield’s philosophical concerns were subordinated to theology in two primary ways: (1) his areas of primary interest and (2) his theological apologetic method (p. 101).” For more information see Warfield, “Apologetics,” 9:3-21.

appreciate, systematize, and propagate it in the world.²²²

Warfield makes the same point in other words in the following quotation:

What apologetics undertakes to establish is just this Christianity . . . as the absolute religion. It has for its object [i.e., purpose] the laying of the foundations on which the temple of theology is built, and by which the whole structure of theology is determined. It is the department of theology which establishes the constitutive and regulative principles of theology as a science; and in establishing these it establishes all the details which are derived from them by the succeeding departments, in their sound explication and systematization.²²³

With this in mind, Warfield concluded, “That a theology, as the science of God, may exist, therefore, it must begin by establishing the existence of God [i.e., ontological view], the capacity of the human mind to know Him [i.e., metaphysical view], and the accessibility of knowledge concerning Him [i.e., epistemological view].”²²⁴ These constitute the three subdivisions of Warfield’s apologetic, which I suggest are formative and normative to his protological hermeneutic.²²⁵ An itemized discussion will follow.

²²² Warfield, “Apologetics,” 9:4-5.

²²³ Ibid., 9:9.

²²⁴ Ibid., 9:11.

²²⁵ Warfield listed a total of five subdivisions of apologetics: (1) “philosophical apologetics,” which seek “the establishment of the being of God”; (2) “psychological apologetics,” which seek “the establishment of the religious nature of man”; (3) I will call this epistemological apologetics, which seek “the establishment of the fact of revelation as the condition of all knowledge of God”; (4) “historical apologetics, which seek “to establish the divine origin of Christianity”; and (5) bibliological apologetics, which seek “to establish the trustworthiness of the Christian Scriptures.” Ibid., 9:13-14.

Ontological Views: Warfield's Concept of Reality

Warfield's protological hermeneutic was built on a concept of reality that presupposed the existence of God as the creator of all things. "The conviction of the existence of God bears the marks of an intuitive truth in so far as it is the universal and unavoidable belief of men."²²⁶ His existence is independent of any form of physical revelation (e.g., nature, Scripture) and it is built "in the human consciousness."²²⁷ Hence, "instinctively and by his very nature," humankind is unable "to escape from his belief in God."²²⁸ The inner conviction of the existence of God is bestowed upon human beings "in the very same act with the idea of self, which is known at once as dependent and responsible and thus implies one on whom it depends and to whom it is responsible."²²⁹

Due to the fact that Warfield's theology was highly influenced by Calvin, it is not surprising that Warfield's argument for the existence of God followed Calvin.²³⁰ In 1909, when commenting on Calvin's doctrine of God, Warfield improved the argument he used in 1898 to summarize Calvin's thought on the topic.²³¹ Warfield said,

The knowledge of God is given in the very same act by which we know self. For when we know self, we must know it as it is: and that means we must know it as [a] dependent, derived, imperfect, and responsible being. To know self implies, therefore, the co-knowledge with self of that on which it is dependent, from which it derives, by

²²⁶ Warfield, "God," 9:110.

²²⁷ Zaspel, *The Theology of B. B. Warfield*, 97.

²²⁸ Warfield, "On Faith in Its Psychological Aspects," 9:339.

²²⁹ Warfield, "God," 9:110.

²³⁰ Zaspel, *The Theology of B. B. Warfield*, 97.

²³¹ Warfield, "God," 9:110. This article first appeared in John D. Davis, ed. *A Dictionary of the Bible* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster, 1898), 251-253. See also, *Ibid.*, 263-265.

the standard of which its imperfection is revealed, to which it is responsible. Of course, such a knowledge of self postulates a knowledge of God, in contrast with whom alone do we ever truly know self.²³²

“This immediate perception of God,” Warfield explained, “is confirmed and the contents of the idea developed by a series of arguments known as the ‘theistic proofs.’”²³³

These “theistic proofs,” Warfield said,

are derived from the necessity we are under of believing in the real existence of the infinitely perfect Being, of a sufficient cause for the contingent universe, of an intelligent author of the order and of the manifold contrivances observable in nature, and of a lawgiver and judge for dependent moral beings, endowed with the sense of duty and an ineradicable feeling of responsibility, conscious of the moral contradictions of the world and craving a solution for them, and living under an intuitive perception of right which they do not see realized.²³⁴

From these “theistic proofs,” Warfield concluded, “we learn not only that a God exists, but also necessarily, [we learn] on the principle of a sufficient cause, [and we learn] very much of the nature of the God which they prove to exist.”²³⁵

Warfield then turned from the general revelation to the special revelation as another source of knowledge for the existence of God. Here, Warfield included Scripture as a supernatural and reliable, record of the history of God’s interaction with humankind. Though Warfield’s ontology began with the presupposition that God exists and that his existence is supported by the “theistic proofs,”²³⁶ Warfield’s ontology developed under

²³² Warfield, “Calvin’s Doctrine of the Knowledge of God,” 5:31.

²³³ Warfield, “God,” 9:110.

²³⁴ Warfield, “God,” 9:110-111. Warfield’s reference to “theistic proofs” pointed to Calvin’s discussion about the proofs for the existence of God found in natural world. See Warfield, “Calvin’s Doctrine of the Knowledge of God,” 5:41(fn. 8). See also Calvin, *Institutes*, 1.5.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 9:111.

²³⁶ Warfield said, “This primary idea of God, in which is summed up what is known as theism, is the product of that general revelation which God makes of Himself to all men, on the plane of nature. The

the reasoning that Scripture fully supports these proofs, that Scripture expands our knowledge of God by providing an authentic portrayal of God's love, and that it serves as the inerrant record of his provisions for the salvation of humankind. To use the words of Warfield,

Scripture records the sequence of God's great redeeming acts. But it is much more than merely "the record, the interpretation, and the literary reflection of God's grace in history." Scripture records the direct revelations which God gave to men in days past, so far as those revelations were intended for permanent and universal use. But it is much more than a record of past revelations. It is itself the final revelation of God, completing the whole disclosure of his unfathomable love to lost sinners, the whole proclamation of his purposes of grace, and the whole exhibition of his gracious provisions for their salvation.²³⁷

In short, "the cogency of these proofs," said Warfield, "is currently recognized in the Scriptures, while they add to them the supernatural manifestations of God in a redemptive process, accompanied at every stage by miraculous attestation." To Warfield, then, while "Scriptures lay their stress upon the grace or the undeserved love of God," they also reiterate "the teaching of nature as to the existence and character of the personal Creator and Lord of all."²³⁸

Metaphysical Views: Warfield's Principles of Articulation

In Warfield's protological hermeneutic, the idea that the human mind is capable of receiving God "into itself" and that it can "rationally . . . reflect this subject-matter,"

truths involved in it are continually reiterated, enriched, and deepened in the Scriptures; but they are not so much revealed by them as presupposed at the foundation of the special revelation with which the Scriptures busy themselves—the great revelation of the grace of God to sinners." Warfield, "God," 9:109.

²³⁷ Warfield, "The Idea of Revelation and Theories of Revelation," 1:48. See also, Warfield, *The Right of Systematic Theology*, 34-35.

²³⁸ Warfield, "God," 9:111.

suggests that Warfield embraced a twofold principle of articulation.²³⁹ I will call these the relational principle of articulation and the interactive principle of articulation.

On the relational principle of articulation, Warfield dealt with the question of how God relates to his creation (e.g., humankind, the world, etc.). To be more specific, after determining the reality of God the question he addressed was, “Does God relate to his creation from a timeless or from a non-timeless reality?” Warfield’s response, I suggest, was that God relates to his creation from a non-timeless reality. In other words, God relates directly with his creation in space and time.

A good example that supports this claim is found in Warfield’s understanding of revelation. In 1915 Warfield said, “The religion of the Bible is a frankly supernatural religion. By this is not meant merely that, according to it, all men, as creatures, live, move and have their being in God. It is meant that, according to it, *God has intervened extraordinarily, in the course of the sinful world’s development*, for the salvation of men otherwise lost.”²⁴⁰ Warfield continued,

²³⁹ Fernando Canale explains that the principle of articulation in hermeneutics (i.e. metaphysical views), deals with the question of how God interacts with his creation. According to Canale, the principle of articulation in biblical hermeneutics is better described as “the infinite analogical temporality of God.” Canale maintains that this is “the biblical understanding of the first *element of Christian theology* which we will use as our basic presupposition to interpret biblical texts, and to understand God’s reality, life, and actions in history” (Basic Elements, 72-73). He explains that the infinite analogical temporality of God means that in His eternity, God can experience time in order to interact with His creation without experiencing the effects of time (e.g., change, aging, death). This is possible because “God’s time does not have exactly (univocally) the same meaning that time has for creation. Likewise, what time means for God is not completely different from what it means for man (equivocally). Instead, biblical thinking assumes that God’s time and created time are similar (analogical).” Canale, *Basic Elements of Christian Theology*, 72-73, 70 (Respectively. Italics are on the original.). In this dissertation, Canale’s principle of articulation in biblical hermeneutics (i.e., “the infinite analogical temporality of God”) forms what I call the *relational principle of articulation*, meaning that God relates to his creation in time and space. Moving beyond Canale, I am adding an *interactive principle of articulation*. In short, this emphasizes the method of communication used by God to interact with his creation, particularly with humankind.

²⁴⁰ Warfield, “The Biblical Idea of Revelation,” 1:3. Emphasis supplied.

It is, indeed, precisely because in their sin they have thus held down the truth in unrighteousness and have refused to have God in their knowledge (so it is intimated); and because, moreover, in their sin, the revelation God gives of Himself in His works of creation and providence no longer suffices for men's needs, that *God has intervened supernaturally in the course of history* to form a people for Himself, through whom at length all the world should be blessed.²⁴¹

Revelation—particularly special revelation—as Warfield wrote, “implies an intervention in the natural course of things and is not merely in source but in mode supernatural.”²⁴² In addition,

The revelation of God in Eden was not merely “natural.” Not only does the prohibition of the forbidden fruit involve a positive commandment (Gen 2:16), but the whole history implies *an immediacy of intercourse with God* which cannot easily be set to the credit of the picturesque art of the narrative, or be fully accounted for by the vividness of the perception of God in His works proper to sinless creatures. The impression is strong that *what is meant to be conveyed to us is that man dwelt with God in Eden, and enjoyed with Him immediate and not merely mediate communion.*²⁴³

Thus, I suggest, it is God acting directly in space and time (rather than timelessly) that Warfield understood as the relational principle of articulation in the HL of his protological hermeneutic.

This claim might raise questions about how some scholars have interpreted Warfield's theology. Mark Noll and David Livingstone, for example, point out that a strong case can be made to show that Warfield's theology was committed to an Augustinian view of God and other Christian doctrines. They say,

Although Warfield is today better known for his views on the Bible, a solid case can be constructed on the basis of his own works that his commitment to classic Protestantism was deeper and more comprehensive than even his commitment to

²⁴¹ Warfield, “The Biblical Idea of Revelation,” 1:5. Emphasis supplied.

²⁴² Ibid., 1:6.

²⁴³ Ibid., 1:8.

biblical inerrancy as such. By classic Protestantism Warfield meant commitment to an Augustinian view of God, of the sinful human condition, and of salvation in Christ, but also a broadly open acceptance of the world as the arena of God's creative activity.²⁴⁴

The issue between these two claims—that God relates to his creation from a non-timeless reality (i.e., time and space), and that Warfield's classic Protestantism included a commitment to an Augustinian view of God—is that they are completely opposite with regard to the issue of God and time. On the one hand, Augustine's view was that God is timeless.²⁴⁵ Canale says, Augustine “was convinced that God cannot act in the future-present-past sequence of time as Scripture presents all divine activities.” In fact, Augustine “followed Parmenides, Plato, and Aristotle's imaginative construction of a God whose reality is necessarily timeless and spaceless.”²⁴⁶ The unsettling consequence of this view is that divine timelessness “completely prevents God from performing new action in created time and relating to temporal creatures historically within the flow of created time.”²⁴⁷

On the other hand, Warfield viewed God as a non-timeless being. He insisted, “over against all dualistic conceptions, there is but one God, and He is indeed God; and because, over against all cosmotheistic conceptions, this God is a Person who acts purposefully; there is nothing that is, and nothing that comes to pass, that He has not first

²⁴⁴ Warfield, “Introduction: B. B. Warfield as a Conservative Evolutionist,” 24.

²⁴⁵ Guley agrees, “Augustine accepted the traditional view of God (immutable, ‘without any temporal movement in Himself’ which means being timeless).” Norman R. Guley, *Systematic Theology: God as Trinity* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2011), 117.

²⁴⁶ Canale, *Basic Elements of Christian Theology*, 49.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 52.

decreed and then brought to pass by His creation or providence.” Warfield continued, “This is the Old Testament philosophy of the universe—a world-view which attains concrete unity in an absolute Divine teleology, in the compactness of an eternal decree, or purpose, or plan, of which all that comes to pass is the development in time.”²⁴⁸

This, however, does not mean that Warfield’s theology showed no traces of Augustinian thinking. As a reformed theologian who built upon Calvin’s theology, Warfield exhibited traces of Augustinian thinking. According to Warfield, “the key to Christian piety is a clear sense of dependence on God, fostered by Augustinian notions of sin and grace.”²⁴⁹ In fact, Warfield made clear in 1917 that though “it is quite true that purely Augustinian as the Reformation is in its conception of religion, it is not the whole of Augustine that it takes over but only ‘the Augustine of sin and grace,’ so that when we speak of it [i.e., the Reformation] as a revival of Augustinianism we must have in mind only the Augustinianism of grace.”²⁵⁰ Again, an Augustinian view of “sin and grace” and not an Augustinian view of God is what Warfield was committed to.²⁵¹

Next, it is important to address another important aspect of Warfield’s metaphysical views on the HL—that is the interactive principle of articulation. This is where Warfield dealt with the question of how God communicates with his creation,

²⁴⁸ Warfield, “Predestination,” 2:21, 22. See also, *Ibid.*, 2:23, 24. Warfield, “The Idea of Revelation and Theories of Revelation,” 1:46.

²⁴⁹ Zaspel, *The Theology of B. B. Warfield*, 498.

²⁵⁰ Warfield, “The Theology of the Reformation,” 9:478.

²⁵¹ For more information on how Warfield rejected a timeless view of God see, Warfield, *Perfectionism I*, 7:1-109. See also, J. H. W. Stuckenberg, “The Theology of Albrecht Ritschl,” *The American Journal of Theology* 2, no. 2 (1898). Albrecht Ritschl, “Theology and Metaphysics,” in *Three Essays*, (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1972), 149-218.

particularly with humankind. It appears, in accordance with his non-timeless view of God (i.e., the relational principle of articulation) and based on the description of his apologetic, that Warfield favored human reason (i.e., mind) as his interactive principle of articulation.

In other words, Warfield adopted an interactive principle of articulation where God communicates with humankind through human reason. This, however, is not the only method God uses to interact with humankind. According to Warfield, it only meant “that among the other modes in which God has revealed himself there exists also this mode of revelation, viz., a direct and immediate communication of truth, not only from God but by God, to minds which occupy relatively to the attainment of this truth a passive or receptive attitude, so that the mode of its acquisition is as supernatural as its source.”²⁵²

A good example of Warfield’s interactive principle of articulation is found in his understanding of revelation and inspiration. Writing in 1896, for example, Warfield said,

Under the broad skirts of the term “revelation,” every method of manifesting Himself which God uses in communicating knowledge of His being and attributes, may find shelter for itself—whether it be through those visible things of nature whereby His invisible things are clearly seen, or through the constitution of the human mind with its causal judgment indelibly stamped upon it, or through that voice of God that we call conscience, which proclaims His moral law within us, . . .—or whether it be through the open visions of His prophets, the divinely-breathed pages of His written Word, the divine life of the Word Himself. How God reveals Himself—in what divers manners He makes Himself known to His creatures—is thus the subsequent question, by raising which we distribute the one source of theology, revelation, into the various methods of revelation, each of which brings us true knowledge of God,

²⁵² Warfield, “The Idea of Revelation and Theories of Revelation,” 1:40. For Warfield’s exposition of different methods, or modes of revelation, see Warfield, “The Biblical Idea of Inspiration,” 1:14-28. In short, Warfield admitted that other methods of divine communication with humankind include theophany, direct communication through angels, visions, and dreams. This confirms Warfield’s non-timeless view of God, which is opposite to Augustine’s timeless view of God.

and all of which must be taken account of in building our knowledge into one all-comprehending system.²⁵³

As Warfield's theology developed, he sought to make more explicit his interactive principle of articulation. Writing in 1909, Warfield said, "It is no longer necessary to prove that God may and does speak in the souls of men; it is admitted on all hands that he reveals himself unceasingly through all the activities of creaturely minds."²⁵⁴ With this in mind, Warfield rejected the extreme rationalistic approach of the deists who see "revelation as taking place only through the purely natural activities of the human mind."²⁵⁵ Warfield affirmed,

Modern speculative theists correct the deistic conception by postulating an immanent divine activity, both in external providence and in mental action. The data on which the mind works are supplied, according to them, not only by creation, but also by God's moral government; and the theory grades upward in proportion as something like a special providence is admitted in the peculiar function ascribed to Israel in developing the idea of God, and the significance of Jesus Christ as the embodiment of the perfect relation between God and man is recognized.²⁵⁶

Warfield's interactive principle of articulation was also found in his principle of *concursum*. As early as in 1894, Warfield consistently opposed extreme approaches to biblical inspiration. "The question of how inspiration is to be conceived," Warfield said, "becomes of very serious importance to go at least so far into it as to exhibit the untenableness of those theories which, when accepted, wholly overthrow the biblical conception of the effects of inspiration." With this in mind, Warfield asked, "How are the

²⁵³ Warfield, "The Idea of Systematic Theology," 9:58-59.

²⁵⁴ Warfield, "The Idea of Revelation and Theories of Revelation," 1:39.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:41.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

two factors, the divine and human, to be conceived to be related to each other in the act of inspiration?”²⁵⁷

In response, Warfield rejected those views that emphasize the divine element and exclude the human element—or vice-versa—in the act of inspiration. The biblical writer cannot be seen as God’s pen, for “Inspiration, in this view, was conceived as a simple act of dictation; and it was denied that the human writers contributed any quality to the product.” Similarly, Warfield rejected all “theories of the origin and nature of the Scriptures” that exclude “the divine factor and element altogether, and make them purely human in both origin and character.”²⁵⁸

Next, Warfield rejected the view that places the divine and the human elements “over against each other and divide[s] the Bible between them, or as factors in inspiration that strive against and exclude each other so that where one enters the other is pushed out.” Though this might have become a common approach in his day, Warfield warned that “It is this point of view which underlies the remark, now heard very frequently, that the human element in the Bible is coming to be recognized as larger than we had supposed—with the implication that, therefore, the divine element must be acknowledged to be smaller than we had supposed.”²⁵⁹

Finally, Warfield concluded that “Justice is done to neither factor of inspiration and to neither element in the Bible, the human or the divine, by any other conception of

²⁵⁷ Warfield, “The Divine and Human in the Bible,” 52.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 52, 53.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 55. Warfield cited William Sanday (1843-1920) as an example of this view. For an informative study on Sanday’s and Warfield’s views on inspiration, see Peter Maarten van Bemmelen, “Issues in Biblical Inspiration: Sanday and Warfield.” (Andrews University, 1987).

the mode of inspiration except that of *concursum*, or by any other conception of the Bible except that which conceives of it as a divine-human book in which every word is at once divine and human.”²⁶⁰ Lining up the relational and the interactive principles of articulation in his protological hermeneutic, Warfield pointed out, “The philosophical basis of this conception is the Christian idea of God as immanent as well as transcendent in the mode of his activity.” He continued, “Its idea of the mode of the divine activity in inspiration is in analogy with the divine modes of activity in other spheres—in providence, and in grace wherein we workout our own salvation with fear and trembling, knowing that it is God who is working in us both the willing and the doing according to his own good pleasure.”²⁶¹ Warfield explained,

The fundamental principle of this conception is that the whole of Scripture is the product of divine activities which enter it, not by superseding the activities of the human authors, but by working confluently with them, so that the Scriptures are the joint product of divine and human activities. . . . The human and divine factors in inspiration are conceived of as flowing confluently and harmoniously to the production of a common product.²⁶²

With this being said, Warfield clarified his principle of articulation, suggesting that God communicates directly with the human mind through the work of the Holy Spirit. He concluded,

On this conception, therefore, for the first time full justice is done to both elements of Scripture. Neither is denied because the other is recognized. And neither is limited to certain portions of Scripture so that place may be made for the other, nor is either allowed to encroach upon the other. As full justice is done to the human element as is done by those who deny that there is any divine element in the Bible, for of every word in the Bible it is asserted that it has been conceived in a human mind and

²⁶⁰ Warfield, “The Divine and Human in the Bible,” 56.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Ibid., 57.

written by a human hand. As full justice is done to the divine element as is done by those who deny that there is any human element in the Bible, for of every word in the Bible it is asserted that it is inspired by God and has been written under the direct and immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit.²⁶³

In short, then, the fact that Scripture testifies of a personal God that relates to his creation in space and time, a God who communicates directly with the human mind through the work of the Holy Spirit, indicates that Warfield's protological hermeneutic adopted a principle of articulation that rejected the timeless aspect of the Augustinian view of God and favored a biblical view of God that "offers to man a real redemption that was really wrought out in history."²⁶⁴

Epistemological Views: Warfield's Foundation of Knowledge

In addition to an ontology and a metaphysics that placed God at the center of human history, acting in space and time and communicating directly to the human mind, Warfield's protological hermeneutic adopted a holistic epistemology. This suggests that Warfield's theological method should not be limited to any single media of theological knowledge. Instead, Warfield's method involved something more sophisticated than

²⁶³ Warfield, "The Divine and Human in the Bible," 57. Other works of Warfield support this principle of articulation. In 1909 he wrote, "Revelation is fundamentally the work of the Spirit of God in direct communication with the human mind. . . . The Divine Spirit stirs men's hearts, and feelings and ideas spring up, which are no less revelations of God than movements of the human soul. . . . God has therefore, in his infinite mercy, added a revelation of himself, strictly so called, communicating by his Spirit directly to men knowledge concerning himself, his works, will, and purposes." Warfield, "The Idea of Revelation and Theories of Revelation," 1:44, 46. In another article he concurs, "Over against all dualistic conceptions, there is but one God, and He is indeed God; and because, over against all cosmotheistic conceptions, this God is a Person who acts purposefully; there is nothing that is, and nothing that comes to pass, that He has not first decreed and then brought to pass by His creation or providence." Warfield, "Predestination," 2:21.

²⁶⁴ Warfield, *The Right of Systematic Theology*, 34. See also, Warfield, "The Idea of Revelation and Theories of Revelation," 1:48.

some of his interpreters have thought.²⁶⁵ As a matter of fact, in as early as 1886, Warfield spoke of his holistic epistemology as including “three media or channels through which the truth of God is brought to man and made his possession.” According to Warfield, “these three media or channels of communication may be enumerated briefly as authority, the intellect, and the heart [i.e., human emotions, or inner feelings].”²⁶⁶

To explain his holistic epistemology, or how these medias of communication correlate to form a sound theology, Warfield said that all three medias “must be engaged, and must work harmoniously together as the proximate sources of our religion and of our knowledge.” He insisted, “The exaltation of anyone of the three to the relative exclusion of the others will, therefore, mar our religious life and our religious thought [i.e., theology] alike, and make both one-sided and deformed.” In other words, “We cannot have a symmetrical religious life or a true theology except through the perfect interaction of all three sources of communication of the truth.”²⁶⁷

While intellect and human emotions are self-explanatory to Warfield, what he

²⁶⁵ Helseth, for example, pointed out how Peter Heslam is incorrect on his assessment of Warfield as a “scholastic rationalist . . . at epistemological odds” with Kuyper and other “Reformed brethren from the Netherlands.” Paul K. Helseth, “Warfield on the Life of the Mind and the Apologetic Nature of Christian Scholarship,” in *B. B. Warfield: Essays on His Life and Thought*, ed. Gary L. W. Johnson, (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2007), 124. For more information see, Peter S. Heslam, *Creating a Christian Worldview: Abraham Kuyper's Lectures on Calvinism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 186-190, 251-256. Peter S. Heslam, “Architects of Evangelical Intellectual Thought: Abraham Kuyper and Benjamin Warfield,” *Themelios* 24, no. 2 (1998): 3-20. Quoted favorably by Helseth.

²⁶⁶ Warfield, “Authority, Intellect, Heart,” 2:668. According to Helseth, “Warfield was convinced that the operation of the intellect involves the ‘whole soul’—*mind, will, and emotions*—rather than the rational faculty alone. He concluded, therefore, that only regenerated sinners can see revealed truth for what it objectively is, for he recognized that it is only in the souls of the regenerate that there is ‘perfect interaction’ between the objective and subjective factors that impinge on religious epistemology and underlie religious belief and practice.” Helseth, “Warfield on the Life of the Mind and the Apologetic Nature of Christian Scholarship,” 125-126.

²⁶⁷ Warfield, “Authority, Intellect, Heart,” 2:669.

meant by “authority” in this article speaks of his search for clarity and balance. On the one hand, Warfield used “authority” to describe the kind of political/religious authority used by “the Church of Rome.” This he described as “irresponsible dogmatism of a privileged caste,” and he rejected this because he saw it as epistemologically incorrect.²⁶⁸ On the other hand, Warfield also used the term “authority” in relation to revelation, particularly with Scripture as the ultimate source of knowledge about God. Warfield said, “Authority is the sole source of our information concerning God.”²⁶⁹

With this in mind, Warfield maintained that to emphasize authority as the core of theological knowledge, might lead Christian theology into traditionalism, which would “ultimately deliver us bound hand and foot to the irresponsible dogmatism of a privileged caste.” Similarly, to emphasize the intellect as its core, might lead Christian theology into rationalism, which would “leave us helplessly in the grasp of the merely logical understanding.” In addition, to emphasize the heart might lead Christian theology into mysticism, which will “deliver us over to the deceitfulness of the currents of feeling which flow up and down in our souls.” In short, traditionalism might result in the system that requires “nerveless submission to the dicta . . . of an infallible person”; rationalism might result in many “*a priori* systems built up on the sole credit of the reasoning faculty”; and mysticism might result in “the clash of rival revelations, and the deification of the most morbid of human imaginations.”²⁷⁰

²⁶⁸ Warfield, “Authority, Intellect, Heart,” 2:670.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 2:669.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 2:670.

The solution for this erroneous approach, Warfield said, is to “emphasize the fact that the three sources so interlace and interact that one may not be exaggerated to the exclusion of the others as our sole channel of knowledge concerning God and divine things.”²⁷¹ With this being established, Warfield concluded,

Authority, in the Scriptures, furnishes the matter which is received in the intellect and operates on the heart. The revelations of the Scriptures do not terminate upon the intellect. They were not given merely to enlighten the mind. They were given through the intellect to beautify the life. They terminate on the heart. Again, they do not, in affecting the heart, leave the intellect untouched. They cannot be fully understood by the intellect, acting alone. The natural man cannot receive the things of the Spirit of God. They must first convert the soul before they are fully comprehended by the intellect. Only as they are lived are they understood. Hence the phrase, “Believe that you may understand,” has its fullest validity. No man can intellectually grasp the full meaning of the revelations of authority, save as the result of an experience of their power in life. Hence, that the truths concerning divine things may be so comprehended that they may unite with a true system of divine truth, they must be: first, revealed in an authoritative word; second, experienced in a holy heart; and third, formulated by a sanctified intellect. Only as these three unite, then, can we have a true theology.²⁷²

Summary

This chapter attempted to complete a fourfold task. First, I described some of Warfield’s life experiences in order to get a better understanding of his approach to biblical protology. Second, I provided a descriptive analysis of the philosophical and theological influences, which I perceived as guiding his protological hermeneutical method. Third, I described his understanding of the meaning (i.e., definition) and task of science, which included not only the natural sciences but also theology as the science of

²⁷¹ Warfield, “Authority, Intellect, Heart,” 2:669-670.

²⁷² Ibid., 2:671. Commenting on this article, Helseth explains that in this “extremely significant yet infrequently discussed essay . . . Warfield outlined the anthropological context within which his epistemological views must be interpreted.” Helseth, “Warfield on the Life of the Mind and the Apologetic Nature of Christian Scholarship,” 126.

God. And fourth, I described Warfield's interpretation of some selected texts in Genesis 1-11, which helped to uncover his views of the source of theology (i.e., the Bible—the material condition), the purpose of his theology (i.e., the teleological condition), and most importantly, the principles of interpretation (i.e., the hermeneutical condition) guiding his theology.

In the first section, it was shown how Warfield's Presbyterian roots, and his family's academic tradition, opened the doors and prepared the way for his prestigious scholarly life. This was confirmed by the high quality of preparatory education that Warfield received in his early years, and by his dedication as a graduate student at the Theological Seminary at Princeton. In time, Warfield's commitment to his religious roots, higher education, and his constant dialogue with other thinkers in the West, resulted in a wide productivity in his writings that reflected the philosophical and the theological influences guiding his theology in general, and his protological hermeneutic in particular.

The second section of the chapter dealt with the theological and philosophical influences guiding Warfield's protological hermeneutic—addressing the question: How can an inerrantist like Warfield, who claimed to have a high view of Scripture and that each and every word of Scripture was the Word of God, produce a protological hermeneutical method that embraced evolution as the mechanism used by God to create the universe, and in particular life on earth? After evaluating Warfield's writings on creation and evolution, I discovered that there were five main influences on Warfield's protological hermeneutic, and that each of these influences were formative and/or normative to Warfield. These influences were John Calvin, the WFC, SCSR, Charles

Hodge, and the evolutionary theory.

Calvin, for example, was a major influence on Warfield's theology in general, and his protological hermeneutic in particular. In short, Calvin's protology included a twofold process of creation. The *ex nihilo* creation of "the heavens and the earth," meaning inorganic matter on the universe, and the formation of "the present world," including the creation of life on earth. Following this logic, Warfield had no problem adopting a model of Mediate Creation. According to this model, God would have created inorganic matter *ex nihilo*, then guided the long age process to create life on earth—including the human body (not the human soul)—by his providence. With this in mind, and interpreting Calvin as one that attempted to unite a literal interpretation of biblical creation with the claim that "God perfected the world by process," Warfield concluded that Calvin's doctrine of creation was for all things—except the inorganic matter in the universe and the human souls—an evolutionary one. All in all, I suggest that Calvin's protology was only formative to Warfield's protological hermeneutic.

As far as the influence of SCSR, it was observed that most scholars regard SCSR as being formative and normative to the OPS, including the protological hermeneutic of Warfield. According to these scholars, SCSR provided the kind of philosophical dualism—object-subject epistemology, ontology, and cosmology—necessary to connect the Westminster standards with Warfield's teaching of inerrancy of Scripture. Also, they insist that SCSR represents the perfect combination of an object-subject epistemology that prevailed over Hume's "skepticism" by a *reductio ad absurdum*, but also short-circuited all the major metaphysical heresies propagated in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition, I observed that those who argue that SCSR was

formative and normative to OPS scholars like Warfield, insist that SCSR made three specific “contributions” that determined the course of OPS theology. The first was that SCSR sacrificed the fervent theocentricity of Calvin, in favor of self-consciousness as the oracle of religious truth. Human’s need rather than God’s Word became the guide in doctrinal formulation. The second was the adoption of the benign and optimistic anthropology of the Scottish Moderates by American Calvinists veiling the very insights into human nature, and consequently affecting the whole complex of doctrine and infusing the totality with a new spirit. The third was that it accelerated the long trend toward rational theology that had developed during and after Deistic controversy. Combined with an all too facile dismissal of Hume’s critique, SCSR’s influence on subsequent thinkers served to reinforce the prestige of thinkers like Locke, Butler, and Paley.

This section also presented the fact that in recent years, an increasing number of scholars began to question the thesis that SCSR had formative and normative influence on OPS scholars like Warfield. Though these scholars recognize that OPS theologians imbibed and even promoted SCSR, they deny that SCSR enjoyed the hegemony with which the reigning paradigm of the last fifty years has credited it. For them, it was the WCF and not the SCSR that was formative and normative to the OPS, especially to Warfield’s theology. They pointed out, the Augustinian and Calvinistic perspectives on epistemology, anthropology, theology, and soteriology expressed in the WCF, were vividly present in Warfield’s writings, which not only predated the rise of SCSR, but also dominated all of Warfield’s developmental years—long prior to any formal academic exposure to SCSR. Point in fact, Warfield demonstrated throughout his career that his

intent was to bow to the ultimate authority of Scripture, recognizing that Scripture warranted his belief in the doctrinal teaching of the WCF. For these reasons, they insist, the WCF, and not SCSR, should be regarded as formative and normative to Warfield.

Charles Hodge also exerted strong formative influence upon Warfield's protological hermeneutic. To begin with, Hodge's concept of Scripture in general, and of inspiration in particular, is vital to the correct understanding of Warfield's theology. Hodge's view of Scripture testified of the notion that the careful examination of the facts, and not metaphysical speculations, would show the coherence of God's revelation. Accordingly, the proper function of science was the gathering and classifying of facts; this included the gathering of the facts in Scripture by the science of theology. Hodge's influence also guided Warfield's opposition to Schleiermacher's concept of true religion as grounded on feelings instead of being grounded on Scripture. In time, Warfield was able to refine these views and develop his own concept of inspiration, commonly known as the doctrine of inerrancy of Scripture—a neologism that was taken up by conservative Presbyterians during the nineteenth century and probably contributed to the emergence of fundamentalism in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Finally, Hodge also influenced Warfield's interpretation of biblical protology, particularly his interpretation of the days of the creation week. Like Hodge, Warfield favored the interpretation of the word “day” in Genesis 1 as indefinite periods of time, to avoid unnecessary conflict with facts taught by modern science, especially modern geology. For these reasons, I suggested that Hodge's theology was strong formative to Warfield. It provided the foundation upon which Warfield formed his view on the inerrancy of Scripture, and it guided his interpretation of the biblical account of creation in accordance with the OPS

tradition.

Evolutionary theory also exerted a philosophical influence on Warfield's protological hermeneutic. Though scholars agree that Warfield was impacted by the evolutionary theory, they are divided on whether this theory was formative and/or normative for Warfield. After completing my analysis of Warfield's writings on creation and evolution, I concluded that evolution might be viewed as formative and normative to his protological hermeneutic, as long as the distinction between evolution in the broad sense and in its Darwinian form is maintained. Formative, because it helped Warfield to see nature from the perspective of the natural sciences, or as the product of God's ever-changing creation; and also normative, because it led him to embrace an interpretation of the days in Genesis 1 that was opposed to the actual meaning of the biblical text, but that could align his interpretation of biblical protology with the concept of deep time adopted by mainstream science. Nevertheless, I insisted that strict Darwinism was neither formative nor normative to Warfield's protological hermeneutic. After all, Warfield had always rejected spontaneous generation—which became a necessary condition to Darwinism—and a pure materialistic evolutionary process that indicated the absence of divine purpose in nature.

In the third section of this chapter, I described Warfield's understanding of the meaning and task of science. As for the task or function of science, he maintained that the task of science was to establish facts about a specific subject matter. Warfield defined science as the study of a subject matter, which was identified through the objective study of a particular object. In the case of theology, Warfield maintained that God in His nature and in His relations with His creature was the subject matter, and Scripture was the object

that might be objectively studied. In short, Warfield said, “Theology is therefore that science which treats of God and of the relations between God and the universe.” In addition, Warfield maintained that every science presupposes three conditions in order to be considered a science. The first condition was the reality of the subject matter, the second was an intelligent mind to receive and interpret the data, and the third was a media of communication to connect the first and the second.

The fourth section of this chapter provided a descriptive analysis of Warfield’s interpretation of the “beginning” in Genesis 1:1, the meaning of *tohu wabohu* in Genesis 1:2a, the meaning of *yom* in Genesis 1:3-2:4a, the seventh day in Genesis 2:2-3, and the biblical flood in Genesis 6-8. The examination of these interpretations by Warfield revealed that while he held a high view of Scripture, he also approved the use of a theory of evolution when dealing with biblical protology. In this light, it was shown first that Warfield’s protological hermeneutic placed Scripture (ML)—which to him was inerrant—as the epistemological referee and the ultimate source of theological knowledge. Second, as to the purpose (TL) of Warfield’s protological hermeneutic, he had two hermeneutical purposes: (1) to expose the complementary relationship between God’s general and special revelation; and (2) to be faithful to the WCF as the best expression of the teachings of Scripture. Altogether, the ML and the TL in relation to protological hermeneutics were both formative and normative elements. They were formative because both elements were inseparable from his interpretation of Genesis 1-11, and they were normative because both elements regulated Warfield’s interpretation of Scripture and nature—since general and special revelation should not be set in opposition to one another. Third, in the HL, Warfield dealt with questions related to (1) the reality of God,

(2) the interaction between God and humankind, and (3) the source of theological knowledge. These three elements were linked to a modern terminology in hermeneutical studies, namely: ontological views, which exposed Warfield's concept of reality; metaphysical views, which exposed Warfield's principles of articulation; and epistemological views, which exposed Warfield's foundation of knowledge. In short, his protological hermeneutic embraced an ontological view that presupposed the existence of God as the creator of all things. His existence was independent of any form of physical revelation and it was built in the human consciousness, for no human being can escape the idea of the existence of a superior being. In addition, Warfield's protological hermeneutic embraced metaphysical views that presupposed that God relates to his creation in time and space (i.e., God is not timeless), and that he communicates directly with the human mind through the direct work of the Holy Spirit. Finally, Warfield's protological hermeneutic embraced epistemological views that require the simultaneous use of authority, intellect, and human emotions, working harmoniously and simultaneously to formulate theological knowledge.

Having completed my evaluation of Warfield's and Price's protological hermeneutics, and the description of various influences on their interpretation of biblical protology, my final chapter will compare and contrast their views and attempt to show how their hermeneutics have impacted contemporary interpretations of biblical protology.

CHAPTER 5

COMPARING AND CONTRASTING PRICE AND WARFIELD: IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

In Chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation, I provided a descriptive analysis of the writings of George McCready Price and Benjamin Warfield on biblical protology. This analysis was presented against the background of their religion, education, and philosophical and theological influences. Then, I presented their interpretation of selected texts in Genesis, which reflected the distinct philosophical and theological influences and helped identify their protological hermeneutics. Finally, I described their protological hermeneutics on the ML and the TL, and on the HL.¹ On the HL in particular, I have presented their views on the reality of God, being, and the natural world (ontology), the principles of articulation (metaphysics), and the formation of knowledge (epistemology).

Now I will analyze Price's and Warfield's protological hermeneutics through comparison and contrast. This will show their hermeneutical differences and similarities more clearly, and clarify their interpretation of biblical protology in light of their claims to be faithful to God's revelation in Scripture and in nature.

¹ As stated in the first chapter, the purpose of this dissertation is to identify, compare, and contrast the protological hermeneutics of George McCready Price and Benjamin Warfield, in order to evaluate how these contrastive hermeneutics could impact contemporary Christian theology.

Comparing and Contrasting

Biographies

The biography section reveals very few similarities between Price and Warfield. Price, for example, was raised without a formal religion but became a Seventh-day Adventist in his early teens, while Warfield was born and raised in a devoted Presbyterian home. Growing up, their aspirations were also distinct from one another. Warfield aspired to a career in the sciences but became a theologian, while Price became the writer he had always aspired to be. The education they received was also very different. Warfield received a private education and studied under prominent scholars until completing graduate school. Price attended public schools but was unable to enroll in graduate school to obtain the doctoral degree he desired. Nevertheless, in spite of their contrasting biographies, it is noteworthy that both Price and Warfield became creative and prolific writers from whom there is much to be learned.

Theological and Philosophical Influences

As the epistemological turmoil of the nineteenth and twentieth century continued, Price placed himself among the COD who thought that biblical protology and Darwinism were incompatible. He insisted that in order to preserve the essential doctrines of Christianity, Christians should embrace a biblical hermeneutic for interpreting Scripture in general, and biblical protology in particular. This approach meant to Price that the meaning of the biblical text was contingent on Scripture alone, and no external source of knowledge should redefine the original text. On the other hand, Warfield placed himself among the CPE who thought that biblical protology and early Darwinian evolution were compatible, and that the interpretation of early Genesis could be harmonized with the

evolutionary interpretation of nature. According to Warfield, such harmonization could be achieved by reinterpreting the meaning of Hebrew “*yom*” (day) in the creation account, to follow mainstream science claims that life on earth was millions of years old. Here, and in contrast to Price, Warfield made the interpretation of the biblical text contingent on the interpretations of nature by mainstream science. It appears that Price perceived the philosophical and moral implications of Darwinism—from its early stages—as conflicting with the essential doctrines of Christianity.

To understand Price and Warfield better, two questions are key to making sense of their methods of interpreting Genesis 1-11. The first is the question of which theological and philosophical influences were formative and/or normative to their protological hermeneutic. The second question addresses their definition of the term *evolution*.

For Warfield, there were six main influences that impacted his protological hermeneutic: John Calvin, the WCF, SCSR, Charles Hodge, evolutionary theory, and modern science. In the case of Price, there were four main influences that impacted his protological hermeneutic: Scripture, evolutionary theory, Fundamentalism, and Ellen G. White. The differences and similarities of the following philosophical and theological influences are presented below.

Scripture

As mentioned earlier, Warfield’s high view of Scripture was well known among contemporary scholars and did not require specific attention. It suffices to say here that throughout his career Warfield exhibited the utmost regard for Scripture, to the point of thinking that each word in the Bible was inspired by God. According to Warfield—

though he rejected the idea that God took absolute control of the biblical writer—the thoughts of the writers and the verbal expression that resulted from it, were superintended by God. To Warfield it was this divine superintendence that made Scripture inerrant. Though I maintain that Warfield should not be labeled a fundamentalist, the doctrine of inerrancy that he and A. A. Hodge sponsored became the hallmark of fundamentalism, and has hardened the dialogue between science and religion.

Price, on the other hand, rejected the teaching of inerrancy and verbal inspiration as embraced by fundamentalists. Though he maintained that all Scripture was inspired and that it should be interpreted as a united revelation from God,² Price recognized that the biblical message was incased with the cultural heritage of each writer. Thus, according to Price, Scripture could not be considered inerrant, but infallible (i.e., trustworthy) to guide those who are seeking knowledge about origins and about God’s plan of salvation and restoration. To use the words of Gerhard Maier, “the enscripturated Word of God is perfectly trustworthy and without error in the sense of its divinely intended purpose.”³

Price’s rejection of the doctrine of inerrancy and verbal inspiration, was an essential characteristic of his hermeneutical method. This is important to note because Price’s belief in a six-day creation and his opposition to Darwinism is often deemed as an

² Blocher agrees that the job of the interpreter is “to study Genesis as God’s word and as human words, in harmony with the whole of Scripture and according to the characteristics of its language.” Henry Blocher, *In the Beginning: The Opening Chapters of Genesis* (Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity, 1984), 27.

³ Gerhard Maier, *Biblical Hermeneutics*, trans., Robert Yarbrough (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1994), 147.

indication that he was a fundamentalist and an opponent of all aspects of evolution.⁴ With this in mind, some scholars have chosen to dismiss Price's writings all too quickly, but as I have shown, this is a misinterpretation of his views. First, the only kind of evolutionary theory that Price rejected was Darwinian evolution. In other words, Price rejected naturalistic evolution (i.e., descent with modification from a common ancestor) because of its failure to produce scientific evidence to support its claims. But Price never rejected the concept of change and adaptation (i.e., microevolution) within species. Second, when Price rejected the doctrine of inerrancy, he explicitly opposed the hallmark teaching of fundamentalism and set himself apart as one of the most sophisticated creationist thinkers of the twentieth century.

To sum up the impact of Scripture on Price and Warfield, it is impossible to deny that both thinkers held Scripture as formative for their protological hermeneutics. For both Price and Warfield, Scripture functioned as the starting point of theology in general, and the primary written source of their protology in particular.

Price, however, went further than Warfield by making Scripture the only norm of his method. For Price, Scripture functioned as normative because its metanarrative provided a philosophy of history that could guide his interpretation of the whole Bible and the world. For Price, it was only in this way that our interpretations of the general and special revelations of God may coalesce intelligibly. On the other hand, Warfield clearly made mainstream science one of the norms of his protological hermeneutic when he sponsored the symbolic interpretation of Genesis 1, to harmonize Scripture with

⁴ Larson, *Evolution*, 254.

mainstream science in the interpretation of nature.

Evolutionary Theory

Both Price and Warfield were active participants in what microbiologist James Shapiro calls the “ideological debates about evolution.”⁵ During their careers both Price and Warfield recognized that the term evolution carried different nuances, and that evolution was being generally used in connection with naturalism to oppose the supernaturalism associated with creation (i.e., randomness vs. purpose). To use the words of Shapiro, “this insistence on randomness and accident . . . springs from a determination in the 19th and 20th centuries by biologists to reject the role of a supernatural agent in religious accounts of how diverse living organisms originated.”⁶

Well aware of these challenges, Price and Warfield sought to clarify the different meanings associated with the term evolution. Price differentiated between the narrow and the broad aspects of evolution. He insisted that the former was viewed as being purely naturalistic, carried by Darwin’s theory of natural selection, and capable of generating new species. The latter, on the other hand, meant there was change and adaptation only within species, and allowed for supernatural intervention. Similarly, and in clearer terms, Warfield differentiated between evolution in a broad sense and in its Darwinian form. Warfield maintained that in its broad sense the term evolution described change, modification, or development of some sort, and in its Darwinian form, the word evolution described how evolutionists—who are antisupernaturalists—explained the origin and the

⁵ James A. Shapiro, *Evolution: A View from the 21st Century* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: FT Press Science, 2011), 1.

development of inorganic and organic matter exclusively through natural processes.⁷

It is important to emphasize that even though Price was a COD, he never rejected change, modification, or development within the same species. What he denied on scientific grounds was the transmutation of species altogether (i.e., descent with modification from a common ancestor). Similarly, and in spite of being described as a CPE, Warfield never embraced naturalistic Darwinian evolution. It is true that he described change and development as evolution, but he clearly differentiated between Darwinian evolution and evolution as a synonym to change, modification, or development. Thus, Price's and Warfield's views on the evolutionary theory were similar in some ways and should be treated equally, regardless of the fact that some scholars have tried to depict their views as fundamentally contradictory.⁸

Modern Science

While both Price and Warfield embraced similar definitions of science, they responded differently to the question of how science should influence the interpretation of Scripture. On the one hand, both Price and Warfield thought that modern science and theology should not be opposed to each other, but should be affirmative of one another. On the other hand, Warfield let science become normative to his protological hermeneutic. Again, this was demonstrated by his willingness to reinterpret the meaning of the days of creation (*yom*), to harmonize the interpretation of nature with the

⁶ Shapiro, *Evolution: A View from the 21st Century*, 1-2.

⁷ Larson, *Evolution*, 51.

⁸ See section on Theological and Philosophical Influences in Chapters 3 and 4.

interpretation of Scripture. Price rejected this approach and he argued that science—from the perspective of flood geology—could expose the complementarity of nature and Scripture without compromising the meaning of the biblical text. Thus, contrary to Warfield, modern science was never normative in Price’s protological hermeneutic because science could not provide conclusive evidence “about the order or details of Creation, for these are beyond its legitimate sphere; and in speculating along these enticing lines, the subjective errors of cosmology will always creep in to vitiate the accuracy of our conclusions, and even to debauch the true spirit of inductive science.”⁹ Time and again Price insisted that Scripture and nature were “different aspects of one great unity,”¹⁰ but that Scripture should be the philosophical norm when it comes to the question of how life on earth originated.¹¹

Fundamentalism

Though I recognize that Price was well-known among fundamentalists and that most contemporary scholars tend to place him in the fundamentalist camp, I have found conclusive evidence to separate Price theologically from the fundamentalists. Though it is clear that fundamentalism played a supportive role to Price, I have shown that fundamentalism was neither theologically formative nor normative to Price’s protological hermeneutic. It is true that Price could have gone farther and denounced fundamentalism intentionally like Warfield did. Nevertheless, the evidence showed that Price rejected

⁹ Price, *Back to the Bible*, 70.

¹⁰ Price, *The Phantom of Organic Evolution*, 9.

¹¹ See section on Descriptive Analysis of Price’s Understanding on Protology in Chapter 3.

three major theological tenets of fundamentalism: the inerrancy of Scripture, Premillennialist-dispensationalism, and the full Ussherian worldview of creation.¹² This is important because these theological tenets are at the core of the fundamentalist interpretation of Scripture. By rejecting these tenets, Price created a theological rift between his theology and the fundamentalists that set him apart as an innovative thinker on matters of biblical protology.

Similar to Price, Warfield was well-known among fundamentalists, particularly because of his stance on biblical inerrancy. In fact, biblical inerrancy was the one core tenet of fundamentalism that Warfield had in common with the fundamentalists.¹³ But throughout his career, Warfield rejected the other core tenets such as dispensationalism, and the fundamentalists' methodological approach to Scripture as being incomplete, insufficient, and occasionally erroneous. In order to be fair to both thinkers, neither Price nor Warfield should be identified as a fundamentalist.

Scottish Common Sense Realism

While there is no direct reference to SCSR in Price's writings, the influence of Scottish philosophy on his approach to modern science and theology cannot be denied.¹⁴ No reader of Price can deny the influence of Scottish thinkers like Thomas Reid (1710–1796) and James McCosh (1811–1894), who claimed that “there are certain truths that we know intuitively, beliefs not arrived at by any process of induction, but by common

¹² For information on the central tenets of fundamentalism see, Chapter 2, pp. 39-50.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ See Chapter 3, pp. 143-159.

sense;”¹⁵ truths “that God implanted in all human beings.”¹⁶

In relation to Warfield, however, while there is no consensus on whether SCSR or WCF provided the philosophical foundation to his interpretation of Scripture, it seems fair to say that both sides can agree: the SCSR provided the kind of philosophical dualism—meaning object-subject epistemology, ontology, and cosmology—necessary to connect the WCF with Warfield’s teaching of inerrancy of Scripture. This is because the SCSR dualism made it possible to connect epistemologically, the reality of the natural world, with the biblical reality of the supernatural realm ruled ultimately by God.

While it is undeniable that SCSR was influential to Price and Warfield, it appears SCSR was primarily formative to their protological hermeneutics.¹⁷

The Westminster Confession

Though Price has cited the WCF in his writings,¹⁸ it is unclear whether the WCF had direct influence on his protological hermeneutic. In the case of Warfield, however, the WCF played an active role in his understanding of Christianity, and functioned as formative and normative to his protological hermeneutic. More than being formative and normative to Warfield's protology, the WCF provided the entire framework of his theology and science.¹⁹

¹⁵ Cairns, *Dictionary of Theological Terms*, 101.

¹⁶ Murphy, *Beyond Liberalism and Fundamentalism*, 32.

¹⁷ See Chapter 3, pp. 143-159 and Chapter 4, pp. 179-183.

¹⁸ Price, *Modern Discoveries Which Help Us to Believe*, 192.

¹⁹ Smith, “B. B. Warfield's Scientifically Constructive Theological Scholarship,” 45.

Charles Hodge

I was surprised that to date I have not found a quotation of Charles Hodge in Price's writings. Thus, as far as I can tell Hodge had no direct influence on Price's protological hermeneutic. In the case of Warfield, however, Hodge's influence was strongly formative to his protological hermeneutic. The five areas that Hodge most influenced Warfield, and which are vital to the correct understanding of Warfield's theology, are the concepts of revelation, of science, of Scripture, of inspiration, and biblical interpretation.

Warfield was heavily influenced by Hodge's views, which reflected the OPS presupposition that careful examination of the facts and not metaphysical and philosophical speculations, should expose the coherence of God's revelation—general and special. In relation to science, the OPS echoed Hodge's views that the proper function of science was the gathering and classifying of facts found in nature. In relation to Scripture, Hodge saw it as the Word of God, containing all the facts or truths that form the contents of theology. Hodge claimed that Scripture was to the church "the only infallible rule of faith and practice," had a lasting influence on Warfield's view of inspiration. In relation to inspiration, Hodge saw it as the divine guarantee against miscommunication between God and humankind. He insisted that God inspired both the thoughts of the sacred writer and the words they used. Finally, in relation to biblical interpretation, Hodge's influence on Warfield was clear in his interpretation of the days of the creation week. Here, Warfield favored the interpretation of the Hebrew *yom* as ages, to align the interpretation of Scripture with the interpretation of nature. This last point in particular has given scholars (e.g., Livingston and Noll) the ability to classify Warfield as an evolutionist, regardless of the fact that Warfield's view on evolution does

not always align with this label.

Ellen G. White

I have found that Price’s protological hermeneutic did not emerge as a biased attempt to promote Ellen White’s views on protology. Though I can agree that White influenced Price philosophically and theologically, I suggest that she was only formative to Price’s protological hermeneutic. White’s main influence on Price seemed to be the theological framework used to explain how the Genesis flood contributed to the reconfiguration of God’s original creation, and the formation of earth’s current geological condition (e.g., stratification and burial of most fossils).

Notable, however, is the fact that White was not normative to Price when he spoke about the age of life on earth. White on the one hand—though it seem she was using popular Ussherian language for her time—consistently spoke of biblical creation within a “six thousand years” timeframe, and only twice spoke of creation as existing “for more than six thousand years.”²⁰ Price on the other hand, went beyond White’s views to explain the Genesis account of creation in relation to the book of nature. To be specific, Price’s views on “the when” of creation (Gen 1:1) cogitated the possibility for an old universe, old earth, and young life on earth.²¹ John C. Lennox agrees with Price on this issue. He explains,

The initial creation act (Gen 1:1–2) is separated from the six days of creation that follow it. . . . This implies that “the beginning” of Genesis 1:1 did not necessarily take

²⁰ See Chapter 3, pp. 122-125nn186-187. See also Frank M. Hasel, “Ellen G. White and Creationism: How to Deal with Her Statements on Creation and Evolution: Implications and Prospects,” *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 17, no. 1 (2006): 232-233n9.

²¹ See Chapter 3, pp. 126-138.

place on day 1 as is frequently assumed. The initial creation took place before day 1, but Genesis does not tell us how long before. This means that the question of the age of the earth (and of the universe) is a separate question from the interpretation of the days, a point that is frequently overlooked. . . . It would therefore be logically possible to believe that the days of Genesis are twenty-four-hour days (of one earth week) and to believe that the universe is very ancient.²²

In my opinion, it is this view of “the when” of creation, combined with his theory of flood geology that gives Price a place among the greatest proponents of biblical protology in the twentieth century. This is because Price recognized the force of the argument coming from science, about the age of the universe and the inorganic matter surrounding fossils. Notwithstanding, Price sought to harmonize science and religion by sponsoring a two-stage view of creation and flood geology, to account for an old universe and a recent creation of life on earth that is comparable with the geological features of the earth.²³

The Interpretation of Selected Texts

For the most part, Price’s and Warfield’s interpretations of biblical protology are similar, and in some cases identical. About Genesis 1, for example, in addressing “the what” of creation, Price interpreted “the beginning” as a reference to the creation of the inorganic matter in the entire galactic universe, and an event distinct from and outside of the creation week. This was to Price creation *ex nihilo*. Similar to Price, Warfield interpreted Genesis 1:1 as a declaration of the “absolute origination of essence,” or, the creation *ex nihilo* of “the formless world-stuff.” To Warfield, everything that existed

²² John C. Lennox, *Seven Days That Divide the World: The Beginning According to Genesis and Science* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2011), 52-53.

²³ For more information see, Whitcomb and Morris, *The Genesis Flood*; Arnold, *Two Stage Biblical Creation*, 339-426; Klingbeil, ed. *He Spoke and It Was*, 49, 53-56.

derived from the inorganic matter created by God in the absolute beginning of time.²⁴

As far as “the when” of creation, Price maintained that the creation week could have happened recently—perhaps within the last six to seven thousand years.²⁵ However, he insisted that the creation of the galactic universe occurred much earlier than the creation week and at an unspecified time.²⁶ Warfield on the other hand, never addressed “the when” of creation directly, but as we have seen in the interpretation of the days of creation, it was implicit in Warfield’s writings that “the heavens and the earth” were created during a long process guided by God.

While there are distinctions between Price’s and Warfield’s interpretations of Genesis 1:1, they both interpreted *tohu wabohu* in Genesis 1:2 as the description of the condition of the earth immediately prior to the beginning of creation week. To date I have not found anything to indicate a fundamental disagreement between their views on this matter.

It is in their interpretation of *yom* in Genesis 1:5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31, and 2:2 that the unequivocal distinction between Price and Warfield is demonstrated. Throughout his career Price interpreted the word *yom* to mean literal, consecutive, twenty-four hour days. There were three main theological reasons for this interpretation: it strengthened interpretation that the Sabbath is theologically based on the creation week; it helped to limit the spreading of higher criticism, strengthening the claim that Scripture is a reliable

²⁴ Lennox, *Seven Days That Divide the World*, 53.

²⁵ Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 113.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 231.

source of knowledge; and it strengthened the claim for biblical metanarrative, where all the stories in Scripture seem to be built upon the literal interpretation of the creation account.²⁷

Warfield, however, in keeping with his Calvinistic roots assumed that the days of creation were symbolic days, which consequently meant that the process of creation occurred under God's guidance during millions of years. As far as I can tell, Warfield dealt with the nature of the days of the creation week explicitly on two occasions. In both cases, Warfield's approach aligned with Charles Hodge's, who favored the symbolic interpretation of *yom* to facilitate the relationship between mainstream science and theology. To Warfield, then, a symbolic interpretation of *yom* could facilitate the reconciliation of the biblical text with the interpretation of nature.

Altogether, Warfield's interpretation of *yom* seems inconsistent with his views on inspiration—biblical inerrancy. To be more specific, there was a dichotomy between Warfield's views on inspiration—which scholars agree ought to be normative to his theology—and his interpretation of *yom*. It seems difficult to reconcile a theological system that has Scripture as normative, with a system that subjugates the interpretation of Scripture to external sources (e.g., science) like Warfield did in the interpretation of *yom*. Instead, if Warfield wanted to promote and maintain a reliable theological system that held Scripture as normative, he should have used a protological hermeneutic similar to Price's.

²⁷ Klingbeil et. al has exposed the theological dependence of the wisdom literature, the prophetic books, the gospel, and biblical eschatology on the biblical account of creation. This is an important contribution that supports Price's claim for biblical metanarrative. See, Gerald Klingbeil, ed. *He Spoke and It Was* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2016).

Next, the interpretation of the seventh day in Genesis 2:2-3, also raises questions about the consistency of Warfield's protological hermeneutic. Warfield maintained that the biblical Sabbath stretched back to creation and that it was rooted in human nature and in the nature of the created universe. Nevertheless, Warfield also maintained that the seventh day was the foundation of the Christian Sabbath (i.e., Sunday), regardless of the fact that he recognized there were no instructions in Scripture for Christians to observe Sunday. In doing so, I suggest that Warfield undermined once again his view of biblical inerrancy to favor tradition. Here, perhaps unintentionally, Warfield's epistemology placed tradition over the authority of Scripture.

To Price, however, the seventh day was the theological foundation of the biblical Sabbath. He maintained there were historical and theological reasons for this interpretation. Historically, humankind could be reminded of the biblical reality of God's creative power, wisdom, and love, to create and redeem. Theologically, the Sabbath testified of God's intended purpose for humanity—since He set it apart by example for humanity, and it established the highest moral standards by which a person should live. Though I recognize that the hermeneutical impasse surrounding the seventh day and the Sabbath continues, there is compelling evidence to favor Price's view that the seventh day of creation is the theological foundation of the Sabbath.²⁸

Finally, on the interpretation of the biblical flood in Genesis 6-8, I observed that Warfield referred to the biblical flood, to Noah, and to its connection with other biblical

²⁸ Silva, "Creation and Covenant: A Hermeneutical Approach to the Correlation of the Seventh Day and the Biblical Sabbath." Tonstad, *The Lost Meaning of the Seventh Day*, 25-38. For information against this view see, Thomas R. Schreiner, "40 Questions About Christians and Biblical Law," in *40 Questions Series*, ed. Benjamin L. Merkle, (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Academic & Professional, 2010).

events and characters, which indicates that Warfield thought of these elements as historical. I also noticed that he interpreted the biblical flood as an event of global magnitude instead of a local event. Still, it is perplexing that in spite of these views, Warfield never addressed the fact that his belief in a global flood would disrupt his belief in descent with modification from a common ancestor, because the two are geologically incompatible.

As far as Price's views on the flood, he interpreted the biblical account of the flood as being a historical event of global magnitude. During his career, however, Price went far beyond Warfield, and argued that the biblical flood was the key to explain how most fossils were originally buried and that it was the mechanism responsible for carving most of the current landscaping of the globe. To Price, reconciling the book of Scripture with the book of nature was contingent on a literal interpretation of the biblical flood.

Price's and Warfield's Protological Hermeneutics

Now that I have compared and contrasted Price's and Warfield's biographic outlook, philosophical and theological influences, and the interpretations of some selected texts from early Genesis, the final step is to compare and contrast the protological hermeneutics used by Warfield and Price in these interpretations. In particular, I want to compare their protological hermeneutics on the ML, the TL, and the HL.

The Material and the Teleological Levels

Beginning with Price on the ML, his protological hermeneutic operated under the presupposition that Genesis 1-11 is divinely inspired, it is a truthful account of origins, it is historically reliable, and it can be reconciled with the book of nature. For Price, to dehistoricize the early chapters of Genesis could endanger the credibility of the entire

Scripture; in fact, it could undermine Christianity as a religion contingent on the biblical metanarrative. This approach was directly linked to Price's protological hermeneutic on the TL, which maintained that the purpose of Scripture was to guide humankind into a holistic understanding of protology, soteriology, and eschatology. For Price, biblical protology was the foundation of biblical Christianity, and it could not be disconnected from the biblical metanarrative. Throughout his career, and though Price wanted to show the harmony that exists between Scripture and nature, he maintained that Scripture provided a better set of presuppositions for the study of nature than Darwinism, or any other external philosophy. To use the words of Barth, "the Bible cannot be read unbiblically."²⁹ To Price, Scripture ought to maintain presuppositional authority over the interpretation of Scripture and nature.

This kind of tight connection between the ML and the TL did not exist in Warfield's protological hermeneutic. In fact, there was tension between the ML and the TL on this level. On the one hand, Warfield sponsored a high view of Scripture (i.e., ML) that had no room for errors. Scripture was the inerrant Word of God; it was the ultimate source of theological knowledge, and the end of all controversies in religion. In relation to biblical protology, biblical inerrancy ensured the historicity of the early chapters of Genesis. But on the other hand, the twofold purpose of Warfield's protological hermeneutic,³⁰ followed a symbolic interpretation of the days in Genesis 1 to bring the

²⁹ Karl Barth, "Church Dogmatics," in *The Doctrine of The Word of God*, ed. G. W. Bromiley and Thomas F. Torrance, vol. I.2 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2010), 466. For more information see, Kevin Diller, "Karl Barth and the Relationship between Philosophy and Theology," *Heythrop Journal* 51, no. 6 (2010). Kenneth Oakes, *Karl Barth on Theology and Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

³⁰ The twofold purpose of his theology was: (1) to expose the complementary relationship between

interpretations of nature and Scripture into agreement. Following Hodge’s advice, Warfield chose to accommodate his interpretation of Genesis 1 to the prevailing interpretation of nature by modern science in general—and to modern geology in particular (e.g., *yom* = ages)—and not to the biblical text itself (e.g., *yom* = literal day). In my opinion, by taking this approach Warfield placed himself into a theological predicament. He contradicted his own view that Scripture should be the end of all controversies in religion, and gave modern science the final word on the question of “the when” of creation. To paraphrase Barth on this issue, on this point, Warfield read the Bible unbiblically.³¹

To sum up, Price and Warfield had similar views on the ML but they were distinct on the TL. While Warfield sought to accommodate the interpretation of Scripture to the interpretation of nature, Price invited scientists and theologians to reevaluate the premises of modern geology—which was the basis of Darwinism—and to reinterpret nature in light of the biblical protology. To Price, this reevaluation showed how Scripture provided a better framework to interpret nature, and maintained the presuppositional authority of Scripture over theology and modern science.

The Hermeneutical Level

Having established the differences and similarities between Price and Warfield on the ML and the TL, we are ready to compare and contrast their protological hermeneutics

God’s general and special revelation and (2) to be faithful to the WCF as the best expression of the teachings of Scripture in light of Calvin’s theology. For more information see Chapter 4, pp. 223-247.

³¹ Barth, “Church Dogmatics,” in *The Doctrine of The Word of God*, ed. Bromiley and Torrance, vol. I.2, 466.

on the HL. I have found that it is at this level that Price's and Warfield's protological hermeneutics differ the most in spite of some superficial similarities. This is because it is at this level that their protological hermeneutics are philosophically distinct, and have led them to different interpretations of Scripture.

Ontology

Ontologically speaking, Price regarded the events in the OT and NT as historically reliable and these events were delineated as Scripture's objective realities. To Price, these realities included the non-physical realm (e.g., the existence of a personal God, angels, etc.), and the physical realm (e.g., the special creation of the natural world, the fall of humankind, the flood, etc.). While the former can be known intuitively to some degree, Price maintained it was through Scripture that the non-physical realm could be objectively known. In this sense—and though Price did not use this term—his ontology aligned with the SCSR and opposed Platonism and Aristotelianism. In other words, Price's common sense approach to Reality was that Reality is the combination of the physical and the non-physical realms (i.e., realities), which exists and subsists because of God's supernatural activities. Thus, when opposing the Darwinian theory of evolution Price insisted that “the modern discussion [about origins] is not now of the existence of a Great First Cause [i.e., God], but solely about His character.”³² Altogether, and as a COD

³² Price, *Outlines of Modern Christianity and Modern Science*, 246. Elsewhere Price said, “We may indeed safely ignore any philosophy which would make the Creator anything else than all-wise, and non-conditioned by any possible contingency. But with this granted, we must admit that the principles which such a Being has put into his works must be an expression of his character.” Price, *God's Two Books or Plain Facts About Evolution, Geology and the Bible*, 29. See also, Price, *The Phantom of Organic Evolution*, 183; Price, *If You Were the Creator: A Reasonable Credo for Modern Man*, 49. Most recently, Weinberg also concluded that Price's main objection to Darwinism was not scientific, but moral and philosophical. Weinberg, “‘Ye Shall Know Them by Their Fruits’: Evolution, Eschatology, and the

and a proponent of biblical protology, Price was ahead of his time when he embraced SCSR—or critical realism—which has a “nonreductive physicalism” approach to philosophy and science. He demonstrated his advantage from the early stages of his career, arguing that physical reality could be better understood in light of the nonphysical reality described in Scripture.

For the most part and similar to Price, Warfield’s ontology aligned with the SCSR. His ontological views, for example, presupposed the existence of God as the creator of all things. God’s existence was intrinsic to humankind and independent of any form of physical revelation (e.g., nature, Scripture). Nevertheless, it was through Scripture that the knowledge of God could be systematically acquired, because Scripture provides us with an authentic portrayal of God’s creative actions and provisions for the salvation of humankind. On the question of human nature, however, Warfield seemed to favor Neoplatonism by sponsoring a dualistic view of human nature.³³ He suggested that the human body could have been created through a long evolutionary process, and that only the creation and implementation of the human soul was a special act of God. Thus, the body and the soul exist independently from each other. This feature in Warfield’s protological hermeneutic is completely distinct from Price.

To Price, the human nature was monistic and not dualistic; it was indivisible and

Anticommunist Politics of George McCready Price.”

³³ I say Neoplatonism because Plotinus—the founder of Neoplatonism—thought of human beings as dualistic entities (i.e., body and soul), having a godlike soul that is “temporarily trapped in an earthly body” that is not “affected by the process of incarnation.” Kelly James Clark, Richard Lints and James K. A. Smith, *101 Key Terms in Philosophy and Their Importance for Theology*, Kindle ed. (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004); Andreas Graeser, “Platonism,” *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, 2005 ed. (2005), 4:237.

existed only by a combination of body, mind, and spirit. Nowadays, Price's understanding of human nature is widely supported among OT scholars who recognize that "at least the earlier Hebraic scriptures know nothing of body-soul dualism."³⁴ Though Warfield's view on human nature still finds support in academic circles,³⁵ Price's view on this topic is not Neoplatonic but constructed from Scripture and is in harmony with contemporary scholarship.³⁶

Metaphysics

Price's metaphysical view, or his principle of articulation included Divine transcendence and infinite analogical temporality. To Price, this meant that God—in His eternity—could experience time and interact with His creation without experiencing the negative effects of time in a fallen world (e.g., change, aging, death).³⁷ Consequently, Price completely rejected divine timelessness as defined by Augustine and the Greek fathers before him. According to Price, God interacts with his creation personally and directly, revealing himself in the human mind and in Scripture through the Holy Spirit. Though Price maintained that God exists outside of his creation, he insisted that God

³⁴ Nancey C. Murphy, *Bodies and Souls, or Spirited Bodies? Current Issues in Theology*, Current Issues in Theology (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 16.

³⁵ Allison provides an interesting account of the history of the doctrine of humanity where he cites modern scholars who adopt a dualistic approach to human nature, e.g., William N. Clarke, John Cooper, William Hasker, Francis Crick, Gregg R. Allison and Wayne A. Grudem, "Historical Theology: An Introduction to Christian Doctrine; A Companion to Wayne Grudem's Systematic Theology," (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2011), 334-341. Other proponents of dualism include: Plato, Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, Descartes, D. M. Armstrong.

³⁶ For an insightful and recent discussion on the human nature, see, Murphy, *Bodies and Souls, or Spirited Bodies?*

³⁷ Canale, *Basic Elements of Christian Theology*, 70-73.

interacts with his creation in time and space without being limited by time. Thus, Price interpreted biblical protology as the record of divine actions in history.³⁸ Erickson agrees that as students of Scripture, “we must conclude that the position which best accords with the biblical writers’ own understanding and claims is that direct communication of truth from God is a modality of revelation as genuine as that of his acts in history.”³⁹

Similar to Price, Warfield’s principle of articulation rejected divine timelessness, and embraced a temporal view of God that included relational and interactive aspects. From the relational point of view, God relates to His creation directly in time and space. Again, Erickson agrees, “God manifests his purpose within history.”⁴⁰ From the interactive point of view, Warfield favored human reason as God’s method to interact to humankind. It is through reason (i.e., mind) that direct and immediate communication of truth occurs—from God and by God—and it was wrought out in history.⁴¹

A good example of the difference between Warfield’s and Price’s principles of articulation, lays in the distinctions they made of the meaning of creation.

To Price, for example, creation was not only the *ex nihilo* origination of the “world stuff” (i.e., inorganic matter), which was then transformed during an evolutionary process that took millions of years. Creation was both the *ex nihilo* origination of inorganic matter in the universe (which eventually became a part of all planets—whether

³⁸ Contemporary thinkers with temporal views of God include, Walter C. Kaiser Jr., Millard J. Erickson, Wolfhart Pannenberg, John Feinberg, Robert W. Jenson, and Fernando Canale. For an insightful exposition on timelessness versus temporality of God see, Gulley, *God as Trinity*, 163-213.

³⁹ Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 215.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 378.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 215.

by slow or rapid actions), the configuration of the planet Earth with its immediate solar system, and the *ex nihilo* creation of life on earth (the organic matter on earth). And, since Scripture provides no indication of when the origination of inorganic matter in the universe occurred (Gen 1:1), Price maintained that only the configuration of Earth and the *ex nihilo* creation of life on earth occurred in six literal, twenty-four hour days, sometime in a recent past (Gen 1:3-2:1-4a). By taking this approach, Price distinguished himself from Deists who accuse God of being absent from creation; from theistic evolutionists who claim that God has guided the evolutionary process through long ages; and from the fundamentalists who insist that the entire galactic universe was created in six literal, twenty-four hour days, about six to ten thousand years ago.

To Warfield, however, creation was the origination of the “world stuff” infused with the seed of the world we now see. Thus, while Warfield sustained that God relates to creation in time and space, he maintained that our world was shaped by progressive acts of God through millions of years. Though this approach separates Warfield from Deists and fundamentalists in general, it does not create a clear distinction between theistic evolutionists or progressive creationists, regardless of his attempt to separate these from his mediate creation theory, not to mention the exegetical misstep he committed when he sided with C. Hodge on the interpretation of *yom* (e.g., *yom* = ages, not day). This action alone raised questions about Warfield’s attempt to show that Scripture is inerrant and to make Scripture the epistemological foundation of his theology.

Epistemology

Price’s protological hermeneutic embraced what I call a nonreductive epistemology. This is to say that his epistemological views were not limited to a single

foundation of knowledge. In fact, he maintained that both Scripture and nature were reliable sources of knowledge. In Scripture God tells us what he chose to about his works and in nature we find what the Creator intended for us to discover by ourselves about his works. Thus, Price maintained that protological knowledge could neither be limited to the interpretation of the book of Scripture by theologians, nor to the interpretation of the book of nature by scientists. Protological knowledge requires us to combine the most accurate and current interpretations of both Scripture and nature. Provided this is done, Price concluded, nature and Scripture should similarly testify in favor of the Creator.

Similar to Price, Warfield's protological hermeneutic was based on a holistic epistemology. He maintained that the formation of sound theological knowledge required the simultaneous use of authority, intellect, and inner knowledge. While his description of intellect and human emotions was straight forward, Warfield used the term *authority* in reference to Scripture and to political/ecclesiastical systems. The latter he denied for it can lead to irresponsible dogmatism, and therefore, it was epistemologically incorrect. Scriptural authority, Warfield insisted, when used simultaneously with reason and inner knowledge, produced the kind of unprejudiced theology that could bring nature and Scripture into harmony.

Implications and Conclusions

In light of the observations above, the following implications and conclusions seem warranted. First, the fact that Price was unable to attend graduate school, did not lower the quality nor the influence of the academic work he produced. In fact, there are other influential thinkers in the West who received academic recognition for their outstanding contribution to the body of knowledge, regardless of their lack of a terminal

graduate degree. A few include the geologist William Smith,⁴² the instructor of surgery Vivien Thomas,⁴³ and the archeologist Howard Carter.⁴⁴ Just as important as the academic credentials one might carry, there is an undeniable reality about Price that no contemporary scholar can ignore: Price's work provides inspiration for generations of new thinkers from the fields of theology, history, philosophy, and the sciences, to consider the possible connections between the book of Scripture and the book of nature.⁴⁵

A second implication of this research relates to the theological and philosophical influences that Price and Warfield received. This research found that Price and Warfield received formative and/or normative influences on their interpretation of the biblical text. It showed that Warfield for example, allowed C. Hodge views on science to influence his interpretation of *yom* in biblical protology, to the point that he was willing to overlook the natural reading of *yom* in Genesis, as an attempt to reconcile the interpretations of nature and Scripture in the light of mainstream science. On this point, the evidence showed that Warfield failed to remain objective to the data in Scripture, because he allowed extra-

⁴² See Chapter 2, pp. 80-81nn20-21.

⁴³ Vivien T. Thomas, LL.D.: Supervisor of Surgical Research Laboratories 1910 - 1985, ed. Alan Mason Chesney Medical Archives, in the Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions, accessed June 1, 2016, <http://www.medicalarchives.jhmi.edu/vthomas.htm>; Vivien T. Thomas, *Partners of the Heart - Vivien Thomas and His Work with Alfred Blalock. An Autobiography by Vivien T. Thomas*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998).

⁴⁴ T. G. H. James, *Howard Carter: The Path to Tutankhamun* (London: Tauris Parke, 2006), 1-21.

⁴⁵ Some of the works that acknowledge Price's role and influence in the science and religion dialogue are: Whitcomb and Morris, *The Genesis Flood*; Clark, *New Creationism*; Morris, *History of Modern Creationism*; Numbers, *The Creationists*; Noll, *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*; Weinberg, "'Ye Shall Know Them by Their Fruits': Evolution, Eschatology, and the Anticomunist Politics of George McCready Price." For information on theological methods that improve the dialogue between science and theology in this scientific age see Peacocke, *Theology for a Scientific Age*; Murphy, *Beyond Liberalism and Fundamentalism*.

biblical source to determine his interpretation of the biblical text. In other words, the influence Warfield received from C. Hodge led him to impose a meaning on the text that seems unwarranted by the author of Genesis. He failed to remember that the entire Scripture “demands to be understood in terms of its original intended meaning.”⁴⁶

Moving forward, contemporary scholars could benefit from Klein’s, Blomberg’s, and Hubbard’s hermeneutical counsel: “We cannot impose on a biblical author information that we possess because of our accumulated current knowledge. If we read into the biblical texts information the authors could not possess, we distort their meaning.”⁴⁷ Similarly, Osborne is right: “In exegesis, our presuppositions/ preunderstanding must be modified and reshaped by the text. The text must have priority over the interpreter. . . . The commissive force of Scripture must never be lost.”⁴⁸

A third implication of this research is that it exposed a misconception among leading historians that Warfield’s approach to science was superior to Price’s. For Mark Noll for example, Price belongs to a group of thinkers who “preserve a misguided Baconianism for the Bible and abandon a healthy Baconianism for science.”⁴⁹ This research, however, showed that both Price and Warfield sponsored similar views of science throughout their careers. The only difference was in how they applied their

⁴⁶ Grant R. Osborne, *The Hermeneutical Spiral: A Comprehensive Introduction to Biblical Interpretation*, 2nd ed. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2006), 521.

⁴⁷ William W. Klein, Craig Blomberg, and Robert L. Hubbard, *Introduction to Biblical Interpretation* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publisher, 2004), 11.

⁴⁸ Osborne, *The Hermeneutical Spiral: A Comprehensive Introduction to Biblical Interpretation*, 517.

⁴⁹ Noll, *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 197.

similar views of science to their protological hermeneutics, and the impact of this application to their epistemology.⁵⁰

To be fair, I suggest that a revision of the perception of Price's view of science is not only due but necessary. A similar revision should apply to the perception of Warfield's view of science. After all, Warfield's alleged superior view of science was not superior to Price's. In fact, Warfield failed to remain objective to the scientific task of obtaining information from the object (i.e., text), when it came to the interpretation of *yom* in biblical protology. By favoring a symbolic interpretation of *yom* in Genesis, Warfield contradicted both his view of science when he failed to analyze the text objectively, and his view on biblical inerrancy when he favored mainstream science's interpretation of origins over the biblical account. In addition, Warfield overlooked the incoherent presuppositions forming the interpretation of nature by the CPE.

Price's and Warfield's protological hermeneutics also have implications for Christian theology. In the case of Price, the fact that he did not distance himself from the fundamentalists has in a certain way blurred his contribution to the study of creation in relation to science. This is especially true for the opponents of special creation, who automatically link biblical creation with Ussher's chronology. It is my hope that this dissertation helps to clarify that Price's views on biblical creation were completely

⁵⁰ In short, both thinkers maintained that the task of science was to gather and to classify the facts about the object being studied. In theology, the biblical text is the data (i.e., object), and the interpretation of this data should expose the meaning of the text. For information on applied hermeneutics see, Ekkehardt Muller, "Guidelines for the Interpretation of Scripture," in *Understanding Scripture: An Adventist Approach*, ed. George W. Reid, (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 2005), 111-134; Greg A. King, "Interpreting Old Testament Historical Narrative," in *Understanding Scripture: An Adventist Approach*, ed. George W. Reid, (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 2005); Osborne, *The Hermeneutical Spiral: A Comprehensive Introduction to Biblical Interpretation*, 346-373; Maier, *Biblical Hermeneutics*, 15-95.

opposed to an Ussherian-fundamentalist worldview. In the case of Warfield, the fact that he allowed the mainstream scientific interpretation of nature of his day to control the interpretation of the days of creation in Genesis, created a precedent for other scholars to use mainstream scientific interpretations of the natural world to control their interpretation of Scripture and to undermine the most basic tenets of Christianity like Bultmann did.⁵¹

Moving forward, contemporary scholars must raise questions and verify the claims of those who recognize and affirm the undeniable theological dependence of the wisdom literature, the prophetic books, the gospel, and biblical eschatology on the biblical account of creation.⁵² This is not a topic that can be easily dismissed. In fact, the recognition of this influence is theologically essential to Christianity, because virtually all genres in the OT contain information used to identify Jesus as the promised Messiah. Consequently, if biblical metanarrative is built upon the premise that early Genesis contains the record of a historical event, but this premise is denied to favor a naturalistic evolutionary approach to origins, then the theological foundation of the OT books used to validate the claim that Christ is the Messiah is weakened and its claims made untenable.

In conclusion, I suggest that the protological hermeneutical impasse between

⁵¹ Bultmann says, "Experience and control of the world have developed to such an extent through science and technology that no one can or does seriously maintain the New Testament world picture. . . . No mature person represents God as a being who exists above in heaven; in fact, for us there no longer is any 'heaven' in the old sense of the word. And just as certainly there is no hell, in the sense of a mythical underworld beneath the ground on which we stand. Thus, the stories of Christ's descent and ascent are finished, and so is the expectation of the Son of man's coming on the clouds of heaven and of the faithful's being caught up to meet him in the air (1 Thess. 4:15ff)." Rudolf Bultmann, *New Testament and Mythology and Other Basic Writings*, trans., Schubert M. Ogden (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1984), 4.

⁵² Klingbeil, ed. *He Spoke and It Was*. As far as I know, this is the most updated work addressing this topic.

George McCready Price and Benjamin Warfield over whether biblical protology should be interpreted literally or symbolically, was caused by how they applied their views on epistemology to their protological hermeneutics.

Every time a student of Scripture attempts to use external sources to help with their interpretation of the biblical text, there is a potential for the kind of hermeneutical impasse that we see between Price and Warfield. This use of external sources to broaden one's approach to Scripture is not wrong in itself, since "no one interprets in a vacuum: everyone has presuppositions and preunderstandings."⁵³ But as human beings we must condition ourselves to avoid mediating "our understanding [of the biblical text] through a grid of personal history and bias."⁵⁴ A key to ensure the faithful interpretation of biblical protology is to let the external sources (e.g., presuppositions, preunderstandings, scientific discoveries, etc.) inform—and only inform—our inquiries about the text, and not control our interpretation of the text. We must always remember that "our goal remains to hear the message of the Bible as the original audiences would have heard it or as the first readers would have understood it," regardless of our epistemological agenda.⁵⁵

⁵³ Klein, Blomberg and Hubbard, *Introduction to Biblical Interpretation*, 7.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

APPENDIX A

EXAMINATION FOR TEACHER'S LICENSE REQUIREMENTS

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BERRIEN SPRINGS, MICHIGAN
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DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

EXAMINATION FOR TEACHER'S LICENSE NO. 1.

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF EXAMINERS.

NEW YORK, July 30, 1904.

An examination of applicants for License No. 1, whose eligibility is determined by the requirements stated hereinafter, will be conducted by the Board of Examiners in accordance with the following scheme:

A written examination in the history and principles of education and methods of teaching will be held at the Hall of the Board of Education, Park Avenue and Fifty-ninth Street, Borough of Manhattan, on Thursday, January 5, and Friday, January 6, 1905, beginning at 9 A. M., and at such other places as the Board of Examiners may hereafter determine, and a written examination in academic subjects will be held during the week beginning January 9, 1905. (A descriptive circular regarding the academic examination may be obtained at the office of the City Superintendent of Schools.)

An oral examination will be given at the call of the Board of Examiners, and will include tests in elementary school subjects, including constructive work and drawing, physical training, music, and (except for men) sewing.

NOTE.—Certain classes of applicants exempted from the academic examination are indicated below in section III.

In lieu of the academic examination set by the City Superintendent of Schools for admission to the training schools, applicants required to take an academic examination may take the academic examination set by the New York State Commissioner of Education for a State Life Certificate, or by the College Entrance Examination Board of the Middle States and Maryland for entrance to college.

In the written and the oral examinations, the applicant must show ability to use the English language correctly.

With the exceptions hereinafter mentioned (see section IV.), persons at least eighteen years of age and less than thirty-six years, who are eligible in accordance with the following requirements, will be admitted to the examination:

I. To be eligible for the examination, women applicants must have one of the following qualifications:

(a) (1) Graduation from a high school or academy having a course of study of not less than four years, or graduation prior to September 1, 1899, from a high school or academy having a course of study of not less than three years, approved by the State Commissioner of Education; and (2) graduation from a school or class for the professional training of teachers having a course of study of not less than two years, consisting of seventy-six weeks, approved (for City licenses) by the State Commissioner of Education, or, in lieu of such graduation, graduation from a school or class for the professional training of teachers having a course of study of one year, approved (for City licenses) by the same authority, together with successful experience in teaching for one year of not less than thirty-eight weeks. (Graduates of city training schools who entered prior to March 1, 1902, shall be regarded as eligible for License No. 1 on completion of the courses begun by them.)

(b) Graduation from a professional course of two years in a normal school, approved by the State Commissioner of Education, after graduation from an approved four years' high school course, together with (1) the passing of an academic examination set by the City Superintendent of Schools for admission to the training schools, or of an academic examination set by the State Commissioner of Education, or by the College Entrance Examination Board of the Middle States and Maryland for entrance to college, or the passing of other examination satisfactory to the Board of Examiners, or (2) one year's successful experience in teaching. (Graduates of a State normal school situated within The City of New York who entered prior to March 1, 1902, shall be exempt from academic examination under (1).)

(c) Graduation from a four years' normal school course, approved by the State Commissioner of Education, together with two years' successful experience in teaching.

(d) Graduation from a satisfactory normal school or training school course of not less than two years, after graduation from a satisfactory high school, together with not less than three years' successful experience in teaching.

(e) Five years' successful experience in teaching, together with the passing of an academic examination set by the City Superintendent of Schools for admission to training schools or by the State Commissioner of Education for a State Life Certificate, given since 1892, or by the College Entrance Examination Board of the Middle States and Maryland for admission to college, or the passing of other academic examination approved by the Board of Examiners.

(f) Graduation from a college or university recognized by the Regents of the University of the State of New York, together with (1) the completion of a pedagogical course of at least one year satisfactory to the City Superintendent of Schools, or (2) three years' successful experience in teaching.

(g) Graduation from a normal college located within The City of New York, authorized by law to grant degrees, and approved by the State Commissioner of Education for the professional training of teachers.

II. To be eligible for the examination, men applicants must have one of the following qualifications:

(h) Graduation from a college or university recognized by the Regents of the University of the State of New York, together with (1) the completion of a pedagogical course of at least one year satisfactory to the City Superintendent of Schools, or (2) three years' successful experience in teaching.

(i) Graduation from one of the training schools of The City of New York, or from a State normal school located within The City of New York, provided admission to such school took place prior to March 1, 1902.

III. The following classes of applicants in addition to the class exempted in I. (b) will be exempted from the academic examination for License No. 1: Applicants eligible under I. (a), I. (c), I. (d), and such graduates eligible under I. (f), I. (g), and II. (h), as may be specially exempted by the City Superintendent of Schools.

A certificate of physical fitness made after examination by one of the physicians of the Board of Education will be required in the case of each applicant. No person will be licensed who has not been vaccinated within eight years, unless the examining physician recommends otherwise.

IV. No woman will be admitted to this examination who took the examination for License No. 1, held in June, 1904, and received a mark of less than 50 per cent.; no man will be admitted who received a mark of less than 60 per cent.

V. No person will be admitted to this examination who will not be ready to accept an appointment, when offered, and who will not, if required, sign a declaration to that effect.

WILLIAM H. MAXWELL,
City Superintendent of Schools.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
 THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Examination for Admission to Training Schools for Teachers, and for
 Graduation from High Schools

OFFICE OF THE CITY SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS,
 PARK AVENUE AND 59TH STREET.

New York, July 30, 1904.

In accordance with Section 52 of the By-Laws of the Board of Education, and the regulations prescribed by the State Department of Education under date of August 1, 1899, an examination of applicants for admission to the Training Schools for Teachers of The City of New York will be conducted by the City Superintendent of Schools, beginning on Monday, January 9, 1905, at 9 A. M.

Applicants who have completed in the city high schools a four-year course, embracing the subjects required by the State Department of Education, will be examined in their respective high schools.

Applicants who have completed similar courses in other institutions, approved by the State Commissioner of Education, will be examined in the New York Training School for Teachers, 119th Street near Second Avenue, Manhattan, and in the Brooklyn Training School for Teachers, Prospect Place near Nostrand Avenue, Brooklyn. All such applicants should appear in either of said schools at 3 P. M. on Wednesday, January 4, to make formal application and to file certificates from principals.

The dates of the examinations in the various subjects specified in Section D will be as follows:

January 9,	9 A. M.— 12 M. English	1 P. M.— 3 P. M. } Med. & Mod. Hist. 3.10 P. M.—4.40 P. M. Botany
January 10,	9 A. M.—10.30 A. M. Algebra 10.40 A. M.—12.10 P. M. Geometry	1 P. M.—2.30 P. M. Elem. French 2.40 P. M.—3.40 P. M. Inter. French 3.50 P. M.—5.20 P. M. Adv. French
January 11,	9 A. M.— 11 A. M. El. Latin 11.10 A. M.—12.40 P. M. Int. Latin	1 P. M.—2.30 P. M. Physics 2.40 P. M.—4.10 P. M. Chemistry
January 12,	9 A. M.—10.30 A. M. Zoölogy & Physi- ology 10.40 A. M.—12.10 P. M. Physiography	1 P. M.—2.30 P. M. Elem. German 2.40 P. M.—3.40 P. M. Inter. German 3.50 P. M.—5.20 P. M. Adv. German
January 13,	9 A. M.—10.30 A. M. } Adv. Latin 10.40 A. M.—12.10 P. M. Drawing	1 P. M.—3.30 P. M. } Elem. Greek 3.40 P. M.—5.10 P. M. } Elem. Spanish Adv. Greek Adv. Spanish
January 16,	9 A. M.— 12 M. Adv. Mathematics	

QUALIFICATIONS

A. Each applicant for admission to a training school must be at least 17 years of age at the time of entrance.

B. Each applicant for admission to training schools must subscribe in good faith to the following declaration:

I, the subscriber, hereby declare that my object in asking admission to (here insert the name of the training school, as, New York Training School for Teachers or Brooklyn Training School for Teachers) is to prepare myself for teaching, and that it is my purpose to engage in teaching in the public schools of the State of New York at the completion of such preparation.

C. Before admission to a training school, each applicant must hold, as a minimum qualification, (a) a diploma of graduation from a high school or an academy having a four years' course of study approved by the State Commissioner of Education; or (b) a diploma from an institution of equal or higher rank approved by the same authority, as provided under Chapter 1031, Laws of 1895.

D. Candidates for admission to training schools are required to pass examinations in subjects aggregating in value at least 1,200 credits. 300 of these must be in English, 300 in mathematics, and 100 in a science, but the remaining 500 credits may be obtained as the candidate shall elect from the list of subjects given on the following page. The total number of credits required for admission shall be 840; but no one shall be admitted to a training school whose rating in English is below 60%, and a rating in any other subject below 50% shall not be counted toward the total.

After the school year 1904-1905, candidates will be required to take an examination in either Physics or Chemistry.

Candidates may take examinations in subjects that cover more than the required number of credits, but their ratings shall be based upon 1,200 only; and shall be made up as far as possible from the subjects in which the highest ratings have been obtained.

[OVER]

The following valuations are based upon the course of study and syllabuses prescribed for the high schools of The City of New York:

English	300
Mathematics (Algebra and Geometry)	300
Advanced Mathematics (fourth year)	100
History and Civics (third and fourth years)	100
Medieval and Modern History	100
Physiography	100
Drawing	100
Botany (third year)	100
Zoölogy and Physiology (third year)	100
Physics	100
Chemistry	100
Economics	100
Elementary Latin (first and second years)	200
Elementary Greek (first and second years)	200
Elementary German (first and second years)	100
Elementary French (first and second years)	100
Elementary Spanish (first and second years)	100
Intermediate Latin (third year)	100
Intermediate German (third year)	100
Intermediate French (third year)	100
Advanced Latin (fourth year)	100
Advanced Greek (third year)	100
Advanced German (fourth year)	100
Advanced French (fourth year)	100
Advanced Spanish (third year)	100

The subjects of examination in English will comprise grammar, rhetoric, and literature, founded on the following works:

For reading and practice.—Shakspeare's Merchant of Venice and Julius Cæsar; Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley papers in The Spectator; Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield; Scott's Ivanhoe; Coleridge's Ancient Mariner; Carlyle's Essay on Burns; George Eliot's Silas Marner; Tennyson's Princess; Lowell's Vision of Sir Launfal.

For study and practice.—Shakspeare's Macbeth; Milton's Lycidas, Comus, L'Allegro, and Il Penseroso; Burke's Speech on Conciliation with America; Macaulay's Essays on Milton and Addison.

Science Note-books.—In the examination upon Physics, Chemistry, Physiography, Botany and Zoölogy, laboratory note-books will be rated upon a basis of 20 credits.

Examinations in some of the subjects (English excepted) may, at the option of the candidate, be taken at the end of the third high school year, and at the end of three and a half years. The examination may be completed at the end of the fourth high school year; but no mark in any subject shall be credited to a candidate, whether for admission to training school, for graduation from high school, or for academic examination for Teacher's License No. 1, after the expiration of twenty months from the date of the examination at which such mark was obtained. Candidates may be admitted to preliminary examinations for admission to the Training Schools for Teachers, if they present themselves for examinations in subjects aggregating at least 500 credits.

Candidates will be admitted to an examination only upon certificate from the principal of the school in which they are students or in which they may have been students.

Blank certificates will be furnished by the City Superintendent upon application.

Candidates may present certificates of the College Entrance Examination Board showing that they have passed examinations in one or more of the several subjects enumerated above. These certificates, within twenty months after their issue, will be accepted in lieu of examinations by this Department.

E. Each applicant is required, when notified, to report promptly for a physical examination to one of the physicians appointed by the Board of Education.

Note. Under the regulations prescribed by the State Department of Education under date of August 1, 1899, all applicants, irrespective of their standing in high schools, must take the above examination.

GRADUATION FROM HIGH SCHOOLS

Candidates for graduation from the high schools shall be required to pass examinations in subjects aggregating in value at least 1,200, and not more than 1,500, credits; 300 of these must be in English, but the remaining credits may be obtained as the candidate shall elect from the list of subjects given above. No one shall be graduated whose rating in English is below 60%, and a rating below 50% in any other subject shall not be counted toward the total.

Candidates shall not be restricted as to the number of subjects in which they may be examined, but their graduation shall depend upon ratings based on 1,200, 1,300, 1,400 or 1,500 credits, and made up as far as possible from the subjects in which the highest ratings have been obtained.

For a maximum of 1,200 credits, a minimum of 792 shall be required.

For a maximum of 1,300 credits, a minimum of 832 shall be required.

For a maximum of 1,400 credits, a minimum of 868 shall be required.

For a maximum of 1,500 credits, a minimum of 900 shall be required.

These provisions shall not apply to commercial and technical high schools, but students pursuing commercial courses in other high schools may meet the requirements for graduation by obtaining in the examinations at least 480 out of a maximum of 800 credits, of which 300 shall be in English, provided the work in commercial branches is certified to be satisfactory in quality and amount.

Students may be admitted to preliminary examinations for graduation at the end of the third year, if they present themselves for examination in subjects aggregating at least 500 credits (200 credits for students electing commercial subjects).

ACADEMIC EXAMINATION FOR TEACHER'S LICENSE NO. 1

Applicants for Teacher's License No. 1 who are required to take the academic examination for said license may take the above described examination for admission to training schools at the New York Training School for Teachers (119th Street near Second Avenue), or at the Brooklyn Training School for Teachers (Prospect Place west of Nostrand Avenue); or as otherwise ordered. Said applicants will take the examination under the same conditions as those prescribed for admission to Training Schools.

(NOTE.—A circular stating the date and the conditions of the professional examination for License No. 1, which is required of all applicants for said license, may be had on request at the office of the City Superintendent of Schools.)

WILLIAM H. MAXWELL,

City Superintendent of Schools.

APPENDIX B

LETTER 1: BACHELOR OF ARTS

COLLEGE OF MEDICAL EVANGELISTS
LOMA LINDA, CALIFORNIA

OFFICE OF REGISTRAR April 8, 1932

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This is to certify that George McCready Price was granted a Bachelor of Arts degree on June 26, 1912, based upon the following credits:

Battle Creek College, Battle Creek, Michigan.

Latin II	6 semester hours	1891 - 1892
English Rhetoric	8 semester hours	" "
Bible	6 semester hours	" "
History (Ecclesiastical)	10 semester hours	" "
Greek II	6 semester hours	1892 - 1893
Latin III	6 semester hours	" "
English Literature	8 semester hours	" "

Provincial Normal School, Frederickton, N. B.

Advanced Normal work	16 semester hours	1896 - 1897
Science work	16 semester hours	" "

Provincial Examinations, New Brunswick, Canada.

Greek III	6 semester hours	1899
Latin IV	6 semester hours	1899
Trigonometry	6 semester hours	1898

College of Medical Evangelists, Loma Linda, California.

German (2 years)	12 semester hours	1910 - 1912
Authorship	8 semester hours	" "

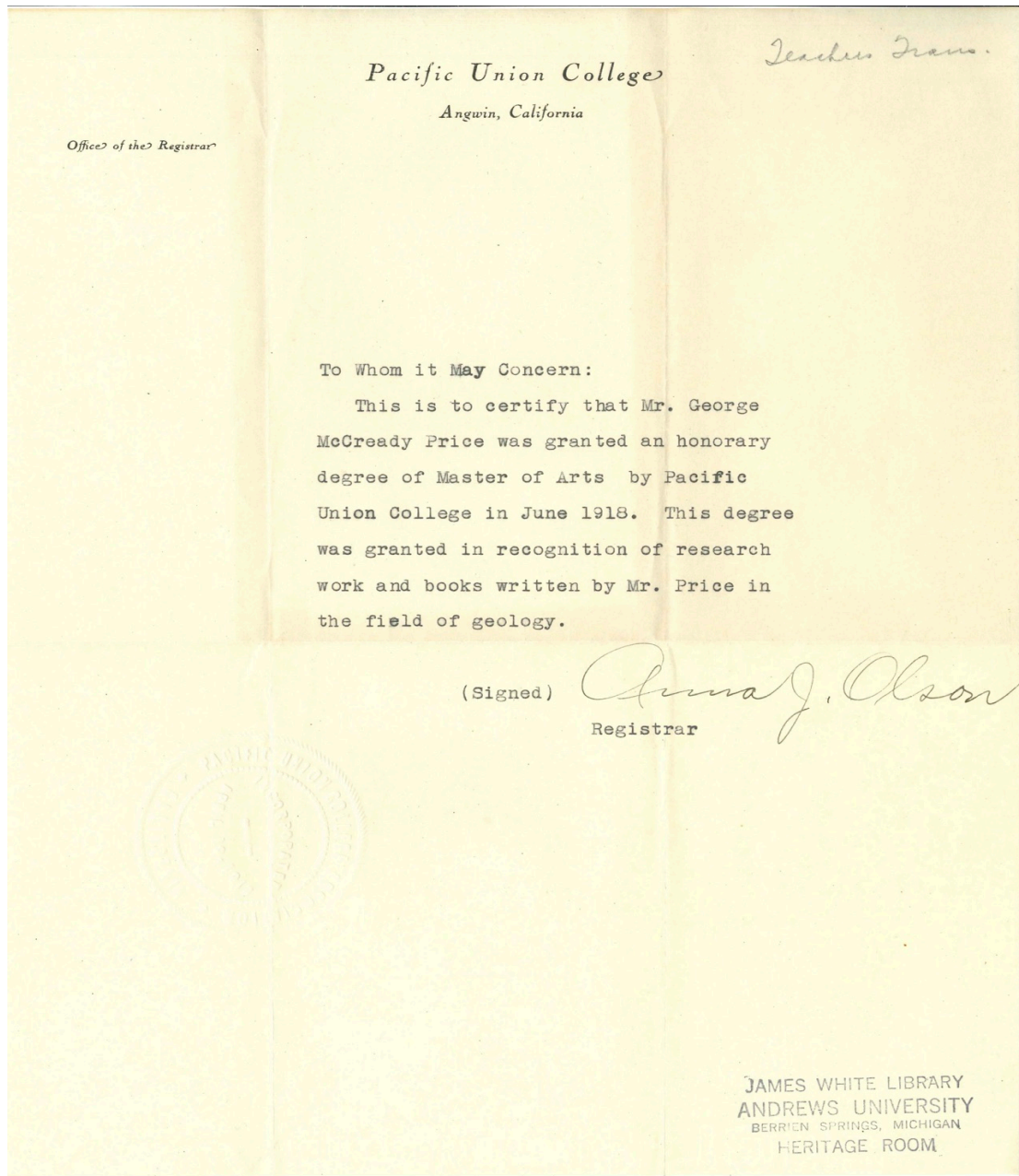
Total 120 semester hours.

Signed E. H. Risley, M. D.
Dean

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APPENDIX C

LETTER 2: HONORARY MASTER OF ARTS



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